

Family Communication in Indonesian Migrant Worker's Extended Family

Komunikasi Keluarga pada Keluarga Besar Pekerja Migran Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to know what the communication orientation (conversation and conformity orientation) that occurs in the migrant workers' extended family is; and what the obstacles to communication orientation that occur in the migrant workers' extended family are. The lack of job opportunities for women who only graduated from elementary school and junior high school also directly influences the number of female migrant workers working abroad every year. For female migrant workers who already have children, the role of extended families such as the presence of their parents is very important in helping their spouses (husbands) in caring for their children. Using a qualitative approach, the data were gained through the process of interviewing informants. Informants in this study were selected purposively, they were: a woman who looks after her grandchild, aged 58 years (hereinafter referred to X1) and her daughter-in-law who works as a migrant worker, aged 30 years (hereinafter referred to X2); a woman who works as a migrant worker, aged 36 years (hereinafter referred to X3) and her son, aged 18 years (hereinafter referred to X4). X1 has been living with her granddaughter for about 3 years since her daughter-in-law (X2) became a migrant worker in Taiwan in 2018. After the data from the interviews are collected, then by using a triangulation table, the data will be selected based on the needs and similarities of the interview results between informants. From the same data, it is then adjusted to the existing conceptual framework and conclusions are drawn. The results show communication orientation for conversation that occurs in migrant workers' extended family consists of discussions to decide working abroad; when grandmother told her child about her granddaughter's growth, from conversations about school choices to parenting; giving freedom to the child to be able to express and convey their wishes and make decisions based on his own considerations. Meanwhile, the conformity orientation consists of giving advice for the child to be careful in making decisions (think before acting); and behave politely and always maintain health. The advice given is usually in the form of the cultivation of discipline, rules regarding politeness, attitude and also the cultivation of values. Subsequently, the obstacles to communication orientation that occur in migrant worker extended family consist of grandparents' health and grandparents' ability to use technology.

Keywords: Extended Family, grand parenting, family communication, and migrant worker.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui apa saja orientasi komunikasi (orientasi percakapan dan konformitas) yang terjadi pada keluarga besar buruh migran; dan apa saja kendala orientasi komunikasi yang terjadi pada keluarga besar pekerja migran. Minimnya kesempatan kerja bagi perempuan yang hanya tamatan SD dan SMP juga berdampak langsung pada jumlah pekerja migran perempuan yang bekerja di luar negeri setiap tahunnya. Bagi pekerja migran perempuan yang telah memiliki anak, peran keluarga besar seperti kehadiran orang tuanya sangat penting dalam membantu pasangannya (suami) dalam mengasuh anaknya. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, data diperoleh melalui proses wawancara dengan informan. Informan dalam penelitian ini dipilih secara purposif, yaitu: seorang perempuan yang mengasuh cucunya, berusia 58 tahun (selanjutnya disebut X1) dan menantu perempuannya yang bekerja sebagai TKI, berusia 30 tahun (selanjutnya disebut X2).); perempuan yang bekerja sebagai buruh migran, berusia 36 tahun (selanjutnya disebut X3) dan anak laki-lakinya, berusia 18 tahun (selanjutnya disebut X4). X1 sudah kurang lebih 3 tahun tinggal bersama cucunya sejak menantunya (X2) menjadi TKI di Taiwan pada tahun 2018. Setelah data hasil wawancara terkumpul, selanjutnya dengan menggunakan tabel triangulasi maka datanya akan dipilih berdasarkan kebutuhan dan persamaan hasil wawancara antar informan. Dari data yang sama kemudian disesuaikan dengan kerangka konseptual yang ada dan diambil kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan orientasi komunikasi percakapan yang terjadi pada keluarga besar pekerja migran terdiri dari diskusi untuk memutuskan bekerja di luar negeri; ketika nenek bercerita kepada anaknya tentang pertumbuhan

cucunya, mulai dari perbincangan tentang pilihan sekolah hingga cara mengasuh anak; memberikan kebebasan kepada anak untuk dapat mengutarakan dan menyampaikan keinginannya serta mengambil keputusan berdasarkan pertimbangannya sendiri. Sedangkan orientasi konformitas berupa pemberian nasehat kepada anak agar berhati-hati dalam mengambil keputusan (berpikir sebelum bertindak); dan berperilaku sopan serta selalu menjaga kesehatan. Nasehat yang diberikan biasanya berupa penanaman disiplin, aturan mengenai sopan santun, sikap dan juga penanaman nilai. Selanjutnya hambatan orientasi komunikasi yang terjadi pada keluarga besar pekerja migran terdiri dari kesehatan kakek dan nenek dan kemampuan kakek dalam menggunakan teknologi.

