DETERRITORIALISATION OF ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS' LEGACY BELIEFS IN WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Despite the growth of immigrant families, little has been done to bridge the gap on the legacy beliefs of the Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. The legacy beliefs and migration system models underpinned acculturation process and outcomes related to assimilation, rejection, biculturalism and marginalisation. An exploratory-descriptive qualitative research design was employed to explore the experiences of fifteen Zimbabwean immigrants, in the Western Cape province; they were purposively recruited to explore and describe their perceptions regarding legacy beliefs. Semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim and analysed using reflexive thematic analysis. Trustworthiness was enhanced through a credible iterative process involving transferability, dependability and confirmability. Three themes were identified: understanding of legacy beliefs; generation of legacies; and complexities influencing preservation of family legacy beliefs. The theoretical implication of this study is that social protection systems should consider the legacy beliefs of immigrants to enhance their social integration, and promote social relationships in a harmonious environment that encourages interdependence as well as resilient societies. Overall, this study contributes to the migration systems aimed at advancing acculturation, resettlement and successful integration. This provides innovative ways for social services to improve the quality of life and well-being of immigrant families and children living in precarious situations.

Keywords: deterritorialisation; generativity; immigrants; legacy beliefs; perceptions; Zimbabwean

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The role of legacy beliefs in family practice has received increased attention in the social work profession. Family legacy beliefs are shared practices and other psychological materials within a family that are transferred from one generation to another (Baldwin et al., 2020). It has been shown that if families do not intentionally pass on their legacy beliefs, values and cultures, the new generation will miss out on the opportunity to learn parenting and emotional regulation skills, supervision of children and intergenerational interaction (Bornstein, 2001; Hunter, 2008; Meuser et al., 2019). Recognition of immigrants' legacy beliefs is a significant part of understanding how deterritorialisation and adaptation facilitate integration and resettlement of families and their children in the diaspora (Ager & Strang, 2008; Mpofu, 2018; Viola et al., 2018). In context of the Zimbabwean immigrants, deterritorialisation is the process whereby they detach from their places of origin, cultural practises and legacy beliefs to fit in the receiving countries, as a result of persistent hardships, political and economic instability, or human rights violations. Adaptation of the Zimbabwean immigrants involves considering how they cope with the receiving country and stay connected with their country of origin and preserve their legacies for future generations (Al-Hammadi, 2023). It needs to be noted that both deterritorialisation and legacy beliefs are aspects of Roestenburg's (2013) two phases of the migration system model, which provides a useful account of how immigrants may "settle and cope in the receiving country" (p. 5). In settlement phase 3 (i.e. Threats vs Adjustment), the migration system model highlights the importance of staying in contact with family back home so that immigrants can preserve their legacy beliefs, deal with psychological problems and adjust. Additionally, the fourth phase of resettlement (i.e. Alienation vs Support) deals with family support, acculturation, and blending into the new culture, which can assist in conserving immigrants dignified well-being and legacy beliefs (Roestenburg, 2013). It is evident that recognition of immigrants' legacy beliefs enforces an understanding of the intersubjective relationships that contribute to the preservation of their human dignity and rights as well as encouraging self-settlement and self-integration (Androff & Mathis, 2022; Honneth & Markle, 2004; Nzabamwita & Dinbabo, 2022). The intersubjective relations provide immigrants with the opportunities to fulfil physical and emotional needs such as love, care and support that they need most in the receiving country (Andersson & Punzi, 2024; Roestenburg, 2013). Social workers need to recognise immigrants' legacy beliefs so that they may be in a position to address not only mental health challenges associated with settlement and resettlement, but also support their resilience capacities and self-worth (Andersson & Punzi, 2024; Asakura et al., 2023). Despite the growth of immigrant families in South Africa, little has been done to address a conspicuous lacuna in immigrant research that focuses on the legacy beliefs of the Zimbabwean immigrants as part of family preservation and social protection systems through the integration and resettlement process. Concerning legacy beliefs, family preservation contributes to the process whereby families identify, build and strengthen their interdependence, while striving to be resilient and "keep children safe by stabilising" precarious situations that might necessitate removal (Strydom, 2014, p.435). Social protection is grounded in values as part of legacy beliefs that enables families to save their lives and reduce levels of deprivation and vulnerabilities emanating from natural disasters, wars, and other injustices. This indicates that individuals', communities' and institutions' capabilities should be enhanced so that they

can participate in all activities aimed at addressing social injustices (Mpedi, 2017). There is therefore a real need for understanding and insight into the legacy beliefs of the Zimbabwean immigrants who have resettled in the Western Cape province.

In the context of this article, family legacy beliefs are situated not only in their stories but also in historical, social, economic, political, and cultural environments, where immigrants live in the diaspora. This is important in understanding the people who are in the diaspora because they live a dual life socially and economically by upholding norms, beliefs, families, land and other possessions in their original homeland, while engaging in more lucrative activities in the receiving country (Guarnizo et al., 2003). This dual residency includes family continuity, relations, identity, legacy beliefs, and values as well as keeping in touch with their roots while living in the diaspora.

Positionality is the worldview and position that the researchers adopted to guide their research task while understanding the social and political context (Holmes, 2020). In addition, positionality deals with the beliefs related to social reality, knowledge, relationships and interactions with the environment (Holmes, 2020; Yip, 2024). Therefore, the researchers disclose their positionality statement by being transparent and acknowledge their understanding of their influence on the research process. The primary author (TG) is a Zimbabwean native who migrated to South Africa to join her parents, who are immigrants. The author conducted the study as part of a Masters in Child and Family Studies and speaks Shona, English and Xhosa. Participants felt comfortable sharing their experiences of preserving their legacy beliefs as Zimbabwean immigrant families. The second author (TGM) is a South African citizen who supervised and introduced the primary author to the concept of legacy beliefs and contributed to the conceptualisation and refinement of the study. This led to the formulation of the research questions: How do Zimbabwean immigrants preserve their legacy beliefs, family cohesion and adaptability while living in the receiving country? How do Zimbabwean immigrants living in the diaspora transmit their legacy beliefs to future generations?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS: LEGACY BELIEFS ACCULTURATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Hunter and Rowles's (2005) typology of legacy beliefs is made up of three family legacies including biological (i.e. health, genes and body); values (i.e. personal, social and cultural); and material (i.e. heirlooms, possessions and symbols). It needs to be noted that these legacy beliefs remain an under-researched area among African populations, as most of studies tend to focus mainly on senior citizens of white and people of colour populations from America (Meuser et al., 2019). In families, parents tend to be proud of their offspring and of their genetic heritage that they pass to their children as a form of genetic legacy. Yet under this type of legacy, it involves passing on medical conditions, which is called 'a health legacy'. In studies by Hunter and Rowles (2005) and Meuser et al. (2019), there are families that created new legacies owing to issues related to adoptive, blended, and scientifically engineered families.

