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The role of ICT's in maintaining care relationships within internal migration an exploration of family networks, social inclusion and digital divide

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A research paper submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Based Counselling Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities

Declaration

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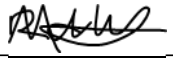
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Abstract

Migratory patterns bring about radical changes in communities and impact familial relationships. However, the increased use of Information Communication Technologies (ICT) challenges the notion that face-to-face interactions are a requirement for strong family relationships. Increasingly relationships between migrants and the loved ones they leave behind are being shaped differently through the use of technology, which allows people to overcome geographical distance. ICTs allow us to think of social lives which are not necessarily based on a physical place and territorial boundaries, but are a corporation of connections characterised by distance (Baldassar, 2014).

Recently much research has been done internationally exploring the use of ICTs in migrant and transnational families. However, by comparison little has focused on the phenomenon of internal migration (rural-urban), especially as it relates to the South African context. This study aimed to fill this research gap by looking at the experiences of families in a rural area of South Africa whose family members have emigrated to Gauteng, especially as they relate to their use of ICTs to maintain family relationships. .

This study also aimed to add to the knowledge production of psychology and migration that is relevant to the South African context through the theoretical framework of critical community psychology. A qualitative approach was used through a case study phenomenon to highlight in depth and holistic nature of the migrant's and their families experience.The findings of the study revealed that migration tends to result in different types of losses for both the migrants and those staying behind. ICTs play an important role in mitigating those losses. However, challenges mostly linked to the huge digital divide that still exists between rural and urban areas often decrease the advantages that technology potentially holds for migrant families. Lastly, the findings reveal the use of ICTs not just to communicate but also to aid the process of assimilation for migrants. Moreover, they reveal that most rural communities are excluded from the social larger community as differences between rural arears and urban areas can be seen.

Keywords: Rural-urban migration, internal migration, loss, digital divide, critical community psychology

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Migration is one of the key courses of action that people choose to change and improve their lives due to better employment and education opportunities. This is especially the case when it comes to internal migration (Mulder, 2018). It has been acknowledged that like in many other countries, internal migration is still prevalent in South Africa, specifically rural to urban migration (Mlambo, 2018). Internal migration is the movement of individuals within a country for economic opportunities (Msigwa & Mbongo, 2013). The history of internal migration in South Africa is deeply rooted in the inequality and poverty associated with the Apartheid state, which legislated and controlled movement (Ndegwa et al., 2007). The post-apartheid era has meant more movement especially to the province of Gauteng, as it is seen as the economic hub of South Africa and therefore lends itself to being the destination for most migrants from rural areas such as Limpopo (Landau, 2006).

The Greater Giyani municipality is one of the municipalities in Limpopo that has a high rate of unemployment and a low rate of people with higher education (Stats SA, 2021). Therefore, individuals in this municipality often look to urban areas in Gauteng as a preferred destination. The choice of this destination, which is far from their homes, brings about changes in relationships with their families and communities. Whilst migration creates barriers such as geographical distance and change in family relationships, these can now be ameliorated through the use of Information Communication Technologies(ICTs) (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). These ways of communication challenge the assumptions that positive familial relationships can only be preserved in the case of physical proximity and that face-to-face interactions are a requirement for maintaining relationships. (Baldassar, 2014). Consequently ICTs provide a platform for migrants to maintain long-distance social ties that have been disrupted by migration (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). Recent research (see for example Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011; Baldassar, 2014; Hunter, 2015; Mlambo, 2018) has been exploring the influence and impact of ICTs on family relationships defined by distance, such as those of migrant families. ICTs allow us to think of social lives and interactions which are not constrained by a physical place and territorial boundaries, but are a corporation of connections and interactions characterised by distance (Baldassar, 2014). ICTs can even strengthen and intensify ties and assist in maintaining relationships. It is widely recognised that ICTs have become a crucial part of migration and family life across distance (Marchetti-Mercer, 2006).

“Social technologies are becoming a core protagonist in the lives of families in general and in particular in the case of transnational families”, (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012, p.1426). ICTs provide a space for open communication in migrant familial relationships and may have a positive impact when it comes to communications of concern, care and love, including the facilitation of family dynamics (Valentine, 2006).

Moreover, ICTs have an essential multifaceted function such as information gathering, communication, and so forth. Even though ICTs facilitate emotional bonding and closeness, there are some concerns that these platforms may lack intimacy and cannot replace face-to-face interactions (Henderson & Gildng, 2004; Marchetti-Mercer, 2017). Furthermore, they are not without difficulties and challenges, such as access. In the post-apartheid era, access to ICTs has become a crucial indicator of basic rights and democracy, which are part of social development (Skuse & Cousins, 2007). This social development in telecommunications plays an important role in economic and social inclusion as well as equality. Even though ICTs are aimed at and believed to be potentially decreasing social exclusion, it appears that they also have the potential to create new forms and ways of exclusion as well as inequality with individuals in certain groups as regards to who can and who cannot have access to ICTs. They create forms of exclusion in areas such as the digital gap seen between rural and urban areas which in turn impacts digital literacy. Furthermore, there are other factors that have an impact on the use of ICTs, for example age, education, gender and socio-economic status. Migration is a phenomenon that will consistently be part of society regardless of the economic status, poverty and political stance of its members. Hence communication between family members to maintain their relationships will constantly change based on the ICTs that are available. The exploration of their impact, role and importance in terms of internal migration can highlight the necessity, accessibility and availability of these ICTs in internal migration from rural areas to urban areas.

1.2 Contextual Background of the Limpopo Province

Limpopo province is one of the provinces in the north-eastern region of the Republic of South Africa, with an area of 123,910 kilometres (see Figure 1) with approximately 5,799,090 people (Stats SA, 2016). The Limpopo province shares its borders with other South African provinces of Gauteng, North West and Mpumalanga. Moreover, it shares its borders with the neighbouring countries of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. It has 5 district

municipalities, which are Vhembe, Sekhukhune, Capricorn, Waterberg and Mopani with 3 distinct tribes of Venda, Pedi and Xitsonga (Stats SA, 2016).

Figure 1

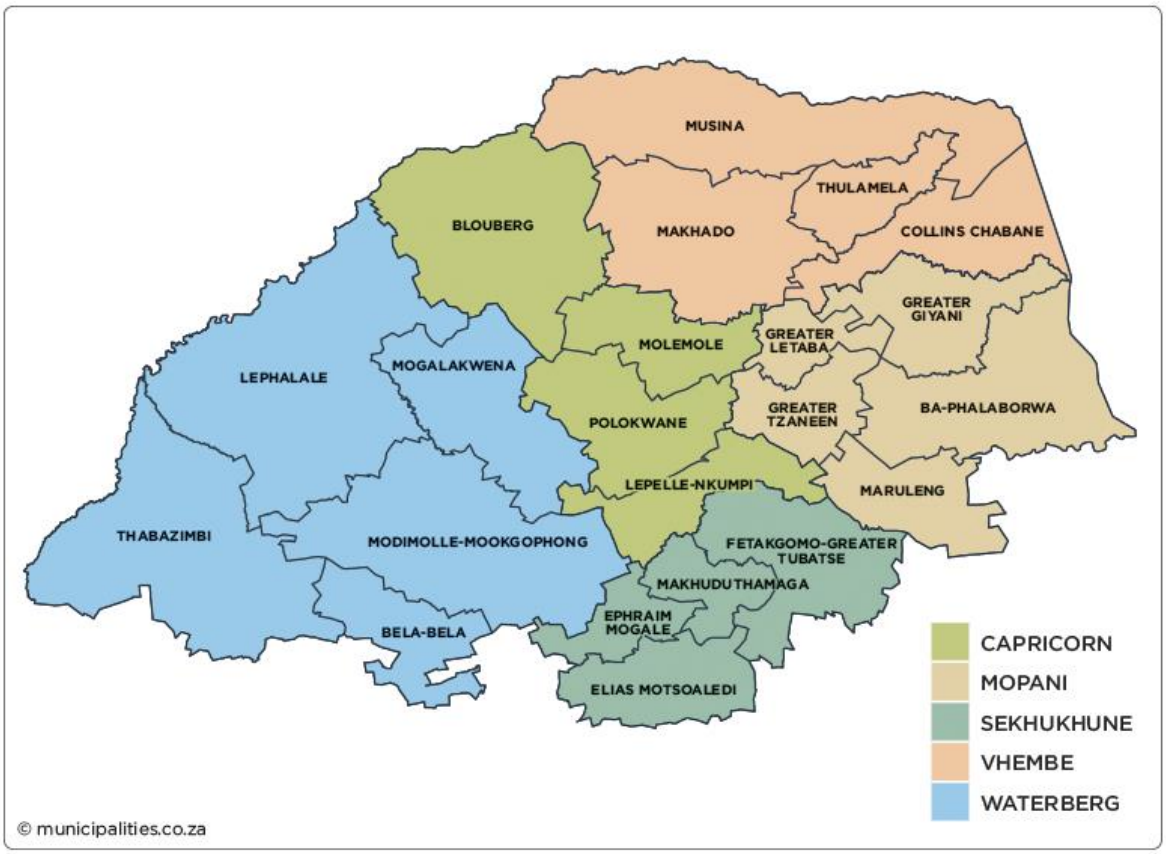
Map of South Africa



Source: *South Africa Maps | OnTheWorldMap free printable maps* (2019)

Figure 2

Map of Limpopo



Source: *Map of Limpopo* (n.d)

The Limpopo province has twenty-two local municipalities. For the purposes of this study the Greater Giyani municipality (see Figure 2) will be the area of focus. There are a number of challenges the Limpopo province is facing, such as poverty, education, access to services and settlement , and unemployment . These are discussed below.

1.2.1 Socio-economic Status of the Limpopo Province

1.2.1.1 Poverty

According to Stats SA (2016), poverty is strongly correlated with the educational level of an individual. In 2019 in the Limpopo province, 79.2% of the individuals who had no formal education were living under the poverty line (Limpopo Provincial Treasury, 2019). Although the number of people living under the poverty line had decreased in 2016 to 2019 (from 82.4%

to 70.1%, then increasing to 72.4%) , the number of people in Limpopo living in poverty is still high (Limpopo Provincial Treasury, 2019).

1.2.1.2 Education

The Bill of Rights (1996) states that every individual has the right to education. According to the Community Survey 2016 data (Stats SA, 2016), the overall provincial school attendance was 2,027,524 pupils between the ages of 5-24 years compared to other provinces such as Gauteng. Although this number has increased over the years, the Limpopo province is still considered as one of the provinces with the lowest education levels, where most individuals have completed grade six formal schooling (Makhura, 2002). The achievement of students is strongly impacted and facilitated by the presence of libraries and library staff (Limpopo Provincial Treasury, 2019). Even though the province has provided more libraries overall, its distribution is uneven with certain districts having only one or no libraries. This is important because libraries are hubs of and incubators for learning.

1.2.1.3 Access to Services and Settlement

Human settlement and access to satisfactory and affordable accommodation, as well as basic service delivery of water, refuse removal, sanitation, security of tenure and electricity are matters of importance to the National Development Plan (Stats SA, 2016). It states that both formal and informal settlements should have adequate access to economic opportunities and social services at a distance that is reasonable. However, many villages in the Limpopo province have a higher number of informal dwellings compared to most other provinces in South Africa. Moreover, in 2016 only 572,846 households had access to clean piped water inside their yard. The rest obtained water from a communal tap, which illustrates the low levels of access the rural areas in the Limpopo province had to basic services. Furthermore, only 20.8% of the households used toilets that flushed or had a public sewage system. The Limpopo province has poor access to Internet services as well. According to Stats SA (2016), only 105,404 households had access to the internet whilst 1,451,340 households had none. It appears that the Limpopo province has low levels of access to basic services as well as internet services. Almost 72.7% of the population surveyed indicated that they disagreed that the government or municipalities were trying to address the lack of reliable and safe basic service delivery, such as the provision of water (Stats SA, 2016).

1.2.1.4 Unemployment

The unemployment rate in the Limpopo province increased from 19.3% in 2016 to 19.6% in 2017 (Stats SA QLFS, 2017). This unemployment rate increase means the number of unemployed people rose from 337,000 to 346,000. The rise in the unemployment rate highlights a number of issues such as job creation, education and migration, which are impacted by the increased rate. Although the unemployment rate in Limpopo province is the low in comparison to provinces like Gauteng, KwaZulu Natal and Mpumalanga, it still represents a crisis that needs to be considered (Stats SA QLFS, 2017).

1.2.2 Socio-economic Status of Giyani Town

According to Stats SA (2011), the population size of the Greater Giyani Local Municipality, formerly known as the Gazankulu capital, was 244,217 in 2011. The Greater Giyani Local Municipality includes Giyani town, which is located 550 km from Pretoria, Gauteng, as well as the surrounding villages Skhunyani, Jim Ghalalume and Ka-Tomu. Census 2011 reported that 99.5% of the population was black African with 90.5% speaking XiXitsonga. According to Census 2011, only 9% of the population had completed secondary school. Moreover, Giyani had an unemployment rate of 47% overall with youth unemployment at 61.2%, which speaks to the reason for migration to gain employment (Stats SA, 2021). Only 7.1% had finished higher education, which links to migrating to Gauteng for access to higher education. Additionally, more than 82.9% of the people that were employed earned less than R19,601 individually per month (Stats SA, 2011). It is clear that as a population they are facing many challenges, which impacts their well-being and plays a role in the migration process.

1.3 Research Aims

The aim of this research project was to investigate the importance of information and communication technology (ICTs) amongst internal South African migrants from rural areas to urban areas in their maintenance of relationships with their families that are left behind. The proposed project also explored the importance of affordability, accessibility and availability of ICTs to migrant laborers from rural areas. I placed emphasis on ICTs as an important aspect of basic human rights as part of social inclusion and equality for migrant laborers and their families. Lastly, the link between social exclusion and the digital divide was also explored

1.4 Rationale

Migration and psychology have interacted on many levels and often provide potential intervention for vulnerable communities like migrants and poor communities such as the villages in Giyani town (Baldassar & Merla, 2013; Baldassar et al., 2018; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Falicov, 2012; Marchetti-Mercer, 2016). Psychology can offer a different perspective and evaluate factors of migration, especially in the South African context, which challenge the perceptions of access to the internent access and inclusion in the global access of internt services for both migrants and family members left behind (Palmary, 2018). The South African context in migration and psychology is critical to the development and production of knowledge that is local and relevant as well as relatable (Anderson, 2006; Landau & Segatti, 2009; Palmary, 2018). Many studies have focused on mostly international migration as well as communities that are well resourced, which is different from the South African context. Therefore, it was important to focus on the participant group of this study. This thesis is aimed at raising awareness of challenges faced by poorer communities with low or no available resources. Access to ICTs is the beginning of social inclusion, mental health (maintaining ties, sense of community and identity) and social change that comes with that access (Rodríguez & Wilson, 2000). Rodríguez and Wilson (2000) believe that access to new technologies is a steppingstone to new spaces of social change, inclusion and order because it lowers barriers to access and communication. Therefore, psychology can conceptualise and theorise internal migration (rural-urban) in a more meaningful way. This research aims to advocate for this social change and justice through the exploration of experiences of both migrants and their families left behind.

The interaction of psychology and migration offers a re-evaluation of socio-political structures. Although this research study is part of a larger research project, it should be noted that there are no extensive research studies in South Africa in psychology and migration that are directed at rural-urban migration focusing on both migrants and family members left behind in regard to ICTs, access and social inclusion when it comes to maintaining family ties.

Access to ICTs has a particular value in terms of maintaining relationships between family members who have been separated through migration. African families in South Africa have been deeply hurt and disadvantaged by labour migration, which tore at the fabric of family lives. This thesis explores the role of ICTs in maintaining relationships as well as looking at

their role in the emotional, psychological and social well-being of migrants and their families. Moreover, it seeks to highlight the importance of access to technology, social inclusion and provision of services to communities in rural areas. This thesis takes on two different levels of study which is the role ICTs play in maintaining relationships and the importance of access in migration communities.

This thesis aims at closing the gap often seen between internal migration and psychology that overlooks the challenges migrant families from poor communities face beyond their emotional and psychological well-being. Therefore ICTs are a way of overcoming emotional and physical distance in today's society and as such all people should have access to them, as migrants' families face challenges such as loss and a sense of isolation (Zachariah et al., 2012). Access to information through the availability of ICTs not only impacts communication but also impacts social change and inclusion (acculturation) because this access provides global spaces of a variety of information on health, human rights, social development, technological innovations, policies and so forth (Skuse & Cousins, 2007). This research study explored social and technological inclusion, which is often overlooked by other studies, especially in communities with resources.

Access to ICTcan therefore alleviate poverty and the lack of knowledge as well as increase political, economic and social intelligence (Skuse & Cousins, 2007). On this note, the right of access to knowledge or information is important not only for migrant families but also for the awareness of social development and development of the country. Knowledge is a huge part of development and can contribute towards the emancipation of rural areas. ICTs are crucial to migrants' families to maintain ties and relationships. However, in the case of disadvantaged and poor communities there are many challenges and difficulties, such as the cost of ICTs, the digital divide and the lack of digital literacy.

South Africa is a country that is diverse and in order to see this diversity flourish social justice and equality need to be applied (Prilleltensky, 2001). This includes all spheres of societal needs from basic clean water to the accessibility of ICTs. Access to ICTs is not only relevant to communication but to a wide range of systems, such as individual communities, countries and projects as well as the improvement of governance, job creation, health, education and other services (Rodríguez & Wilson, 2000).

The structure of the thesis will be as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background to this study as well as the topic that is being explored in the community where the study was done. The chapter aims to emphasise the importance of research exploring the relationship between migration and ICTs from a psychological perspective.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides an extensive overview of migration and ICT literature both in South Africa and internationally. This chapter explores the literature on internal migration in South Africa before and after apartheid. In addition, it provides a number of psychological theories on migration with a focus on migration and loss. Moreover, this chapter aims to highlight the relationship between migration and ICTs to maintain relationships, that is the role of ICTs in family relationships and migration. The literature review also highlights the social exclusion and digital divide experienced by migrants, using the critical community psychology praxis (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010).

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter looks at the research questions and aims underlying the research project. It outlines the research process which was followed in order to answer the research questions. It includes a detailed layout of the research methods and design of the research underlying the research process. A comprehensive overview of the thematical analysis used is provided. In addition, it provides an extensive description of the process that was followed to safeguard research integrity and ethical rigour.

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter's main objective is to present the findings of this research project in the form of the themes and subthemes that emerged when anaylsing the data using Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis framework. Relevant quotes from the participants are used to provide support for the thematic analysis. It starts by introducing themes with quotes that are relevant to the role of ICTs in maintaining family ties with family members that are left behind. Moreover, the findings are based on the experiences of migrants and family members left behind of social inclusion and exclusion through the access to ICTs.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This chapter begins by examining how the initial research questions were answered during the research process. The themes identified in the findings are also discussed against the background of the existing literature discussed in chapter two. This discussion takes place against the backdrop of critical community psychology (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010), which provided the theoretical lens for the study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary of relevant and relatable results and the acknowledgement of the weaknesses and drawbacks of this study. Furthermore, it concludes this study by providing recommendations and suggestions for further research in this field.

Appendices

This section hosts the relevant documentation used in this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Migration has been a part of human experience for many centuries. The history of migration in South Africa is reflected especially in internal migration, which is closely related to issues of poverty and inequality. This inequality is a result of apartheid and its legacy surrounding issues of racial determination of space. Internal migration was monitored, “due to the legislative restrictions that existed in the past and particularly with regard to the so called "native" women” (Ndegwa et al., 2007, p. 227), resulting in a segregated society and the destruction of family structures linked to who migrated and to which urban area. In the last two decades, Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) have transformed migration through the availability of instant communication and the maintenance of relationships across distance (Hunter, 2015).

Over the course of this chapter I first discuss some general principles related to migration and then internal migration from rural to urban areas in South Africa. For the purpose of this study, internal migration and labor migration is used interchangeably.

I then review the literature surrounding ICTs and migration as a multidisciplinary topic which encompasses a blend of knowledge, methods and principles (Collin & Karsenti, 2012). This includes family networks and relationships, family structure, intimacy and self-presentation. Additionally, concepts such as social inclusion, digital divide and digital literacy is covered at length.

2.2 Migration

Migration is an important topic in different disciplines such as anthropology, demographics, economics, sociology and psychology (Arango, 2000). There has been an increased interest in academia when it comes to the intersection of psychology and migration, especially the role of psychology in migration in offering a perspective of inclusion and exclusion, as well as familial connections (Palmary, 2018). Migration is a dynamic social phenomenon that is defined as a change in population characterised by geographical, social and psychological transition (Argyropoulos, 2011). Moreover, it is defined as a change of residence over a long distance that can either be semi-permanent or permanent (Lee, 1966). Migration is not restricted by the distance covered by the move (Lee, 1966).

Migration has assisted in improving people’s lives in both places of origin and destination countries and may present opportunities for a lot of people globally to create safe and

meaningful lives in other countries through work seeking and employment, education and housing (Bennett et al., 2015). However, not all migration arises from positive conditions (Arango, 2000). In many instances individuals leave because of poor conditions in their country of origin, such as violence and financial or political considerations. There are a number of phases linked to the process of migration, which have been described by a number of authors such as Sluzki (1979) and Bhurga and Becker (2005).

2.2.1 Stages of Migration - Sluzki

Sluzki described different stages of migration with the first one being the preparatory stage, followed by the action of migration, the overcompensation period, the decompensation period and lastly the transgenerational phenomena (Sluzki, 1979).

According to Sluzki (1979), the first stage of preparation consists of individuals thinking about and committing to the act of migration. The preparations may include visa applications as well as the search for a place of residence. This stage is characterised by periods of highs and lows with difficult emotions and tensions such as short periods of excitement but also anxiety around the process of migrating. Moreover, during this stage family members are trying to negotiate their functions and roles within the family once migration happens. Family discussions are centered around restructuring roles and functions to fill the gap created by the migrant leaving. The second stage is the act of migration where people make the actual move by using modes of transport such as buses, airplanes, cars and trains. This act of migration lends finality to the decision making process of whether to migrate. The third stage is the overcompensation period where migrants are focused on adaptation and survival. This is accompanied by extreme engagements with coping skills that can trigger symptoms that come with loss (Sluzki, 1979). This is what Sluzki (1979) calls “migratory stress”, which does not take its toll immediately after migration. During this time, migrants are not yet aware of the impact and the nature of migration. This period is characterised by the execution of tasks that are orientated at basic survival and adaptation in a community that is alien and has a different cultural context. Moreover, symptoms and conflicts that could be caused by the process of accommodation and acculturation are dormant and family rules and styles become more exaggerated where members get closer to each other (Sluzki, 1979). The fourth stage is the period of crisis which consists of difficulties, conflicts and symptoms brought forth by the reshaping of migrants and their families by the reality of migration and its challenges. The fifth and final stage is the transgenerational impact where the new reality, adaptive process and models in the way of

coping caused by the migration are not the same for members of different generations (Sluzki, 1979).