Kata Kunci: Keluarga Besar, pola asuh kakek, komunikasi keluarga, dan pekerja migran

Introduction

The lack opportunities for female who do not have professional skills in their work and their low level of education has led to an increasing in the number of female workers working in the informal sector. As the data in the following table:

Table 1. Division of Work Sector by Gender

Gender/ Residence	Employment Sector		Total
	Formal	Informal	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Urban Area			
Female	53,15	46,85	100,00
Male	59,83	40,1	100,00
Rural Area			
Female	22,39	77,61	100,00
Male	29,78	70,22	100,00
Urban + Rural Area			
Female	38,63	61,37	100,00
Male	45,66	54,34	100,00

Source: BPS RI, Sakernas (2017)

The data above shows that in 2017, the number of female workers working in the informal sector in both urban and rural areas was higher than male workers. The lack of job opportunities for women who only graduated from elementary school and junior high school also directly influences the number of female migrant workers working abroad every year (Puspitasari, 2017: 2). Although the numbers experienced a slight increasing in 2017 to 2018 and slight decreasing in 2019, female workers still dominated the proportion if it's compared to male workers. This fluctuating proportion can be seen in the data report of the National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (bnp2tki) in 2019 which recorded the number of migrant workers every year on table 2 (portal.bnp2tki.go.id, 2019).

Table 2. The Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Report

No	Month	2017			2018			2019		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	January	5.414	11.587	17.001	6.993	15.353	22.346	6.378	16.950	23.328
2.	February	5.979	13.763	19.742	5.826	13.676	19.502	5.451	12.125	17.576
3.	March	7.474	14.759	22.233	7.756	16.486	24.242	7.768	15.390	23.158
Total		18.867	40.109	58.976	20.575	45.515	66.090	19.597	44.465	64.062

Source: portal.bnp2tki.go.id, 2019

In addition, the average age of these migrant workers is 25 to 45 years (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015). It can be said that in general, migrant workers who work abroad are married and have children (Setiawati, Livana, & Susanti, 2017: 22; Baihaqi, Susilo, Maela, & Fitriyah, 2018: 167). This shows that becoming a migrant worker requires a very big sacrifice (Wallis, 2018), because the main thing that must be faced when deciding to become a migrant worker is to be ready to leave the family (children, husband or parents).

However, this fact does not reduce the number of women who come from various regions in Indonesia to continue to live it. On the one hand, they struggle to improve the family economy. On the other hand, they must be willing to live far away from their children and husbands. For female migrant workers who already have children, the role of extended families such as the presence of their parents is very important in helping their spouses (husbands) in caring for their children. In fact, for most Indonesians, living together with a large family (three generations) in one house is a very natural thing. This is due to the Indonesian cultural background and economic problems, many young couples are still economically unstable so the decision to live with their parents is the main choice (Fitroh, 2011: 22). According to the data from the National Socio-economic Survey, in 2014 the percentage of parents living with their children and grandchildren in one house reached 42.32% (Almira, Hanum, & Menaldi, 2019: 2). Although it doesn't reach 50%, this percentage is much higher than Japan, which was around 12.1% in 2016 (seikatsusoken.jp, 2020).

