

## Conference Paper

# Migrant Childcare: Transferring the Functions of the Nuclear Family to Extended Families in Sampang Madura

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**Abstract**

Madura is a unique, multicultural area comprised of 4 districts namely Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. With a significant amount of poverty in the Madura region, it is not surprising that so many Madurese people have become migrant workers, both raising their social status and providing additional income for their families. In Sampang, which is the location of this study, there are a lot of migrant workers who travel to other countries to make a decent living. The number is not certain in real terms, because there are many among the Sampang community who become illegal migrants. Being a migrant has a significant impact on childcare as while the financial needs of the children are met, their familial life is often less satisfactory as they are left to the care of elderly grandparents or members of the extended family. The lack of hands on parental involvement has contributed to a rise in juvenile delinquency among TKI / TKW children. Using qualitative research, and focusing on Sampang Madura as the largest contributor to the number of migrants throughout Madura, this study aims to determine the transition of nuclear family functions in migrant families and determine the impact arising from this transfer, as well as adaptations by migrant families to minimize the impact of nuclear family function transfer. The importance of further research to study the adaptation strategies of migrant families in managing children, given the increasing number of TKI / TKW who have children

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## 1. Introduction

As international mobility has increased over the last decades, research on transnational families and transnational care has also gained more prominent place in family and migration research (Barglowski et al., 2015). In case of incomplete migration, that is, when only a part of the household moves, it has been studied how care is arranged for children left behind in the country of origin (e.g., Parrenas, 2001), among others (see for example the concept of distant mothering; Boccagni, 2012). But even if the household migrates as a unit or is reunited in the host country after an initial separation, it may prove difficult for the adult members of the household to combine employment and child care when

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their closest ties live far away. Rearing a child in the country that is different from the parents' country of origin implies various limitations in structuring childcare (Ryan, 2011a,b), such as initial lack of established support networks after migration and time and effort it takes to establish the new ones. Research with Polish migrants in London (Ryan, 2008) and Germany (Bargłowski et al., 2015, Bilecen and Sienkiewicz, 2015) has focused on the roles that family members play in providing support and care.

The international migration created a dilemma. They should have a money for household needs, meanwhile, they have a cultural hardship to leave home away. Addressing this issue, there are many women who left their villages or small towns of east Java Province to work as domestic worker or employer on manufacture sector (Anggaunitakiranantika, M. 2019). Sometimes, nurturing changes of migrant workers' children is as expected, but many cases occurred, the norms desired by parents does not always goes hand in hand with grandmother or another family member whose given the mandate for child care.

Becoming a migrant is a dilemmatic choice between taking care of the family and making an economic livelihood. Many previous studies have discussed migrant workers, but only a few have discussed the impact of migrant workers on children. In this article, the author tries to look at other aspects that migrant workers get when they have to be far from children. This research underlined the importance of local and transnational family relations, in particular (S. Bojarczuk) grandmothers (Bargłowski et al., 2015; Ryan, 2011a; cf. Da, 2003; Bonizzoni, 2014 in research with non-Polish migrants) and young siblings and cousins (Ryan, 2011a,b). These family relations combine positive and negative aspects. As Baldassar et al. (2014) stated, "transnational caregiving, just like caregiving with any other families binds members together in intergenerational networks of reciprocity and obligation, love and trust, that are simultaneously fraught with tension, contest and relations of unequal power" (p.7). Furthermore, scholars have also stressed the importance of recognizing the interconnection between informal care arrangements and formal care provided by the state or organizations (Bargłowski et al., 2015; Bilecen and Sienkiewicz, 2015), suggesting that mothers negotiate child care arrangements taking into account both formal and informal options.