2.2.2 Stages of Migration - Bhugra and Becker

The process of migration is potentially stressful and can affect migrants and their families negatively (Bhugra & Becker, 2005), especially family structures and the larger social sphere (Bigombe & Khadiagala, 2003). According to Bhugra and Becker (2005), migration as a process encompasses three stages. The first is pre-migration, which involves the decision and preparation to move. The second stage is the actual move from a rural to an urban area. The final stage includes the understanding of and socialisation into the new society where loss comes in (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). It is important to note that these stages often merge into each other and do not appear to be linear.

2.2.3 Migration and Loss

The concepts of loss and grief originated in psychoanalytic theory, especially from the work of Bowlby (, 2008). The work of Bowlby focuses on attachment theory and loss which asserts that humans develop an attachment to another human being as infants which offers survival and security. However, when this affectional attachment is lost or changed, it causes an emotional disturbance characterised by anxiety, anger and crying, which is also seen in migrants (Freeman, 2005). The emotional disturbances experienced are expressed as mourning. According to Bowlby (2008), there are four stages of mourning, namely numbing, searching and yearning, disorganisation and reorganisation.

Migration is a concept also defined by loss, whether of identities, communities, people or objects. Falicov (2012) argues that the loss that comes with migration is somewhat akin to death. This loss includes all kinds of losses, such as losing the country of origin close relationships with family members and friends that got left behind, one's native language and customs and rituals. According to Boss (2002), ambiguous loss disrupts and confuses family dynamics and hence it is described as the loss that is the most stressful where roles and identities are uncertain. Migration illustrates the conflictual and ambiguous concept of loss where there is not enough information to clarify loss in that migrants' families have "to live with the paradox of absence and presence" (Boss, 2016, p. 105). This is similar to what is seen in families with military deployment as well as missing persons. Therefore, individuals are in a place of frozen grieving and coping, caused by ambiguous loss. According to Boss (2007), the theory of ambiguous loss maintains that there is a psychological family which is present

even after the physical family has been separated. Therefore a linear grieving process of loss is unattainable, unlike loss through death. Ambiguous loss builds a resilience to find meaning in the absence of information and the inability to obtain answers about migrants (Boss, 2007). However, migration also develops the ability of people to cope with the ambiguity and uncertainty of this loss through different avenues, such as visits and ICTs (Falicov, 2002). The ambiguity is surrounded by dual versions of migrants through losses and gains to strive for stability in both cultures and dynamics. Moreover, the ability to tolerate the uncertainty and the ambiguity of the loss is connected to migrants' cultures and family beliefs on tolerating ambiguity (Boss, 2007). According to Falicov (2002), the ability to balance change and continuity could be the facilitator in adapting to ambiguous loss.

The stages of mourning seem to be also experienced by migrants and their family members left behind. Migrants yearn and search for meaning and belonging in host communities, which often leads to frustration and anger when they are not accepted as quickly as they had expected. More often than not, migration brings about a disorganisation period which includes accepting reality and working towards the reorganisation of acquiring a new life by attempting to move on through gradual changes (Bowlby, 2008). Therefore, the resolution is processed and positive when migrants and family members generate and facilitate new roles and identities in their new reality (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012).

However, the loss caused by migration is smaller than that caused by death in that although it is a loss, the mourning and grief over the loss are not as clear-cut, irreparable and complete as with death. This process of grief and mourning is coupled with the knowledge that there is still something present and reachable, therefore there is a fantasizing of a reunion and return eventually (Falicov, 2012). This loss is ambiguous because it is a mixture of different emotions such as loss and restitution, sadness and excitement, presence and absence which postpones the grieving process or makes it incomplete (Falicov, 2012). Ambiguous loss is complex and filled with symptoms resembling complicated grief, such as anxiety, ambivalence and depression, which are mixed emotions that migrant families feel. For example, they feel the ambivalence of excitement about new opportunities and the improvement in their financial situation, but sadness at the loss of community and the change in family dynamics.

2.2.4 Migration and the Impact on the Family

Migration has many consequences, one of which is family separation. This may include different forms where it involves an entire nuclear family, an extended family, or a child

migrating alone and leaving dependents behind on their own (Antman, 2013). Migration has an impact on children, spouses and parents left behind. A generally held view is that migration of young people has negative consequences for ageing rural parents, such as loneliness, isolation and even loss of basic active and economic support (Abas et al., 2009). However, family networks are no longer limited to physical closeness and migrant families may live more transnational lives (Falicov, 2005). Transnationalism is usually defined by interactions and ties across nations and borders that link institutions and people (Vertovec, 2009).

These relationships are of great importance to the process of migration and mobility. Family networks are greatly impacted by the process of moving away because opportunities of support and contact exchange are reduced in comparison to all family members living in the same location of origin (Mulder, 2018). It is clear that migration can be problematic in the sense that family members are a great source of network and support. Proximity was always seen to be crucial to family networks and familial care. Family support networks become even more important when issues such as ageing become pertinent and concerns surrounding the sustainability of the pension or welfare systems more prominent (Mulder, 2018). According to Mulder (2018), "for individuals and societies alike, maintaining close-knit family networks continues to be important" (p. 1153). Moreover, family ties are helpful in many ways and can be a protective factor against so many challenges and difficulties. They are therefore a social resource any migrant needs because family relationships are fundamentally different from that of colleagues, acquaintances and friends (Mulder, 2018).

Migration transfers social responsibilities and creates new family structures, disrupting traditional institutions. Bigombe and Khadiagala (2003) argue that patterns of migration increase the likelihood of separation, divorce and broken family ties and structures. They argue that migration is responsible for social bonds (child-parent and migrant-siblings) being broken.

2.2.5 Loss of Language and Cultural Identity

Displacement of family ties, traditions and identities results in migrants feeling isolated from their community and culture, which often leads to loss of support, alienation and a sense of rejection (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Moreover, this displacement also produces cultural shock, differences between expectations and achievement as well as bereavement. According to Leavey et al. (2004), when migrants reflect on their early days of migration, most of them reflect on a sense of loss and grief, sharing touching stories about saying goodbye even if it

was only for a little while with temporary migration. Moreover, many migrants reported feeling homesick because of the distance as well as their attachment to the community they left behind (Leavey et al., 2004).

Loss of social culture and structure can cause feelings of isolation. According to Bhugra and Becker (2005), migration leads to the loss of familiar structures, which include dialect and colloquial language, support networks, social structures, attitudes and values. One's identity is based on a personal level as well the social, and migration can affect the development of identity (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Communities play a strong and important role in the psychological functioning of individuals within these communities through "psychic entities" (Ainslie, 2017). The psychological functioning is based on the premise that identities are closely linked to the communities individuals live in, and these structures are often threatened in the process of migration. Therefore, migrants feel the need to re-create these spaces in new locations to retain their psychological functioning through the denial of reality, attempting to be both "there"and "here". Ainslie (2017) argues that we are closely connected to our communities in many aspects, such as religion, ethnicity and identity as well as through shared experiences of food, language and music, and other important elements in group identity that translate to individual identity. When migration occurs, many migrants experience "psychic dislocation" where a lot of their cultural features are reorganised and lost. This loss is described as "cultural mourning" (Ainslie, 2017). Psychic dislocation generates a sense of community that is fragmented identity. He argues that not only do migrants mourn the people they have lost but also the culture which holds them.

The characteristics of this holding culture can include food, entertainment and history which are often geographically bound. These characteristics create feelings of a sense of community (sense of belonging) where people do not feel alienated. Migration takes away this sense of community and belonging, resulting in a feeling of loss (Bhugra & Becker, 2005).

A person cannot be understood outside speech because it ascribes value. Language therefore impacts migrants' identity and who they are based on their language (Norton, 2010). According to Norton (2010), "Every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world and reorganizing that relationship across time and space" (p. 350). Moreover, just like race, gender, class and sexual orientation, language plays an important role in the negotiation of identity on a daily basis (Norton, 2010). It appears that a person is given or denied access to service delivery and settlement through the negotiation of

language and identity. Migrants face psychological stress because they might not understand social conventions in the new environment or they lack the language skills to engage with this new community (Ainslie, 2017).

Language is a key part of a migrant's integration into the host community and society. Language is significant for three functions, namely as a resource (ability to obtain certain resources based on language), as a symbol (describing origin and possibly leading to stereotyping and exclusion) and as a medium of communication (Esser, 2006). Therefore, migrants have to acquire new languages that can help them to operate in new communities in order to assimilate and integrate (Esser, 2006). The relationship between migration and language is a multifaceted and complicated one, especially in the South African context with 11 official languages. According to Piller and Takahashi (2011), language facilitates access to inclusion through identifying roots and othering. Moreover, language enhances access to service selivery and settlement. The acquisition of a new language is placed on the migrant's shoulders and becomes their responsibility (Piller & Takahashi, 2011).

2.2.6 Internal vs International Migration

There are two types of migration, namely internal migration and international migration (external). Both types encompass a variety of economic, social and psychological factors, which are increasingly interrelated in the daily lives of migrants and their family members left behind (McAuliffe & Ruhs, 2017). Economic and social factors include family obligations of remittance and providing financial stability as well as the exclusion from and inclusion in the new environment (Arias, 2013; Palmary, 2018). Psychological factors include the psychological impact of movement and displacement as well as that of separation between migrants and their family members left behind (Palmary, 2018.

Internal migration is defined as the move of an individual within the perimeters of a country, for example rural-urban migration, whereas international migration is defined as the process of moving across international borders from the country of origin to a new destination (Riccio, 2016). Even though migration researchers are cautious to acknowledge the difference between these two forms of mobility they argue that they are in some way related (Riccio, 2016). They are similar in that the reasons for both internal and international migration include the chance of better employment opportunities to reduce poverty gaps, better prospects for the family as well as professional advancement. In addition, upholding familial obligations from a distance, whether through remittances or visits, is often found in poorer communities .

For the purposes of this study, I will be focusing on internal migration, which is discussed in more detail below.

2.2.7 Internal Migration

Internal migration is the movement of people within the same country with regard to changes in residence, usually from rural to urban areas (Bell et al., 2015). The movement of individuals, families or communities to another place can be either permanent or temporary (Msigwa & Mbongo, 2013).

Internal migration is often interconnected with the struggles that people face regarding survival, , escaping poverty and insecurities as well as trying to find better employment opportunities (Tandoh-Offin & Awuse, 2014). Looking at the results of a study done by Kok and Collinson (2006) on the Limpopo province, the former Gazankulu has income deprivation of 91%, employment deprivation of 63.4%, education deprivation of 50.3% and living environment deprivation of 89.5%. The former Venda has 90.7% income deprivation, 60.3% employment deprivation, 44.6% education deprivation and 93.7% living environment deprivation. The former Gazankulu and Venda are rural areas, and these figures show the opposite of what is happening with urbanisation, and the pace at which it is happening. The use of ICTs may be affected by this pace.. Migration has an impact on urbanisation, especially regarding facilities, infrastructure and services (Kok & Collinson, 2006). It can play a role in the reduction of poverty and the development of benefits.

According to Zachariah and Condé (1981), there is no difference between internal migration and outmigration in Africa, that outmigration is just an extension of internal migration. However, this could be a phenomenon that has changed over time. These authors argue that the differences in

> immigration controls and regulations have major implications for migrants in terms of the right to enter a country (through a visa for instance), to reside for a given length of time there, and to access citizenship rights such as education, employment, healthcare, political participation etc. Linguistic and cultural barriers often characterize international (out) migration (p. 4).

Migration is characterised by a balance between costs and benefits as well as the links (ties) between place of destination and origin (Tandoh-Offin & Awuse, 2014). These ties go beyond just the sharing of resources and altruism, they are a deep bond in the interaction of love, care and obligations. The different strategies of livelihood employed by migrants and their family

members in the pursuit of a better standard of living are tremendous (Tanoh & Osei-Assibey, 2019). This improved standard of living includes a higher income, good health and reduced vulnerability to poverty. This pattern of migration from rural to urban areas is perceived as a strategy where young adults are sent to the cities as a potential investment for the larger family unit. Remittances coming from a migrant to their family members left behind become an important source of income (Tanoh & Osei-Assibey, 2019). Research done by Msigwa and Mbongo (2014) in Tanzania revealed that young adults are the ones who dominated the move from rural areas to urban areas. It revealed that 29% of those individuals who migrated were young adults and 61.2% were middle-aged, which seems to contradict literature about young adults being the most likely group to migrate (Msigwa & Mbongo, 2014).

This decision for a family member to migrate is seen as a solution to many social problems in many families and a way to improve their standard of living (Skuse & Cousins, 2007). This includes insufficient provision of educational and health institutions, which can improve a family's access to resources (Mlambo, 2018). South Africa's internal migration is distinguished from international migration by increased rates of rural migrants relocating to urban areas to seek for employment (Mlambo, 2018). Labour migration is defined as a process of moving temporarily to a place that is closer to work or to move to another region for work and is used interchangeably with internal migration. Migrants can be both skilled and semi-skilled workers (Smit, 2001).

The movement of individuals is a phenomenon defined by different systems at play. These systems incorporate migrants' educational and employment status, and demographics, which also include access to public services such as water, electricity and other indicators of living standards (Oosthuizen & Naidoo, 2004). Internal migrationis characterised by gender, race, marital status, household income and family size, level of education and skills level. Urbanisation is often the leading cause for mobility within provinces (Reed, 2013).

2.2.7.1 South African History of Migration

Internal migration in South Africa in the apartheid era was controlled and determined by the Bantu Authorities Act, which strictly regulated residential locations specific to ethnic groups. Individuals, especially black people, were not allowed to move freely (Bouare, 2001). Furthermore, movement was restricted by pass laws where both work and residential work permits were required for the movement and the living arrangements of black people (Reed, 2013). The pass laws made it mandatory for black people to have their identity passes always

with them, in danger of being arrested for being in the wrong place, which restricted their movement (Reed, 2013).

The system of internal migration was linked to control and legislation that inhibited urbanisation. This movement of people was embedded in the economic system through a string of events that mobilised and controlled labour, making permanent settlement for migrants difficult (Posel, 2004). Not only was permanent settlement impossible, not only these migrants were also not allowed to bring families to their place of work. This was the beginning of a trend of leaving family members behind and then trying to find ways of keeping and maintaining these familial relationships (Posel, 2004). Even though the laws have been changed, the trend is still for individuals to migrate rather than families (Reed, 2013).

During the colonial and apartheid eras, the government implemented policies that regulated settlement and movement when it came to population groups that were non-white (Bennett et al., 2013). The apartheid government passed legislation on migration that controlled and inhibited the urbanisation of many South African non-white groups (Posel, 2004). In 1986, the pass laws were repealed, which was an important turning point for black people as they were now able to move freely and the legal barrier to migration was removed. According to Reed (2013), migration rates increased between 1986-1988, which highligthts the role that the pass laws played in controlling migration. South African rural residentsfrom the Limpopo province are highly likely to move to urban areas, especially to Gauteng (Reed, 2013). According to Reed (2013), migration increased significantly between 1976-1985 and 1994-2000. In the new democracy migration in South Africa urbanward thus is characterised by rural-urban migration (Reed, 2013).

South Africa, post-1994, still has high migration levels, although the assumption was that internal migration would decrease in the post-apartheid era (Posel, 2004). While it cannot be disputed that many things have changed post-apartheid, its legacies very much remain with regard to the spatial and economic distribution of both the population and the available resources, as well as the urbanisation of some areas and not others (Reed, 2013). It is expected that by 2050 the urban population of South Africa will stand at 80%, with most people having migrated from rural areas (Mlambo, 2018). In the South African context, internal migration is a temporary one, as these migrants remain in close contact with their rural household members and are likely to return (Kok & Collinson, 2006).

Bigombe and Khadiagala (2003) argue that "the impact of urban migration on African families still reflects the abiding tensions between the imperatives of economic survival and social dislocations" (p. 167). These tensions play on people's abilities to communicate with those who have migrated or those who have been left behind. The migration is characterised by maintaining individual, community and social ties. This includes the displacement of family ties, identities and traditions experienced by migrants when living in a new and far away environment (Mlambo, 2018).

2.2.7.2 Internal Migration to Gauteng

Gauteng is a province that holds an economically dominant position in both South and Southern Africa. Due to this, it continues to be a major host province for internal migration with a gain of both international and internal migrants of 78,000 per year (Landau & Gindrey, 2008). According to these authors, internal migration growth is still high, with approximately 37.4% in 2007 (3,852,222) new migrants. Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004) indicate that Gauteng has the fastest growing population regarding internal migration with an increase of 3.8% annually. The research further indicates that 9.8 percent of all migrants in the province come from Limpopo province with42% of Gauteng migrants from other provinces.

Internal migration to Gauteng may be seen as a job-hunting strategy and a way to access social networks that assist in improving migrants' standard of living as opposed to living in impoverished areas, mostly rural areas (Oosthuizen & Naidoo, 2004). The factors underlying this type of migration include the high level of poverty in the local governments of rural areas, and the younger populations and better educational opportunities in urban areas (Kok & Collinson, 2006). Gauteng still remains as one of the provinces that provide its current residents with physical and economic security, which causes internal migration to increase annually (Landau & Gindrey, 2008).

2.3 Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) and Migration

Social relations are now being redefined from traditional expectations and values with a renegotiation of how relationships may be enacted. Even relationships of care have changed and alternative tools of managing these at a distance through the use of ICTs have become more established. The boundaries of parenthood, courtship and marriage in the traditional sense have become less restricted and have moved to an adjustable definition based on the progression of information and communication technologies (Valentine, 2006).

Information communication technologies (ICTs) are defined as an umbrella term of telecommunications with modern computing, systems and applications as well as infrastructure and material (tools). They also include networks, software, hardware, storage, process, presentation and transmission. Moreover, the definition also refers to ICT infrastructures such as physical systems and networks of physical telecommunications (Sarkar, 2012). This extends to the unification of telecommunications such as wireless signals and telephone lines, and communications (Ma et al., 2015). This includes computers and cellphones with the right software, storage, middleware, and audio-visual systems such as video calling (Ma et al., 2015). All these interacting systems enable individuals to be able to not only access information but also to transmit (communication), store and manipulate it. Moreover, this includes applications such as those of social media, banking, Google maps and emails.

As described above, migration poses different challenges and the availability of ICTs may decrease the challenges faced by the migration population tremendously (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012). One of the most important uses of ICTs by migrant families is maintaining contact with their distant family members as well as performing daily caring routines and maintaining obligations (Valentine, 2006). It offers families a way to overcome geographical barriers and helps keep families connected. The internet has potential value for new family practices to be maintained despite the distance. The internet provides the opportunity to access knowledge and allows family relationships to be maintained. These characteristics and uses of ICTs may be helpful to bridge the distance between migrants and their family left behind. In order to critically engage with the transformation and revolution brought about by ICTs, a number of factors need to be looked at as the relationship between ICTs and migration is a complex one (Hunter, 2015). It is important to note that there is more to ICTs and migration than just communication, but there are many factors and systems at play. Linearity in many systems is an inadequate foundation for a sensible knowledge of a social phenomenon (Watters et al., 1996), which migration is (Collin & Karsenti, 2012).

Although ICTs are not a clear-cut substitution for face to face interaction, they may serve to mediate the losses experienced by migrants and their families left behind and decrease the severance of relationships because of distance (Sharma & Sturges, 2007). ICTs are useful not only for communication but also for making assimilation and adaptation processes easier by providing a platform to gather information and knowledge about the new regions, communities and societies (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012).

2.3.1 Family Structure and Networks and ICTs

2.3.1.1 Family Relationships, Social Relations and Migration

Migration has an impact on family dynamics and structure where family interactions such as ritualized activities and personal, financial, moral or emotional support may be potentially lost. In previous years, migrants had to use letters or word-of-mouth to pass information and news to family members left behind. However, these days mobile phones, social media and the Internet enable migrants to have a connection with their families even when living apart or in different communities (Baldassar et al., 2018). ICTs may therefore reduce the loss associated with migration by providing a space to sustain some family dynamics and activities (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012). ICTs provide the chance to continue relations that otherwise might be lost because of migration, regardless of the distance. ICTs provide migrants with an opportunity for a co-presence in their community through social media platforms such as Facebook, and in their families through phone calls and WhatsApp video calls (Maguire, 2017). It is clear that loss is mediated through technologies that integrate physical co-presence and non-co-presence into virtual co-presence, as in WhatsApp video calling (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012).

According to Kotyrlo (2020) , the maintenance of social ties and networks through ICTs reduces social and psychological loss, as well as lack of emotional support. The lack of emotional support seems to have been specifically ameliorated by the development of cheap video calls, calls and audio, which reduce the loss of interaction with family and friends (Wilding, 2006). Although ICTs play a huge role in diminishing distance, they do not reduce the role that geographic proximity plays in family ties, hence families often still need the physical interaction provided by visits (Kotyrlo, 2020.

2.3.1.2 ICTs and Family Obligations

An important characteristic of family relationships is how family members take care of each other, especially in parent-child relationships, and this is where ICTs come into play (Mulder, 2018). They may make the role of taking care of each other easier, for example family members left behind take care of migrants by sometimes taking care of their children left behind (Baldassar, 2017). Migration disrupts care where family members' expectations are still present, even across borders (Baldassar et al., 2018).

ICTs have revolutionised and transformed the capacity to manage care across distance, changing the forms of caring processes through ICTs (Baldassar, 2017). This speaks to the facilitation of care by being available despite the distance. Forms of care between migrants and their family members have changed over the years; distant care is a pattern that includes practical and emotional care to maintain relationships (Baldassar, 2017). Caregiving practices may continue despite the distance where migrants have concluded agreements with close relatives or neighbours to alert them in case of family emergencies (Baldock, 2000). Moreover, caring is also established through a joint decision-making process by phone, for instance regarding the running of the household or helping with celebration arrangements for caregivers (Baldock, 2000). Migrants are involved in the family's financial matters and the maintenance and repairs of the family home by sending money for this maintenance and repair (Baldock, 2000). Significantly, migrants care for their families from a distance in an emotional, financial and sometimes physical way.

This pattern can include regular remittances, which are an important part of routine care. Financial support (remittances) has long been seen as an essential part of the support exchanged between migrants and their families, and is often the particular motivation for migration (Baldassar, 2007). The concept of financial care is moving away from considering money as a form of economic means only, but rather thinking about the message it conveys between migrants and their families. It conveys messages of care, love and values (Harper & Zubida, 2018). Therefore, remittances have a more symbolic than just financial value.

The routine distant care at present encompasses practical and emotional care, as care is not only financial. It also consists of daily or weekly phone calls, SMS messages, WhatsApp and Facebook texts as well as posts (Baldassar, 2017). Because of the distance that separates migrants and their families, these family members are dependent on the two way communication provided by ICTs forms of technologies and two ways of communication to manage and maintain their relationships, as they provide contact through the use of phones, banking systems, SMS texts, faxes, emails, websites, posts and videocams (Baldassar, 2007).