Living a domestic life that is separated by distance and time, of course, is not an easy thing (Muksin, Shabana, and Tohari, 2019: 80). There are many obstacles and challenges that will be faced, especially communication within the family (Baihaqi, Susilo, Maela, & Fitriyah, 2018: 168). If nuclear family communication has been built based on direct two-way communication between parents and children, then something different happens to migrant workers' families. The communication that exists between them is direct and indirect. Indirectly communication is between mothers (who become migrant workers), fathers, and children, which is usually done via telephone or social media (Muksin, Shabana, and Tohari, 2019: 80). Directly is between grandparents, father, and children, because they live in one house. This type of family consisting of grandparents, father, and children is then called by Jæger (2012: 904) called extended family. But unfortunately, not all families managed to build this communication well. The research by Setiawati et al. (2017: 27) shown that there is a significant relationship between self-concept and the quality of life of school-age children in families of migrant workers. Relationships that are individualistic and influenced by several factors, one of which is psychological. This psychological condition is of course influenced by internal factors (family communication and parenting patterns) and external factors (society, friendship environment and developing cultural customs) of each individual (Rauscher, Schrod, Campbell-Salome, & Freytag, 2020: 1). The results of Setyowati's research (2013: 76) shown that the application of family communication patterns as a form of interaction between parents and children and between family members, has implications for the process of children's emotional development. In the process of communication, children will learn to know themselves and others, and understand their own feelings and those of others.

Communication that exists in extended families, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes very important because the intensity of their interaction in the family through conversation and conformity orientations has a direct and indirect impact on their grandchildren (Rauscher, Schrod, Campbell-Salome, & Freytag, 2020: 1). Rauscher et al.

(2020: 4) also add that grandparents may have the same conversation and conformity orientation in their children and grandchildren. This means that the communication pattern of grandparents in the family has not changed much. Therefore, based on the description above, it is very interesting to study the communication (conversation and conformity orientation) among the extended families of Indonesian migrant workers.

As previously mentioned, the number of migrant workers in the last three years is very volatile, however, this number is always dominated by female migrant workers. This is because, the trend of work that is the main choice of these migrant workers is as a domestic worker and caregiver. Furthermore, data from bnp2tki (2019) also shows that in the last three years, from 2017 to 2019, the country most frequently visited by migrant workers from Indonesia is Asia (table 3). This trend has slightly changed when compared to the trend in 2006-2012, where Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are still the countries that many migrant workers from Indonesia go to (Martiany, 2016: 291).

Table 3. Migrant workers placement by country

NO	NEGARA	2017	2018	2019			Total
		Maret	Maret	Januari	Februari	Maret	
1	MALAYSIA	7.943	8.171	6.590	5.708	7.397	19.695
2	HONG KONG	4.549	7.411	6.857	4.383	5.587	16.827
3	TAIWAN	6.041	4.733	6.531	4.799	5.914	17.244
4	SINGAPORE	1.367	1.462	1.623	1.047	1.469	4.139
5	BRUNEI DARUSSALAM	640	531	564	483	586	1.633
6	SAUDI ARABIA	482	471	493	575	580	1.648
7	KOREA SELATAN	270	563	164	87	833	1.084
8	KUWAIT	87	77	74	52	141	267
9	PAPUA NEW GUINEA	29	9	95	98	99	292
10	UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	110	81	65	23	44	132
11	TURKEY	64	126	4	5	117	126
12	QATAR	160	65	18	28	35	81
13	ITALY	78	131	0	0	39	39
14	OMAN	76	43	41	43	30	114
15	NEW ZEALAND	72	72	1	6	75	82
16	MALDIVES	30	27	21	19	27	67
17	ALJAZAIR	19	16	26	38	17	81
18	BRAZIL	42	53	0	0	0	0
19	SOLOMON ISLANDS	2	17	18	24	26	68
20	HUNGARY	2	32	15	13	12	40
21	SOUTH AFRICA	19	24	0	0	21	21
22	BAHRAIN	7	1	24	26	5	55
23	GABON	0	7	30	0	24	54
24	JAPAN	19	22	0	1	12	13
25	RUSSIA	11	1	10	16	5	31
26	LAINNYA	114	96	64	102	63	229
	TOTAL	22.233	24.242	23.328	17.576	23.158	64.062

*Periode data di tarik pada tanggal 04 APRIL 2019

Based on the data in the table above, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Taiwan occupy the top three positions. According to Susilo (2016: 40), the biggest reason these migrant workers choose the three countries is because of their strong attraction (pull factor). First, the reason these migrant workers decide Taiwan and Hong Kong as their main destinations is because the salary standard is higher than Malaysia or Brunei Darussalam. In addition, there is a guarantee of security through work protection by the state, both as foreign workers and as female workers, this was not found in the previous two countries. On the other hand, to work in Taiwan, there are facilities offered by the Indonesian Migrant Worker Service Company (PJTKI), namely the migrant worker departure system through salary deductions. This salary deduction system model is very helpful for prospective migrant workers whose families are economically disadvantaged. Meanwhile, the reason why migrant workers choose Malaysia as their main destination for work is because the distance is not too far from Indonesia, as well as the Malay atmosphere which is still the same as Indonesia (Susilo, 2016: 40-44).