Looking for people in the care of migrant children is not difficult in the Sampang area of Madura, because their kinship system is very strong. According (Prastiwi, 2019), within Madurese kinship system, there are 3 cores of kinship, namely *taretan dalem* (nuclear family members), *taretan semma* (close relatives from marriage), and *taretan jhau* (distant relatives from generations of marriage ties or several-degrees-cousins). People outside this system are considered as outsiders, not 'kin.' Even so, in Madura,

even though they are considered outsiders, the closeness of community members sometimes resembles those of family as a result of intense social relations. Madurese marriages generally aim to marry among distant relatives, which is referred to as *mapolang tolang*. It literally means collecting bones of families whose relationships have begun to drift further away, so that they can regroup and establish closer relationships, particularly in terms of family business' management. Marriages between distant relatives also keep family properties to be inherited by outsiders.

This study aims to determine the transition of nuclear family functions in migrant families and determine the impact arising from the transfer of nuclear family functions, as well as adaptations by migrant families to minimize the impact of nuclear family function transfer. Indeed when someone is faced with some tough choices, then there must be sacrificed. However, as a rational creature it is natural for migrant communities to adapt from time to time to minimize the impact that results from being a migrant worker / migrant worker on the cultivation of norms in children

## 2. Research Method

This study employed a concept which was proposed by Koentjaraningrat regarding informants. For Koentjaraningrat (1990), informants were individuals who were interviewed to obtain information and data. Koentjaraningrat's opinion had some similarities with Lewis's (1986), which explained that informants refer to those who provide information about their culture or information outside themselves; while Crapo (2002) argued that an informant was a person speaking his own dialect, or a native speaker. This study employed qualitative method to see the diversity of data and in-depth investigation. It used purposive technique to choose informants using the following criteria: 1. migrant families in Sampang. 2. children of TKI under 17 years old. This research was conducted in Sampang, considering that the area of Sampang is an area that has a large enough number of migrants in Madura. In this study, involved 19 informants consisting of families of TKI / TKW and 10 children of TKI / TKW. Data taken using in-depth interview, which is then recorded through the recorder and through the reduction process, which is then analyzed.

### 3. Result and Discussion

Migration is the movement of people who cross borders to other regions over a certain period of time (Mantra, 2000). Population migration can be permanent or non-permanent. Migration can be divided into two types, namely internal migration and international migration. According to Lee (2000) international migration is a resettlement activity that includes aspects of residence change, the purpose of migration and the desire to settle or not settle in the destination. Ravenstein (1895) in Bando (2010) developed The Laws of Migration. Ravenstein states the law of migration in seven points. Ravenstein assumed that when the law was developed economic factors were a very powerful factor influencing migration. But this also does not provide a presumption that non-economic factors can be easily ignored.

The theory of migration according to Todaro states that there are elements of migration, i.e. migration is mainly often stimulated by rational economic considerations, the decision to migrate is more dependent on differences in real wages, and the possibility of finding employment in urban areas is inversely related to the unemployment rate in urban areas. Broadly speaking, international migration can be divided into two scopes, based on spatial and time aspects. International migration is the result of economic, social and political changes which then influence migration decisions. Migrants make decisions based on networks of personal relationships, existing experiences, and beliefs (Keban, 1998). According to Everett S. Lee in Mantra (2000) there are 4 factors that influence migration flows, namely factors in the area of origin, factors at the destination, barriers between, and individual factors. Individual factors can be said to be the main factors in the decision to move or not. Todaro (2003) states that there are factors other than economic factors that influence migration, namely social factors, physical factors, demographic factors, cultural factors, and communication factors. Remittances are generally understood to originate from transfers, in cash or the like, from a foreigner to relatives in his home country.

Remitan (Sorensen in Elanvito, 2010) according to its form is divided into two types, namely Monetary Remittances which means the transfer of money or goods of migrants from the destination country to the area of origin and Social Remittances. Social Remittance according to Levit (1996) in Elanvito (2010) is defined as ideas, actions, identities, and social capital originating from the destination country. Tapinos (1994) has two opposing views simultaneously on the phenomenon of international labor migration and economic development. The first view states that immigrants can contribute positively to the country's economic development receiver. Immigrants are

considered as givers of variation in the labor market in the recipient country. Negative views emphasize the non-economic aspects of immigrants. This view then suggests an increase in trade liberalization, capital flows, relocation of activities, and cooperation between countries to replace immigrants. This was added by Hollifield (2000) which stated that migration was not a threat to both sending and receiving countries. Migration will instead be a process that can produce remittances for sending countries and as a factor for recipient countries

Being an overseas worker must be done by many people who live in Sampang Madura in order to improve their economic standards. almost all migrant families claim that they are never returned home due to financial constraints. if they go back home they will waste their hard-earned money. of the 10 informants interviewed, all of which transferred the function of the nuclear family to the grandmother or went far away. the migrants only give their hard-earned money for food, school, and housing.