ICTs help to keep these connections with family members and the whole community in general. Despite the individualised autonomy created by the industralised society, family networks are still very important in the maintaining of social networks and support more so with friendships (Mulder, 2018). "Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are transforming our social world in ways that enhance existing social relationships but also make possible the

creation of new ones" (Wallace, 2012, p. 99). ICTs may therefore not only assist in creating global spaces that are modern but also in maintaining relationships where family members are separated by geographical distance, such as in the case of migrant families. Smit (2001 suggested that a continuum of 'relatedness' exists between migrants and their destination and their origin households. This continuum ranges from migrants who perceive their origin household to be their true family home and will typically have a single defined purpose for their presence in their destination community, such as to earn money or to further their education, to migrants who see themselves and their current lives as completely separate from their origin household (Smit,2001). As such, ICTs help in maintaining this continuum of 'relatedness'.

2.3.1.3 ICTs, Intimacy and Self-representation

ICTs may help in maintaining this continuum of 'relatedness', which includes closing and managing the distance between migrants and their families left behind. This is despite the fact that a number of researchers such as Henderson and Gliding (2004) have suggested that it is an impersonal form of communication and often leads to family members concealing information from each other, as well as reducing transparency and accountability. Other researchers such as Marchetti-Mercer (2017) have also emphasized the lack of intimacy linked to communication solely through the use of ICTs. Furthermore, face-to-face contact and interaction with family is important and cannot fully be replaced by telecommunications or online contact (Mulder, 2018).

Emanuel et al. (2014) set out to examine self-presentation differences between an online and offline context in relationships. Self-representation is defined as a social concept which includes deliberate (intentional) and extensive self-tracking and presentation (Rettberg, 2017). Self-representation is a form of intentional communication where individuals present parts of themselves to convey a certain message (Rettberg, 2017). Therefore, self-representation does not mirror 'reality' but is a constructed view.

Emanuel et al. (2014)elieve that the levels of self-disclosure are different between contextual spaces. The difference between exchanges in these two spaces (online and face-to-face) is the choice of how individuals want to be seen (Emanuel et al., 2014). This line of conceptualisation seems logical because in online exchanges one chooses what information to reveal or share without contradictory evidence. Moreover, it has been reported that family members "hide" unpleasant information from each other, for example financial challenges or illnesses so as not

to worry others, especially if it is bad news (Baldassar, 2017). Most often migrants consider what and how much to share about their challenges and difficulties in the migration process, partly to protect their families from worrying about them (Baldassar, 2007).

As opposed to online exchnages, in face-ti-face interaction, body language, behaviour and other events could contradict what one is sharing. Face-to-face interactions always leave a trail of more information than what is actually being shared. Therefore, online spaces give individuals a platform to maintain multiple identities discreetly based on their audience (Emanuel et al., 2014). Along the line of filtering information and maintaining multiple identities in online exchanges, this can also be said about face-to-face interactions in social contexts. Individuals share what they want to share in certain social contexts, thus maintaining multiple identities. Self-disclosure is not only influenced by managing impressions and withholding information, but can also be driven by personality characteristics (Emanuel et al., 2014), indicating that self-disclosure is subjective.

2.4 Digital Divide and Social Exclusion

2.4.1 The Digital Divide

The digital divide refers to the gap in social inequalities regarding access to ICTs (Bornman, 2016). The digital divide is concerned with the usage of and unequal access to new technologies (Fuchs & Horak, 2008). Fuchs and Horak (2008) emphasise that the digital divide is a humanitarian issue because access to communication technologies is a fundamental human right. These authors highlight the issues of demographic dimensions that influence the digital divide such as income, level of education, employment or occupation, geography, gender, and ethnicity. According to Baldassar (2016), “freedom to connect to the internet today is also about the right to access care and support networks” (p.160). Digital divide a combination of three core subsystems, namely the political system, the economic system and the cultural (social) system.

These unequal patterns of access include material access, which is the access to hardware, software, applications and usability of ICT devices; usage and skills access, which is the ability to operate the hardware, software and applications to produce useful and meaningful content; benefits of usage, which are the benefits to the individual, and institutional access, which is the participation of citizens in communication, decision making processes and obtaining political information (Fuchs & Horak, 2008). These core systems and patterns at play are relevant to

migrants and their family members because individuals that are compliant to the host communities are therefore likely to have access to ICTs, which most migrants do not (Fuchs & Horak, 2008).

The original term of the digital divide emphasised the importance of the physical availability of computers and connectivity more than issues like language and content, education and literacy, and community and social resources (Warschauer, 2002). The second reconceptualisation of the term focuses on the binary split of haves and have nots, which can be problematic as access to information technology is also based on the degree of use. For example, a student at any university who has access to high connection speed and different online platforms is different from a 35-year-old in a village who has no computer and just access to a phone line shared by other members of that community. This binary concept of information access is inaccurate and may underplay the role that societal resources play, which could lead to a further divide. In essence, ICTs are embedded in different social systems and processes. “And, from a policy standpoint, the goal of using ICT with marginalized groups is not to overcome a digital divide, but rather to further a process of social inclusion” (Warschauer, 2002, p. 5). The focus here is not just on the technology but also on transformation, as access to ICTs means access to information and knowledge.

In any attempt to close the gap of the digital divide and effect social inclusion, there are some risks that one needs to be aware of as well as the importance of indigenous knowledge of social systems already in place, such as cultural meetings. This goes on to show the exclusion not just in the digital resources but many social resources as well. The role that access to technology plays in social inclusion includes ownership and availability, which in turn includes price, maintenance, and training as well as other barriers beyond the affordability of products. The issues of affordability and training in using these ICTs lead to the exclusion of many migrants and their families from the use of ICTs, which lowers their opportunities to participate in the greater community.

“The hole in the wall” project mentioned in Warschauer (2002) demonstrates where many projects and developments may fail. This project’s main objective was to provide access to a computer to street children in one of the poorer areas in New Delhi through an outdoor kiosk with five stations. There were no instructors or teachers to provide help to the children based on a notion of minimally invasive education (MIE), where children learn in an environment that is unsupervised) and have 24-hour access to an unconstrained space to learn at their own

pace. The main skills the children developed were basic computer skills and nothing beyond that. The reality of the project was that the internet seldom functioned and because of the concept of MIE, there were no special educational programs. The biggest challenge was that content was not offered in Hindi, which was the only language the children knew. Therefore, the time spent on the project was not productive. Moreover, because of the notion of MIE, the project lacked organised instructions, which resulted in minimally effective education with the loss of concentration on school endeavours, where children were preoccupied with computer games rather than learning something (Warschauer, 2002). The access to ICTs and their infrastructure comes with a lot of responsibility, including the knowledge and ability to handle such tools (Akinsola et al., 2005).

Similarly, a project in Ireland aimed to bridge the gap in the digital divide, sponsored by the Business Information Centre in Northern Ireland to encourage the use of ICTs by the general public in Ireland (mentioned in Warschauer, 2002). The project was aimed at building an information age town with advanced telecommunications skills by means of a competition amongst Irish towns. They had to describe what their own vision of an information age town was. A town named Ennis won the competition, but three years later the project came to a standstill. The reason for this was that there had been little preparation of the townspeople to be able to use the advanced technology. The training programs did not fully inform people on the importance (rationale) of technology use and access, and failed to properly equip them to use the ICTs. Furthermore, the project did not take into account the social systems already in place and the technology came at the price of disrupting the current way of life. This was in contrast to the runner ups, who inlcuded different groups such as community groups, labour unions and small businesses in the planning process. Their efforts were spent on awareness campaigns, planning and implementing training as well as processes to sustain the change rather than just on equipment. Their projects were embedded in utilising the existing social networks in town amongst different professionals such as educators, workers and entrepreneurs to support the use of technology for economic and social development (Warschauer, 2002).

These examples are meant to show the dynamics involved in bridging the gap and the importance of existing networks and indigenous knowledge. The common theme between these two projects is the attempt to use ICTs to improve people's lives. However, they faced many challenges, which seems to be the pattern in most ICT projects around the world (Warschauer, 2002). The main focus of these projects was centered around providing software and hardware and little attention was paid to the systems (human and social) that interact with technology to

make a difference. Providing access to ICTs is grounded in intricate factors surrounding physical, human, digital and social resources and relationships. Furthermore, it includes language and content, education and literacy, and community and institutional structures. Although the increase in the total number of internet users should be recognised (Bornman, 2016), the majority of these are white male individuals that are benefiting while black and female individuals are still being excluded (Van Dijk, 2006).

The issue of increased access is driven slowly by the problem of affordability. These are the factors that need to be taken into account when we conceptualise the digital divide and social inclusion (Warschauer, 2002). It is imperative to note that an important underlying factor deciding the use of ICTs is ICT skills (digital literacy), which are essential to the productive and efficient use of ICTs resulting in the full potential of integration into the information society. Although the two projects metioned above were not carried out in South Africa, they the need for equal access and closing the digital gap seen in many countries. According to Bornman (2016), the digital divide in South Africa has been a crucial focus because it is one of the least computerised regions in the world due to the lack of the basic infrastructures of network and electricity. Even though there are other countries in a worst state regarding to infrastructures.

2.4.2 The Digital Divide in South Africa

The digital divide remains one of the biggest issues when it comes to migration and the use of ICTs in maintaining care relationships, especially in Africa. They were developed mainly in the West for Western societies (Collin & Karsenti, 2012). Therefore, some of these frameworks neglect the cultural and socio-economic variables that are essential to the process of migration (Collin & Karsenti, 2012). However, there are some scholars from developing countries that are working on literature on ICTs and migration that is applicable and relevant to realities in specific cultures (Collin & Karsenti, 2012).

South Africa has been distinguished by intense structures of inequalities in many aspects of life, especially resources (Button et al., 2018). Under the apartheid regime, restrictions on where people could study, where people could live and how they could earn money were entrenched in inequalities (Button et al., 2018). Following the dismantling of apartheid, major reforms in most public policies were implemented, but poverty and inequalities still exist. Mass unemployment and landlessness still play a major role in poverty (Button et al., 2018). Even though the South African state still provides for poorer communities, the post-apartheid regime

remains a state of inequality. The post-apartheid inherited inequalities and poverty are embedded in many social systems, and only just eased by welfare and other community development (Button et al., 2018).

Fuchs and Horak (2008) believe that the solution to the digital gap seen in Third World countries such as South Africa lies in technology that is developed specifically for Africa, and to move away from western technologies by developing their own technological processes in communication that are unique and indigenous to Africa. Even though this is a logical strategy, it has its challenges because such a process requires resources and will take time and money to become the solution Africa needs. Akinsola et al. (2005) argued that

> bridging the digital divide in disadvantaged communities requires adequate knowledge of the underlying causes of the divide, a favorable Government policy, a focus on the benefits of providing ICTs, the provision of suitable infrastructure, and a committed management that is prepared to get round the various barriers or risks found in disadvantaged communities (p. 19).

There is a disparity of access to ICTs within communities and geographical areas, be it different regions and countries, and also related to ethnicity and gender. This disparity leads to certain implications about skills and knowledge related to the use of ICTs, as certain regions and communities that have low access to ICTs rarely have the skills and knowledge to use such resources as the internet. “For a more inclusive digital society, digital literacy depends on the quality of education and training to enable the underprivileged to learn and use ICTs resources more fully” (Alam & Imran, 2015, p. 350). This may therefore cause people in certain communities to have below average required knowledge to use the resources. Furthermore, the imbalances between the migrants’ knowledge and skills to use these tools and those of the families left behind further cause a rift, since migrants usually move to a place that is more developed than their place of origin, like from rural to urban areas.

2.4.3 Digital Literacy

Apart from the use of and access to ICTs, digital literacy is important (Collin & Karsenti, 2012), as digital literacy is another primary drive of the digital divide (International ICT Panel, 2002). “Digital literacy is defined as having the basic technical, cognitive, social and cultural skills to use ICT in a given society” (Eshet-Alkalai, 2004, in Collin & Karsenti, 2012, p. 1494). Furthermore, it is defined as the ability to comprehend and use information from different digital platforms, which simply is literacy in the age of digital revolution (Bawden, 2008).

Digital literacy is a framework that integrates a variety of literacy and skills sets, such as how to use devices but also how to share information (Bawden, 2008). Moreover, digital literacy is also about updating previously acquired knowledge and competencies because circumstances change parallel to changes in digital information (Bawden, 2008). Therefore, it is an essential skill to have in this era of the 4th industrial revolution.

Digital literacy involves certain competencies which are dependent on the population regarding access, level of education and community development. It can include skills such as sending texts, starting a video call and accepting one, answering a phone call and making one and so forth

Policy makers and the global society have a responsibility towards the larger community to make digital knowledge relevant, applicable and accessible cross-culturally in this digital era (International ICT Panel, 2002). A low level of digital literacy may lead to many misunderstandings and poor communication between individuals and specifically in migrant populations because they need clear communication systems to be able to communicate with their family members (Eshet-Alkalai, 2004, in Collin & Karsenti, 2012).

In the end digital literacy has the potential to not only transform individuals but society as a whole when it comes to knowledge and skills (International ICT Panel, 2002).

2.4.4 ICTs and Social Exclusion/ Inclusion

Social inclusion and exclusion are important issues when exploring the use of ICTs in migrant families. They refer to the degree of full participation of individuals, families and communities in the control of their own lives, including related factors that come into play such as economic resources, education, culture and society engagement (Warschauer, 2002). It is not only a matter of adequate resources but also of participation in both individual and collective opportunities, both socially and economically. The former homelands are often distinguished by high levels of unemployment, lack of infrastructures and poverty. The deprivation rates of former homelands with regard to income, employment, education and living environment are still high (Noble & Wright, 2013).

Access to ICTs has become an aspect that is critical to social inclusion amongst migrant laborers because it offers a way of inclusion (Collin & Karsenti, 2012). Political, social and economic integration has traditionally been reported on in scientific research in migration while technology integration has been neglected, even though it is equally important (Collin &

Karsenti, 2012). There are many factors that affect rural areas, and one is the gap seen between urban and rural areas regarding ICT opportunities and taking advantage of these opportunities (Alam & Imran, 2015). The gap between those who can and cannot access ICTs is a huge one. Rural areas usually have low or even no access to ICTs at all and this further leads to isolation and loneliness in these communities, as they cannot communicate effectively with their family members who have migrated to urban areas.

ICTs should consistently be available and easily accessible in migration populations (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). Access to, affordability and availability of these resources are affected by many factors, including levels of education, socio-economic status, regions as well as the economy of the country (Skuse & Cousins, 2007). "ICT seems to have only an indirect impact upon socio-economic security by enhancing and transforming economic relations and by potentially changing the relationship between welfare and the citizens" (Wallace, 2012, p. 104). Access is also affected by socio-economic status, as access to information can impact the socio-economic status in a positive way. NGO's intervention of providing access to ICTs and using it as a tool to improve communities' quality of life and access to public services is a tremendous step towards social justice (Sharma & Sturges, 2007). Sharma and Sturges (2007) argue that public services delivery to the poor was further strengthened by the use of ICTs. The growth of ICTs is not limited to corporations and governments but to society as a whole (Sharma & Sturges, 2007). They report that "there is also a substantial movement to spread the benefits of ICTs to poor and marginalized communities, both in the industrialized countries of the North, and in the less developed countries of the South" (Sharma & Sturges, 2007, p. 15). This links the importance of accessibility to ICTs to not only the purpose of communication but also social and human development. In conclusion, the lesson here is not about technology itself but how it can be included and embedded in communities such as migrant communities so as to be effective.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide an overview of important theories related to migration and specifically internal migration in the South African context. An extensive outline of the relevant literature of the relationship between internal migration and the role that ICTs play in family ties as well as in knowledge and information was also provided. The next chapter discusses research questions as well as the objectives of the study. Moreover, it outlines the methodology followed in this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I give an overview of the research methodology used to explore and examine the role that ICTs play in maintaining care relationships between internal migrants and their family members left behind. Furthermore, I discuss the critical community psychology framework which examines socially divisive patterns of structure and engages in the destruction of social arrangements that are oppressive (Evans et al., 2017). This framework looks at how populations, in this case migrant populations, are exposed to systems that need to be challenged in order to promote economic and social resource distribution (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010).

3.2 Research Aims

The aim of this research project was to investigate the importance of information and communication technology (ICTs) amongst internal South African migrants from rural areas to urban areas in their maintenance of relationships with their families that are left behind. The proposed project also explored the importance of affordability, accessibility and availability of ICTs to migrant laborers from rural areas. I placed emphasis on ICTs as an important aspect of basic human rights as part of social inclusion and equality for migrant laborers and their families. Lastly, the link between social exclusion and the digital divide was also explored.

3.3 Research Questions

The following research questions were set at the beginning of the research process:

1. How do migrant populations use ICTs to maintain relationships with their families left behind?

2.What are the impediments to their use of the technology?

3. What is the relationship between demographic dimensions, the digital divide and social inclusion?

3.4 Research Design

Because of the nature of the questions of inquiry and a promotion of social justice a qualitative exploratory approach was chosen. This study was exploratory because it attempted to gain more information on a previously understudied area of research such as the use of ICTs in rural-urban migrant populations.

3.4.1 Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research as an inquiry is embedded in subjectivity or meanings of human interactions with certain phenomena, in this case migration (Roller & Lavrakas, 2015). This research approach is fundamentally based on the validity and reliability of the lived experiences of participants, in this case migrants. It is rooted in perceptions of a certain phenomenon that is under study and is concerned with the quality of experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). In order to understand the meaning of lived experiences of migrants and their families, the data collected needs to be naturalistic, which can only be done through qualitative research methodologies.

The main objective of a qualitative approach is concerned with questions that aim to understand and explore the experiences and meaning of humans and their social world (Fossey et al., 2002). The most critical point of a qualitative approach is the understanding that research participants have their own subjective meaning, social contexts and actions which are highlighted (Merriam, 2002). Qualitative research provides a platform of privilege for participants where their perspectives are emphasised and they are given a voice. Qualitative research values the authenticity and subjectivity of the participants' perspective (Pathak et al., 2013). It places emphasis on understanding participants' beliefs, attitudes, interactions and experiences.

Qualitative research is based on the concept that meaning and experiences are constructed socially, so by participants in their relationship with the world (Merriam, 2002). Its purpose is to highlight that reality, or the world, is not agreed upon, fixed or objective or a phenomenon that can be measured. The aim is to understand the interpretation of experiences based on participants' realities (Merriam, 2002). Therefore, this approach was appropriate for this research study so as to understand the perspective of migrants and their family members left behind of migration and ICTs.

3.4.2 Case Study

A multiple-case study design was specifically chosen for this study. The use of case studies is useful to capture what cannot be captured through experimental or survey research because of its naturalistic nature (Zainal, 2007), pseudonyms were used in each case to provide confidentially and anonymity of the individuals throughout the research

A case study is a form of empirical inquiry that explores a phenomenon within its naturalistic context (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). Moreover, case study research combines different methods, such as biographical, naturalistic, ethnographic, holistic and phenomenological methods (Hyett et al., 2014). It deals with different situations where there are more variables than just data points, and copes with different data sources such as interviews, observations and so forth (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). Case studies are not meant to be generalised to all populations, unlike statistical research (Hyett et al., 2014).

One of the advantages of a case study research is that it provides an opportunity of a process that is holistic, which has different aspects, as well as examining the variables involved in relation to each other (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). Scholars who use case studies seek out what is common and unique about each case, using thematic analysis to analyse the data (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018, Hyett et al., 2014). This is a process that involves a cautious and thorough reflection on the essence of a case, the environmental, political and institutional context as well as historical background (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018), which migration, social inclusion, the digital divide, migration and rural-urban areas are in each case.

A case study provides scholars with an opportunity to closely examine data in a specific context (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). Usually, a geographical area of individuals is selected for the study (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). For example, the geographical area in this study was the Limpopo province, specifically Giyani but not limited to it. There are four purposes to a case study research design, which are theory building, exploration, theory extension and theory testing (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018).

For the purposes of this study I selected seven migrants and some of their family members still living in rural areas to explore in-depth the role of ICTs in maintaining care relationships (Creswell et al., 2007), these participants were given pseudonyms. Therefore, each migrant and their family members represented a case, even though the migrants were interviewed separately from their family member. The procedure was replicated throughout each case. Only seven

participants were selected to ensure an in-depth understanding rather than having more participants, which might lead to fewer details.

3.5 Theoretical Framework

Critical community psychology theory was used as a framework for this study. The critical community psychology framework examines socially divisive patterns of structure and engages in the destruction of social arrangements that are oppressive (Evans et al., 2017). This framework looks at how subjects, in my case migrant populations, are exposed to systems that need to be challenged in order to promote economic and social resource distribution (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). The engagement in the promotion of economic and social distribution speaks to the assumption that the economic disparity that still exists in South Africa plays a role in the digital divide as seen across urban and rural areas.

The objective of critical community psychology is to promote social justice and is embedded in the critique of community but also in the reconstruction of many concepts and structures in its place (Evans et al., 2017). It examines and explores inequalities and injustices in communities. Migrant laborers and their families are a community in the context of virtual relationships and ICTs who would benefit from the accessibility, availability and affordability of ICTs. Critical community psychology raises awareness of inequalities (Evans et al., 2017). Social exclusion and the digital divide, especially when it comes to migration populations, are examples of such inequalities. This awareness works under the assumption that social transformation is attainable when people, i.e. communities, have voices, resources and power (Evans, 2015). Advocating for access to ICTs for migrants and their families is a way of bringing about social change, which is what critical community psychology embodies (Kagan & Burton, 2015).

Social justice is characterised by equality, social responsibility and how resources are distributed across equitable societies (Vera & Speight, 2003; Watts, 2004). It is grounded on concepts such as liberation and equality, and the participation of all individuals in society in terms of their societal and economical needs (Vera & Speight, 2003). The issue of accessibility to and distribution of ICTs in rural areas is associated with the low distribution rate of resources compared to other parts of the country, which thus is an infringement of social justice and societal norms and rights. Rural areas have not benefited from systems of social equality when it comes to the accessibility, availability and affordability of ICTs, and thus have been

prevented from enjoying the protection of basic human rights and social justice which would lead to social change (Louis et al., 2013)

South Africa is a country that is diverse but in order to see this diversity flourish social justice and equality need to be achieved. The basis of the theory is for social justice and equality to be in the forefront of many communities (Prilleltensky, 2001). This includes all spheres of societal needs from basic clean water to the accessibility of ICTs. However, some rural areas are still struggling with being provided with clean water, proper schools and sanitation. The status quo in the country regarding social challenges is poor and there are many other social problems that have not been addressed yet; however, that does not mean that focusing on ICTs is less important. A large number of the South African population still has social problems that could have been addressed by the introduction of technology. Social justice is critical. Its concepts include critical thinking skills and critical consciousness in its development and application (Freire, 2000). Social conditions and policies that contribute to maintaining social injustices can be analysed by skills involving critical thinking (Vera & Speight, 2003).

African communities are defined by their connections with immediate family members, extended family members and even non-blood relatives. ICTs can provide alternative ways to stay connected despite distance and changing social hierarchies due to mobility (De Bruijn, 2014). Social hierarchies can be changed with critical thinking and consciousness of social justice. Social justice is interwoven with ICTs because resource distribution is embedded in social justice, and as ICTs are a part of social relations, the association of ICTs and social justice is established (De Bruijn, 2014). This has certain connotations, such as that ICTs cannot exist outside social justice.