Based on the above background, the research questions in this study are: (1) What is the communication orientation (conversation and conformity orientation) that occurs in migrant workers' extended family? And (2) What are the obstacles to communication orientation that occur in migrant workers' extended family?

Theoretical Framework: Family Communication

One of the family communication theories used to describe how family members interact with each other is the family communication patterns theory (FCPT). The original FCPT model was first proposed by McLeod and Chaffee in 1972. The FCPT was used by McLeod and Chaffee to see how families create shared social reality through interaction in discussions, making decisions together in carrying out daily activities, and interacting with outsiders (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2006: 51). According to Reeves, Chaffee, & Tims (1982), at the time of the early development of FCPT theory, psychology and field studies were very popular among the researchers. Therefore, it is not surprising that later McLeod and Chaffee based their theory on the theory of co-orientation (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2006: 53). The originator of this co-orientation theory was Heider (1946) and Newcomb (1953). This co-orientation theory is the main concept in social cognition (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2006: 53).

There are two dimensions in the co-orientation theory, the first is a conversation-oriented. Conversation orientation is used to see the extent to which family members are involved in interactions that are not limited to certain topics. Then the second is conformity orientation. One of the previous studies that raised the topic of this dimension in family communication is Barbato, Graham, & Perse (2003). In his research, they revealed that the conversation-oriented dimension that exists between parents and children is related to deliberation to make decisions and express opinions openly in the family. While conformity orientation is used for communication that is more about the cultivation of discipline, rules regarding politeness, attitude and also the cultivation of values (Barbato, Graham, & Perse, 2003: 136).

From these two dimensions, then Koerner & Fitzpatrick (2002: 85) divide the type of family into four types, they are: consensual, pluralistic, protective, and laissez-faire. First, consensual families, families with this type have a high conversation orientation and conformity. The characteristics of this type of family are that they have high attention to the level of acceptance of the hierarchy in the family, but the communication that exists between family members is open to each other. Second, families that have a high conversation orientation but low on conformity orientation. This type of family is called a pluralistic family. Communication in this type of family is very open and is not limited by the hierarchical structure in the family and provides more opportunities for all family members to engage in conversation. Moreover, parents' control in controlling children in this family is very low. Third, families that have low conversation orientation but high on conformity orientation. Families with these characteristics are called protective families. The protective family has a communication nature that emphasizes the obedience or authority of the parents towards the child is very high, so that there is no open communication between children and parents in this family. In addition, parents have complete control on all decisions made in the family for their children. Fourth, families that have both low conversational orientation and conformity orientation are called laissez-faire families. This type of family has very rare interactions and does not always involve family members in discussing certain topics. Parents in this family give their children the opportunity to make their own decisions, but this freedom is often interpreted as an omission. In their research findings, Barbato, Graham, & Perse (2003) classified three of the four types of families into two groups based on their dimensions, pluralistic and consensual family types were grouped into the conversation-oriented dimension, while protective types were grouped into conformity-oriented.

Based on the explanation above, this study will focus on conversation and conformity orientation. These two dimensions are very important in a family, by which each family

member can understand each other's wishes and expectations through interaction (Rejeki, 2008: 4). Interaction in this study is more about conveying messages from parents/grandparents to children/grandchildren, messages about the equality of children's rights in education and communication from children to parents to convey opinions.