The notion of material legacy is divided into three sub-groups consisting of heirlooms, possessions, and symbols (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). Heirlooms are passed onto future

generations as part of the family history along with stories; passing them on comes with implicit as well as explicit duties for both the giver and the recipient. Therefore, it is crucial not to interrupt the chain of transfer of traditions in the family. The second form of material legacy entails passing on possessions that are useful and valuable to the recipient, but not carrying the weight related to that of receiving an heirloom, things such as household goods. The symbolic material legacy involves leaving societal symbols such as building a library with one's name on it and other public legacies that provide some sort of symbolic immortality for the donor. Hunter and Rowles (2005) stressed that symbolic legacy is the most significant and socially acceptable when it arises through extrinsic validation rather than personal effort.

The legacy of values deals with passing on personal values, which include the ethos of helping people, being unique, the importance of kindness and belief in education (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). Additionally, the legacy of values is embedded in the personal, social and cultural context. Hunter and Rowles (2005) reinforce the values of honesty, kindness, treating people well and being a good person. In this regard, values of education, religious beliefs, independence and uniqueness are fostered and reinforced in future generations (Rokeach, 1973). Teaching and imparting resilient values enables younger generations to learn how to navigate external and internal capacities when dealing with challenges. Values of hard work, caring for and helping others were deemed critically important when it comes to issues of identity management and role modelling. Overall, the transmission of personal, social and cultural values is viewed as an important aspect of parenting, of one's long-term social responsibility to the community, and of one's responsibility to transmit one's cultural identity to the next generation (Hunter & Rowles, 2005).

The fourth phase of the migration system model represents a critical role in the resettlement of immigrants through acculturation and blending into a new culture (Roestenburg, 2013). Despite the importance of acculturation in the model, there remains a paucity of evidence on the family legacy beliefs in acculturation. Berry (2015) defines acculturation as a process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their members. Similar to studies on the immigrants' dietary acculturation (Chapman & Beagan, 2013; Kwon, 2023), legacy beliefs acculturation processes are influenced by social location, identity and sense of belonging. Berry's (1997) acculturation model guides an understanding of the immigrants' legacy beliefs and acculturation. There are four outcomes of immigrant acculturation – assimilation, rejection, biculturalism and marginalisation that may show how families adapted their legacy beliefs in the receiving country (Berry, 1997; Kwon, 2023). Assimilation refers to the experiences of immigrants who abandon their legacy beliefs and adapt to the host country (e.g. South Africa). Immigrants who decide to preserve their legacy beliefs and reject those of the hosting country experience rejection. Kwon (2023) considers such preservations actions as resistance, which means the immigrants do not easily change their legacy beliefs. Concerning biculturalism, immigrants may not only hold on to their legacy beliefs, but also embrace those of their host country. It is important to bear in mind that immigrants might experience marginalisation while they are trying to maintain their legacy beliefs and also adapt to the host country. Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework of integration domains emphasises that successful integration and resettlement of immigrant families should not focus only on acculturation outcomes, but also on areas such as health,

employment, education and housing (Ager & Strang, 2008; Viola et al., 2018).

Combining Hunter and Rowles's (2005) typology of legacy beliefs with Roestenburg's migration system model theory (2013) and Berry's acculturation model helps to understand the process of deterritorialization whereby immigrants can be supported to adopt various strategies to preserve their family legacy beliefs. These theoretical frameworks contribute to two phases (i.e., settlement and resettlement) of Roestenburg's (2013) by highlighting the legacy beliefs acculturation outcomes and domains of successful integration. An implication of this is the possibility that social workers are able assess the nature of immigrants' legacy beliefs so that they may apply innovative methods to facilitate social protection, successful integration and resilience.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A social constructivist worldview provides insight into family legacy beliefs as a phenomenon influenced by parenting, the need for social protection as well as socio-cultural ecologies, which are constructed through interactions and interpretations (Bornstein, 2001; Phillips, 2023). An exploratory-descriptive qualitative research design captures the richness and depth of human attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, experiences and perspectives (Phillips, 2023). The goal of the study was to explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions of their legacy beliefs in the Western Cape province in South Africa. The objectives of the study were:

- To explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' understanding of legacy beliefs;

- To explore and describe the factors influencing the preservation and integration of Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy beliefs in their new environment.

The study was conducted in Mfuleni Township near Cape Town, which has a predominantly black population of around 52,300 people; most of them were moved to this area in the late 1990s after the floods and fires in different townships such as Philippi, Nyanga and Khayelitsha. Mfuleni township consists of both formal houses and informal settlements; it also hosts Zimbabwean immigrants. The purposive sampling method was used to recruit members of the Shona ethnic group to participate in this study, participants ranging from 40 to 60 years in age, Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated with their families to the Western Cape province in South Africa, who left other family members in their original homeland, who migrated without their families, and whose families joined them at a later stage. The participants were recruited from the churches and social congregations where the Zimbabwean immigrants tend to meet. Permission to conduct the study was sought from the church authorities. Participants were given information about the purpose, risks and benefits of the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants in their preferred languages, switching between Shona and English. An interview guide containing socio-demographic characteristics and open-ended questions was developed from the literature on legacy beliefs and family preservation. The interviews lasted approximately one hour and were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Six-phase reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) was used to undertake a recursive and iterative analysis process to identify patterns and themes (Braun & Clarke, 2021; Byrne, 2022). This

involved: (1) Familiarisation: read and re-read the data to immerse ourselves in the data, which assisted in identifying relevant information; (2) Coding: generation of interpretive labels were linked to meaningful data segment ; (3) Generation of themes: codes with similar meanings were grouped to form themes and sub-themes. This led to the interpretation of the underlying connections to produce a coherent and lucid picture; (4) Reviewing potential themes: a recursive process enabled the authors to review the themes and revisions were done; (5) Defining and naming of themes: descriptive and catchy labels were used and short extracts from the data were used to name the theme; and (6) Produce article: to share and disseminate information.