De Bruijn (2014) indicates and places emphasis on the importance of communication technologies in urban as well as rural areas, hence the need to look at ICT access, affordability, and affordability as a basic human right. ICTs facilitate new engagement in social quality, including social cohesion, social inclusion and social empowerment, which are all concepts of social justice (Wallace, 2012). Social justice (quality) exploration leads to a greater understanding of the relationship between technology and society. There is an assumption that the quality of the society can be enhanced by ICTs (Wallace, 2012), and therefore it would be a great injustice if all communities were not able to access, afford and use these ICTs.

There is a huge difference between rural and urban areas, where one of the rigid lines that differentiate them is access to resources. There is also a clear division between rural and urban

areas when it comes to development. Resources such as access to schools, telephones, post, credit, hospitals, jobs, government services and so forth are resources that the rural population depends on urban areas for (Tacoli, 2003). Availability of and access to ICTs may differ from rural to urban areas. In order to be able to capture the importance of this access through different environments and to uncover the divide if there is one, the present research will have to examine both sides of the environments, hence the need to interview both migrants who are now in urban areas and their family members that are left behind in the rural areas. The rural-urban migration (internal migration) (Mabogunje, 1970) in this research will highlight all aspects of ICTs in terms of their importance in maintaining care relationships as well as factors that impact ICTs outside the care relationships such as access, inclusion and the digital divide.

The gap between the effective use of information technology between different communities is a huge one and this inclusion criteria for rural and urban area use will highlight the contrast between them and what hinders communication and maintenance of relationships between internal migrants and their families (Hartviksen et al., 2002). This means that where one is in terms of location, for example in a rural, urban or central city setting, can impact how one uses information technology and how the use of that information technology can impact relationships, especially within the migrant population and their families. This contrast goes beyond having access to ICTs or not but also focuses on the kind of access that is available. It is important to look at factors that impact and draw destructive patterns of migrations, such as unequal access to ICTs based on geographical area (Evans et al., 2017).

Critical community psychology embodies alternative ways of understanding a certain phenomenon, like migration through a lens of ICTS before and after migration (Teo, 2015). Moreover, it aims at looking at the importance of rural development in the process of migration that promotes the freedom of migrants and their family members. It is important to examine injustices and inequalities within mundane social relationships in migrants lives, such as digital literacy based on the digital divide that impacts the maintenance of relationships. Community research embodies using power and influence as a researcher to create new positions for conversations, questioning, reflection, debates and empowerment for migrants and their family members (Fryer & Fagan, 2003). The aim is to question destructive patterns that could appear as equality and freedom. The core of critical community psychology is to critically be aware of the world and the individuals in it. It enables these individuals to contribute to their world, which creates a sense of belonging in a way that brings about long term effects and change that is sustainable (Evans et al., 2017).

3.6 Participants and Sampling

A non-probability approach of purposeful sampling using the snowballing technique was used to select appropriate participants. Purposive sampling is also called judgment sampling, and is the careful selection of a participant based on certain qualities they have (Etikan et al., 2016). The researcher determines what needs to be investigated and sets out to find individuals that are willing and able to provide information by virtue of their knowledge or experience (Etikan et al., 2016).

Snowballing sampling refers to using participants to find other participants based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the study (Suri, 2011). This sampling procedure is defined as the researcher contacting informants through contact details provided by other informants (Noy, 2008). This procedure is, by definition, recurring. Informants refer the researcher to other informants, who are then contacted by the researcher and subsequently refer the scholar to yet another informant, and so forth (Noy, 2008). Thus, the developing 'snowball' outcome is captured in a symbol that focuses on the central feature of this sampling procedure: its gradual element (Noy, 2008). Snowball sampling is perhaps the most widely utilised sampling technique in qualitative studies in different disciplines within social sciences (Noy, 2008). It is occasionally used as the main tool through which informants are found and accessed, or as a secondary way, helping researchers to enrich sampling groups and access new social groups and participants (Noy, 2008).

Seven (7) migrants and their families were selected for interviews. A call for participants living in Johannesburg and Pretoria, the two largest cities in Gauteng, was distributed through social media posts on WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram and Facebook. Subsequently, participants were asked to provide introductions to potential candidates. Moreover, migrants were asked to nominate a family member back in their village to be interviewed. Therefore, the participants were matched pairs. This sample size was deemed appropriate for an in-depth account of the research phenomenon and the participants' experiences in the form of a case-study. These seven participants were sampled according to several inclusion and exclusion criteria to meet the standard of the research. Inclusion and exclusion criteria refer to specifics of what and who can and cannot be included in the study (Robinson, 2014).

First of all participants needed to be of Xitsonga origin. For those who could not speak English, the interviews were held in their language and later translated. As a Xitsonga speaking

researcher, holding the interviews in Xitsonga and later translating them was easier than using any other language because I am fluent in this language.

Secondly, participants were people who had migrated from the Limpopo province to the Gauteng province for different reasons of migration, but preferably because of education or work. I focused on migrants who had migrated in the last three years. This inclusion requirement was in place to explore the disparity that leads to certain implications about skills and knowledge related to the use of ICTs, as such communities in regions that have poor access to ICTs rarely have the skills and knowledge of how to use such resources, for example the internet. This criterion highlighted the education about and the period of assimilation to the use of ICTs in the new environment that has access to these ICTs.

3.6.1 Case Studies

Family One

Two participants were interviewed in this family, namely Blessing and Matimu.

Blessing is a black female participant who was 29 years old at the time the interview was conducted. Blessing migrated from Skhunyani Village to Pretoria for the opportunity to further her studies at the University of Pretoria. She was studying for a Bachelor of Education in CNA and FET (Senior Phase and Further Education and Training Teaching) and was in her third year of studies. She is the fifth-born in a family of seven. She has a son who was four years old at the time. She explained that her mother, sisters and nieces help her out with taking care of her son when she is at the university in Hatfield in Pretoria and expressed her gratitude to them. Blessing commented on her relationship with her sister Matimu, who was the other one to be interviewed. Matimu is a black female member of Blessing's family left behind, who was 32 at the time of the interview. Matimu stated that she was unemployed and usually takes care of her sisters' children when her sisters are in Gauteng. Moreover, Matimu gave details about her childhood and her relationship with her mother, who was living in Soweto when she was growing up. Matimu has two children of her own who she takes care of as well.

Family Two

Two participants were interviewed in this family, namely Precious and Mary.

Precious is a black female participant who was 26 years old when the interviews were conducted. Precious was living in Waterkloof in Pretoria. She migrated from Skhunyani Village to Pretoria when she started high school. Precious migrated to Pretoria with her father. Precious is from a family of six with her being the fourth-born. She described her struggles in her early days of migration because of the language barrier. Furthermore, she described being homesick and how she enjoyed talking to her mother and siblings. Precious spoke about her relationship with her sister; her sister Mary was the one who was comfortable with doing the interview. Mary is a black female family member who was 28 years old at the time of the interviews. Mary was unemployed at that time but volunteered at a feeding scheme for orphans in the village. Mary reported that she still lived at home with her mother and her daughter, who was six years old when the interviews were conducted.

Family Three

Two participants were interviewed in this family, namely Vutomi and Nsovo.

Vutomi is a black male participant who was 28 years old when the interviews were conducted. Vutomi was living in Pretoria at that time.. He migrated to Pretoria from Jim Nghalalume Village, which is 16kms away from Giyani. He stated that he migrated for work opportunities. Vutomi added that he was also studying part-time at Unisa, and having access to the internet with a speedy connection worked to his advantage, both as a working person and as a student. Vutomi spoke about his relationship with his sister Nsovo, to whom he was very close as he did not have many friends. He described her as his best friend and spoke about how they always influenced and encouraged each other, especially regarding education and the pursuit of a good career. Nsovo is a black female family member who was a mother of two at the time of the interview. Nsovo, who was 35 at that time, said that she did not even see the digital divide gap+because she and her brother had a close relationhsip. Nsovo expressed her loss and frustration about her brother moving away as she claimed that he was her friend.

Family Four

Two participants were interviewed in this family, namely Mbali and Florence.

Mbali is a black female participant who was 25 years old at the time of the research interview. Mbali was living in Ivory Park, Thembisa at the time of the interview. Mbali is from a large

family of twelve, with nine siblings and her being the sixth-born in her family. She described her childhood experience asinteresting, competitive and fun as there were many of them. Mbali stated how adjusting to being alone and not surrounded by people she knew was a challenge as she was used to being surrounded by many people at home. Mbali migrated from Tomu Village in Giyani to Johannesburg in Gauteng for education purposes. Mbali stated that she wanted to attain a higher education, as she would like to get a proper job to support her two children, who were living with her mother at home. Mbali suggested her sister Florence to be interviewed. Florence is a black female family member who was 31 at the time of the interview. She worked as a cashier at the local pharmacy and described using ICTs to search for different jobs in different cities. Florence spoke about her relationship with her sister and how she often sent money to her sister, especially during her sister's early days of migration or when she was sick. Florence stated how ICTs could lead to her sister hiding unpleasant information from her, like when she was sick.

Family Five

Two participants were interviewed in this family, namely Martin and Ruth.

Martin is a black male participant who was 32 years old at the time of the interview. Martin comes from a family of three with him being the first-born. Martin lost his parents when he was young and was ultimately raised by his aunt and uncle. He is from a village near Giyani town called Skhunyani and had migrated to Johannesburg to look for employment. He was living in Midrand at the time of the interview. He expressed his love for his home village and stated that if there had been employment opportunities back home, he would never have migrated to Gauteng, which he describes as a "jungle". Martin spoke about his relationship with his partner Ruth back home. Ruth was 29 at the time of the interview and spoke about missing her partner, especially his physical presence, and how their children often missed having a role model that they could look up to. Ruth is a stay-at-home mother of two who is dedicated to taking care of her family and teaching her children about their father. Ruth commented on the importance of observation and modelling for their children to learn how to behave, which was rare with her partner being in Gauteng.

Family Six

Two participants were interviewed in this family, namely Sibusiso and Gift.

Sibusiso is a black male participant who was 22 years old when the interview was conducted. Sibusiso is from a family of five with four siblings, with him being the second-born. He is from Skhunyani village and migrated to Johannesburg when he got accepted as a student at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2018. Sibusiso described his frustration with how rural areas are run and treated by the government. His main concern was the huge gap that exists between the Limpopo and Gauteng provinces, specifically between the rural and urban areas. In particular, he was passionate about the difference in service deliveries between these two places. Sibusiso nominated his sister Gift to be interviewed. Gift is a black female family member who was 24 at the time of the interview. Gift is a mother of one and was working as a cashier at the town's supermarket. Gift enjoys communicating and sharing information with her brother through social media. Gift as the first-born spoke about her relationship with her brother, especially about the conflicts they used to have before he migrated. Furthermore, Gift expressed that she missed her brother but also appreciated the importance of her brother pursuing his dreams in getting an education.

Family Seven

Two participants were interviewed in this family, namely Happy and Star.

Happy is a black male participant from Skhunyani village who was 26 when the interviews were conducted. Happy migrated to Johannesburg for education opportunities. Happy is from a family of four, with his mother, Star, and two sibling. Happy described his mother as a single parent who had worked hard for him to get an education. Happy mentioned his mother sending money to him, especially in his early days of migration. Star is a mother of three who was in her late 40s when she was interviewed. Star stated that she was unemployed, but often had part-time jobs as a domestic worker and a street vendor in her village. Star described her relationship with her son, which was impacted by migration. However, Star mentioned visiting her son sometimes if he could not visit her. Star was passionate about ICT literacy being introduced to villages like hers so that the digital divide gap could be closed.

3.7 Data Collection

Data collection is an important part of the research process and the research instrument used for data collection depends on the goals of the research (Kajornboon, 2005). In this research, semi-structured interviews were the tool used to collect data (see appendix D). An interview

schedule, as attached in appendix D, was prepared for both migrants and their family members, comprising a combination of open-ended and closed-ended questions. Seven individuals who migrated and their family members left behind were interviewed. The migrants and their families were interviewed separately face-to-face, except for two interviews which were done on the online platform Zoom due to the Covid 19 pandemic restrictions.

The interviewees were the primary source of data for this project. Semi-structured interviews were deemed appropriate for this research because they gave participants the opportunity to discuss their perception and interpretation of the use of ICTs in maintaining care relationships between them as migrants and their family members left behind in the rural areas (Longhurst, 2003). Semi-structured interviews are an appropriate method to address the research questions as they give the researcher the opportunity to prompt and probe deeper into the given question (Kajornboon, 2005).

Data collection occurred separately for migrants and their families. For migrants, the interviews were held face-to-face and audio-recorded with their consent. They took place in Gauteng at a place of the migrant's choosing, during the second week of September 2020. For the family members, the interviews were also conducted face-to-face, at their homes in the villages in Limpopo for approximately one hour and the interactions were audio-recorded with their consent. Most interviews took place during the second week of October 2020, so it took two weeks to collect the data. For participants that could not speak English, the interviews were conducted in Xitsonga then later translated with the help of the audio-recordings.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic restrictions, an alternative method of data collection was also used. Instead of face-to-face interviews, some interviews were held virtually on the online platform Zoom for those who had access to the internet, following the same process as in the face-to-face interviews. The reason for the online interviews was that the virus is transmitted through contact and social distancing was therefore required. This however affected the timing of the research as well as the observational data gathering that could have been done if the interviews had been face-to-face. These virtual interviews were conducted in December 2020.

3.8 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is a technique used to examine and review textual data and to demonstrate themes (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). This includes a systematic process of theme creation based on social realities that are coded, examined and described. Thematic analysis looks at hidden

content as themes (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Thematic analysis incudes a process of collecting codes and coding themes or subthemes based on the data collected and subsequently clustering those themes together (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). It uncovers meanings expressed in themes. Themes can be defined as concepts, attributes, elements and descriptors (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). These themes helped me organise and create patterns with repeating ideas. Themes can have subthemes to obtain an an indepth view of the data and patterns (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

In order to analyse the interviews, I used the Braun and Clarke (2006) method of thematic analysis and adhered to the followings steps:

1. Familiarising myself with the data collected: data that was transcribed was read and re-read, and notes of important ideas were made. Moreover, in some cases the interviews were translated into Xitsonga due to most participnats being unable to to speak to speak English and had to be re-translated into English during the transcribing process of transcipts.

2. Generating initial codes from the data: coding data of features that were interesting and collating data of each code that was interesting.

3. Searching for themes: collating codes for potential themes in the data, gathering data into themes.

4. Reviewing themes: potential themes were reviewed and checked to see their relation to step 1 or phase 1, which is finding codes in the data and the whole data set. Furthermore, a “map” of the analysis was generated.

5. Defining and naming themes: refining themes, generating definitions and names of themes

6. Producing the thesis: analysing final themes, selecting extracts and answering the research questions

The reading and re-reading of the interview transcripts provided me with an overall understanding of the main issues surrounding the role of ICTs in maintaining care relationships within internal migration. Moreover, due to a language barrier, some interviews were translated into Xitsonga and re-translated into English, which added a level of depth to the understanding of these main issues. However, this led to data being lost in translation as some words were not available in the other language, and this posed a problem for the richness or rigor of the data. However, this could have been avoided if the interview schedule was translated into Xitsonga

(I did translate the questions into Xitsonga, I just did not add it as an appendix, how do I proceed?)

This process of reading and re-reading prepares scholars to focus on important recognised constructs and concepts (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). This is the primary step that helps researchers describe trends of different perspectives from the participants that can later be tracked by using direct quotations (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Immersion through careful reading of transcripts increases the ability to create ideas and make logical meanings of the data (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

Coding is a data reduction process that organises data. There are different types of codes such as conceptual code, relationship code, participant perspective code, participant characteristics code and setting code (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). This classification helps scholars organise codes and make comparisons between different cases (Vaismoradi et al., 2016), as this is case study research. Conceptual code identifies key domains and elements while relationship code identifies the link between these key domains and elements (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Participant perspective code identifies the participants' view of the topic under discussion, and participant characteristics and setting codes identify the general characteristics of participants and the environments wherein the phenomenon occurs (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Coding can be done manually or by using a system. In this study, manual coding was used by writing notes on data as well as using colored pens and highlighters to extract data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After the initial translation and transcription, each transcript in each family case was re-read to search for potential themes, which were later colour coded into themes. The data from the transcripts were grouped into these potential themes by their colour. Thereafter, data or quotes were rechecked and reviewed regarding their relation to the relevant themes. Themes were identified and named, and definitions were generated based on the data (quotes). Moreover, a thematic map was created based on the themes, which were analysed and selected, and quotes were used to answer the research questions. The themes and subthemes were arranged on a Microsoft Word document with quotes that supported them. Here the themes were also identified according to their prevalence across all transcripts. Furthermore, themes were identified that were not prevalent across the data.

3.9 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness or rigor refers to the level of confidence one has in the data collected, the method that was used and the way the data was interpreted (Connelly, 2016), which includes credibility, authenticity and confirmability.

Credibility is an important aspect of research. In order to maintain neutrality while collecting data without imposing my perceptions on the participants, I kept a reflective journal where I wrote down my own bias or perception. I also made notes on my thoughts and feelings throughout the research process so as to be aware of how that influenced the data collecting process (Morrow, 2005). The research process in qualitative study is also subject to a researcher's bias (Morrow 2005), which was addressed by keeping meticulous records of the whole research process but more importantly of the interviews and observations to yield the experiences provided by the participants (Mays & Pope, 1995).

Authenticity is rigor in itself and this was maintained by selecting appropriate participants for the study as a sample, namely internal migrants from the Limpopo province, and by providing a detailed description of the selection criteria, as mentioned in subheading 3.6 above titled Participants and Sampling (Connelly, 2016).

Confirmability is part of trustworthiness because it represents the quality of the data collected without the researcher's perception or bias (Cope, 2014). In order to demonstrate confirmability, I used quotes from participants from the interviews that clearly illustrate each emerging theme.

One of the common criticisms for case study research is that results are not easilyapplicable to real life (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). Moreover, it has been alleged that it leads to generalisations without evidence or proof because it is strictly exploratory research (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). To counter the concern about generalisations, multiple cases were used to address this issue (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). To ensure reliability in one's study, the researcher must document all the procedures followed, from the preparation for the study to data collection and analysis (Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, 2018). To achieve reliability, the study was documented from the beginning of the research. Preparation included reviewing literature on the phenomenon and related concepts as well as variables for the data. Furthermore, the processes of data collection and analysis were documented to provide accountability and transparency. This study was guided by a specific

theoretical framework which improved its consistency, trustworthiness and rigor (Hyett et al., 2014).

3.10 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is an important part of any qualitative research, and it helps researchers to draw a line between personal and universal creation of knowledge (Berger, 2015). It is embedded in critical theories that place emphasis on self-reflection as part of ensuring rigor and trustworthiness (Macbeth, 2001). Reflective (research) notes were used during the data collection process to help with my perspective as a researcher regarding objectivity. These notes not only facilitate trustworthiness but also facilitate reflexivity while providing an opportunity for the researcher to question, remember and make meaning of the data presented (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Moreover, notes help researchers attempt to remain neutral and authentic regarding the perspective of the participants, even though it is impossible to achieve (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

As a researcher, I was aware of my values, previous experience and background that could have impacted the research process. I am a XiXitsonga speaking researcher originally from Limpopo, which on its own affected the research. This could have led to certain assumptions about the participants on my part, such as the assumption that our experiences of migration, access to the internet and ICTs were the same. Even though our backgrounds might be similar, it is important to take note of the differences, such as the level of education and socio-economic status, which could lead to different experiences and meaning. I was aware of my own positionality and privilege mentioned above. As a researcher, that could have impacted the study negatively regarding the ability of the participants to express and make meaning of their experiences. Moreover, these similarities did not mean that their view on ICTs and maintaining care relationships within migrants and their families would be the same as mine. For some participants, such as the elderly, the interview was conducted in Xitsonga and translated later.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

According to Walsh (2015), all psychologists have the potential to cause harm and act unethically, hence the importance of ethics. According to him, not all scientific activities are helpful or fruitful, although this may be unintentional. It is therefore important to consider ethical issues and the role of the ethics committees. The consideration of ethics guides

reseachers on moral and practical conduct within research that does not harm participants (Walsh, 2015). Following the code of ethics is important for applying ethical values and principles.

3.11.1 Ethics Clearance

Before data was collected, an application for ethics clearance was submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC non-medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg after being approved by the School of Human and Community Development. The ethics clearance created guidance and compliance as well as an assessment of risk for participants, as it is critical to do no harm to participants The application to the ethics committee serves as protection for research participants (Guillemin et al., 2012). According to Guillemin et al. (2012), it is the "role of the ethics committee in assisting researchers to ensure that their research was ethically rigorous" (p. 41). The role of the ethics committee is to ensure standards that are ethical and have merit, especially on human subjects (Gelling, 1999). The ethics committee approved the research project on 21 May 2020 with the clearance ethics number MACC/20/07 (Appendix E) with the expiration date of 31 December 2022. Thereafter, data was collected.

3.11.2 Information Sheet and Consent

An information participation sheet (Appendix A) explaining the purpose of the study, length of the interview, information about confidentiality, numbers to contact for more information and what is expected of the participant was given to all participants prior to interviews. All participants were given the information participation sheet so that they could keep going over the information and know what is required of them. Moreover, consent forms for participation in (Appendix B) and consent for audio-recording of (Appendix C) the interview were given to participants. All these consent forms were translated into Xitsonga for those who could not speak English. Although participants were able to read English, they were not comfortable with being interviewed and expressing themselves properly in English, hence some interviews were conducted in Xitsonga

3.11.3 Confidentiality and Anonymity

The participants sampled to be part of the study had had no relationship with me as the researcher before. During the research process confidentiality was maintained. Confidentiality refers to not disclosing, either accidentally or deliberately, any information given by the

participants that might lead to participants being identified (Wiles et al., 2008). Information provided by participants was only discussed with my supervisor and research team, as this research study was part of a larger research project. One of the ways to protect confidentiality is through anonymity (Wiles et al., 2008). Anonymity refers to the process of keeping the identity of the research participants secret. One of the limitations regarding anonymity in this study were the face-to-face interviews as the identities of the two participants from each family were known to each other and because of the snowballing sampling method (Vainio, 2013). Information gathered through audio-recording, transcripts and field notes were stored in a password protected laptop.

Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the participants, especially during the interpretation of the data so as to ensure that participants cannot be identified through quotes used during interpretation. Questions that were asked might have brought discomfort and participants were allowed not to answer when they were unwilling, and since it is a qualitative study, the unwillingness contributes further data. However, the risk of unwillingness in this study was low, as questions were formulated sensitively, especially questions about their activities and everyday life. Participants were offered access to counselling after the study, which turned out not to be needed. In case it was needed, free counselling was available via Lifeline South Africa at 0861 322 322 and the Emthojeni Centre offered services of counselling on 011 717 4513 for participants in the Gauteng province. For participants in the rural area, they also had the option to receive counselling through Lifeline South Africa and telephonic counselling.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter provided an outline of the processes that were followed during the course of this research study as well the theoretical framework that was underlying the study. The findings of this methodological process is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this research project in the form of the emerging themes and subthemes from the data obtained from the interviews conducted. Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis was used to analyse the data from interviews. Various themes highlighting the role of ICTs in maintaining familial relationships within rural-urban migration

were identified in both groups of participants. Direct quotes from the interviews with participants from both migrants and family members left behind are used to support the identified themes and subthemes. Whilst the focus of the research was on the use of ICTs, other relevant themes were identified during the course of the data analysis which are also discussed. The following main themes were identified: 1) The reasons for migration, 2) Consequences of migration, 3) Changes in family interaction, 4) Development and infrastructure, 5) The importance of ICTs, 6) Challenges of ICTs and 7) Visits. These are discussed below and are divided between the migrants' experiences and those left behind. However, it is important to note that not in all themes are experiences of both migrants and family members left behind discussed, which suggests a difference in the experiences in both participants groups.