Method

Using a qualitative approach, this study aims to collect data regarding the family communication in migrant workers' extended family through the process of interviewing informants. Informants in this study were selected purposively, they were: a woman who looks after her grandchild, aged 58 years (hereinafter referred to X1) and her daughter-in-law who works as a migrant worker, aged 30 years (hereinafter referred to X2); a woman who works as a migrant worker, aged 36 years (hereinafter referred to X3) and her son, aged 18 years (hereinafter referred to X4). X1 has been living with her granddaughter for about 3 years since her daughter-in-law (X2) became a migrant worker in Taiwan in 2018. Meanwhile, his son has to work outside the city, so all the care for her granddaughter is given to her and her husband. It is different with X4, who even though he lives with his grandparents, he is still being cared for by his father since his mother (X3) went abroad to become a migrant worker.

The data for the two migrant workers were taken for 4 hours, while the interview with the family left behind were gathered for 3 hours. During the interviews, informants were asked several questions related to what things have been conveyed when do conversation with family; the way the grandparents educate the children; the division of roles in raising children; freedom to express children's opinion in the family; and the parents control to all children activities. After the data from the interviews are collected, then by using a triangulation table, the data will be selected based on the needs and similarities of the interview results between informants. From the same data, it was then adjusted to the existing conceptual framework and conclusions were drawn.

Result and Discussion

Family Communication in Indonesian Migrant Workers' Extended Family

The desire to improve family's economy is still the biggest motivation for Indonesian workers who decide to work abroad. This is because many workers have low education, so it is very unlikely to get a job with the country with a wage equivalent to their wage working abroad. As revealed by X3:

“... I decided to become a migrant worker because at that time my family had serious financial problems. We needed a lot of money at that time, so the only way for me was working abroad.”

The same thing was conveyed by X2:

“The decision to work in Taiwan was for helping my husband improve our family's economy. And the reason why I decided to go to Taiwan was because the wages I received were much higher than what I'd gotten when I worked in Malaysia five years ago.”

However, the decision was not only from the discussion with her husband, but also decisions that had previously been discussed with her parents. This was done because the role as

mother in the family cannot mere be replaced completely by husband. In addition, the existence of a culture of living together with parents under one roof requires this married couple to first discuss with their parents before making a decision. X3 reveals:

“... Yes, I discussed with my husband and parents about my plan to work abroad. Thank God, they supported me because of my experience working abroad before I got married. It is because of my parents' support that I have the courage to entrust my child to them.”

The choice to leave child care to their parents was indeed the only option for these migrant workers because of the dual role that a husband cannot fully fulfill. As expressed by X1:

“... I immediately took over the care of my granddaughter because my son had to work out of town and come home once a week. Luckily my granddaughter was with me from infancy, so when she was left by her mother and father to work, she was used to me. For example, when my granddaughter misses her parents, I just need to connect her with her parents via WhatsApp video calls.”

There are many benefits that can be used by the families of migrant workers with the advancement of technology. One of them is the closeness when communicating with each other. X2, who works as a caregiver, admitted that she can call her child for hours on holiday or during breaks just to listen to her child telling stories and singing. In addition, X2 can also communicate with her mother to discuss her health and also her child's growth and development.

"For example, when my child doesn't want to eat or doesn't want to take a nap, my mother will always report everything to me".

However, X3 expressed different things, her parents' condition, causing her son rarely to communicate directly with his grandparents. When he was asked about the role of his grandparents in the upbringing of him and his younger brother, X4 revealed that he rarely engaged in a long conversation with them at home.

"Grandpa often goes to the fields, so I often talk to grandma when I'm at home, yet it is only limited to a question of what I want to eat or where I want to go..."

X3 also revealed that she rarely contacted her parents using video calls because her parents are not very good at using smartphones. So she only contacted her parents when her husband was with them. As she stated below:

“... I rarely contacted my parents, I only ask how they are through my children or husband. But sometimes when my husband is at home with them, I call them. Yet, most of our conversations are only about their health, because they have been very old.”

In terms of parenting, X2 does not completely depend on her parents, especially for educational things. For example learning alphabets and Arabic in Al-Quran (Moslem holy book), she assisted her child alone. Even though she couldn't do her best because the telephone connection was sometimes interrupted by a bad signal, she always try to give the

attention in the upbringing of her child. She did this to have a close relationship with her three years old daughter. As she stated below:

“I try to stay close to my daughter by assisting her to read alphabets and read Al-Quran. At the moment when I teach her, I can know that she is getting better at talking”.