The trustworthiness was enhanced through credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability. Credibility was ensured through prolonged engagement with the participants during data collection, data analysis and data verification (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Peer debriefing was applied throughout the research by having discussions with the supervisor, which assisted in the recursive analysis process of identifying the themes (Polit & Beck, 2014). Transferability was achieved by using purposive sampling to collect rich data from the participants and provide a background to the study. A thick description of the research setting, methodology and the type of participants ensured enhanced transferability (Polit & Beck, 2014). An audit trail was kept to enhance confirmability by ensuring that the authors adhered to the plans of the study. Reflexivity enabled the authors to understand the personal intersubjective qualities they brought into the inquiry that might affect the research process, such as their unique background as individuals; their set of moral values; and their social and professional identity (Polit & Beck, 2014).

Ethical approval was sought from the Human Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape (Ref: HS19/5/8). Principles of informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity were considered. Participants were given information about the purpose, risks and benefits of the study and they gave their written consent to be part of the study. Given the emotive and evocative nature of the topic, being with the participants enabled the primary authors to create an atmosphere that allowed them to be comfortable to share their perceptions without being judged. This forms part of the healing work that connects the authors and participants with cathartic benefits (Butler, 2023; Johnson, 2009). The participants volunteered and were informed that they may withdraw without any repercussions. Anonymity was used to protect personal information, which was enhanced by adhering to the stipulations in the Protection of Personal Information Act (POPI) (Republic of South Africa, 2013). Confidentiality and anonymity were respected by de-identifying any information and only using the number allocated to the participants.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section of the article presents participants' socio-demographic information, the themes together with the sub-themes, and the literature control.

Participants' socio-demographic information

A total of 15 participants, who were Zimbabwean immigrants, participated in this study. The majority of the participants (n=13, 86,6%) indicated that they migrated to South Africa for

economic reasons compared to those who came for family reunification. The participants shared that the time they spent in South Africa ranged between 9 and 20 years. Shona is a Bantu language that is predominantly used in Zimbabwe by people with a common identity and fate. Hence, the interviews were conducted in Shona, so the participants may experience being in the same world and share their insight into legacy beliefs in the foreign country. It is the language that the researchers used with the participants (see Table 1).

Table 1: **Participants' socio-demographic information**

Participant	Language	Level of education	Years in SA	Occupation	Reason for migration
1	Shona/ Eng	Secondary	13	Housewife	Family reunification
2	Shona/ Eng	Undergraduate	12	High school teacher	Economic
3	Shona/ Eng	Undergraduate	20	Partnership operations manager	Economic
4	Shona/ Eng	Postgraduate	11	High school teacher	Economic
5	Shona/ Eng	Diploma	12	Primary school teacher	Economic
6	Shona/ Eng	Secondary	11	Domestic worker	Economic
7	Shona/ Eng	Doctorate	12	Lecturer	Economic
8	Shona/ Eng	Undergraduate	11	Entrepreneur	Economic
9	Shona/ Eng	Secondary	9	Driver	Economic
10	Shona/ Eng	Diploma	12	High school teacher	Family reunification
11	Shona/ Eng	Secondary	12	Waiter	Economic
12	Shona/ Eng	Postgraduate	14	High school teacher	Economic
13	Shona/ Eng	Postgraduate	12	High school teacher	Economic
14	Shona/ Eng	Secondary	14	Domestic worker	Economic
15	Shona/ Eng	Secondary	12	Debt collector	Economic

Three themes and interrelated sub-themes were identified during the reflexive thematic analysis of perceptions regarding legacy beliefs as presented in Table 2.

Table 2: **Themes and sub-themes that emerged in the study**

Themes	Sub-themes
Theme 1: Understanding of legacy beliefs	1.1 Inheritance (*nhaka*) in families
	1.2 Remembrance and contributions in society
	1.3 Transmission of values, beliefs, and culture
	1.4 Influence on others as role modelling
	1.5 Achievements in life
Theme 2: Generation of legacies	2.1 Biological Generativity
	2.2 Parental Generativity
	2.3 Technical Generativity
	2.4 Cultural Generativity
	2.5 Material legacies in families
Theme 3: Complexities influencing preservation of family legacy beliefs	3.1 Disciplinary methods in families
	3.2 Loss of Zimbabwean identity leads to the disruption
	3.3 Adaptive strategies

Theme 1: Understanding of legacy beliefs

The first theme contextualises the participants' understanding of legacy beliefs, which are grounded in their families. Under this theme, five sub-themes were identified: inheritance (*nhaka)* in families; remembrance and contributions in society; transmission of values, beliefs, and culture; influence on others as role modelling; and achievements in life.

Sub-theme 1.1: Inheritance (nhaka) in families

Nhaka is a cultural practice among the Zimbabwean families that refers to inheritance in the Shona language. It is the ethic of preserving and protecting the inheritance left behind for the family and later generations. Th participants mentioned that legacy was just the same as an inheritance (*nhaka*) in which a person gets something from their parents after their death, or what they leave for their children when they leave this earth. In their view, inheritance is the transfer of many things ranging from capital, property, wealth and even non-tangible things across generations. For Participant 10, legacy is something that is given rightfully:

> *Legacy beliefs are about inheriting things that will be rightfully given to you and it is concerned with inheritance, which you are supposed to leave for your children or grandchildren.*

Participant 3 noted that the context plays a significant role:

> *I have heard about legacy in various contexts in life, and my understanding of legacy in our African context is more equated to what you need to leave for future generations. I think to the future boys growing up I want to pass on the value of being responsible citizens because I believe that in my culture the father is the head of the family. If the father is irresponsible, the future generation is compromised, so I think as a role model to other upcoming Zimbabweans.*

Another participant who indicated that legacy beliefs are multifaceted was Participant 7:

> *Legacy beliefs have a lot of facets. I have a cultural legacy, a linguistic legacy...I still speak my language while I am here, and I still observe the cultural rites, norms, and behaviours. That is what is controlling and guiding me while I am here. So, the reason why I am not behaving in the same manner that the people in the other culture behave is because of my culture, my cultural legacy. When it comes to the material and wealth you know, I am trying the best that I can to make sure that I acquire as much as I can, so that I can at least leave the material legacy to the kids.*

Several participants shared their views on how urbanisation and migration transformed the act of redesigning and restructuring their legacy beliefs. However, the participants indicated that they still teach their children to respect others as highlighted in the quotes below:

> *It is changing in the sense that you find out that my parents were so much rural people and whatever they were valuing were things that were used in rural areas. Today most people are living in urban areas and we are now valuing things from urban life.* (Participant 12)

> *Now we are living in a setting that is different from Zimbabwe hence you need to adapt to change, I teach my children to be good citizens and I do follow my culture and values where I came from.* (Participant 06)

> *The way my parents used to think about heritage has changed from my point because of my movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa because now I see things differently* (Participant 9).

The reflexive process enabled the participants to share their views, which resonated with the findings of previous studies that found that legacy was understood to be an inheritance passed onto families (De Witt et al., 2013). The findings noted that legacy is influenced by the social context within which the participants live, work, play and learn, which is buttressed by several studies (Chapman & Beagan, 2013; Fox et al., 2010; Kwon, 2023). These studies provided evidence that social context tends to determine the legacies that are valued and prioritised to be passed on to the next generations. This confirms the findings of the process of transforming heritage that was undertaken by migrating to the South African context. Similar to other studies (Hunter & Rowles, 2005; Meuser et al., 2019; Mthembu et al., 2023), the findings of the present study showed that legacy beliefs are a multifaceted construct that has biological, values and material dimensions.

Sub-theme 1.2: Remembrance and contributions in society

Participants stressed that they will never be forgotten when they die because of the things that they did for family members, friends and the community at large. The participants felt that their contributions will make them remembered and it was a primary meaningful activity, which is crucial to justify their existence on this earth.

> *Several people will remember me from my friends and even my learners whom I have taught before and those I am teaching now, if they hear that I am gone*; *they will not take it lightly because I have made an impact* on *their lives and they will remember me.* (Participant 12)

The findings about remembrance and contributions to society support the legacy motive by Fox et al. (2010), who indicated that legacies are means that assist people in extending their identity, life's work and meaning into the future to live beyond the physical self. These findings highlighted that the participants experienced a sense of continuity on the basis of their contributions across generations. This can enable the participants to earn the moral status of personhood, which is underpinned by the African philosophy that supports humaneness, compassion, dignity, harmony, generosity and concern for the wellbeing needs of others (Molefe, 2020). It may also mean that social workers serving immigrant families should invest in these virtues so that they can facilitate connectedness and a sense of belonging. The study offers some important insights into a 'sense of mattering' which emerged in the findings that enabled the participants to make contributions to society (Martinez-Damia et al., 2023).

Sub-theme 1.3: Transmission of values, beliefs, and culture

The importance of family obligation was shared by the participants, who indicated that the legacy beliefs acculturation process involves intergenerational transmission of values, beliefs and cultural practices to the younger generations. Participant 12 stated that respect for elders is one of the invaluable values passed on to children:

> In our culture, there are some ethos or things that we believe in, like respect for your elders, it's something that I am also trying to implant in my children and I will be so happy if that is passed on to my grandchildren (Participant 12)

Participant 7 stated that indigenous cultural and linguistic legacies are passed on to their children:

> One of the legacies I am trying to preserve and protect is my cultural legacy and my linguistic legacy. I am Shona and I believe that I have deep roots in that cultural legacy, so I passed on the language, norms, values and behaviour. Both my daughter and son) of them have never been to Zimbabwe, but they can speak Shona and understand everything, so I am trying to pass on the legacy to my kids.

Participant 9 said that they are striving to live the Zimbabwean lifestyle of caring for and protecting their families; however, crime made them feel vulnerable as they lived with persistent fear, stress and isolation, which influenced their mental health and hindered their sense of becoming and belonging:

> We keep on trying to live the Zimbabwean life; for example, there is very little crime unlike here, so we try to stay away from doing criminal things. In South Africa, we are seeing new things that are difficult for us to take in or get used to, live in a crime zone you are always locked inside and you do not feel free.

By transferring their values, beliefs and cultures to their children, the participants experienced a sense of happiness, resulting in feelings of satisfaction, joy and fulfilment that they managed to pass on cultural and linguistic legacies. However, the participants' experiences indicated that Zimbabwean immigrants maintained their social legacy and rejected the legacy patterns of hosting country, which reflected an outcome of rejection (Berry, 1997, 2001; Kwon, 2023; Viola et al., 2018). The outcome of rejection identified from the findings indicated that the

Zimbabwean immigrants were deeply distressed at the alarming crime rate in the community where they live. This means that social workers need to design interventions that promote "universalisation of social services, which may facilitate intergroup interaction and the access to welfare for the whole population" (Viola et al., 2018, p.486). The adoption of universal social welfare programmes will enable social workers to contribute to the social protection systems and the UN's sustainable development goals, e.g. SDG 3 for a healthy life and wellbeing of all immigrants and citizens, as well as SDG 11 (making cities and human settlements inclusive safe, resilient, and sustainable) (United Nations, 2015). This is in line with Mpofu's (2018) suggestion that social workers need to encourage inclusion, equality opportunities and participation of immigrants in adverse life situations.