4.2 The Reasons for Migration

This theme portrays the reasons behind migrants' decisions to move from their homes in the rural areas (villages) to urban areas. The reasons were mainly based on the importance of being able to provide for their families financially and securing a better future by means of further education. The subthemes are discussed below in detail.

4.2.1 Employment Opportunities Linked to Migration

Migrants' experiences

Most participants explained their reason for migration was tied to work opportunities in urban areas. Employment opportunities were seen as regular work that would help them earn money to be able to sustain and provide for their family. Participants mentioned that in their experience the rural area where they lived did not have enough opportunities for employment as they are not as developed as urban areas, which leads to a poor rural economy and too few job opportunities. For example, Vutomi described this as follows: "*It's for work purposes 'cause Pretoria has a lot of opportunities compared to where I come from, which is basically a very rural area so yeah. I came here for work.*" Martin shared a similar experience in that he moved to Gauteng because of more employment opportunities compared to his village:

> *So I decided to come into this side. Well, there's a lot of opportunities. If you look at the way things are, everything is generated from the rural area. Definitely. I don't like the world. I'm not fond of it. Uh, if there were opportunities where I can actually find a job somewhere where I will feel comfortable with, I'll probably just pick up tomorrow and I'm not in love with the place.*

Family members left behind

Family members left behind commented briefly on the motivation of their family members' migration to Gauteng. Precious mentioned that her father moved to Gauteng because of a promotion which decided his migration before she migrated:

> *My dad in 2008… 7 I think he got a job this side, he got a promotion to work this side in Pretoria SAPS. So, in 2009 he decided to take my sister to stay with her after when she's passed her grade.*

Matimu mentioned that her mother left for Johannesburg for work to be able to support her and her siblings:

> *…, but what I know is that she had to go just because she was going to job better for a work. And I was young, but they're not really by then, let me say to me, it was like, oh, my mother's going to Joburg to work for me. So I was, I was, it was, let me say, I was happy on the other hand that she was going there to work for me so that, and she can send something to me. Yes. It was like that*.

4.2.2 Educational Opportunities

Migrants' experiences

Some participants commented that their decision to migrate was mainly because of academic purposes and opportunities to further their studies because they did not have the necessary skills nor were there appropriate institutions for training where they lived. An education opportunity was seen as a chance given to a person to obtain certain knowledge and skills which usually increase employment opportunities. Blessing described her decision as being based on education: "*Oh, my decision to migrate my home Limpopo to Pretoria? It's because of academic purposes. I'm a third-year student in Faculty of Education, doing Bachelor of Education in CNA and FET.*" Mbali also reported that school was her main factor for migration: "*I moved from Limpopo to Gauteng because of school. I came here to attend school. Like, I can say where I started. In 2016 I came to Joburg for the first time, and I stay in Braamfontein.*" Sibusiso went as far as mentioning that he wanted to study at one of the best universities in South Africa, which Limpopo does not have:

> *Well, Gauteng is city of power, not only in South Africa but the entire continent because of the only thing that we actually get credited for is actually education and having to read on the balance of communities despite my results, my matric results, Gauteng has one of the second-best universities in the continent*.

Family members left behind

A number of participants commented on education opportunities for migrants being the main reason for migration. Gift explained her brother's migration process as based on academic opportunities: "*My brother has moved to Gauteng, he migrated to Johannesburg because he was admitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.*" Star also mentioned that her son moved to Gauteng because he wanted to further his studies:

> *When he went to Gauteng for school it was difficult at first because you have to buy airtime and you call but sometimes it goes to voicemail, sometimes the network is bad and sometimes my phone would be low to even call*.

4.3 The Negative Consequences Linked to the Act of Migration

This theme was found amongst most participants and reflected mainly the challenges that come with migration and distance from one's family. These challenges were mostly experienced as loss and lack of relationships and community, as well as a lack of a sense of familiarity in the destination. The subthemes are discussed in detail below.

4.3.1 Losses Linked to Migration

4.3.1.1 Loss of Social Support System

Migrants' experiences

Many migrants spoke about the losses linked to their family and other social networks, including their larger community. They shared the challenges they faced with being in a community where they were not intimately known, which brought about a sense of isolation, as they felt they did not belong. Blessing described this loss of community and belonging as follows:

> *At home, the difference is, is like I'm always surrounded with people who are closer to me, my relatives and friends, people who we grew up together, I know them better. Like they know me very well in a way that if they can look at me, they can tell like you are angry, okay today, etcetera, etcetera.*

The loss of community was also tied to the lack of comfort, familiarity and belonging that migrants experienced in their new urban communities and with the members of these new communities. For others this resulted in feelings of loneliness where they felt like they were missing connections and were socially isolated from the host community: "*Even at home, our neighbours can give us, we share, so here there's no one who can share with, because people*

who are here, I don't know them, it's like they are not me" (Blessing). Precious seemed to long for home and described a sense of feeling alone as well as unfamiliarity with the urban environment:

> *No, I'm alone, I just have to figure out things myself and some challenges that I get this side, for them they don't understand because the life this side is not the same. Here, I'm living here in Gauteng as if I'm chasing something that I don't even know what I am chasing. At home, life is easy.*

4.3.1.2 Loss of Cultural Identity

Migrants' experiences

Migration was also experienced as resulting in a loss of cultural identity. Blessing explained that this included difficulties in being able to participate in her cultural practices and traditional lifestyle in the city. She gave the example of paying respect to the elders of the family, through rituals, following cultural rules and wearing cultural apparel:

> *It's like in my rural village, we mostly believe in cultural and traditional lifestyle. Like when they say something like it's a mean, like, we don't have to do this because of this because of this. We don't do and we have a lot of respect.*

She further elaborated on her loss of her cultural identity, and a more traditional way of doing things:

> *Since it's the city you know, Pretoria is the capital city of our country. So, the lifestyle here like it's more than, it's for nowadays, like you don't know much about tradition, cultures and something like that, they depends on modern lifestyle*.

Blessing expressed difficulty in maintaining her cultural values and morals in a new environment, especially an urban environment:

> *Yes. Because I will forget about where I'm coming from, my roots, and all this stuff. That is not good. Because when I forget about that, the future generation will not be able to know about what was happening before. So, we'll be lost to modern lifestyle, which is not our, since it's a Western, something like, it's not our, yes it's not an African style.*

4.3.1.3 Loss of Language

Migrants' experiences

Closely linked to the sense of cultural loss were also the challenges and frustrations they experienced regarding the loss of their mother tongue and having to adapt to speaking other

languages. Participants experienced that in their new environment and community their own language was not known or not well understood. Vutomi shared his experience as follows: "*I remember growing up. I come from a place where the only language we speak it's either English or Xitsonga so imagine having to come here without… I had to learn other languages*." Precious experienced a similar frustration when she had to speak English because no one spoke her language:

> *I couldn't speak English, I couldn't speak any ethnic this side, so I struggled with that. For a whole year I had to cram things because at school they were teaching in English. I struggled, actually I did struggle a lot*.

Mbali also explained that she does not go out often, as where she lives, many people do not speak her mother tongue, which is Xitsonga, and consequently she does not have a lot of friends because of the language differences and the pain of not being able to speak her own language: "*There's a different because around here they don't speak my language and I don't know their language. I don't even like going out because of that. I don't speak other languages. So, I option to stay inside*."

4.3.2 Concerns about Safety

4.3.2.1 Concerns about the Safety of One's Family

Migrants' experiences

The distance created by the migration increased participants' constant worry about their family members left behind because they cannot be present to ensure their safety. This seemed to create a sense of hypervigilance as expressed by Vutomi:

> *It's just very frustrating to go through that, asking yourself what is happening? Are they okay? All the time. And then when you're calling you call them you find that I call all 3 phones at home but then I can't get hold of any of them then that's when it starts to be very worrying*.

Precious shared similar experiences about when she cannot get hold of her mother:

> *If I don't get reach of, like if I can't get reach of her, you panic, there is a sense of panic, because you are far and you don't know what is happening there and I had to call everybody in the house to check if she is fine*.

Mbali conveyed a similar experience: "*I have a big problem with that because I feel like what if there's something bad happened. Because I'll call my brother, I'll call my mother, and no one is answering the call. Then I'm worried. What happened at home?*"

4.3.2.2 Concerns about Personal Safety

Migrants' experiences

Moreover, the move to the urban area and the different lifestyle also aroused concerns about personal safety amongst migrant participants. Participants perceived Gauteng to be unsafe and dangerous. Mbali alluded to this experience:

> *Things are different here. Like a little bit scary because I'm not used to places like this that are not maybe safe, I can say that. You feel like they are not safe. At home… At home it's safe and you can walk around, even at night. But this place you can't even walk at night alone*.

Vutomi shared a similar experience:

> *Especially if it's your first time and with being in an area where sort of like it has this reputation that there's crime and a lot of things are happening so family back home is constantly worried about you and they want to talk to you all the time. So having… imagine not being able to do that yeah*.

He also mentioned feeling unsafe because of crime, and therefore his family is anxious about him being in Gauteng: "*There's crime and a lot of things are happening so family back home is constantly worried about you and they want to talk to you all the time*."

4.4 Different Experiences Regarding Rural and Urban Infrastructures

This theme broadly highlights migrants' experiences on the differences between the rural and urban areas with regard to physical, social, environmental and economic issues. Most participants commented on the differences between their rural homes and their new destinations in terms of development, service delivery, lifestyle, the cost of living, the use of information technology as well as infrastructure in these areas. The subthemes are discussed below

4.4.1 Cost of Living and Lifestyle

Migrants' experiences

Most participants experienced difficulties in keeping up with the cost of living in Gauteng as compared to their villages in the rural areas. The amount of money needed to cover their needs,

which include food, housing (rent) and electricity, was higher than in their villages. Blessing commented on her experience:

> *So my home is a rural village. And then the living in lifestyle is low. And then the cost effective like is very low, not everything costs. And then what I mean about that, not everything costs, for example, for vegetables and fruits*.

Precious explained it as life being easy back home in her village in contrast to living in Gauteng regarding sustainability: "*Here, I'm living here in Gauteng as if I'm chasing something that I don't even know what I am chasing. At home, life is easy*". Moreover, Blessing expressed her feelings of stress over maintenance and the sustainability of life in Gauteng: "*And then Pretoria where I'm currently at, I am in the place where I migrated to. Like the living lifestyle is very high and cost not effective. Not everything like it's fine*."

4.4.2 Access and Opportunities

Migrants' experiences

Whilst expensive, Gauteng was seen as a developed province with easy access to different opportunities in different areas, for instance education, housing, infrastructure and employment. This includes easy access to necessities, based on the geographic area, for example Pretoria as compared to a village in Limpopo, as expressed by Vutomi:

> *With Pretoria like a lot of stuff is accessible in terms of the standard of living here is much higher compared to where I come from and there are a lot of opportunities in terms of work, especially in the sector that I'm in which is agriculture*.

Martin described how this was very different from his experience in the rural areas and the frustration he had experienced: "*Growing up we know that we don't have access to a lot of things, we don't have access to varsities and the only one we've got access to we have to pass through, we have to get through PLK* [Polokwane]."

4.4.3 Service Delivery

Migrants' experiences

Most participants, even though they came from different villages, noted differences between their rural home and their new urban environment when it came to issues such as service delivery, which include access to electricity, health services, education and ICT infrastructure. Precious shared her experience of service delivery in her village: "*Rural areas don't have water*

at home, we don't have electricity, some people we don't have like TVs." Moreover, they expressed their frustration about the inequalities between these areas:

> *There are still inequalities in society at large. There are still inequalities in a way that, let's look at service delivery, how service delivery is being administered here and in urban areas. In urban areas it is clean in there, you can't litter a mere paper, you can't you understand. So, their service delivery actually went in as far even destroying undesirable. I mean look at the streets, we don't have proper streets* (Sibusiso). Sibusiso was highlighting the difference between rural areas and urban areas regarding tar roads, garbage disposal, clean water and sanitation.

He commented on service delivery for water in his village compared to Gauteng, where he migrated to:

> *Things that we can't even think we can go without. We don't have those things. We don't have water. We must travel miles and kilometres to go get those things. Whereas they have those things in their houses, those things are running in their houses. Which means if someone needs to bath now, they go and take, be it a pot of water or whatever, if you go to urban areas*.

4.4.4 Inadequate ICT Infrastructure

Migrants' experiences

4.4.5 Poor Connectivity

Migrants' experiences

Participants often reported on the difficulties they experienced regarding connectivity, meaning their network had low bandwidth, causing frustrations with connecting with their family members. Vutomi expressed his frustration at poor connectivity: "*You find that sometimes you are in an area where there is like very… no network or very little which limits and it's sort of like a challenge to you communicating.*" Moreover, he described his experiences relating to connectivity when he is in his village for a visit: "*Like we struggle with connectivity. You can*

go for 2 hours without getting messages on your phone, without getting messages, without… sometimes you try to send emails, they don't go through because of the network." Blessing described a similar experience where family members would often feel neglected by the "lack of communication": "*Like I had a lot of difficulties, like the problems, the challenges in using them, just like poor connectivity. But I know it was not my fault because you know, sometimes network yes, it is poor.*" Blessing mentioned the difficulties she had during the early days of the Covid-19 global pandemic, as she had to return home due to lockdown regulations and had to work from home in her village. Working online was a challenge because of slow internet connections which seemed to be caused by insufficient ICT infrastructures:

> *Yes. Sometimes poor network you know, you can't use any stuff without a network. Sometimes you'll find that I'm writing assignment. So, I can't use the, if there's no network. I can't use the, I can't google, I can't find the information that I need, yes.*

Family members left behind

A few of the family members left behind also commented on challenges such as poor network connections. Star expressed how difficult it was in the beginning to get hold of her son because of the poor connectivity:

> *When he went to Gauteng for school it was difficult at first because you have to buy airtime and you call but sometimes it goes to voicemail, sometimes the network is bad and sometimes my phone would be low to even call*.

Gift also commented that her usual form of communication with her brother is through social media and phone calls, however, it is difficult to speak to each other because of the network: "*We use, we use WhatsApp, Facebook and sometimes I call him. Even though sometimes we would not talk because of the network especially when I am home unless I go to town.*" Matimu reported that even though she experiences poor connectivity all the time, she at least has an alternative where she buys voice minutes to keep trying to call her mother when she is in town:

> *So what I do is just, I buy them and manage them, even say I buy them and manage them. So, if I feel like the minute's alerts, I just use data to call WhatsApp, to call, hey, so if the network is giving me a problem which it does all the time, I always have an alternate.*

4.5 The Impact of Migration on Family Relationships

This theme illustrates the experiences of migrants and those left behind with regard to the changes and adjustments in family relationships and interactions across distance following the

move. It also highlights the ways they use to maintain these relationships, such as ICTs. Both migrants and those left behind described changes in family interactions after migration. These changes were influenced both by the frequency of communication and the possibility of visits.

4.5.1 Changes in Family Relationships

Many participants commented on the state of their relationships and interactions with their family members following their move and how they had changed following the migration. Participants described the adjustment and transition they went through regarding family dynamics from the early days of migration to the maintenance of relationships as time progressed.

Migrants' experiences

A number of participants shared information on the changes and transitions in their interactions with their family members. They stated that the distance had created a shift in how they related to one another. Blessing commented on the change in dynamics with her family after she migrated:

> *When I was at home, it was fine like and best, good for me. Because I was used to staying closer to my family under one roof, sharing food, you know. And then now since I migrated, like the relationship is currently tense and difficult, because I miss my family.*

On the other hand, being away from home was sometimes experienced as an opportunity to develop one's independence, as in the case of Precious. She explained that her relationship with her mother improved after she migrated. She also experienced personal growth and developed more independence, which provided her the space to reflect on their relationship:

> *I think growing up I wasn't close with my mom. I was very close with my grandmother. I moved this side, still our relationship was lacking. I need my mom, so I started becoming very close with my mom, we started talking over the phone like almost every day. So, from thereon when I, I started becoming very close with my mom because she had to help me with those kind of things.*

Family members left behind

Those left behind also reflected on the changes in relationships with their family members who had migrated. In the case of Nsovo, there was a longing for the kind of relationship she had previously had with her brother:

> *Even though he is younger than me, we had a great relationship, and he is one of the few people I admire. He helped me with so many things especially him encourage me to continue with my schooling despite the pregnancy. We were very close. Even now with him being gone, I just wish he hadn't left but know that he didn't have a choice because he also needs to forge his own path and pursue his goals.*

In some instances, a family member left behind commented on how migration had in fact improved their relationship. Gift explained that even though she was sad about her brother's migration, the distance gave them a break from constant fighting and sibling rivalry, and now they cherish their relationship:

> *The relationship was bad because we were always fighting each other, fighting. Ya and sometimes we would stay two weeks, three weeks without communicating each other but now eh, its good because we just ah communicate important things only ya…. Ya, it has improved our relationship in that the distance has given us space, we're no longer fighting. We are best friends now* (chuckling).

4.6 Importance of ICTs

This theme mostly represents the crucial role that ICTs plays in participants' lives regarding communication and maintenance of relationships across distance. Furthermore, migrants expressed how ICTs were crucial to their development of independence in their new environments. The majority of the migrants and family members also commented on the importance of ICTs in their personal development, such as at school, at work and for entertainment. There were also challenges linked to and associated with the use of ICTs.

4.6.1 ICTs for Communication Purposes

4.6.1.1 Using ICTs to Maintain Communication with Family back Home

Migrants' experiences

Participants described using ICTs to stay in touch with those left behind as a way to maintain their relationships. The majority of the migrants described ICTs as an emotional resource they use to stay in touch and communicate with family members back home as a priority across the distance. Precious expressed it as follows:

> *At least I will get to speak to the loved ones at home, someone that matters to you. I wouldn't care about food. Actually, on my side I think, I don't care about food, fancy*

> *things like… if I can just have access to the internet, I can be able to speak to the people that I left at home and I love.*

Mbali described a similar experience, emphasising the convenience of WhatsApp video calls, which she seemed to prefer as a form of "face-to-face" interaction across distance:

> *I can be able to see them. So, I think video call is more interesting. I can talk to her looking at her. Like my mother, I can talk to my mother looking at her. So, it's like we are a little bit closer with video call.*

Blessing uses ICTs to stay in touch with her family members back home, as this allows her to speak her mother tongue and stay connected to her roots: "*Yes, because most of the time we use our own home language. So, it reminds me a lot about my roots and who I am. Yes.*" Moreover, she expressed that easy access to ICTs has helped her maintain a sense of closeness: "*Yes, the benefits of using ICTs is that yes like my relationship with people who I left at home, like it is fine, because we will always communicate. Like, they tell me what's going on at home.*"

Some mentioned their family members' concern about their safety in their new homes, as in the case of Vutomi, who described his family's constant phone calls asking him about his safety as well as giving him advice on how to protect himself and checking on how he was doing: "*There's crime and a lot of things are happening so family back home is constantly worried about you and they want to talk to you all the time.*" According to Mbali, her relationship with her family, especially her siblings, changed drastically because now she needed resources such as airtime to maintain the relationships, unlike how the interaction would have been if she had not migrated:

> *When you're at home you always see each other. But when you are this side you have to communicate, meaning you have to always have something in your phone like airtime or so on to call them, video call them and that. So, if you don't have airtime the relationship will definitely change. But at… Like twice a week I communicate with them so that keep us a little bit closer. But it's different from home.*

Family members left behind

On the other hand, many participants left behind mentioned that there were no changes in their relationships with a migrant family member, because ICTs provided them a platform to be able to maintain the relationships. Nsovo described her experience as follows:

> *Our relationship hasn't changed much because there is never a day where it passes without me calling, me talking on social medias such as WhatsApp and Facebook*

> *because of the ICT. If it was the olden days, it would mean that I only get to see him during December holidays but now that we have these platforms*.

Florence stated that she did not see any change in the relationship: "*Like communication, it was better, but I don't see a difference because even though I have Facebook, I have inbox, I have WhatsApp. It's also made us continue our relationship look better. I think the communication it's fine.*"

Some participants highlighted the role of ICTs in maintaining a relationship with those who had migrated:

> *ICTs have changed the way we do relationships but has really helped with keeping in touch with our loved ones who are far and wouldn't have been able to if there weren't these platforms. It is not the same though as being able to sit face-to-face and talk about so many things* (Nsovo).

Star also expressed her preference for WhatsApp video calls as it allowed visual intimacy and she could make sure that her son was doing well:

> *I mean with the bigger phone I had, I was able to call him using a video call and I was able to communicate with him face to face even if he is far. We speak and I feel good about it even if he is far. I can see he is still alive; I can see him. I see him properly if he is not okay or he is lying, I see him unlike just phone calls. I can even see when he has gained weight*.

Gift mentioned communicating with her brother who is in Johannesburg through social media and phone calls: "*We use, we use WhatsApp, Facebook and sometimes I call him.*"

4.6.1.2 The Superiority of Modern Technology

Family members left behind

In this group of participants there was a sense that modern technology had improved the ways in which one could communicate with one's loved ones. A number of participants commented on how ICTs had improved communication across distance. Nsovo described her experiences with the old way of communication as tedious and challenging:

> *The technology that we have now when it comes to communicating, I think it is good because when I look at the past and comparing it to the present, now we are able to communicate with someone who is far using a cellular phone and are able to understand each other. For example, in the past people used to write letters to*

> *communicate and now things have become easier because you just call even if they are too far*.

Star found this new process of communicating easier, faster and simpler than sending letters like they used to when she was young:

> *In the very beginning where he moved, it influenced me to buy a phone that has more apps for example Facebook, to be able to buy data and buy airtime to talk to him in an urgent manner compared to letters*.

Furthermore, Nsovo mentioned the progression of access of ICTs in her village which had brought relief and comfort;

> *Exactly because even when I was growing up, they were very scared maybe because technology was just in its initial stages, but you had to go to your neighbours to be able to watch TV. Then it was progressing to those telephone booths in the streets, that was better. Because when you had to make an emergency call you could use those ones. But ours was in a school so you had to go all the way to school to collect phone calls but lucky for us we lived near the school, so we used to collect calls for people*.