The similar thing has also been done by X3, in order to establish a good proximity with her child, X3 is the one who is more active in contacting the child first, either through video calls or via text messages. However, since X3 feels that her son is now a teenager, there are many things that her son may not directly convey as he used to do when he was a child. As she stated the following:

“I know that my son has always hidden his desire to work after graduating from school, but he never expressed it to me. So I just can wait until he is ready to tell me and whether I like it or not, I have to respect his decision.”

In line with X3’s statement, X4 admitted that he is an introvert person, even he said that he prefers to contact his mother by sending text messages using WhatsApp chat. As he stated below:

“I feel uncomfortable when I have to be on video calls for hours with my mother. But I often text her to talk about my school, my daily activity, my friend and sometimes her works there.”

Even though it was only through text messages, X3 revealed that there were still many things she could convey to her children, they are thinking before acting, being polite to his parents and taking care of his body health. Since working in Taiwan, X3 has tended to give responsibility to her child, it means that she leaves all decisions to her child because she believes that her children can be responsible for what he decided. However, there is still a few things that cannot be controlled by her directly because of the distance. For example, her child ever asked her permission to go hiking, but since she felt it was a dangerous thing, X3 was a little hesitant to give permission to her son, although in the end she allowed it.

“...at that time I was confused, on the one hand I wanted to show my son that I am a mother who does not restrain him too much, but on the other hand I was worried about him. While my husband and parents just leave the decision to me. I finally let him go hiking even with lots of advice”.

Furthermore, there are many things according to X3 that she must be smart and wise when it comes to the conversation with her son, so the child remains comfortable talking to her. The same thing was expressed by X4, even though he is close to his mother but at certain times he tends to keep what he feels rather than having to express it to his mother or father or grandparents. This is because he is afraid of looking weak, afraid of disappointing his loved ones, and afraid of getting a response that is not what he wants.

Indonesian cultural background, which still upholds the principle of kinship, is very beneficial for the life of a couple whose husband or wife decides to become migrant workers. The presence of an extended family, especially grandmothers, is very important to replace the role of a mother in child care. However, good family communication is not only limited

to conveying and responding to each other's messages, but also lies in the interaction and closeness of relationships between family members. This interaction was later used by McLeod and Chaffee to see how families create shared social reality in discussions, making decisions together in carrying out daily activities, and interacting with outsiders (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2006: 51).

Based on the data, it can be seen that there are two types of communication and interaction that exist in migrant worker's extended family. First, communication that leads to conversations that are not only routine daily activities between migrant workers and their children (for example, conversations about the child's school development), but also to their parents. The conversation that exists between migrant workers and their husbands and parents is when they decide to work abroad to improve their standard of living. It is clear that the decisions taken by the migrant workers were collective decisions. Another conversation was when the grandmother told her child (migrant worker) about her granddaughter's growth, from conversations about school choices to parenting. Next, the conversation that occurs between the migrant worker and their child. Their communication is more focused on giving freedom to the child to be able to express and convey their wishes and make decisions based on his own considerations (for example, in determining their future after graduating from school). Barbato, Graham, & Perse (2003) revealed that the conversation-oriented dimension that exists between parents and children is related to deliberation to make decisions and express opinions openly in the family. However, for families whose children are teenagers, communication between grandparents and grandchildren is rare. This is due to the large age gap, so most grandparents who live with their grandchildren are not very able to enter into intense conversations with their grandchildren on a daily basis. Especially if these grandparents already have a congenital disease that does not allow them to communicate as often as possible with the people around them. This is one of the obstacles that occur in communication between grandparents and grandchildren in the extended family. According to Rauscher (2020), communication in the extended family, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, is very important. The intensity of their interaction in the family through conversation and conformity orientations has a direct and indirect impact on the grandchildren. This is because most of the children's time is spent with their grandparents, so when the communication between the two is not going well, there is a tendency for the child to feel lonely. This is in line with Asis (2006: 51) which reveals that when compared to the children of non-migrant workers, the children of these migrants are reported to have a higher tendency of physical health problems to mental health.