Sub-theme 1.4: Influence on others as role modelling

Participants noted that they are educational and professional role models who live a Zimbabwean socially acceptable life in a foreign land. The participants believed that education is the key to a life that opens doors for improvement and better opportunities anywhere in the world. Less than half of the participants (7 out of 15) were teachers by profession and they reported that they influenced not only their children but also the learners at school. Below are some of the views expressed:

> *I live with my children they see what I do, they see the way I work and how I behave and conduct myself, so I am more in contact with them than anyone else. Yes, I see myself in one of my sons; I see that this is how I used to behave when I was young.* (Participant 13)

> *I have had a very big influence on my children by protecting them, loving them, and educating them. In Zimbabwe, I used to teach building courses at Secondary schools, so by equipping those children with skills and hard work in building, some of them became self-employed and they are leading a better life with just that skills of using their own hands to build structures and earn a living* (Participant 10)

Participants valued being helpful to others in society, especially in the diaspora, as Participant 11 stated:

> *I gave my brothers assistance to start up when they arrived here in South Africa, because they were in my hands when they arrived for the first time and also other people whom I do not have relations with, that I received and they passed through me.*

It was evident from the findings that the participants were influential to their children, learners and relatives. These findings support Roestenburg's (2013) phase four resettlement of the migration system model, which deals with newcomers who receive support from family members who have settled in the receiving country to facilitate successful integration. An explanation might be that the participants felt a need not only to help newcomers (relatives and strangers), but also to assist them in handling oppression and social suffering (Lee & Weng, 2019; Martinez-Damia et al., 2023).

Sub-theme 1.5: Hard work is part of achievements in life

Participants expressed the view that education enabled them to conquer life's challenges in a foreign country. The value imprinted on education in this study proved to be a strong social value passed from one generation to another among the participants.

> *The legacy that I am leaving behind for my children, they should be able to say our father was a hard worker. They should be able to say that our father was a pacesetter, right now I am still studying towards a Master's degree, so by studying I want that self-fulfilment of course. My children must learn that in life you have to work hard academically and professionally. Life is different for those who have some educational qualifications. If you have a qualification you will be able to apply, be able to get work permits which are a difficult thing to acquire here in South Africa, but if you have your education you can apply and be able to stay in South Africa legally. So, this is why I say the main heritage I got from my parents is education.* (Participant 12)

It is important to note that the participants were alert to the changes in the world that influence job opportunities. Therefore, the participants indicated that young people should not only be educated, acquire a certain qualification and get a job, but they should also go beyond that to explore and stimulate an entrepreneurial mindset. The participants felt that an entrepreneurial mindset is significant because the younger generations need develop various skills so that they may overcome and learn from the setbacks and create new business opportunities.

> *Many Zimbabweans during the colonial period were groomed and taught to get good grades in school, find a good job, live and accept life without pushing boundaries. I think what will benefit future generations is to lean more on entrepreneurship and be able to create economic opportunities for others. Imparting the entrepreneurship spirit to the oncoming generations, that getting a job is a failure but creating jobs is a success. I am a generalist at everything; if you ask me to do carpentry I can; if you ask me to cook, I can; if you ask me to fix a pipe, I can do that. I have not mastered any but I can teach others if I see that it's beneficial for them to learn those skills.* (Participant 03)

> *I was observing from a distance, and she* [mother] *decided to forego some of the joys of this world to work for us, so that has given me this assurance and confidence in working hard for my family. She was creative, she was innovative, and she managed to do side businesses, and hustles, so I am tapping from that, so I will say she has impacted my life.* (Participant 7)

Education is one of the significant areas of successful integration of immigrants in the receiving country. The findings confirm studies (Ager & Strang, 2008; Martinez-Damia et al., 2023; Viola et al., 2018) which indicated that education appeared as an enabler of the immigrants to be more constructive and active members of the society in the receiving country. Employment was also identified as an imperative that facilitated the successful integration of the immigrants, who had all the documentation needed for job and financial security in the hosting country (Ager & Strang, 2008; Viola et al., 2018). Despite the participants identifying education and employment as the master keys to successful resettlement, a concern has been raised about the lack of job opportunities, which highlights a need for enhancement of work skills and employability, as in entrepreneurship. This implies that social work efforts are necessary for

improving integration through social enterprises at the micro level, where intergroup contacts can be facilitated in the community to exchange vocational skills through activities that support economy, 'decolonial love', self-esteem and self-help (Butler, 2023; Godwin et al., 2022; Hölscher, 2016).

In explaining decolonial love, Butler (2023) explains that it refers to when "indigenous people have reclaimed their connections with their Elders, the land, and their communities as an act of resistance against the brutal history of colonialism" (p. 1381). Butler's (2023) explanation is confirmed by the findings on legacy in this study, which indicated that the participants drew from their elders the entrepreneurial mindset and hard work to ameliorate the struggles emanating from their country of origin and receiving country. This study therefore makes a major contribution to research on the successful integration of immigrants and their re-humanisation by demonstrating that through authentic decolonial love, their humanness matters and social workers can support them to address the differences and give hope for the future in the receiving country (Asukara et al., 2023; Maluleka, 2023).

Theme 2: Generation of legacies

This theme deals with the generation of legacies enacted in families to promote the health and wellbeing of the younger generations, which is evident in the five sub-themes identified: biological generativity, parental generativity, technical generativity, cultural generativity and re-emerging legacy.

Sub-theme 2.1: Biological generativity

The participants highlighted the importance of the biological generativity as linked to reproductive health and fertility, which relates to the production, bearing caring, and nurturing of children. Participants stated that having children enabled them to experience a sense of purpose and accomplishment, which created a sense of obligation and responsibility to nurture their offspring on earth. This brought about a sense of joy and security in the lives of the participants.

> *You work with a focus on providing for the children; again you want to go further and not just sit idle, so you are forced to go up all the time.* (Participant 4)

> *Children bring joy to one's life and they are like my friends whom I adore, I even see myself in one of my sons.* (Participant 10)

> *Having children brings joy in the family and it brings in a sense of security somehow; you see with life you never know...tomorrow when you are older you will need someone to care for you and show interest in you here and there. As much as we try to work for ourselves and to plan for tomorrow, but still I believe at that age you will need the social support of someone very close and your children can take care of that. So I am at an advantage because I have children.* (Participant 12)

Together, these findings and studies indicate that biological generativity enabled the participants to restore their identity and selfhood through the generative acts of caring for and nurturing their children and seeing them develop (Burton et al., 2022; Hunter & Rowles, 2005;

De Medeiros, 2009). These findings are in line with those of Bornstein (2001, p. 5), who confirms that "parents can derive considerable and continuous pleasure in their relationships and activities with their children". The evidence presented in this sub-theme suggests that the participants expected intergenerational care exchange from their children; in explanation, Ganong and Coleman (2006) state that children "owe debts to their parents for having raised them that should be repaid" (p. 266). In an African context, it is acceptable to take on the older person and the responsibilities of the older person, but this can be a burden and taxing for the younger generations (Moore, 2023). Therefore, families may need to engage in intergenerational discussions about alternatives to caring for older adults.