According (Todaro, 2003), Indonesia, had three main destination countries for migration in 2010, namely Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, and the Netherlands / Netherlands. Indonesia's per capita income is only US \$ 2,272 which is classified as more or far lower than the income per capita owned by the destination country of its migration. Malaysia has a per capita income of US \$ 7,278. In addition, Indonesia's per capita income is also much lower when compared to per capita income owned by Saudi Arabia and the Netherlands. Saudi Arabia has a per capita income of US \$ 16,013 while the Netherlands is US \$ 48,174. The average wage per month owned by Indonesia is also relatively low compared to the three destination countries of migration. The average wage per month in Indonesia is only around US \$ 99 while the average wage per month in Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and the Netherlands is US \$ 653, US \$ 617 and US \$ 3,036, respectively. The relationship between migration and wage differentials is in line with the theory put forward.

With a large income as a migrant worker, causing many Indonesians to want the same thing. Including in Sampang. The number of migrants in Sampang has progressed significantly from year to year. according to the 2019 madura portal, Indonesian Workers (TKI) official channels in the Sampang Regency, Madura, East Java, reached 250 people during 2019. each year has increased.

In the table above it is clearly stated that the three largest countries in southeast asia contributing to migrant workers are Indonesia, Malaysia and Myanmar. Indonesia was ranked first in the largest. 1,526,720 or 65.77% of migrants came from Indonesia. This is reasonable because the communal kinship system so that when one community is successful to become a successful person working as a migrant will transmit it to other

TABLE 1: Migration Out of Southeast Asian Countries 2010 (Source: World Bank 2010 with modification)

<b>Brunei</b>	8.908	38,74
<b>Kamboja</b>	50.891	14,78
<b>Indonesia</b>	1.526.720	65,77
<b>Laos</b>	78.678	22,03
<b>Malaysia</b>	1.146.843	77,58
<b>Myanmar</b>	306.326	65
<b>Filipina</b>	297.644	7,03
<b>Singapura</b>	109.354	38,98
<b>Thailand</b>	236.818	30,21
<b>Vietnam</b>	204.765	9,3
<b>Timor Leste</b>	2.138	12,92

communities. Everyone wants to be a successful person and make a happy family, including by becoming a migrant worker.

### 3.1. Social Economic Improvement

No doubt being a migrant worker in Sampang is a matter of prestige. the local community believed that being a migrant worker abroad will change their destiny. These findings, parallels with women whose changing their mindset and becoming career woman is the solution through this problem (Anggaunitakiranantika,A. 2016). The succesfull informant were 10 people who interviewed as families of migrants in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Malaysia. Within a month the average migrant can send money between 7-10 million rupiah. With living standard in Sampang, the money is more than enough to support the family's needs including children's schools. informants usually work for more than 2 years as their contract for earnings more money. Not a surprise, because of the substantial income, many people have turned into migrant workers from Sampang, Madura. In addition, daily economic needs, shipments from families who work abroad are saved for buying new homes or renovating to be more luxurious than before. so no wonder, in Sampang the houses of migrant workers are far more magnificent than their next-door neighbors. Besides houses, migrant workers' families are usually identic in jewelry savings. The people of Madura hold a higher value in jewelry ownership

compared to save in banks. because gold is more visible, because it is used while savings in the bank, the commodity are not visible.