Second, even though parents give freedom, they still give limits or advice to the child. For teenagers, the advice is when they are making decisions (think before acting), being politely and maintaining health. This also applies to grandparents who live with grandchildren who are under five years old. Children with an age range of 1-5 years old still need extra attention from their grandmother, especially in terms of behavior. Barbato, Graham, & Perse (2003: 136) regarded this form of communication as conformity orientation, namely communication that is more about the cultivation of discipline, rules regarding politeness, attitude and also the cultivation of values. Meanwhile, conformity orientation between migrant workers and their parents was not found in this study, this is because most of their conversations on the phone are about child growth and the health condition of grandparents.

If we look at the type, the migrant worker's extended family in this study has more than one type. The first type refers to grandparents' communication with their grandchildren, which

is largely determined by the age and the health of the grandparents. In families whose grandchildren are still toddlers, it is clear that the communication that exists is high conversation orientation and conformity. This is because at the age of children who are still under five years old, communication in the form of advice, suggestions and recommendations is more often conveyed by grandparents when caring for them. However, the conversation between grandparents and grandchildren that occurs is also high because the age of five is the active age of the child who wants to know about everything. They don't hesitate to ask people around them without stopping, especially their grandparents. Meanwhile, for families whose grandchildren are teenagers, the communication that is established is very low in conversational orientation and conformity orientation. This type of family has very rare interactions and does not always involve family members in discussing certain topics. Koerner & Fitzpatrick (2002: 85) call it as a *laissez-faire* families. The involvement of grandparents in this type of family is almost non-existent, because there is no close relationship between grandparents and their grandchildren in daily activities. This is something that should be a common concern, both the community and the government. These children who receive less attention from their families often have different behavior (even tend to deviate) from other children who have good communication and interaction with their families. The research by Setiawati et al. (2017: 27) shown that there is a significant relationship between self-concept and the quality of life of school-age children in families of migrant workers. Relationships that are individualistic and influenced by several factors, one of which is psychological. This psychological condition is influenced by internal factors (family communication and parenting patterns) and external factors (society, friendship environment and developing cultural customs) of each individual Rauscher et al., (2020).

Furthermore, the second type refers to the communication of children and parents, they have a high conversation orientation but low on conformity orientation. Koerner & Fitzpatrick (2002: 85) regards this type of family as a pluralistic family. Communication in this type of family is very open and is not limited by the hierarchical structure in the family and provides more opportunities for all family members to engage in conversation. Yet, the control or involvement of parents in parenting cannot be carried out in this type of family because the intensity of their interaction with the children in direct way is very less. Moreover, the intensity of this conversation is also influenced by the ability of parents to use communication technology such as smartphones. Therefore, if parents are not good in using the technology, it is not impossible that the intensity of this conversation can be hampered.

Conclusion

To conclude, the communication orientation for conversation that occurs in migrant workers' extended family consists of discussions to decide working abroad; conversation between grandmother and migrant worker which is related to her granddaughter's growth, conversations about children's study; giving opportunity to the child to be able to express and convey their wishes and make decisions based on his own considerations. Conversation between grandparents and grandchildren here is largely determined by the health of the grandparents. Meanwhile, the conformity orientation consists of giving advice for the child and it is usually related to the cultivation of discipline, rules regarding politeness, attitude and also the cultivation of values. Furthermore, the conformity orientation between migrant workers and their parents was not found in this study, this is because most of their conversations on the phone were about child development and grandparents' health condition.

Meanwhile, the obstacles of communication orientation that occur in migrant's worker extended family are related to grandparents' health and grandparents' ability in using technology. The health of grandparents greatly determines the conversation orientation with their grandchildren. This is because in the extended family, grandchildren spend a lot of time with their grandparents, so that when there is no balanced communication between them, this will affect grandchildren's non-material life. Last but not least, the ability to operate technology is also an obstacle for migrant workers in establishing communication with their parents. One communication medium that can connect migrant workers and their families, especially surrogate carers for their children, is smart phone. Therefore, when they (grandparents) cannot operate the features on their smart phones to communicate with their children (migrant parents), this will limit the time for both of them to exchange ideas and find solutions if problems arise with their left behind children.

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