Sub-theme 2.2: Parental generativity

Participants indicated the importance of procreation and nurturing children in the very same way they were brought up by their parents and grandparents according to the Zimbabwean way. The participants described parental generativity through the actions of feeding, clothing, sheltering, loving, nurturing and disciplining their offspring as well as initiating them into a family's tradition of interdependence and resilience.

> As a teacher and parent, every day I try to transmit ideas, values, and lessons to the young ones. The values I pass on are love, determination and that one should also be devoted in whatever he or she is involved in, in life. (Participant 4)

> As a parent, I try by all means to nurture our children as to what they are supposed to be like, depending on what we expect in our culture. I tell them about our values and norms so that they will grow up to be just like us, their elders, and follow in our footsteps and what they do is acceptable in society just like we learned from our elders in the villages and our families when we were growing up. (Participant 10)

Participant 13 further described their desire and expressions of joy about having grandchildren:

> It is a part of humanity that brings joy to one's life, to have grandchildren. It means that you are seeing your children developing and having their families and it brings happiness. If I happen to have a granddaughter then that will fill my days and make life worth living because with grandchildren you feel like you have young friends that you can share with and give advice.

Caring, love and determination were strong emotions that played a vital role in parental generativity, which enabled the participants to draw strength from their parents that promoted sharing and interdependence of the different generations (Hölscher, 2016). It became evident in the findings that parental legacy has been identified as a major contributing factor to the transmission of values between parent and child in immigrant families, which facilitated family relations, and children's development. The findings of the current study corroborate those in Hunter (2008), who found that "many women appreciated their upbringing and hoped to pass along elements of their own experience to their children" (p. 323).

Sub-theme 2.3: Technical generativity

Six participants said that being in the teaching profession for more than 13 years enabled them to pass on technical skills to their learners, which appeared as significant accomplishments of their work to shape the future of the younger generations.

> *I have encouraged other people to do some sort of things that may help them in their lives; for example, in Zimbabwe I used to teach building courses* (construction) *at secondary schools, so by equipping those children with building skills, some of them became self-employed and they are leading better lives with just the skill of using their hands to build* (Participant 10)

> *I have tried to teach people how to structure entrepreneurship as a business and run it.* (Participant 3)

Strong evidence of technical generativity was found when the participants indicated that they have passed on enduring skills such as building construction and entrepreneurial skills. These findings are supported by the innovative work of Hunter (2008) and Martinez-Damia et al. (2023), which pioneered a generative journey to exploring technical generativity and provided valuable insight into a life of giving and caring for the younger generations in their country of origin as well as in host societies. The findings from this sub-theme support the work of Doerwald et al. (2021), who indicated that education is a motivating factor of altruistic and social rewards gained from being generative. A study conducted by Doerwald et al. (2021) showed that successful and educated people tend to give something back as a contribution to their society.

Sub-theme 2.4: Cultural generativity

Participants expressed the views that valuing their culture connected them with their roots and ancestors, irrespective of the fact that they were living and working in a foreign land. A variety of ways were used by the participants to enhance cultural generativity, including maintaining strong kinship relations with relatives back in the original homeland (Zimbabwe), instilling norms and cultural values, and interacting with other Zimbabweans living in the diaspora.

> *I am a representative of my cultural tradition in some way, considering my age and experience with the cultural tradition of Africanism specifically the Shona culture, where the values, norms and morals were instilled in a particular way and I feel I was brought up that way. The way I was brought up is how I portray to the society and I intend to pass that on to future generations through my children. I am very well connected to my family's history, because whenever I visit back home I do not forget my elders' teachings and modern beliefs; time and again if anything happens I always refer to the deeds of our ancestors or deeds of our elders so much that its proof that you have a certain instinct that you are involved with your culture, history and heritage.* (Participant 4)

> *Things that we learned when we were growing up and we were taught by our parents, we have to tell our children about the way we used to live, the way we struggled, the games we used to play, and the food we used to eat so that our children remember where we came from and know that we did not start the way we are today.* (Participant 13)

This sub-theme provided an important opportunity to advance an understanding of the connection between the participants and their ancestors and history. This finding is supported by the work of Hunter (2008), who found that legacy was the core of people's history that shaped their personal growth, lives and families. Hunter's (2008) findings highlighted that immigrant families tend to have less family legacy to pass along to the young generations. Therefore, social workers serving marginalised families might incorporate story writing as part of an intervention that would enable the immigrants to capture their family history in book form for their generations.

Sub-theme 2.5: Material legacies in families

Concerning the material legacies in families, the participants shared that family heirlooms such as land back home include the "Zimbabwean legacy", money, property and family businesses that belong to them. The participants said that they wish to embrace the land for continuity.

> *I think that the things that are going to outlive me are farming… I think the land issue is something I will value forever. I am connected to my family's heritage because I am always talking about my grandfather's farm which is still operating now; those were not government-given farms but my grandfather owned his farm for a long ago and my wish is to continue in his footprints when I go back home. Yes, I have heard about legacy, especially the Zimbabwean legacy is about land ... that is the Zimbabwean legacy, we used to live through agriculture* [subsistence farming] *and we could even get extra money through it and it sustained us; it is something priceless.* (Participant 9)

> *We are a family which has been brought up in an agro-economy environment from my forefathers and it runs in my blood. Whenever I see something agro-economic, it tends to excite me. When we look at the culture we have traditions and beliefs that have been fostered in us since being kids and these beliefs were the same that my forefathers and the ones that came before they followed and I am trying to impart those beliefs to my son and the future generations which are in our family settings or heritage.* (Participant 3)

Participants described the cultural practice of the Shona people in Zimbabwe known as *kugara nhaka* (wife inheritance), which implies that a widow must be inherited by her deceased husband's brother for the continuation and survival of the family.

> *We believe that legacy entails either leaving properties to your children and relatives. When you pass on there is also a Shona cultural practice that is done to make sure that the wife and the children of the deceased do not suffer, whereby the wife is made to choose a brother of her late husband to take care of her and the children.... but nowadays it is not common because of modern practices.* (Participant 5)

> *Male figures in the family get inheritances from their fathers like cattle, money and properties. Still, in this new era, there has been some significant change in who benefits from a person's inheritance and sharing of things that the deceased left after the funeral "pa nyaradzo yemufi"* [on the deceased person's memorial service] *where people get small things like clothes, kitchen cookware and some personal belongings.* (Participant 13)

The participants on the whole demonstrated that the land is a material legacy of the families

that connected them with their history and ancestors to motivate continuation of the agricultural activities. However, our study also enables us to deepen our understanding of the material legacies in the context of Zimbabwean culture, where male dominance still prevails in the distribution of inheritance, which reinforces patriarchal systems and oppression of women within families. These findings highlight the influences of Shona practices that "peripheralise women in issues of property and inheritance" (Chabata, 2021, p. 1). The findings also highlight how a preference for men in inheritance may influence the succession process, thus challenging the distribution of biological and material legacies in families.

SDG 5 of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development focuses on achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls so that they can reach their full potential and flourish (United Nations, 2015), which is also supported by Chapter 2 Section 16 (Culture) and 17 (Gender Balance) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, Act No. 20, (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013). In the findings of the present study, it was evident that there are still families valuing the cultural practice of *kugara nhaka* (wife inheritance), which appears to perpetuate inequalities among women whereby resources, including land, are taken from widows. . This undermines the provision that "the State must promote the full participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwean society based on equality with men" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013, p. 20). Additionally, the state and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must promote and preserve cultural values and practices which enhance the dignity, wellbeing and equality of all Zimbabweans (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013, p. 20).

Theme 3: Complexities influencing preservation of family legacy beliefs

The last theme deals with the complexities that influenced participants' preservation of their family legacy beliefs, including disciplinary methods in families; loss of Zimbabwean identity leading to disruption; and adaptive strategies.

Sub-theme 3.1: Disciplinary methods in families

Participants indicated that children's rights influence the preservation of their family's disciplinary methods such as corporal punishment. Participant 4 experienced a sense of disempowerment:

> *There are a lot of challenges that I have faced because, in terms of values and norms, the cultures are very different here. They talk of children's rights where children are not to be reprimanded, beaten and punished because of their rights; hence I cannot discipline my child, so it is very difficult.*

Nieman et al. (2004) highlights that discipline is a means that parents use to transfer knowledge and skills to their children. Yet, the findings show that the Zimbabwean immigrant parents struggled to use effective disciplinary methods. They felt that the South African Children's Amendment Act 41 of 2007 Rights Act negatively influenced them in reprimanding their children if they behaved badly (Republic of South Africa, 2008). These results have important implications for social workers that they might need to help immigrant parents develop effective disciplinary methods. Additionally, social workers might consider incorporating discussions on means of discipline in their psychosocial and family assessments.

The findings in this sub-theme highlighted that there is a need for social workers to inform newcomers of their rights and responsibilities in South Africa. For instance, Käkelä's (2020) study explored social workers' experiences of accommodating and negotiating cultural differences with asylum seekers; it was found harmful cultural practices related to disciplinary methods were used such as using a cable or other objects to hit children. Therefore, it is suggested that social workers should convey specific "information about the laws and what the laws in hosting countries were concerning the immigrants' children, and then they would have an idea of what was expected of them" (Käkelä, 2020, p. 431).

Sub-theme 3.2: Loss of a Zimbabwean identity leads to the disruption

Loss of a Zimbabwean identity appeared as one of the complexities that led the participants to be concerned about their children's socialisation in South Africa, where they currently live, play and learn.

> *In South Africa, our children are growing up in a different environment and there is a lot of pressure for them to overcome. I think they need to value some of the behaviours that helped us to be what we are today. The young generation is failing in life because of the environment that we are living in, cultures are mixed and different and to instil the Zimbabwean values in them is very difficult at times. Our children do not want to be identified as Zimbabweans, it becomes a challenge.* (Participant 12)

> *Values, norms and way of life here in South Africa are different from the way things are done in Zimbabwe. So, adjusting and fitting in takes time and because of issues like Xenophobia, you find yourself not wanting to be identified as a Zimbabwean because of fear. So, you end up behaving like a South African and hiding your true identity and these double standards are difficult to maintain and it is straining.* (Participant 11)

> *I wish my sons marry Zimbabwean women but that might not happen, because they are living with South Africans. They are associating with South Africans, they go to school with South Africans, and when they meet the girl of their dreams it will be beyond my control – that is a challenge.* (Participant 13)

Mixed culture is a social condition experienced by the participants who are Zimbabwean immigrants and have a Shona cultural heritage, which is different from the South African culture of their receiving country. The participants were concerned that the mixed culture led to the disruption of their wellbeing, which induced culture shock and confusion. Consequently, the participants rejected the South African cultures and remained devoted Zimbabweans.

> *The South African culture is one I would not want to adopt and as a Zimbabwean, because of the mixture and diversity it has, it is confusing sometimes. I am very proud of my culture, the way it has been instilled in me, and the rules we grew up following, so I would not want to change my Zimbabwean beliefs for the South African one.* (Participant 4)

> *I will not forget my roots as I was raised that way till I got to where I am now. When comparing my Zimbabwean culture and the South African ways, I am forced to keep on holding on to my beliefs as a Zimbabwean because they are different, and I do not want to lose my identity. The way we dress in our Zimbabwean culture is different from where we*

are right now. The mixture of different cultures leads to the disruption of your cultural values, because you want to fit in a foreign land, you have to follow what is happening there which will disturb your cultural values. In our culture, women wear dresses, but if we move to South Africa we have to wear trousers to fit; the moment we go back to Zimbabwe, people will panic saying 'What kind of dressing is this?' people will start saying stuff about which I do not know. It's now a mixed bag of cultures and you cannot come to pick which is which, because for you to fit in a certain culture, one culture must go down and the other will dominate. (Participant 1)

This study produced results which corroborate the findings of a great deal of the previous work in successful integration and psychological wellbeing of immigrants in a receiving country (Berry, 1997, 2001; Yoon, 1998). These results are consistent with Berry's (2001) explanation of the maintenance of heritage culture and identity through adopting a strategy of partial separation of ethnocultural groups. A possible explanation for these results is that the participants placed a value on holding on to their original culture, though they did not avoid interaction with others in their receiving country. Makula's (2023) study shed light on Zimbabwean immigrant teachers' experiences of acculturation in independent schools in Johannesburg, South Africa. The findings indicated the absence of cultural assimilation as immigrant teachers were treated differently from their South African peers; as a result, they did not blend in easily (Makula, 2023).