Star described a similar experience: "*It is so different from the olden days because we used to post letters and to send a message through someone going to Gauteng or coming from Gauteng.*"

4.6.2 Using ICTs for Educational and other Purposes

Migrants' experiences

The majority of these participants described using ICTs for educational and academic purposes. They mentioned how they used ICTs for their studies especially for assignments and gathering information: "*We live in a… like right now in a world where a lot of things… sort of like knowledge is everything you need to access information and a quicker way to do that is through the internet*" (Vutomi). Precious observed that ICTs made her feel like she was part of her new community, especially compared to her early days of migration. By being able to access information she needed to know about that community online, she felt included:

> *I think we, back then when I started using internet, we didn't have a lot of information compared to now, like on internet. Now everything that you Google you get, but back then, people didn't put a lot of information that we needed to know*.

Sibusiso also commented on the importance of access to ICTs, as it gave him a sense of community and inclusion in being able to access news on what was happening in the world.

He further mentioned that to him access to ICTs was like access to basic needs services which help you stay alive and make you feel that you are part of the world:

> *Yes they are. At the end of the day, today's world is being transformed technology wise, one way or another, whether direct or indirect, we use technology. May it that you don't have access to the internet and what, like said that whether direct or indirect, we need the news, we need the news, so it's, to me, actually to this modern world, it is as basic as water.*

Participants also mentioned how ICTs, besides facilitating communication with family members back home, had improved their experience of distance learning. Blessing shared her experience:

> *… even for my academics, because I benefited a lot. Because the information that I've used for studying like, I've saved it like for my academic achievement, good grades, because when I take if I didn't have laptop or smartphone, it could not be easy for me like to obtain good grades in the academic achievement*.

Vutomi shared as well that he was using ICTs for his education, especially since he was a distance learner at UNISA and therefore needed fast broadband to manage his studies: "*I'm also a part time student so that is very important to be in an area like this where I have access to faster internet and also closer to campus.*"

Family members left behind

A few participants also commented on using ICTs as a source for educational opportunities as well as distance learning. Nsovo described having to learn how to use ICTs since she had enrolled at UNISA to further her studies. She explained the importance of ICTs in her education;

> *I remember last when I had to write my accountings exam, I really struggled because I had to write online but I worked hard to do it and I was able to. I think the system had a problem but because I did not know much it was hard, and I had to call Vutomi and explain where I was and what I was struggling with.*

Mary also mentioned using ICTs to be able to do her schoolwork and assignments, especially using Google: "*Also Google. That's what I do. I am always on Google searching for information I might need in school especially because I am a distance learner at UNISA.*"

Most family members commented on how ICTs allowed them to feel that they were part of a larger community outside their own rural home. Star expressed the advantage of having access to the internet which made her feel included and helped her gain independence:

> *But to be able to google and use social media. I mean you get to dream big, for example wanting to be a fashion designer. Not only that access gives me a chance to learn about other people who I would like to be as well from other countries. In a way I am not closed in by my circumstance, I am not excluded but I am included in the whole span of life*.

Moreover, Florence described ICTs, especially social media, as a community on its own and the ability to access it feels inclusionary:

> *You simply need to communicate with people because you can go to the internet, you post it, I'm going to the interview for what and what, which questions can I expect for my interview. Some will, maybe you can find that someone was on that interview last before, then they can tell you prepare this and this and this*.

Gift reported feeling like part of a more global world through ICTs, as she can search for information and entertainment, and more importantly, she felt less isolated: "*Yes, I have access to the global internet because I watch movies, even get information. There is lot of things that I find on internet, so I don't feel like I am left behind and I don't know anything*."

4.6.3 The Importance of ICTs in Developing a Sense of Independence

Migrants commented on the importance of ICTs in giving them a sense of independence in a new and unknown environment, far away from their families and community of origin. ICTs were seen as a source for aiding autonomy and self-reliance in new spaces to feel included and to assimilate, even more than for communication. This was illustrated by how migrants used different applications such as Google maps and banking apps. These assisted participants in moving around, searching for job opportunities and providing easy access to acquiring information. Moreover, family members left behind commented on their use of ICT applications to receive money, apply for jobs and be part of the global internet community.

4.6.3.1 Applications Used for Moving around

Migrants' experiences

Migrants described their struggles with finding their way around in a new geographical location and commented on their use of ICTs to get their bearings and find new places through Google maps. This allowed them to avoid having to ask people for directions, which made them less vulnerable to crimes such as muggings. Blessing described this vulnerability:

> *And then smartphone, the smartphone when I'm going somewhere I don't know, like, it helps me a lot. Because I don't have to ask for people. Sometimes I can ask to strangers who might kidnapped me. So, for my smartphone, I just, I just tap like where I'm at, where to, and then they do give me direction. So, it is easy you see.*

Vutomi also described using Google: "*Especially when you're going to a new place you need to like directions, you need Google Maps. You need Google Maps.*"

4.6.3.2 Applications Used for Financial Purposes

Migrants' experiences

Most migrants commented on the ability to use ICT applications for financial purposes like sending money back home. Blessing expressed being able to use banking apps to buy household goods and pay for household expenses even from a distance: "*Yes. And for smartphone again, I can download the apps like cellphone banking, so I can be able to pay, buy by something while I'm away.*" Mbali also commented on how easy it was to send money home to her mother for her children living with her parents: "*Yes. On that, my kids are staying at home now. So, you have to send them money. So, that's a good thing because I have to send… I don't have to go home and give them money…*". Vutomi also commented on how easy and instant it was to be able to send money home: "*It's instant. You can send an email which is like instant you can… It makes life easier.*"

Family members left behind

Many family members left behind also commented on the ease of using ICTs such as banking apps for sending and receiving money, as well as buying products online to send to their families. Participants highlighted the instant care that ICTs have provided them regarding remittances being sent to them and things being ordered for their families. They commented on the easy process of receiving money from migrants. Nsovo talked about her experience of ICTs with using banking apps when her brother sends money home:

> *Even looking at sending money home, it would take long to get to us and sometimes it was months before one could get it. You find that sometimes even maize meal is finished before we could get the money for groceries. But now things are easier because they can send today, and we can still get it today. So, you are able to do the necessary stuff on time without delay*.

Star also described her experiences with receiving money instantaneously in case of emergencies:

> *Yes, I mean you would get messages when it's already too late or that person would hear the message when it's not simple to do it at that time or the time has passed. For example, like sending money or help with emergencies such as illnesses*.

Of interest is the fact that participants shared that they would often send money to the migrants instead of the other way around, especially between siblings or in the early days of migration. Migrants often used this money to sustain themselves in the city. Florence described sending money to her sister in Johannesburg:

> *I think it's fine, because let's say, I'm living in a rural area, we don't have something like banks, meaning if she needs money, I can send her through phones like Internet Banking, yes, cellphone banking actually. I can send him the cash, even though I didn't go to town. That's why I say, I think it's the easiest thing*.

Star talked about a similar experience where she sends money to her son for sustenance:

> *I get to do things for him quickly, for example, like money, sometimes he would run out of money and because I would have money on my Capitec card. And because he uses Capitec same as me, I am able to send in money and sometimes save money using that phone*.

4.6.3.3 Applications Used to Find Employment

Migrants' experiences

A few migrants reported using ICT applications to find employment and opportunities for income through social media platforms such as YouTube. Moreover, Vutomi expressed that ICTs provide opportunities for extra income through marketing by using YouTube and social media: "*Access to ICT enables you to create extra income or generate extra income.*" Precious explained a similar experience with using ICTs as a source of income:

> *They look at, they check on YouTube and they become make-up artists, they do it like part-time while they are busy doing their careers or whatever they are, you can be a*

doctor, you can be a psychologist whatever you want to be, and you can still do whatever you love over the weekend.

Family members left behind

A few participants also commented on their experiences of using ICTs to search for new employment to improve their family life and gain a sense of independence. Florence mentioned using ICTs, specifically social media (Facebook), to access information on jobs:;

Yes, because like, post, you can find the post through Facebook through internet, you can find a, maybe if you're a businessperson, you can find the ways they need the people. Maybe there's a contract somewhere, you can find it, they posted through Facebook.

Gift commented on a similar experiences where she used ICT applications to find jobs and bursaries online without moving to Gauteng to apply: "*And it makes things easier for me because sometimes I google jobs online and even my brother, he used internet for searching for a good university, bursaries and even write homework for my daughter using cellphone internet.*"

4.6.3.4 Applications Used to Access Various Services

Migrants' experiences

Participants mentioned the possibilities created by ICTs for easier access to different information and services, which increased their sense of independence. Blessing described her experience:

Yes, my experience is that now the ICT makes life, and easier because you can do something which you were supposed to go to town like you can do it at home. Sending money, accessing information, sending information and saving. You know, now it is better for us like everything you have is improved. And then the knowledge gain, like I have gained a lot of knowledge.

Vutomi described a similar experience and feeling: "*It allows… the benefits it allows you to have access to information and opportunities and also to keep in touch with family when you are apart from them. Yeah, and also it sort of like improves our lives yeah.*"

4.6.4 Challenges Related to the Use of ICTs

This theme represents the challenges and difficulties experienced by migrants and their family members regarding the use of ICTs to maintain their relationships. Both migrants and family members shared some of their frustrations and dissatisfaction with using ICT services to communicate with each other. These challenges include frequency of communication, lack of face-to-face interaction, lack of intimacy, poor connectivity, misinformation and misrepresentation. Moreover, participants mentioned struggling with ICT expenses and the ability to access and use ICTs (digital divide and literacy). These subthemes are discussed below.

4.6.4.1 The Role of Frequency of Communication

Migrants' experiences

Frequency of communication was one of the factors that migrants felt played an important role in the maintenance of and change in relationships and family dynamics. The quality of relationships of some migrants has changed because of the lack of frequent communication, which was mostly linked to financial constraints. Mbali expressed this as follows, especially as it related to lack of airtime:

> *When you're at home you always see each other. But when you are this side you have to communicate, meaning you have to always have something in your phone like airtime or so on to call them, video call them and that. So, if you don't have airtime the relationship will definitely change. But at… Like twice a week I communicate with them so that keep us a little bit closer. But it's different from home*.

Vutomi described a similar experience, highlighting the change in the quality of relationships based on the lack of available data or problems with infrastructure:

> *So we still… we talk over the phone and video call but then sometimes we go for 3 days and without calling because like sometimes they don't have airtime, I don't have airtime, or my sister doesn't have data, or you call then there's no network. So, we talk but then not as much as we would if ever they had better infrastructure in terms of what could help them like keep like for us to keep in touch yeah*.

On the other hand, Precious talked about the constant and increased frequency of phone calls, video calls and WhatsApp chats, which had played a role in strengthening her relationship with her mother across distance:

> *Because sometimes I used to cry, but now when I go home, I want to be with my mom. So, I think talking to her helped a lot over the phone, and our relationship seems like stronger and now we talk like now talk like almost every day. Even now I'm old, I will speak to my mom every day like for an hour, two hours most of the time – every day.*

4.6.4.2 Lack of Face-to-face Interaction

Migrants' experiences

Migrants often expressed their frustration about the limitations and lack of intimacy that ICTs have compared to face-to-face communication. Blessing expressed this as follows: "*And every time when I have to talk, to speak to them, it is indirect. Because I have to use video call, text message, phone call, which I must spend.*"

According to Vutomi, ICTs lack intimacy for various reasons including frequency of communication and lack of resources:

> *It's just… Like when we speak it's just about how you're doing and stuff like that but then you don't really get too much into detail and having to talk the way I would when I was with them. So, I wouldn't like… It's not as… how can I say it? It's not as personal or intimate*.

Family members left behind

Family members left behind also commented on the lack of face-to-face presence which ICTs do not provide. Star described this experience as follows:

Nsovo commented that while ICTs helped her maintain her relationship with her brother, it did not replace the intimacy of face-to-face interaction, which she enjoyed the most:

> *ICTs have changed the way we do relationships but has really helped with keeping in touch with our loved ones who are far and wouldn't have been able to if there weren't these platforms. It is not the same though as being able to sit face-to-face and talk about so many things.*

4.6.4.3 Misinformation and Misrepresentations

Migrants' experiences

Most participants mentioned that they would keep certain information to themselves and would not share it with their family members as a way to protect them from worrying about them. Sibusiso shared his experience as follows:

> *Definitely there is. Obviously, my skeletons that are out there in Gauteng, some of them is part of my business. You understand. And there is no way I can actually share some of my person things with my mom. No matter how hard things are. ... no matter how hard things are. To some extent it may be depressing me because of a lot of things but I am selective of what to tell them. And what not to tell them. Why? I don't want to stress; I don't want them to stress. So, my son is going through this and that. While I am away, I always want to give them a picture that I am well. You understand. So even if there are many things around that I am actually going through I will not tell them. Especially these hardships.*

Mbali also reported that her experience with ICTs included the ability to tell her family only what she wants to tell them, especially if she is struggling, without worrying that they will see the truth, because they are a distance away: "*Ja, what I'm telling you to believe. Not what I am.*" Vutomi commented on the simplicity of hiding his challenges from his family, especially using ICTs, unlike if it was a face-to-face interaction: "*They've seen that, you cannot say you're okay when you're not especially because they know me so they would know that no, you're not okay, you're lying.*"

Family members left behind

Family members left behind seemed to be aware of this misrepresentation and misinformation on the part of the migrants. Nsovo described an experience where people, especially migrants, portray a different image on social media: "*I mean now you can see a person on these social media and think it is them but not realizing that they are portraying a certain lifestyle that is different from their real one.*" Florence in turn reported an experience where her sister was sick but did not disclose that she was: "*Because sometimes even if I don't have airtime, I know I can go to free mode, then communicate, how are you, I'm fine or whatever. Is everything go well like, yes. You know even if she's not, she's sick.*" Furthermore, Florence also mentioned not disclosing if she was unwell so as not to worry her sister:

> *Yes you can lie. Because sometimes it depends if he is in Joburg and I'm at home, I feel like maybe he can worry much. I can say I am fine even though I feel like, if he can see personally, he can see this person is not well.*

4.6.4.4 Expenses Related to Use of ICTs

Migrants' experiences

Many participants commented on the cost of communicating with their family members who are left behind. Most of the participants blamed the charges of ICTs for being the barrier to communicating frequently with their family members. Blessing expressed her frustration with not being able to communicate with her family because of the costs of airtime and data:

> *Yes, even the, like the finances shortage, because sometimes I can't access the like, I can't use my ICT appliances. Or I can't communicate if I don't have money because sometimes it needs data, airtime and all that stuff. You know, it becomes difficult for me to do so.*

According to Mbali, costs related to ICTs limit her daily interactions with family back home: "*South Africa is expensive with that. So, the challenges to communicate is because of the data. Because if it was in… Data wasn't the problem, meaning I will video call them every day.*" Vutomi described a similar challenge: "*You find that you don't have data, like you run out of data, sometimes it gets expensive.*" Vutomi expressed his sadness at not being close to his family:

> *For all my life I've stayed with my family for all my life and then yeah, we are pretty close. And the only time I stayed away from them was when I went to varsity and now that I'm living in Pretoria. So, we still… we talk over the phone and video call but then sometimes we go for 3 days and without calling because like sometimes they don't have airtime, I don't have airtime, or my sister doesn't have data, or you call then there's no network.*

Family members left behind

Family members left behind commented on the difficulties they experienced in keeping in touch with their family members who had migrated because of the expenses of airtime and data (ICT). Florence stated that the charges for using the internet on her phone are cheaper than going to an internet café, and using the phone is also much easier:

> *If I use my phone, it's I can buy airtime and buy data but it's easier than if I can come with the transport, pay transport money then I do the email on the internet. Yes, so I*

think it's cheaper because you can just buy the airtime then you do the data, then you you send your email easier, and cheaper.

Gift shared that cheaper data and airtime provide the possibility of easier communication: "*ya, I think when data is cheap it makes things easier. Or getting free airtime after recharging like they sometimes do.*"

Most participants explained that the costs related to the use of ICTs made it difficult for everyone to be part of larger family decisions. Star described how it was difficult to include her son in important decisions about the family because some were urgent and it became a challenge to try and communicate with him or ask his advice:

… when he is here, we would talk and discuss various things and a way forward for most of the things, where it is done immediately. However, when he is in Gauteng it is difficult because sometimes, I don't have airtime. I mean I don't even have that R5 to buy airtime to call even we have to make decisions and I end up making decisions on my own without his input.

4.6.4.5 Digital Literacy

Migrants' experiences

Participants shared their initial challenges in using ICT hardware during their earlier days of migration because they previously had had limited exposure to technology. Blessing mentioned her inability to use computers in her earlier days of migration: "*From an earlier time, it was difficult because it was, some of the stuff like computer I've been using it for the first time of my life. So, I was scared. Like, even using the mouse.*" Vutomi reported this being a source of discomfort and he would often get embarrassed around people who knew about computers in his new environment:

You won't. And they look at you as if you are crazy or something. Like imagine having to… let's say you're using your word document, you can't even bold, you have to ask how to bold, how to underline. Like simple stuff like that.

It also appeared as if migrants often carried the responsibility of teaching their family members back home how to use ICTs. Precious described this experience as tedious but also as a way to bond with her mother:

My mom, I'm teaching her how to Skype, how to video call but she, she does have WhatsApp, but she is not a WhatsApp person, so I must … every time when I send her something I must still call her and let her know.

Precious also commented on the fact that many older family members viewed technology with suspicion, making it more challenging to teach them about these forms of communication. Precious described her experience:

> *You know like there are people who … our parents, they still believe that, so it becomes difficult for us to communicate with them. And teach them how to even use this phone because for them they just believe that it is evil*.

Family members left behind

Most participants reported on their challenges related to learning how to use ICTs, especially when their family members left for Gauteng. Star described how she had to learn how to use ICTs if she wanted to communicate with her son:

> *In the very beginning when he moved, it influenced me to buy a phone that has more apps for example Facebook, to be able to buy data and buy airtime to talk to him in an urgent manner compared to letters*.

Mary also commented on how she had to learn to use ICT apps such as Skype and open accounts for various videocalling apps when her sister migrated: "*I had to learn a lot, some of the things I did not really understand like videocalls, Skype and what's this…. opening accounts and what not.*" Nsovo described having to learn how to use ICTs from the ground up after her brother left:

> *Yes, for example, when he was usually here at home before he migrated, he had to do a lot of things regarding ICTs for me. However, with him being gone my experience went from an observer to someone who participated in it because it was up to me now to learn how to be part of ICTs*.

Star described a similar experience in teaching her children how to use different ICT hardware:

> *I have knowledge now, I mean I have learned that even when I'm home, I have to lend my children my phone so they can use it. Where they google, use WhatsApp and Facebook. Because I have knowledge now to also use the internet to send money*

4.6.4.6 Digital Divide

Migrants' experiences

Most participants commented on the gap between urban and rural areas regarding the distribution of ICT infrastructure and resources. This seemed to be the case especially related to free Wi-Fi and free computer centres. Vutomi described this gap as unfair, creating a sense of inequality:

> *Living in the same country where there's a lot of emphasis about equality that we should all be equal, but you don't get access to equal opportunities or to the same service delivery. You have a kid that has … gets a tablet preloaded with all the learning materials that they need*.

Sibusisoreported that this unequal distribution of ICT resources is still prevalent in his home province compared to Gauteng, which further speaks to the digital divide:

> *So these differences and inequalities, gaps, we have been talking about, they are a crisis, they are killing our youth, especially to those of us who are ...poor... but it is unfortunate that although some of us were not privileged, we are always going to struggle with access to the internet... these elites are doing*.

Moreover, Vutomi placed emphasis on the level of access to ICTs depending on geographic areas:

> *The difference is between how these, Let's say a person that is living in an urban area and a person that is living in a rural area there's so much gap in terms of the access that they have in terms of infrastructure and things like… Simple things such as accessing information or those kinds of things to having access… Here we have access to free Wi-Fi.*

Family members left behind

Star described her wish for rural villages to be provided with the same ICT resources that were available in Gauteng:

> *Yes, with me another thing is, what I can see which an influence this increased skill is if the government would be able to bring us things like tablets. The learners that are in grades 6 or 7 would write homeworks using the tablets, where they can use Google and YouTube*.

This was supported by Ruth as she commented on the importance of equal distribution of ICTs so this gap could be closed and the next generation did not suffer the same consequences they suffered regarding digital literacy:

> *I think maybe the younger generations should be given access, I mean the government should make tools and products just like laptops, even Wi-Fi more accessible so it can make it easier for them to learn more about ICTs so they are just like other children in urban areas*.

Nsovo commented too on the importance of government equally distributing ICT resources such as more network poles, computers in schools for children to learn and free Wi-Fi access:

> *I think I will answer this regarding schools. I feel like a lot of schools in villages are very underresourced and it would be a great improvement if they were provided with tablets just like some schools in Gauteng. For example, they could take a certain number of learners to do exchange programmes because it exposes them a lot to different worldview that are out there.*

4.7 Visits

This theme reflects the expectations of family members left behind with regard to migrants' visits back home. It was seen as a kind of ritual, especially during the Christmas holidays. There were also instances of family members left behind visiting their family members in urban areas. Interestingly, none of the migrants mentioned visits as an important tool to maintain relationships with those left behind.

Family members left behind

Most participants shared their expectations of visits from those who had migrated. Visits were seen as a ritual and the glue that held their relationships and interactions together, especially during the December holiday. Nsovo described her sadness at only seeing her brother during the December holidays. However, ICTs have given her a way to bridge this gap and strengthen their relationship through phone calls and video calls:

> *It would mean that I only get to see him during December holidays but now that we have these platforms, it is easier to talk to him every day without worrying that you'd have to communicate with him only when he comes home in December*.

There seemed to be an expectation that when migrants came back home, they would bring gifts for members left behind:

> *It's all great. Just because every time she comes back home, we have this thing at home. Yeah. This thing out, I, uh, Johannesburg is their city of gold. Now when she is back, there are a lot of opportunities in Johannesburg. So, the thing that comes into my mind is like, what is it that my mother is coming with, with things and gifts that are gifts. Okay. My mother's going to come with this… with this handbag, the trending thing. It's all about trends now. So yeah, it's a, it's a happy moment* (Matimu).