TABLE 2: Indonesian Migrant Work by Sector 2008 – 2010

Year	Formal	Informal
2008	28,30 %	71,70 %
2009	16,44 %	83,56
2010	27,50 %	72,50 %

Source: *BNP2TKI, 2012*

in the table above it is explained that from 2008 to 2010 the work carried out by migrants from Indonesia is categorized into the formal and informal sectors. The informal sector dominates every year and the most occurred in 2009 as much as 83.56 percent. But in 2010 the number decreased to 72.50 percent.

According to Citrayati et al. (2008), Madurese community form a community settlement known as *taneyan lanjang* settlement pattern as a form of maintaining kinship between community members. The pattern of *taneyan lanjang* is scattered in small groups, following the location of the lands they have. The way they build the buildings was also adjusted to the needs of its inhabitants, such as a prayer room (*langgar*) as the center/main axis of the cluster, main house (*roma tongghu*), kitchen (*dapor*), animal cage, bathroom (*pakeban*), and barn (*lombung*). Because of the close kinship system in Madura, then when one family member manages to improve the family economy it will become a pride and be known by many people.

### 3.2. Migrant Child Care

Migrant childcare is a matter of child care, migrant workers usually leave it to parents or grandmothers who are the main alternative. but when migrant workers do not have parents, child care is transferred to relatives. According to the testimonies of several informants, transferring the responsibilities of parenthood to a grandmother or relative would be safer than paying someone else to care for their children. with a close kinship system, the transfer of care for migrant children is done easily. Geertz (1981: 10) explained that primordial elements include "social elements which are born from those considered existing "in social life. Mostly, it encompasses direct relationships and family relations, but it also includes membership in certain religious environments, certain languages or dialects, and certain social habits. Prevalence of the relationship born from blood, speech / language, and habits is convincing.

### 3.3. Communication Between Children And Parents Of Migrant Workers

According to the informant, intense communication is done by parents to the children of migrant workers, starting from conversations at school, home and playground activities. they usually make a video call once a week to release the miss and give an outpouring of affection. In these conversations, as far as possible migrant workers control all activities of children, including the results of report cards at school. however, the communication media have weaknesses, where there are hidden faces to face in controlling the children of migrant workers. children tend not to explain the forms of misbehavior they do, which have an impact on reducing remittances from their parents. children feel that their parents are far away, and cannot control the child intensely

### 3.4. Juvenile Delinquency Of Migrant Children.

No doubt, when parents work as migrant workers, the outpouring of parents' attention to children begins to decrease. the attention of parents who are diverted to the grandmother or relative cannot replace the role of father or mother as parents who teach the norms in the family. according to the testimonies of several informants, grandmother has a tendency to let and not prohibit her grandchildren when making mistakes. different from parents. The forms of juvenile delinquency of migrant children include:

1. Getting drunk
2. Skipping School
3. Brawl
4. lack of courtesy in speaking
5. do not move up the class

Delinquency like this is one form of lack of planting norms in the family. Even though parents always contact via video call, it cannot replace the presence of parents when their children need attention and heartfelt. Of the 10 informants interviewed, they had different forms of delinquency, depending on the child's psychology and the environment they were hanging out with. From 19 informants, there was only 2 child who did not commit juvenile delinquency. this is because his grandmother is very protective. but the percentage is clearly less than that of other children of juvenile delinquents from migrant workers' families.



## 4. Conclusion

Being a migrant worker with the aim of improving the economy is indeed believed by the Madurese community, especially in Sampang Madura. Various assets owned by migrants have been collected for savings and meeting household needs, which cannot be owned if working domestically. Starting from home, land, jewelry, and savings they can collect every month. Being a worker in the informal sector does not pose a serious problem for migrant workers. As long as they work and make money for family happiness. Intense communication as much as possible they do to control and express love for their children through video calls. However, communication through video calls does not eliminate the possibility for children to commit juvenile delinquency because of the loss of planting norms in the family that can be directly obtained by children their age. The courage of children to do mischief is supported by the lack of control from grandmothers and other family members who are given authority in the transfer of care for migrant children. This research needs to be followed up for research afterwards, bearing in mind that the adaptation of migrant families in the management of children must be increasingly researched and discussed seriously.

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