Sub-theme 3.3: Adaptive strategies for maintaining identity

Despite the challenges that influenced participants' parenting and nurturing of children in a foreign country, some of the participants attempted to use alternative measures to ensure that their children do not lose their identity as Zimbabweans. Participants acknowledged the difficulties of raising their children in a South African context, which made it necessary for them to enhance their resilience and persistence.

Motivators to preserving our culture are the children because they are the ones who can be affected. Taking the children home [Zimbabwe] *regularly will prevent them from straying and losing some of the beliefs and values in our culture that we have instilled in them. They will carry them with them and will not forget them.* (Participant 1)

My children motivate me to keep remembering my roots so that they learn from me and know who they are and not lose their identity in this country where there are mixed cultures. (Participant 2)

Our children motivate us to preserve these beliefs as it will help them know their culture, where they come from, and who they are even though they are growing up in a foreign land. (Participant 10)

Participants shared that humaneness (*ubuntu*) is a motivating factor that led them to maintain their identity and engage in church activities that enabled them to experience a sense of connectedness and belonging.

Nothing is hindering me from preserving my cultural values and beliefs because I know who I am and the notion of ubuntu guides me wherever I go so that I do not lose my identity,

beliefs and norms as a Zimbabwean. (Participant 11)

My family has gone the extra mile to keep our values and beliefs, and also keep in touch with our fellows from Zimbabwe, attending Zimbabwean fellowship church meetings where we gather as one family and pray together the way we used to back home. (Participant 9)

Participants pointed out that advancements in technology facilitated their adaptive strategies to maintain their identity. For instance, Participant 3 indicated that video calls enabled them to connect with their family in Zimbabwe:

The biggest thing that has helped me to preserve my beliefs as a Zimbabwean is the advancement of technology. I can do video calls daily with my parents and family in Zimbabwe; my son gets to understand what it means to be a Shona boy growing up. For example, he gets to clap before he can receive his plate of food whereas that value is not practised here in South Africa. Whenever my son is having a conversation with my mother and my mother-in-law, the values are being shared because he is asked to follow the other culture as a Zimbabwean family back home. (Participant 03)

Taking the children back to their home of origin might appear as an adaptive strategy to prevent the loss of the Zimbabwean identity, beliefs, values and culture. An alternative interpretation of these results can be found in Mavaza and Chachoka (2023) who highlighted that many Zimbabweans send their children for cultural lessons. However, it has been noted that the erosion of the Zimbabwean culture left some of the immigrant parents disappointed (Mavaza & Chachoka, 2023). The findings suggested that immigrants should maintain or build strong relational and collective ties with other Zimbabweans, so that they will be able to maintain warm, satisfying and trusting interpersonal relationships, even while in South Africa (Henrquez et al., 2021). Diversity is one of the key elements that enables immigrants to deal with the complexities of healthy integration and settlement in a hosting country by embracing and blending across a range of differences and conflicts. It has been noted from the findings that diversity can be a contributing factor to the loss of immigrants' identity. Yet Mavaza and Chachoka (2023) argue that "the preservation of the Zimbabwean culture should respect and value the diversity and advancement of other nations" (p 30-31). This provides some explanation as to why social workers need to assist immigrants to address complexities that influence their diversity, inclusion, social cohesion, psychological well-being and successful integration.

Limitations and strengths

A limitation of this study is that there were no Ndebele speakers in the study during data collection. As a result, the Shona people were the dominant ethnic group from Zimbabwe in the research setting. Therefore, the researchers struggled to find representation from the country's other ethnic group, which is Ndebele-speaking people, as a result of their small population size. Despite the limitation highlighted, a key strength of the present study was that it contributes to conscientizing social workers on multicultural social work practice and awareness of the unique lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. This will influence the crafting of culturally appropriate interventions. Future studies might explore family legacies from other ethnic groups.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study explored and described the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs in the Western Cape province in South Africa. The present study adds to the growing body of research that indicates the need to gain insight into an understanding of immigrants' legacy beliefs so that they can be assisted to cope with their urgent needs in the receiving country. It also highlighted the factors influencing the preservation of legacy beliefs, social cohesion and successful integration of Zimbabwean immigrants. The principal theoretical implication of this study is that the acculturation of family legacy beliefs should be considered as part of human dignity and human rights to promote diversity in societies. The current data highlight the importance of the universalisation of family preservation systems in receiving countries to promote collective responsibility and respect for immigrant families. For successful integration and social cohesion of immigrants in receiving countries, a number of recommendations are offered.

- Social workers providing social protection interventions at micro, meso and macro levels should be sensitive and responsive not only to South Africans' culture but also to that of immigrants.

- Social workers should collaborate with relevant stakeholders (e.g. Refugee Centre and Lawyers for Human Rights) to reconstruct a social protection policy that incorporates family legacy beliefs in the empowerment and liberation programmes of immigrants who live in precarious environments. The liberation involves actions and efforts that immigrants engage in to improve their lives and challenge the systems that prevent them from meeting their needs.

- Social workers should promote and rebuild the resilience of immigrant families and children so that they will be able to respond appropriately to the challenges of life. For instance, this can be done by enabling immigrants with protective strategies such as building a sense of community, satisfaction with life, social participation and capacities to deal with social rejection (Estrada-Moreno et al., 2025).

- Social workers can use the information from this study to develop social enterprise interventions aimed at social cohesion by mobilising resources to assist immigrant families in sharing their entrepreneurial skills and knowledge with the societies in receiving countries.

- Social workers should enhance the social protection system to assist immigrant families in reducing gender inequalities that favour males more than their female counterparts when it comes to issues of family inheritance (International Federation of Social Workers, 2016).

- It is important to explore the potential use of critical ethnography studies to explore how gender inequalities influenced widows' legacy beliefs and inheritance among immigrant families.

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