Visits to urban areas

Family members left behind

There were some instances of family members visiting migrants in urban areas. Matimu talked about her difficulties when her mother left her; however, visiting her in Gauteng made it much easier to maintain their relationship rather than using ICTs:

> *When my mother left, it was a very difficult situation. I was in a very difficult dynamic just because I was very young at the time, I was in… great, okay, let me see… I was in primary, maybe grade six, grade five. Yeah. I was in grade five when she left. So, I was left with my grandmother and my grandfather was, it was a difficult situation, but on the other hand it was not because I was in good hands with my grandfather and grandmother, but then it was a difficult situation because sometimes some things just need a mother. Yeah. Just me. They might not, but all in all, it was, it was cool, but it was cool because I used to visit her in Johannesburg. Yes.*

Star also described how daunting visits were because of the difference between her rural home and the city:

> *When I sometimes visit my son in Gauteng, it hard to even use the Gautrain because I have never seen it in my life but if I had access at home to google or learn about how these things work.*

4.8 Conclusion

The chapter described the main themes emerging from the data obtained from the interviews. These themes underscore the challenges experienced by both those who migrate and those left behind when it came to moving from rural to urban aeras. The role that ICTs play in maintaining relationships of migrants and their family members left behind was highlighted. The findings also reveal the importance of ICTs not only in maintaining relationships but also in developing a sense of independence and inclusion in the community in their new environments. The challenges participants faced with using ICTs and how that impacted on their relationships with family members were also described. The next chapter discusses the findings as they relate to the literature and the theoretical framework used.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Qualitative inquiry is a process that is descriptive and rich in words, hence the use of direct quotes from interviews (Merriam, 2002). In this chapter, the findings presented in the previous chapter are discussed as they relate to the pertinent literature. Access to information through the availability of ICTs not only impacts communication but also impacts social change and human development, because this access provides global spaces to a variety of information including health information, human rights, social development, technological innovations, and policies. There has been extensive research on migration (especially focused on transnationalism in recent years) and the importance of ICTs in this context (for example Baldassar et al., 2016; Marchetti-Mercer, 2012a, 2012b, 2016; Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016; Skuse & Cousins, 2007). However, there has been limited research on the importance of ICT access with regard to social inclusion and interpersonal, financial, familial, and interpersonal communication, in the context of internal migration in South Africa. Therefore, this research aimed to contribute to the understanding of the impact of ICTs and the role they play in the lives of people who migrate from rural to urban areas and their families left behind. Although this research focused on the role of ICTs specifically, other information is discussed in this chapter to provide ag background and context for the understanding of participants' general experiences as they relate to migration .

The following research questions were asked at the beginning of the project:

- How do migrant populations use ICTs to maintain relationships with their families left behind?
- What are the impediments to their use of the technology?
- What is the relationship between demographic dimensions, the digital divide, and social inclusion?

The answers to these questions will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework underlying this research, namely critical community psychology. This framework provides a lens to socially divisive patterns of structure and engages in the destruction of oppressive social arrangements (Evans et al., 2017). The primary purpose of critical community psychology is to engage in social research that supports and encourages equal as well as fair allocation of resources in the social and economic field (Evans et al., 2017). Although there is an increase in the level of diversity globally regarding to community psychology theory and practice, the

African perspective is still marginal (Seedat & Lazarus, S. (2011). Many African communities are still not represented by the community psychology that created to cater to these marginal community. This research aim to close this gap by giving this marginal community a platform to voice out their experiences.

Migration is defined by a change of residence, whether semi-permanent or permanent, through movement and the resulting geographical distance (Argyropoulos, 2011). There are different types of migration as discussed earlier in the literature review; however, this research focused on internal migration with matched pairs of migrants and a family member left behind. In some instances, themes were prominent in the experiences of those who migrated and in others in those left behind. There were examples where both groups highlighted similar experiences.

The harsh socio-economic conditions in the rural areas in the Limpopo province with its concomitant low quality of life (Stats SA, 2011) were highlighted in migrant participants' experiences. This has also resulted in stark differences in infrastructure provision between urban and rural areas (Issah et al., 2005). Migrant participants highlighted this difference in infrastructure and service delivery in their daily lives: "*Rural areas don't have water at home, we don't have electricity"* (Precious).

Internal migration is closely linked to finding greater options and opportunities for advancement, especially in an attempt to reduce poverty (Tandoh-Offin & Awuse, 2013). According to Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004), internal migration from rural areas to Gauteng, which is mostly an urban area, is seen as a way to procure employment. Significantly, this study found similar causes and explanations as to why people move from rural to urban areas, namely mainly employment. Based on Critical Community psychology this phenomenon is tied to exclusion of rural communities and unequal distributions of power and action . "These exclusions are best understood within the context of persistent unequal distribution of power and resources, the nature and quality of interactions between poor communities, the wider social and political systems" (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011, p.252).

The majority of participants ascribed to their move to Gauteng to an attempt at securing employment, as highlighted by Vutomi "*It's for work purposes 'cause Pretoria has a lot of opportunities compared to where I come from which is basically a very rural area so yeah. I came here for work".* Therefore, migration can be seen as a way to close the poverty gap in families between rural and urban areas through employment opportunities (Riccio, 2016).

Migrants commented on the importance of pursuing their vocational goals in an urban area due to the large differences between their villages and urban areas in opportunities and infrastructure. Critical Community Psychology broadens understanding as well as addressing other forms as exclusions as exclusions that is experienced by migrants and their communities such as having to move to urban areas for better opportunities as rural communities are often overlooked when in comes to development.

However, some participants also mentioned academic opportunities and development as their main reason to migrate, as described by Sibusiso "…*the only thing that we actually get credited for is actually education … Gauteng has one of the second-best universities in the continent"*. This is collaborated by previous literature. According to Kok and Collinson (2006), migration also occurs because of the wish for obtaining a higher education in urban areas, which often have academic institutions with a higher academic reputation. This also speaks to the need to explore inequalities and injustices which communities in rural areas are faced with regarding economic and social resources that could grow their communities (Evans et al., 2017). Sibusiso's reflection, "*there are still inequalities in society at large. There are still inequalities in a way*", underscores that it is imperative for all communities to experience collective wellbeing. A huge gap is still evident between rural and urban communities, which are more developed and have more opportunities than rural communities (Evans et al., 2017). Psychology has a responsibility to eradicate social injustices. This vast gap between rural communities and urban communities is embedded in pre-existing apartheird spatial panning. Although there are some developments, the gap is still there and therefore these communities affected still require justice and a platfrom to share their experiences.

The majority of participants described ICT infrastructure in their rural homes as non-existent. They spoke about the challenges they faced with low bandwidth connections and poor mobile cellular networks because of insufficient ICT structures such as telephone poles and network satellites. The lack of sufficient ICT structures results in poor connectivity, as expressed by Vutomi: "*Like we struggle with connectivity. You can go for 2 hours without getting messages on your phone, without getting messages, without… sometimes you try to send emails, they don't go through because of the network.*" Many migrants reported that their villages have only a few cellphone towers or none at all, which leads to network latency and delays in the transmission of signals. This causes the caller's voice to reach the listener's a few seconds after

speaking and scrambled audio or poor audio quality. Vutomi described this as frustrating because it makes keeping in touch difficult: "*You find that sometimes you are in an area where there is like very… no network or very little which limits and it's sort of like a challenge to you communicating.*"

Significantly, this economic disparity perpetuates the social exclusion of some communities like those in the rural areas. It is evident that migration is facilitated by the exploration of resources embedded in social systems of distribution of these resources (Tanoh & Osei-Assibey, 2019), for example resources such as education and employment. "*It's for work purposes 'cause Pretoria has a lot of opportunities compared to where I come from which is basically a very rural area so yeah. I came here for work"* (Vutomi). In conclusion, the findings of this research highlighted the fact that employment and higher education are often at the core of migrants' reasons for migration which is affected the unequal distribution of resources between rural and urban development projects(Bennett et al., 2015). Rural communities are still oppressed and marginalised with the status quo of the development and access still intact in urban areas only, "oppression is described as a state of domination where the oppressed suffer the consequences of deprivation, exclusion, discrimination, exploitation, control of culture" (Prilleltensky, 2008, p. 126)

Migration has been characterised as a process defined by loss, whether of identities, communities, people, or objects (Bigombe & Khadiagala, 2003. The literature on migration has placed emphasis on migration and loss (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012; Bigombe & Khadiagala, 2003; Mlambo, 2018). Similarly, many of the challenges that were highlighted by the findings were the significant social and psychological losses participants experienced as a result of migration, specifically for migrant participants. The relationship between migration, identity and community has also been the focus of many migration debates (Jaspal, 2015) because they play an important role in migrants' assimilation, social inclusion, and sense of belonging There were three types of losses that were highlighted in the findings. The first one was the loss of a sense of community. Ainslie (2017) argues that we are closely connected to our communities in a broader way through religion, ethnicity and identity as well as through shared experiences of food, language, music and other important elements in group identity that translate to individual identity. Psychic dislocation occurs when migration "creates a

fragmentation of one's sense of community" and identity (Ainslie, 2017). He argues that not only do migrants mourn the people they have lost but also the culture which holds them.

Bacigalupe and Camara (2012) argue that migrants experience multiple losses, one of which is community with its axiological practices and culture. This experience was characterised in the study by migrant participants as a loss of social support systems. "*At home, the difference is, is like I'm always surrounded with people who are closer to me, my relatives and friends*" (Blessing). In urban areas, there seemed to be a sense of a lack of community holding one and understanding who one is as an individual. According to Bhugra and Becker (2005), this experience of loss of familiar spaces, faces and social structures takes away a sense of community and belonging, which migrants live by as described by Precious: "*No, I'm alone, I just have to figure out things myself and some challenges that I get this side*". Jaspal (2015) acknowledges the difficulty of migrants to reproduce a homeland community, leading to a lack of sense of community which threatens closeness to others.

The second loss highlighted was the loss of cultural identity and this reflects Mlambo's (2018) views that the loss or displacement of cultural and identity ties has a huge impact on migrants' ability to adapt to the new communities. This is echoed in the words of Blessing: "*Yes. Because I will forget about where I'm coming from, my roots, and all this stuff. That is not good.*" (Blessing). Migrants lose more than just their communities, they also lose their cultural identity with its practices and values when they lose their community and family ties (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). This inability to reproduce a sense of community often leads to the identity of migrants being threatened (Jaspal, 2015). It seems like the loss of a sense of community is a significant experience of the migrant participants in this study, as is also seen in literature.

One's community is a medium that facilitates the experiences of staying connected to one's roots, and practising cultural customs and rituals (Mlambo, 2018). Therefore, the loss of this community not only affects the close proximity of individuals but also the familiarity and comfort of practising different cultural rituals. Most migrants conveyed that it was troubling not to be able to practise these rituals and feared they might forget who they are in relation to their community.

> *Since it's the city you know, Pretoria is the capital city of our country. So, the lifestyle here like it's more than, it's for nowadays, like you don't know much about tradition, cultures, and something like that, they depends on modern lifestyle* (Blessing).

These findings appear to echo Leavey et al. (2004), who point out that this sense of loss and grief of cultural identities is what often results in migrants' ability to assimilate. Therefore, migrants have the need to re-create these spaces in new locations to retain their psychological functioning through the denial of reality, attempting to be both "there" and "here" (Ainslie, 2017).

Closely linked to one's sense of cultural identity is one's language. According to Mirsky (1991), many migrants struggle with mastering a new language. The development of language is facilitated in most cases by mothers, hence the term mother tongue (Mirsky, 1991). It is clear that language plays a critical role in the development of self-identity and the loss of it results in a deep sense of grief, especially in the process of migration (Mirsky, 1991). Based on the assumptions of critical community psychology, language is fundamental to the awareness, whether conscious or unconscious, of understanding social problems and uncovering unjust systemic problems (Evans et al., 2017). Language is consequently one of the most important aspects of a migrant's feelings of loss. It is also closely linked to one's sense of belonging, which is one of the issues that migrants often struggle with, leading to a feeling of otherness (Jaspal, 2015). According to Esser (2006), language has a number of important roles to fulfil, especially in the individual and societal integration process. While language specifically can facilitate a sense of belonging, it can also give rise to discrimination and a sense of being different (Esser, 2006). Migrant participants in this study also expressed their sense of loss in losing the ability to speak their mother tongue in these new environments. These findings are corroborated by literature on migration and the loss of dialect and colloquialism. The findings therefore correspond to Kerswill's (2006) views that migration has sociolinguistic consequences as migrants are uprooted and then need to adapt to new languages or suffer social exclusion. This language difference between migrants and their new environment also impacts upon migrants' ability to form new relationships. It appears that migrants are further isolated and discriminated against due to their inability to speak the common language in these new environments. This could mean that they are excluded from social networks and creating supportive social relationships.

Migration also has an impact on family relationships. Some relationships can be threatened by migration, as migration reduces the contact and exchange of support opportunities, which leads to changes in family dynamics (Gillespie & Mulder, 2020). Family members left behind have to adjust to the temporary or permanent absence of their loved ones who have migrated (Hugo, 2002). The relationships of families change, and this puts a significant strain on emotional

relationships as well. The goal of Critical Community psychology is to promote health and well-being which can be through quanlitative research that aims to explore experiences of oppressed groups and vulnerable communities such as migrants and rural communities (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). Political and psychological oppression co-exist as the reasons for migration and keeping in touch with family members is linked to a loss of community, identity and language which plays a huge role in identity and self-esteem. Research findings highlighted the impact internal migration has on individuals and families well-being. These findings aim at broadening community psychology research into transformative research about rural-urban migration

Although individual autonomy is expected in Western societies, maintaining family relationships when people migrate from rural communities is important in African communities. They seem to want to maintain family networks, although they could deteriorate because of distance through migration (Gillespie & Mulder, 2020). The findings of this study indicate that there is a deterioration in relationships of migrants with their family members compared to their relationship before they migrated because of the distance. "*And then now since I migrated, like the relationship is currently tense and difficult, because I miss my family*" (Blessing). These findings highlight how relationships are affected by distance due to the lack of closeness between and the inability to provide rituals of caring to migrants and their family members (Rahman, 2017).

Both migrants and their family members left behind experienced this sense of deterioration in relationships, which was impacted by the distance. Ruth, whose partner had migrated, spoke of the impact of migration on her parenting of their children without her partner being close: "*I think his good behaviour, I don't have that presence anymore but now I just tell my kids about the memories of their father*". According to Mulder (2018), the process of moving away greatly impacts family networks which then results in tense and difficult relationships regarding opportunities of support and contact exchange. In support of the findings of Bigombe and Khadiagala (2003), the findings of the study also suggest that the process of migration can lead to disrupted family ties, not only for the migrants but also for those left behind. The results of this present study also highlight the negative experiences of migrants as compared to those left behind. The negative experiences may be due to the fact that the urban environment is so alienating and strange compared to the level of community in the villages (Liu & Besser, 2003).

The reason as to why family members left behind seemed to not have been greatly impacted by this may have been because they may have retained a sense of support from their community, unlike those who had migrated.

According to Mulder (2018), migration also impacts family processes such as daily decision making. The findings reveal that most migrants felt left out from the family decision making process and family members left behind felt it difficult to make decisions without migrants, but commented that they had no choice but to adapt to the change. "*I end up making decisions on my own without his input*" (Star). It is therefore evident that the day-to-day running of households has to change to accommodate the migrant who left (Willis & Yeoh, 2000). However, not all those who were left behind necessarily saw their family relationships as having been negatively impacted. Although family networks are important, not every family relation is healthy or positive in close proximity (Gillespie & Mulder, 2020) . In fact, there were examples were participants commented on the fact that family relationships had improved because of the distance. Gift expressed this as follows: "*Ya, it has improved our relationship in that the distance has given us space, we're no longer fighting. We are best friends now*". This is in agreement with Bacigalupe and Camara (2012), who argue that in some instances migration helps resolve family conflicts.

It is of significance that in order to address the change in family relationships created by migration and geographical distance, ICTswere widely used. In agreement with Hunter (2015), the finding suggests that ICTs have become a part of families' lived experiences and play an important role in the facilitating of family dynamics and maintaining of relationships. Sharma and Sturges (2007) describe ICTs as mediators in loss and management of relationships across distance as highlighted by Nsovo: "*Our relationship hasn't changed much because there is never a day where it passes without me calling, me talking on social medias such as WhatsApp and Facebook because of the ICT*." Therefore, as argued by Wallace (2012), ICTs provide a platform to migrants and their family members to continue and enhance existing relationships across distance, which inhibits the deterioration of these relationships.

In addition to the use of ICTs to maintain family relationships, the maintenance of relationships is also impacted by the frequency of communication (Wilding, 2006). There are many different ways regarding how often and how long migrants communicate with their family members. These patterns of communication play an important role in the maintenance of these relationships (Fudolig et al., 2021; Wilding, 2006). Furthermore, the quality of the relationships

is dependent on how often the communication is and how long it is: "*So, if you don't have airtime the relationship will definitely change. But at… Like twice a week I communicate with them so that keep us a little bit closer. But it's different from home*" (Mbali).

ICTs have also become an important tool of instantaneous care and distance caring in the form of remittances for migrants and their family members. According to Baldassar (2007), migrants engage in the care of family members across distance in a number of ways, including remittances. The findings of this study point to the fact that ICTs facilitate migrants' sense of independence and a co-presence of care through the ability to send remittances instantly through banking apps, which removes the challenges related to finding a bank in an unfamiliar place. However, many studies have focused on migrants' forms of care towards their family members left behind and not necessarily on how families left behind care for those who migrate and face financial difficulties (Baldassar, 2007). According to the findings, family members left behind often provide care for migrants by taking care of their children left behind: "*Yes. On that, my kids are staying at home now. So, you have to send them money. So, that's a good thing because I have to send… I don't have to go home and give them money*" (Mbali). This supports Carling's (2008) view that family members left behind are not only passive receivers of care but have other ways to show their support and care towards migrants. The findings further revealed the occurrence of bidirectional caregiving through remittances, which mostly occur between siblings where non-migrants send money to migrants just like migrants send money back home.

The findings moreover point to the fact that ICTs are part of migrants' lives not only as they relate to family relationships but also in developing autonomy and independence in their new surroundings. According to Bacigalupe and Lambe (2011), migration is a difficult process accompanied by the complex challenge of assimilating into the new environment and community. Assimilation is a process which refers to migrants' integration into the host community in a healthy psychological manner and ICTs can facilitate this process (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). My findings reveal that migrants used ICTs such as Google maps to feel safer and gain independence in an unknown and unfamiliar place:

> *And then smartphone, the smartphone when I'm going somewhere I don't know, like, it helps me a lot. Because I don't have to ask for people. Sometimes I can ask to strangers who might kidnapped me. So, for my smartphone, I just, I just tap like where I'm at, where to, and then they do give me direction. So, it is easy you see* (Blessing).

Because migrants are a potentially vulnerable community (Antonsich, 2010; Boccagni, 2020; Kinnvall, 2004; McMillan, 1996; Ndlovu, 2010), this process of assimilating and adjusting can be a challenge. The process of assimilation is inherently complex. Migrants commented that it could include being able to navigate different places and different processes in different institutions such as banks and shops, including delivery of goods. However, ICTs not only provide a sense of independence but also a safety net as well as a source of valuable information. ICTs are useful not only for communication but also for making assimilation and adaptation processes easier by providing a platform for independence regarding information gathering and knowledge (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012). Access to knowledge and information is crucial in migrants' lives because, according to Kotyrlo (2020, one of the barriers in their lives is having incomplete and wrong information.

The findings of this study further revealed that migrants used ICTs for finding jobs when they arrived in the city. This highlights the role that access to ICTs can play in citizen participation and democratisation (social equality) through access to employment and networking (Djukic & Tomic, 2010). Moreover, participants used ICTs for educational purposes to gain freedom and independence. It is therefore clear that ICTs are mediators not only in maintaining relationships but also for a variety of other purposes such as entertainment, networking and information gathering. According to Burrell and Anderson (2008), ICTs are relevant in the experiences of migrants beyond maintaining connections with family members left behind. Most migrants use the Internet to set up and settle new ties and seek information from both host and homeland societies (Burrell & Anderson, 2008).

Migrants from rural areas not only face challenges with employment and education opportunities in their villages, but also face challenges such as safety concerns that come with migrating to an urban area for these opportunities, especially in the assimilation process. Although family members left behind spoke about a sense of loss and concern over migrants, migrants specifically spoke about concerns regarding their safety in unfamiliar environments, especially with high crime rates. This is a new area of focus which is different from previous research (Rasmussen et al., 2018) where family members left behind did not express any concern about their family members' safety in Gauteng. This may be due to the perception that Gauteng is just a different province and not necessarily a new country filled with the unknown, which is different from other research studies such as Paul (2015). Crime can influence migrants' sense of security in the destination location (Basu & Pearlman, 2017). Migrants value security and safety; however, they often feel insecure and unsafe in their host areas (Basu &

Pearlman, 2017). According to Crush and Peberdy (2018), migrants are largely apprehensive about crime in host communities due to the unfamiliarity of their surroundings and lack of knowledge about the new context they find themselves in . Moreover, it speaks to the lack of social support. This apprehension could be due to personal experience of being harassed, assaulted or robbed. The findings of this study revealed that migrants used ICTs for the process of assimilation through the use of Google maps for directions rather than asking other people for fear of being robbed (Crush & Peberdy, 2018).

Although ICTs have the potential to facilitate assimilation, independence and more importantly maintaining of relationships, and are essential features in migrants' lives (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012), they have their own challenges and difficulties. Whilst being a source of emotional support for migrants, they lack the intimacy that is usually found in face-to-face interactions. ICTs cannot replace face-to-face interaction with regard to providing intimacy and closeness (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012; Mulder, 2018). This was illustrated in the findings where participants commented on the lack of synchronicity which results in the lack of intimacy that face-to-face contact provides:

> *When he was still here, we used to see each other every day where we would talk and advise each other. Where even the children at home would learn certain behaviours through their brothers. When he went to Gauteng it was difficult at first because you have to buy airtime and you call but sometimes it goes to voicemail, sometimes the network is bad and sometimes my phone would be low to even call* (Star).

Therefore, in agreement with Marchetti-Mercer (2017), even though ICTs provide a platform for closeness and relatedness, they lack a sense of emotional closeness and intimacy. ICTs may become an impersonal form of interaction which reduces intimacy, accountability and transparency (Henderson & Gilding, 2004). According to Emanuel et al. (2014), ICTs not only provide limited intimacy but also limit self-disclosure, unlike face-to-face interaction:

> *Yes you can lie. Because sometimes it depends if he is in Joburg and I'm at home, I feel like maybe he can worry much. I can say I am fine even though I feel like, if he can see personally, he can see this person is not well* (Florence).

The findings are in line with Baldassar's (2017) view that migrants conceal unpleasant information such as illnesses and financial struggles so as not to worry their family. It is clear from the findings in this study that migrants choose what to disclose and what not to disclose to their family members.

However, family members left behind reported that ICTs provided them with a sense of intimacy if they were accompanied by visits. Return visits are defined as those periodic and temporary trips that migrants take to their homelands because of important social ties (Duval, 2004). Return visits are part of the process of the migration cycle and facilitate social connection. According to the family members left behind who were interviewed, visits and regular communication through ICTs built and maintained ties and were therefore seen as an important obligation for migrants (Baldassar, 2011). However, even though family members left behind spoke about expecting migrants to visit, the migrants themselves did not express or comment on this expectation of visits and whether they felt a need to visit at all. This may have been because home visits have the potential to be characterised by conflicts and difficulties, which often discourages migrants from home visits, as described by Baldassar (2011). The findings also revealed that family members left behind expected migrants' visits to help mitigate the lack of intimacy ICTs provide.

Overall, one the most crucial aspects which was highlighted by the findings is the digital divide that exists between urban areas and rural areas. The digital divide refers to the gap in social equalities with regard to access to ICTs (Bornman, 2016). Even though ICTs are believed to help in and aimed at potentially decreasing social exclusion, it appears that they also have the potential to create new forms and ways of exclusion as well as inequality for individuals in certain groups regarding who can and who cannot have access to ICTs. The findings revealed that most participants from both groups did not have proper access to ICTs which are important for their relationships and sense of independence. According to the findings of this study, it is clear that ICTs are an important emotional resource for migrants and their family members, as they help them maintain their relationships. This highlights the importance of access to ICTs in the migration population: "*At least I will get to speak to the loved ones at home, someone that matters to you"* (Precious). Furthermore, access to ICTs neutralises geographical distance and closes gaps by creating new forms of communities (Djukic & Tomic, 2010). However, it was clear from my participants' experiences that there is still a gap between urban and rural areas with regards to ICTs. According to Fuchs and Horak (2008), this gap in access includes the infrastructure of ICTs, such as telecommunication poles, radio broadcast, network stations and cables for signal distribution. This uneven distribution of access leads to many difficulties, such as poor connectivity. According to Bornman (2016), the digital divide in South Africa has been a crucial focus researchers because South Africa is one of the least computerised regions in the world due to the lack of basic network and electricity infrastructures. ICT infrastructure

is considered as a means to assist and encourage the upgrading of economic and social development in communities, which plays a crucial role in maintaining relationships across distance (Djukic & Tomic, 2010). It is evident from the findings that unequal access to ICTs not only affects relationships but also migrants' sense of independence and as such the digital divide is a humanitarian issue, because access to communication technologies is a fundamental human right (Fuchs & Horak, 2008). Although family members left behind spoke about the lack of access and not being able to use digital devices (Digital literacy), it appeared that they were not as actively aware as migrants about the digital divide that exists between urban areas and their rural areas. It appeared that they were not as aware of the lack of infrastructure in their villages, perhaps because they had not had the experience of living in urban areas and seeing what kind of opportunities there are out there.

The access to and infrastructure of ICTs also require a certain kind of knowledge and capability to handle such tools (Akinsola et al., 2005). The findings suggest a lack of digital literacy, which further hindered the use of ICTs. Digital literacy is defined as the ability to use ICTs and is a framework that integrates a variety of literacies and skills sets such as how to use devices and also how to share information (Bawden, 2008). Madianou (2015) argues that digital literacy has different levels and types which are based on need and should be taken into consideration and put in context. There are two groups of people regarding digital literacy. The first group is those who have access to phones with basic features (no Internet), and therefore do not need sophisticated skills beyond the calling function (Boas, 2020. The second group are those with smartphones who do need skills in the use of various ICT functions (Boas, 2020).

Most migrants did not know how to handle such tools in their earlier days of migration and could have been referred to as "digital strangers" (Brown, 2012): "*From an earlier time, it was difficult because it was, some of the stuff like computer I've been using it for the first time of my life. So, I was scared. Like, even using the mouse*" (Blessing). In agreement with Eshet-Alkalai (2004), findings in this study revealed that a low level of digital literacy often leads to misunderstandings and poor communication, resulting in difficulties in relationships. Moreover, the findings revealed that it is often up to migrants to teach their family members how to use ICTs. Similarly to Baldassar's (2016) views, migrants seemed to have more influence on family members left behind and home communities regarding technology adaptation and literacy with tools such as smartphones and computers to show the critical part they play in long-distance relationship maintenance. The findings also disclosed that the younger generation, especially those left behind, are agreeable to learning and open to social

networking. The findings of a study done by Ma et al. (2015) showed that older adults are reluctant to use ICTs beyond phone calls. Although older adults, especially those left behind, were slow in accepting ICTs, there were a number of factors that influenced their acceptance of them, such as influence from migrants to maintain their relationship (Ma et al., 2015). This is in accord with Bacigalupe and Camara (2012), who found that social media such as Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp are seen as a threat and may cause pathology such as misrepresentations and misinformation. Many non-migrants in villages saw these technologies as intrusive to original and "normal" village life.

The findings in this study further revealed that demographic dimensions such as age, level of education and socio-economic status played an important role in the dynamics between use of ICTs, the digital divide, and social inclusion. Demographic dynamics place emphasis on another level of the digital divide and social exclusion that needs to be discussed amongst migrants and their family members. Social exclusion is defined as diverse ways of preventing individuals and groups from participating in their societies. This includes different dimensions such as the economic, civic, interpersonal, and social integration in society or communities (Wilding, 2008). Social exclusion is the process of leaving individuals out of the social participation in the country. Social participation should not rely only on economic participation but should include access to other resources such as education, learning new skills and connecting with other people (Wilding, 2009). The participants' (both migrants and family members left behind) level of education played a crucial role in determining the level of use of ICTs. The use of ICTs amongst those with a low level of education was low, as has been highlighted in other research, such as Olatokun, (2009). There was also an element that was age related when it came to the use of ICTs (Ma et al., 2015). According to Kwon and Zweizig (2006), the continuous challenge of the digital divide and social exclusion still persists through the dynamics of age, level of education and socio-economic status in the community of users.

According to these research findings, those with a higher level of education (university education) were more comfortable with using ICTs. They were also more aware of the digital divide. as well as feeling excluded without access to ICTs. Although most participants used cellphones, those with a higher education seemed capable of using different social media platforms for communication, especially those with video calling and internet services (Olatokun, 2009). This revealed that the level of education is an important factor in determining ICT capabilities, especially with migrants who moved to an urban area to further their studies. Moreover, both migrants and family members left behind who had completed their high school

qualification (matric) were also willing to learn and use ICTs, though not to the same level as those who had attained or were attaining a higher education. The age of participants in both migrants and family members left behind was also a crucial factor in determining ICT capabilities. The younger participants were more proficient in using ICTs and more open to learning these capabilities (Olatokun, 2009). Most younger migrants commented on the digital divide between their host communities and their home villages due to the challenges they faced after migrating, as they now had more access to ICTs and were expected to use them. However, they were more willing to learn about and be part of the digital space compared to older migrants. The younger participants used ICTs not only for communication but also for internet services, which made them feel more connected to the rest of the world (Olatokun, 2009). Research done by Olatokun (2009) revealed that people aged between 20-40 were most capable of using ICTs, especially surfing the internet. Overall, there are a number of factors that impact the use of ICTs, which influences the digital divide and social exclusion.

Even though some migrants were able to use ICTs, the cost and expenses of ICTs added another barrier to communicating with their family members. The findings revealed that the cost and expenses of ICTs are a significant challenge for many migrants and their family members. According to Qiu (2008), the cost of connectivity in lower-income migrants is a challenge for them, which the findings of this study support. Even though the price and cost of connectivity has eased, there is still a concern over the costs and prices: "*South Africa is expensive with that. So, the challenges to communicate is because of the data. Because if it was in… Data wasn't the problem, meaning I will video call them every day*" (Mbali).

It is important to note that the themes that emerged from the data are all connected and highlight a social justice perspective that can be understood through the perspective of critical community psychology. Critical community psychology emphasises the multilevel forces on individuals, family, peers and sociostructural levels (Fryer & Fagan, 2003). Moreover, its aim is to reveal harmful systems in the political and psychosocial structures, especially regarding bargaining power, which most communities such as migrants' communities do not have (Evans et al., 2017). One of the aims of this research was to explore which factors may impact migrants and their family members left behind in maintaining relationships as well as their wellbeing before and after migration. The main purpose of critical community psychology is to radicalise and politicise community research (Evans et al., 2017). It proposes that we should be equally aware of the influence and impact of persistent power in maintaining and creating new unjust social conditions, especially in migrants' communities (Teo, 2015). This was highlighted by

Sibusiso: "*You understand my sister. So those are the inequalities that is here, in our communities and in our society at large And these inequalities are actually the ones that are still perpetuating.*"

It is therefore important to highlight injustices and inequalities in the social relationships in migrants' lives, such as digital literacy based on the digital divide that impacts the maintenance of relationships (Fryer & Fagan, 2003), as was highlighted in this study. The findings revealed that when migrants and family members were asked what they would like to see improved when it came to technological communication, they had a voice and felt empowered to voice their concerns and needs. One of the aims of the study was to question destructive patterns that manifest as equality and freedom. The findings revealed that many participants had very specific thoughts and ideas on how to bring change to the challenges of digital literacy but because of their social exclusion they were rarely given the opportunity to have a voice. According to the findings, it is clear that migrants and their families do not feel included in a lot of systems which allow one to be part of a more global community, thereby further excluding them. When this exclusion occurs, it creates a strong sense of empowerment as described by Gift: "*Yes, I have access to the global internet because I watch movies, even get information. There is lot of things that I find on internet, so I don't feel like I am left behind and I don't know anything.*"

5.2 Conclusion

In answering the research questions posed at the beginning of the research it is evident that migrants use ICTs as a way to maintain relationships by making use of phone calls, WhatsApp video calling and sending remittances through banking apps. However, as discussed above, there are a few challenges to their use of ICTs such as costs, the lack of intimacy, and the lack of ICT infrastructure (digital divide) and literacy. Moreover, it appeared that demographic dimensions such as age, level of education and socio-economic status also play an important role in participants' experiences of the digital divide and the extent of feeling excluded from participating in social spheres.

In conclusion, it appears that migration is a three-stage process, where the first is making the decision to migrate, and the second stage is learning how to use ICTs for communication and for assimilation. The last stage is using ICTs to maintain relationships. Based on the findings, it is clear that we cannot separate migration from ICTs as the latter play a very important role in maintaining relationships between distant family members. The findings emphasise the

importance of ICTs for internal migrants and their family members left behind, especially in mitigating the sense of loss and distance. ICTs not only play a role in maintaining relationships, but they also play an essential role in the process of assimilation for the migrants, which creates a sense of independence. Furthermore, the findings of this study expose and reveal systems that impact migrants' lives in a very tangible manner. ICTs are not just an emotional resource; they help maintain ties through the sending of remittances through banking apps which are quick and safe. This chapter further highlighted injustices and inequalities in the social relationships in migrants' lives including those of their family members left in rural areas. Access to ICTs is an important aspects of migrants lives and their family members beyond communication such as independence and information gathering to keeping ties to the homelend through languages and cultures. Access to ICTs is the beginning of social inclusion, mental health (maintaining ties, sense of community and identity) and social change that comes with that access (Rodríguez & Wilson, 2000). Rodríguez and Wilson (2000) believe that access to new technologies is a steppingstone to new spaces of social change, inclusion and order because it lowers barriers to access and communication. Therefore, psychology can conceptualise and theorise internal migration (rural-urban) in a more meaningful way. This research aims to advocate for this social change and justice through the exploration of experiences of both migrants and their families left behind.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This research project aimed to contribute to knowledge production with regards to the role of ICTs in maintaining family ties within rural-urban migration in South Africa. It further explored the socio-economic dimensions, digital divide and social inclusion and exclusion involved in this process. This study focused on the experiences of both migrants and family members left behind. Moreover, it explored the relationship between migration and ICT access, using the critical community psychology stance to advocate and provide understanding of the importance of a socio-political stance and community in this field. Although the experiences of migrants and their family members left behind were similar, they were alsodifferent in many ways.These experiences impacted each individual case greatly, often highlighting the need for the exploration of matched groups in the research process.

The results of this study were consistent with previous research (see for example Kok & Collinson, 2006; Riccio, 2016; Tandoh-Offin & Awuse, 2013) regarding the reasons for migration, which are often for improving people's lives in both place of origin and destination. Migration further presents opportunities for a lot of people globally to create safe and meaningful lives in other areas through work seeking and employment, education and housing (Bennett et al., 2015). The results of the study also reflected previous research studies and literature on migration and ICTs, especially literature surrounding migration and loss (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Leavey et al., 2004; Sluzki, 1979). It was consistent with previous literature that highlights that migration has an impact on family dynamics as well as families left behind having to adjust to the temporary or permanent absence of migrants who left, which in turn impacts migrants' sense of community (Hugo, 2002). However, in this study the sense of loss experienced by family members left behind was not greater than the sense of loss migrants felt, which could be due to the family left behind having retained a sense of support from the community and other family members in the family who were also left behind, which is based on the African kinship model. The African kinship model is based on the value that family is community and is an interwoven network of descendants of common ancestors rather than family by marriage, which leads to a network of support, privilege and responsibilities of different families and individuals in certain roles (Russell, 2004).

As in other research (Hunter, 2015; Wallace, 2012), it is significant that in order to address the change in family relationships created by migration and geographical distance, ICTS were

widely used. However, the frequency of communication between both groups played an important role in maintaining these ties. Moreover, this study revealed that migrants used ICTs for more than communication, which was further consistent with international (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012; Jaspal, 2015) and South African (De Gruchy et al., 2021; Mlambo, 2018) research on migration and acculturation, which highlighted the importance of migrant's feelings of inclusion and a sense of community. However, ICTs are not without challenges and this study revealed the challenges that migrants and their family members experienced in maintaining ties. These were challenges such as lack of intimacy, expenses, digital literacy and the digital divide. Moreover, the use of ICTs was found to be related to demographic dynamics such as age, level of education and socio-economic status.

6.2 Limitations

It is critical to acknowledge limitations and shortcomings to this research study to provide potential areas for further research. These shortcomings are discussed below.

6.2.1 Power Dynamics

In any relationship, dominance is present and power is at play in every conversation. This was no different in the relationship between me as the researcher and participants, which may have influenced the data gathering process, especially surrounding knowledge production. The differences in age, gender, level of education and class might have impacted the participants' willingness to be open and to express themselves.

6.2.2 Homogenous Participants

Participants in the study were all from surrounding villages in the Greater Giyani municipality, which are often homogenous. This is different from the diversity of our country and rural areas, which could have led to different experiences and opinions. Also, the experiences of other Xitsonga speaking individuals in other parts of Limpopo might have been different. Moreover, the people in the villages surrounding the municipality all speak Xitsonga, which further creates homogenous experiences and therefore limits the different perspectives speakers of other languages and members of other cultures may have had. South Africa has 11 official languages. This may have played a role, even though the aim of this qualitative research was not to generalise but to explore experiences.

6.2.3 Sample Size

Some literature seems to pay attention to the importance of the sample size. It highlights the role of sample size regarding more precise estimates which led to consistent and stable recommendations (Boddy, 2016; MacCallum et al., 1999). The research study had 14 participants (seven migrants and seven family members left behind paired), which impacts the depth and magnitude of experiences of the research topic at study. The research was limited to the experiences of this sample size, which may have been different in a sample size larger than 14. However, even in this sample size there were unique and interesting experiences that were revealed, which led to a new area of further investigation into the field as well as the importance of individual experiences related to a certain phenomenon.

6.2.4 Language Translation

Translation is an unavoidable part of work in research, especially in a country like South Africa with its 11 official languages. Most participants, especially family members left behind, were Xitsonga speaking individuals, which meant that questions were translated, and interviews conducted in Xitsonga. It is important to note that the interview schedule translated in Xitsonga was not included as part of the appendices. This brings into play the debate on translation work in research and academic work, which may limit and impact interpretative work (Palmary, 2018. Although the interviews were in depth and as precise as possible, there were experiences and emotions expressed during the research process that could not be captured easily and precisely due to the limitation of language and translation, which may otherwise have given depth and breadth to the research.

6.3 Recommendations

Although there were limitations to the study, it has the potential for further research in the field of internal migration (rural-urban) and ICT in South Africa from a psychological perspective. It is important to expand and give space to psychology in the knowledge production of relevant and relatable South African context. Access to ICTs is the beginning of social inclusion, mental health (maintaining ties, sense of community and identity) and social change that comes with such access, hence the importance of its exploration. Recommendations are discussed below.

There are presently very few studies that have focused on the role of ICTs in internal (rural-urban) migration, if any, and this could be a potential area of focus for future research. There seem to be limited research studies that are focused on internal migration with paired groups

of migrants and their family members that could provide more triangulated data on the topic. Moreover, more research is needed in the understanding of ICTs in facilitating assimilation, acculturation and a sense of independence in internal migration in the South African context. As a researcher and community psychologist who is interested in community and social justice, there is a potential for further research on ICTs and internal migration that is community psychology context based, so as to provide emancipation for our communities.

This study was aimed at and focused on rural-urban migration from the Limpopo province, and a possible future focus would expand the research to other provinces in South Africa for more extensive and in-depth findings and experiences.

Moreover, policy makers need to acknowledge the importance of internal migration for poverty reduction and social development. Policies should aim to lessen the hardship of migrants with regard to communication with their family members back home (Tandoh-Offin & Awuse, 2013). In order to bridge this gap, there should be initiatives that focus on this digital literacy as well as policies that act on inclusion (International ICT Panel, 2002). This may include large-scale assessments at different levels of education, like adult and secondary education (International ICT Panel, 2002). At a secondary level this could be in the form of an integrated IT curriculum in most schools (International ICT Panel, 2002).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Information Participation Sheet (Family Members)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Risuna Mathebula and I am a Masters in Community-based Counselling Psychology student at the university of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. For me to finish my degree well, I need to put together a research project which is being supervised by Professor Maria Marchetti-Mercer. The research project needs to find out why it is important to use different forms of technology. I am focusing on information and communication technology which is known as ICTs. It is popular amongst imigrants that stay in South African from both rural areas and urban areas. They use this to keep communicating with their friends and families from back home.

May I ask for you to be part of the study as a participant. I will ask you a number of questions about the member who has left home and how you stay in touch. There are no right or wrong answers I am just interested in your opinions. If you do not want to answer any questions you can refuse. I have to record this session if you allow me because I will need to make notes afterwards. It will take approximately an hour of your time.

I cannot pay you to participate in the study. Being part of the project is out of free will and at any time you want to stop or leave the project, you can do so. Your identity and personal information that you will provide will not be distributed. This means that it will be private. I will be use personal numbers as codes/fake names instead. I will type out all the information that I will collect will be and store it in a password protected laptop. The actual recordings will be destroyed after transcriptions.

If ever after the interview you become uncomfortable or need someone to talk to, free counselling is available via support lifelines SA at 0861322322. If you are in the Gauteng area Emthojeni Centre will offer services of counselling; private bag 3 WITS 2050, 011 717 4513

Contacts details will be listed below if you have any questions regarding the research after or even during the research project. Below are contact details of the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) if you have any complaints or concerns of the procedures of the ethics in the study:

Telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

Researcher:

Risuna Valencia Mathebula, 1008659@students.wits.ac.za, 0794145273

Supervisor:

Maria Marchetti-Mercer, Maria.Marchetti-Mercer@wits.ac.za, 0117174518

Kind regards,

Risuna Valencia Mathebula

Appendix B: Information Participation Sheet (Migration)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Risuna Mathebula and I am a current MACC student (Masters in Community-based Counselling Psychology) at the university of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As part of my degree, I am required to undertake a research project which is being supervised by Professor Maria Marchetti-Mercer. The aim of this research project is to investigate the importance of information and communication technology (ICTs) amongst internal South African migrants from rural areas to urban areas in maintaining their relationships with their families that are left behind.

I would like to extend an invitation to you to be part of the study as a participant. This will comprise of an interview where I will ask you a number of questions regarding your decision to migrate and how you stay in touch with your family back home. There are no right or wrong answers I am just interested in your opinions. If you do not want to answer any questions you do not have to do so. The interview will have to be audio recorded with your permission as I will need to make notes afterwards. It will take approximately 60 minutes of your time.

There will be no direct benefit or cost to be a participant in the study. You will not receive any payment for participating in the project. Participation is voluntary and no penalty will be given if you refuse to participate. You have the choice to withdraw your participation at any given time from the research project with no penalties. Your identity and personal information that you will provide will not be distributed, it will be confidential and personal numbers as codes/fake names will be used to protect your identity. Interviews will be transcribed by myself and all information will be stored in a password protected laptop. The actual recordings will be destroyed after transcriptions

If ever after the interview you experience any emotional distress free counselling is available via support lifelines SA at 0861322322. If you are in the Gauteng area Emthojeni Centre will offer services of counselling; private bag 3 WITS 2050, 011 717 4513

The results of this study will be written up in the form of a thesis and are also part of a larger research project. They will be used in the form of academic presentations or articles or books. In all instances any identifying details will be changed so that your identity will not be known to anybody but myself and my supervisor.

Contacts details will be listed below if you have any questions regarding the research after or even during the research project. Below are contact details of the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) if you have any complaints or concerns of the procedures of the ethics in the study:

Telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

Researcher:

Risuna Valencia Mathebula, 1008659@students.wits.ac.za, 0794145273

Supervisor:

Maria Marchetti-Mercer, Maria.Marchetti-Mercer@wits.ac.za, 0117174518

Kind regards,

Risuna Valencia Mathebula

Appendix C: Consent form

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Consent form: participation

I, _____ , give consent to be a participant as part of Risuna Mathebula's research project on the role of ICT in maintaining care relationships within internal migration.

It is my understanding that:

- Participation is voluntary
- No penalty will be given if I refuse to participate
- If I prefer not to answer some questions, I can refuse to answer
- I may withdraw my participation at any given time from the research project
- My identity and personal information that I will provide will not be distributed, it will be confidential
- Personal numbers as codes/fake names will be used to protect my identity
- My identification will not be used in the research project

I have read and understood the participation information sheet. I agree to be part of the research project. I understand the information provided to me and have the opportunity to ask questions if I have any at any given time. It is my understanding that a copy of this document will be given to me. I understand that this study has no direct benefit to me, it is only for a degree purpose

_____ _____

Participants Date

Appendix D: Consent for Audio Recording

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Consent Form: audio recording

I, _____ , give consent for the interview to be audio-recorded as part of Risuna Mathebula's research project on the role of ICT in maintaining care relationships within internal migration.

It is my understanding that:

- Only the supervisor and the researcher will have the privilege to listen to the audio-recording
- After the data is transcribed, all audio recordings will be destroyed
- A password protected laptop will be used to store all the audio recordings
- Transcripts will not have any identifying information about me
- Transcripts will be stored in a password protected laptop

_____ _____

Participant Date

Appendix E: Interview Schedule

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Interview schedule for those staying behind

1. How do feel about technology as a form of communication?
2. Do you have access to the internet?
3. Tell me about your relationship with them before and after they have migrated?
4. How has ICT impated on your relationship with a family member that has migrated?
5. Is there any experiences that stands out about them being gone?
6. Tell me your experience about using ICTs?
7. What improvements, if there are any would you recommend to make access more easier and communication better?

Interview schedule for migrants

1. Please give me a brief family history.
2. Do you have access to the internet?
3. Tell me about your decision to migrate
4. Tell me about the differences between where you are from and where you are now?
5. Tell me about your relationship with your family while you were still at home and now that you have migrated?
6. What is your experience of using ICT from your earlier days of migration and now?
7. What are some challenges have you faced with using the internet or mobile to communicate?
8. What is the most important resource to have as a migrant and why?
9. What would make communication between you and your family members better?
10. What is your experience with using ICTs?
11. What do you see as benefits to using ICTs?
12. Is there anything that stands out for you in terms of your experience with ICTs?

Appendix F: Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE:	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MACC/20/07**
PROJECT TITLE:	The role of ICTs in maintaining care relationships within internal migration: An exploration of family networks, social inclusion and digital divide.
INVESTIGATOR	Mathebula Risuna (1008659)
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR	SHCD/Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	15 May 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved unconditionally
RISK LEVEL	Low Risk
EXPIRY DATE	31 December 2022

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE 21 May 2020 **CHAIRPERSON** _____
(Dr Vinitha Jithoo)

cc: Prof. Maria Marchetti-Mercer (Supervisor)

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

_____ ___16___/____05___/_____2020___
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES