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The Life Of Poor Madurese Adolescents Left By Their Mothers To Work As International Migrant Workers

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Abstract

The study of the lives of the migrant workers' children is interesting and we reveal the childrearing gathered from the children whose mothers have left to work overseas. This study applied a qualitative approach. The data collection included a large portion of the interviews conducted with 60 families who were international migrant workers in Madura, East Java. This is a region in Indonesia that contributes a vast number of migrant workers. The results of this study revealed that the children of the migrant workers in Madura encountered academic underdevelopment at the hand of the absence of those who supervised their learning at home. They also suffered from loneliness as a result of their incomplete families, friendlessness as they had fewer discussion partners involved in their education proficiency and juvenile delinquency as their family didn't involve substantial social control.

Keywords: Children, Migrant workers, Childrearing, Academic, Madura

La Vida De Los Adolescentes Maduros Pobres Que Dejaron Sus Madres Trabajar Como Trabajadores Migrantes Internacionales

Resumen

El estudio de la vida de los hijos de los trabajadores migrantes es interesante y revelamos la crianza de los hijos cuyas madres se han ido a trabajar al extranjero. Este estudio aplicó un enfoque cualitativo. La recopilación de datos incluyó una gran parte de las entrevistas realizadas con 60 familias que eran trabajadores migrantes internacionales en Madura, Java Oriental. Esta es una región en Indonesia que aporta una gran cantidad de trabajadores migrantes. Los resultados de este estudio revelaron que los hijos de los trabajadores migrantes en Madura encontraron un subdesarrollo académico debido a la ausencia de quienes supervisaron su aprendizaje en el hogar. También sufrieron soledad como resultado de sus familias incompletas, falta de amistad ya que tenían menos compañeros de discusión involucrados en su competencia educativa y delincuencia juvenil ya que su familia no involucraba un control social sustancial.

Palabras clave: niños, trabajadores migrantes, crianza de niños, académico, Madura

1. INTRODUCTION

Working as migrant labourer overseas is a problematic option for a female, especially for one who has become a mother. This is as not only she bears the role of child nurturing but also the role of a breadwinner to support her husband in earning wealth. Because, in Indonesia at the moment the problem is employment including the problem of decreasing the number of job opportunities and high unemployment and termination of employment (SUTINAH, 2019). Essentially, a married woman has the role of helping her husband to determine the values that establish the purpose of life in a household, including overcoming any life problems (CANDRASARI, 2010). A mother who decides to go overseas to become a migrant labourer carries a great risk, as she will not be able to accompany and care for her children completely. The study of CHIB et al. (2013) explains that mater-

nal ideas include the specific themes of nurturing, protecting, caring, and socialising that cannot be disregarded even if they decide to be geographically separated. In this case, women have double roles; that of mothers and workers. As a result, the motherhood's caretaking pattern shifts to the other family members.

There are several reasons why a mother chooses to become an international migrant worker, namely because of her economic impediment or even her self-actualisation compulsion. The study of HUGO (1995) states that stagnant domestic economic development triggers labour migration. Choosing this path has its own consequences. The pros and cons of a woman leaving her child to make a living in a foreign country is a social issue that is often discussed. Economic limitations such as an insufficient income and a lack of qualified skills have led these women to believe that working overseas is more promising. In the process of facilitating the recruitment process, the prospective migrant workers will be equipped with skills corresponding with their placement in the designated country (PASETIA, 2008). In addition, the desire to become wealthy and to escape from poverty is the main factor behind why a mother chooses to become a migrant worker. This choice drives her to allow the childrearing and caregiving to be conducted by other family members. This means that she will not be able to manage her child's growth and development, including that within their schooling progress, including the impact of their peers relationship and possibly toxic friendship (SUHARTO, MULYANA, & NURWATI, 2018).

Living without the care of a mother who decides to become an international migrant worker has more or less severe impact on the child. A study conducted by the Bio-medical Library at the University of Minnesota in 2001 found that the children of women who work as international migrant workers suffer from moral underdevelopment. The research of CHUSNA, TRIYONO, & RAMLI (2017) notes that the moral knowledge of the children of migrant workers from Tulungagung is low and that they require their parents' encouragement and guidance. Insignificant childrearing and the absence of a mother hinders the child from gaining a motherly education. Not to mention that their nurturing and schooling is mandated to others, namely the father, grandmother, or aunt who may not be able to match the role of the mother. A study conducted by DOLBIN-MACNAB & YANCURA, (2017) mentioned that grandparents in China raise their grandchildren because their children migrate as an impact of modernisa-

tion. On the other hand, the research conducted by ELIZABETH HARVEY in 1999 explains that the child of an international migrant worker is not affected by her mother's career. In this study, it is mentioned that children continue to experience developmental changes and growth exactly like any other family. According to Harvey, to build closeness and to initiate their education, mothers do not have to be near their children for the entire 24 hours in a day. A social problem that relates to international migrant mothers is the pattern of childrearing. When a child is left to go overseas, the love from the mother can no longer be received personally. A study conducted by TUNGOHAN (2013) explains that a migrant mother considers that her affection and involvement can be replaced by the money and materials sent to her family and children. This shifts the maternal bond into a commodity-based relationship.

Migrant mothers can still mediate their intimacy with their children through mobile communication, but the mothers cannot take care of their children thoroughly. A study conducted by MADIANOU & MILLER (2011) in the Philippines, stated that there are differences between affluent and deprived migrant mothers. Some of them may not be able to afford calls home while the affluent ones may often contact their children.

In fact, the childrearing pattern is undertaken by other individuals who have different parenting styles than that of the child-bearer. Children are usually taken care of by their fathers, grandmothers or aunts. This kind of rearing can be gentle parenting or harsh parenting. The surrogate parents only rely on patience and perseverance in monitoring the development of their foster children (MUCHLIS, 2017). As an example, when a child lives with his or her grandmother, she usually exhibits more lenient social control than the child-bearer.

The role of women has shifted due to the economic problems that they encounter. Low-economic status households cannot afford to meet their basic needs, forcing the females to be involved as breadwinners to support their husbands for extra income. The poor neighbourhood facilities and underprivileged household population have encouraged many of the female residents to migrate overseas (ERNAWATI & LISTYANINGSIH, 2012). There are various jobs for women, not to mention that women are potential workers. One option is to become an international migrant worker where they are able to work as a shop assistant, factory labourer, restaurant work-

er, or as a domestic servant (AGUSTINI, 2017; PARWADI, 2012).

The absolute impact felt by migrant mothers is that they have had to separate from their children and families. Migrant mothers can no longer give positive attention and affection to their children, such as watching over them or accompanying them to study. In addition, the migrant mothers are not able to manage the development of their children's academic tracks. The weakened emotional bonding between mother and child can emotionally affect the child's condition, causing it to decline and triggering anxiety, weakening their social skills, and decreasing their academic achievement (SETIAWATI, LIVANA, & SUSANTI, 2017). The absence of a time-arrangement can never be replaced by anyone else. Although the child is well cared for by his or her grandmothers, she may overlook their moral development and learning achievements. Eventually, child-parenting does not work perfectly because the mother's role is replaced by that of other individuals (SUTIANA et al., 2018).

The Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) revealed there are 11.2 million children of migrant workers without sufficient childrearing. This data was obtained by assuming that each migrant worker has two children (kpai.go.id). The productive female migrant workers range from the age of 18 to 40. In this range of age, the mother's responsibility to care for and educate their children is still at a peak stage and for that reason, sending migrant workers who have toddlers or children under five overseas should be re-evaluated.

According to detik.com searches in East Lombok Regency, children whose mothers migrate overseas encounter academic underdevelopment after being nurtured by the older generations. This is mainly because they have not obtained equal attention or a motherly role during their study time. In East Lombok, female migrant workers are the sole breadwinners because they no longer have spouses or there are no other family members that can earn money to support the household (NOVIANTI, 2010). There isn't any significant learning progress shown by the children of migrant mothers. In addition, the income of the migrant mothers sent into the country is still insufficient to settle their children's tuition (MASTUR, 2017). Nevertheless, this scene may not always be the same since there are some children who are successful in their schooling even when their parents migrate overseas.

The distinctive conditions, from motherly childrearing to that of other caretakers, has an impact on the child. At school, they often feel a lack of confidence due to their domestic status. This means that the psychological condition of the children is agitated. In Batanghari, Lampung, some of the children of international migrant workers receive unpleasant attention from their schoolmates, namely being ignored due to their parents being migrant labourers (KUSUMASTUTI, HASYIM, & ROHMAN, 2019). They also have to deal with friendlessness, since they do not have any peers to talk with. Thus they become lonesome and feel alone, especially during the National Exam preparation term. They feel friendless because they do not have anyone to accompany them when they need to study. A study conducted by RAMADHANI, RAMANI, & BAROYA (2014) in Banyuwangi found that the children of migrant workers have more money compared to their peers. However, they tend to feel lonely, bored, and sad. Although their relatives and extended family support the schooling progress, the presence of mothers to supervise them is irreplaceable.

This unstable childrearing may decrease the quality of the parenting. Children who are educated by their mothers and educated by their grandmothers have different characteristics. A mother can perform strict parenting and prohibit the actions of her children, but a grandmother might only perform gentle parenting. Thus the children may not be easy to handle, on the grounds that the standard of education, knowledge, and the experience of the grandmothers in nurturing for their children is eminently in contrast with the era in which their grandchildren have grown up (MUTOHAROH, 2016). Not to mention that if the child lives with the father, even though the father is able to prepare for all of the child's needs, then he cannot replace the role and position of the mother, such as the mother's scrupulous nature. Furthermore, the absence of one family member causes an imbalance, especially in traditional families (INAYAH, 2012).

Although the impact of the migrant mother's decision to become a migrant worker has not been agreed upon by the researchers, the households whose mothers go overseas to become migrant workers can be said to experience a social change. The responsibility of a mother cannot be replaced by the other family members. As a result, the children do not have closeness with their mothers because they are intercepted by long distances. However, the children remain emotionally close to their mothers due to their lack of intensity in their meetings which triggers maternal bonding (ASTUTI,

2009). In addition, the children do not have a strong emotional attachment to their grandmothers because they merely supervise and baby-sit them. This is unlike the mothers who dare to take a firm stand with their children. In Lenek Lauk and Wanasaba, East Lombok Regency, marriageable age is considered to be too early; 16 years for females and 19 years for males. This child marriage is taken for granted due to a lack of parental supervision for they are busy working overseas. The study of the lives of the migrant workers' children is interesting and thus we present the findings of the childrearing data gathered from the children whose mothers have left to work overseas.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research applied a qualitative approach. The study was conducted in Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep, Madura. The research site selection was based on the number of women in the designated areas who work as migrant workers. The researchers conducted interviews with 60 families in which the wives worked as migrant workers. The data collection was done through interviews using questionnaires, in-depth questioning and an evaluation. In addition, several references were used to support the acquisition of the data in the research. The data analysis adopted data reduction as a part of the conclusion drawing.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Factors affecting the women Working as Migrant Overseas

Madurese society is a community that has a fairly solid kinship ties. Madura is known for its broad kinship by the name of Tanean Lanjhang, which is a family that reside within a large family, either in one residence or in different residences side by side. In this study, 67% of respondents said they lived in the Taenan Lanjhang system. Their kinship thus has immense social ties.

According to the migrant mother respondents, the decision of going abroad is to improve their household economic condition. Others chose to go overseas because their husbands do not earn a living. Economic factors are the main reason why the women in Madura choose to work as international migrant workers. In SILVEY'S (2006) research, it was stated that

the decision of the wife/mother to become a migrant worker was purely to help to boost her husband's earnings and to support the education tuition of their child. Even a wife / mother needs to ask for her husband's permission many times before leaving for overseas. The rising household needs and insufficient income were the reasons why this path was taken. International migrant workers are not dominated solely by women, but also by men. Some couples even choose to work overseas and they mandate the childrearing to their extended families. This is because of the economic situation that they endure. As a result, their children are left living with their grandmother or an aunt. The children simply get the attention from their old relatives and they prone to helping their sick grandmothers or grandfathers. They don't complain much about their reality (JINGZHONG & LU, 2011). The circumstances that cause the mothers to work overseas are also provoked by the insufficient earnings from their husband to meet the households' needs. The respondents claimed that the decision to be migrant mothers is stimulated by their spouses' laziness in terms of earning a living. This situation is not only driven by insufficient income but also due to personal factors. One respondent said that the decision of women to become migrant workers is because her husband is lazy or if they had an affair with another woman. Owing to these reasons, she finally decided to have a divorce. This ferocious situation forces women to bear double responsibilities, supporting their households as the sole breadwinners and helping with their children's schooling tuition. The study of NANDAL (2006) shows that the multiple responsibilities of women can be seen at work, in the home preparing their children's meals, washing clothes and other domestic matters. The household will never be the same as it used to be. Since they decide to execute a divorce, they must deal with the financial impact as well. As a result, to cover the budgetary shortcomings, women choose to become international migrant workers. In addition, they are lacking in competency traits. If they are equipped with sewing or cooking skills, then they can develop it into a job. In reality, they do not often have these traits and they are forced to earn a living so then their household needs are fulfilled.

The reason why women choose to become international migrant workers is also driven by their spouses' unstable work and income. MARCHETTI & VENTURINI'S study (2013) conducted in Italy on migrant workers from Guatemala explains that migrant workers leave their children in their home areas for several reasons, namely to continue work in the destination

country, so then their children can learn the culture of their home country. It is a form of compensation for their absence. Those who become migrant workers are the ones with a low-social economic status. The immense economic pressure causes women to carry the burden in the domestic and public sectors in order to survive, especially in poor households (RAHMAWATI, 2014). In addition, the Madurese migrate into labour because they do not want to be cornered in a stagnant situation. They claim that their husband's income is not fixed, namely for some of the erratic jobs such as coolies, labourers, fishermen, and some menial jobs.

Samir is one of the children left by his mother working abroad as a migrant worker in Malaysia. This has happened since he was 6 months old. His mother decided to go overseas because of economic factors, namely that his father's income is unstable and at that time, the father was unemployed. At this very moment, his father has been working out of town. Both of his parents are currently not at home, as they busy working to accommodate Samir and his younger brother's school tuition. (Bb)

Based on the information above, it can be seen that the necessity of women becoming migrant workers is due to their lack of choices to improve their economic situation other than being a labourer in a foreign country. Imposed by economic hardship and their spouse's minimum income, a woman is thus forced to become a migrant worker. In the end, they have to sacrifice their closeness with their children and regrettably they will not be able to manage their growth and development. The parents are no longer able to provide maximum encouragement and stability for their children (LAILIYAH, 2018).

The spouse's role apportionment remains unable to elevate the household prosperity. It eventually increases the responsibilities of the women; 80% of respondents said that their spouses' income could not meet the households' needs. The study conducted by PARRENAS (2015) on the Philippines society shows that when a wife who works as a migrant worker sends more money than her husband's domestic income, it proves the inability of the husband to caretake when it comes to their children. In addition, these people are not equipped with particular skills and a grand education, thus they need to make a tremendous effort to escape from poverty. WICKRAMASEKARA (2008) explained that the labour demand is hampered by the insignificant skills of the prospective workers. In reality, European

countries rely on immigrants to carry out agricultural work, catering, domestic services, and jobs in the entertainment industry. This shows that poverty in Madura is a serious problem, thus if the local community want to escape from it, then they are obliged to work and make a lot of money from migrant labouring. The children of migrant workers are accustomed to poverty, poor medical care, poor housing conditions, and school performance failures, since they have nothing (GREEN, 2003).

Those who decide to become migrant workers have a strong desire to get access to a better life. They want to be able to send their children to school, to pay off their debts, to improve their homes, and to raise their family status. Things like this will never be obtained if they do not want to get out of the poverty zone. Most of them are inspired by their neighbours' success stories, hence they become a role model to change their future. Women are obsessed with modelling after their neighbours or relatives who have successfully worked overseas so then they can buy property and renovate their houses (ANDRIANI, 2017).

Isnani has been left by her mother working abroad as a migrant worker in Malaysia since she was 8 years old. His mother decided to work overseas because of economic factors, namely day-to-day income and household needs. Her mother and father are divorced because the father had been having an affair and had married a new wife. What is more, he didn't have sufficient earnings (Ry)

Erik is a 12 year old boy in the sixth grade. He is an only child. Bayu is one of the children left by his parents working abroad as migrant workers in Malaysia since he was 7 years old. Both of his parents decided to go overseas due to economic factors because his father's income was insufficient, so both his father and mother worked as migrant workers in Malaysia. His father and mother are merchantries, and most of the neighbours also work overseas (Syt)

Women who decide to become migrant workers are not only those who have become mothers. Some even leave before they get married. Even though this decision was considered to be heavy, it had to be done due to economic pressure. In addition, high wages abroad are an attractive factor and an excess supply of domestic labour is a driving factor for labour migration (SUPRIANA & NASUTION, 2010). Before migrant mothers

leave for their overseas job, they must be willing to be apart from their beloved children. They leave their children at various ages, from toddlers through to teenagers.

The family of the migrant workers claimed that their migration was not due to personal and family matters, such as fighting with their spouses, parents-in-law or relatives. They have the sole intention to improve their wealth. The respondents said that working abroad was not because of a fight with their spouse, parents-in law or relatives, or that they were being forced by their spouses. Before leaving, some of them asked for permission or approval from their children to work far away but there were also those who do not ask for permission in advance from their children. The families of the migrant workers said they ignored the consent given by the child for they will not understand because of their young age. They also ignored the consent because they really wanted to get a job right away. Meanwhile, most respondents said that the prospective migrant workers had tried to ask for permission from their children.

Knowing that their mothers are sent far away for a long time, the children have varied responses. There are children who are sad and keep crying, and there are also children who act normal. BBC Indonesia conducted an investigation in the village of Wanasaba, East Lombok District, and they discovered that the local village government had established a special program for the children of migrant workers to heal the sadness that was a result of the separation from their mothers. The programs consist of a playgroup and a study club to support their academic development and to reduce the children's psychological burden. Usually, those who are left behind by their mothers have different responses depending on their age and their closeness to their mothers. Children under five years old and the ones who are very close to their mothers tend to be fussy. For teenagers, they begin to easily adapt to the situation. Migrant mothers from Lombok believe that the values of the children can be shaped by the family and they assume that their children will obey any parental advice (BEAZLEY, BUTT, & BALL, 2017).

Becoming a migrant worker is not a taboo matter in the Madurese community. The respondents assert that their families are not ashamed to be part of the international migrant worker community because this is quite common. This is backed-up by the surrounding community, most of whom

are also international migrant workers. The respondents state that they are living in areas that are inhabited by the families of migrant workers as well, thus it is considered to be a supportive factor. In addition, kinspersons who work as migrant workers also influence the women's decision to follow their path overseas.

Those who become migrant workers are forced to leave their children at home. The mothers delegate the childrearing to their relatives, mothers or grandmothers, and also their husbands. This parenting shift becomes quite serious for the child because he or she does not feel the motherly tenderness. In the beginning, the wife first and foremost takes care of the child. When she decides to work overseas, the pattern of parenting shifts (FAHHAM, 2008). The Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) once urged the government to stop sending international female migrant workers overseas who have babies or toddlers because it will cause there to be a lack of affection for their children. When the migrant mothers leave for overseas, the children's attitude seems to be natural but at the same time, he or she also loses that loving feeling (MUJANI, 2013). This is a serious problem in that leaving a child can be regarded as child neglect. This is because there is no adequate guarantee for that child's health and safety when he or she is left behind. KPAI recommends sending women migrant workers overseas when their children reach the age of 12 because they have passed the golden age (MALDINI & KUSTANTI, 2016). The circulation of migrant workers keeps their children living in a zone of limitation and poverty. Law No. 39 of 2004 concerning the placement and protection of Indonesian workers overseas does not regulate the childcare guarantees of the migrant workers.

3.2. Childrearing of the migrant workers

The childrearing of the migrant workers is taken over by their extended families because the fathers cannot carry out the role of caregiver for their children (SUHARTO & NURWATI, 2018). Some of the children live with their fathers and they are nurtured and supervised by the 'surrogates' mothers who live with them. The parties nurturing the children of the migrant workers in this study mostly perform their social roles well, including how they feed the children. Parties such as the fathers, grandmothers, or aunts give the same attention as the mothers when it comes to feeding. Most of the respondents said that they still eat three meals a day. The quality of the

food provided to the children ranges from simple to nutritious. This means that in terms of feeding, the children are not neglected. This is also an impact of the Tanean Lanjhang aspect where the kinship system in the Madurese community is very high in terms of social ties. Thus, they are very responsible and love their sibling children just like their own children.

Although the children of the migrant workers feel loving affection from their family and close relatives and they have access to essential goods and services such as adequate food and clothing, it cannot replace the motherly style of parenting. Despite the fact that they are granted with their full physical needs, they are still lacking the spiritual and love needs from their mothers (YUNIASTUTI, 2014). Surrogate parents, however, are not able to perform satisfactorily due to manpower and time limitations. Children nurtured by their grandmothers do not get maximum supervision and care-taking because the grandmothers are too venerable and thus they can not apply a strict social control. Grandmothers are generally more permissive compared to the child-bearer. LI'S study (2002) states that grandmothers show more traditional socialisation attitudes that seem to be conservative and that are not suitable for use in educating their grandchildren. The children's involvement in deviant behaviour is also indirectly influenced by a loose state of social norms.

Parents have a big role in child growth and development. Diana Baumrind, a clinical psychologist, in her theory 'Parenting Styles' explains that every parent has differing characteristics in terms of parenting. This depends on their nature and perspective down to their daily habits. Baumrind mentions three parenting styles exhibited by the parents including the following. First, there is authoritarian, which is a style that limits and urges children to follow the instructions and rules of the parents who are in full control. Second, is authoritative, a style that encourages the children to be independent with limitations and some parental control. Third is permissive, a style that is loose and accepts what the children do without providing an intervention. Baumrind (in Stanrock 2009) mentions four types of parenting, namely authoritarian parenting in the form of many strict rules, democratic parenting that implements the parents' responsive attitude to their children, permissive parenting by giving the children freedom of expression, and neglect parenting, a style that completely overlooks the child's caretaking.

A study conducted by KRISTIANAWATI (2015) found that surrogate par-

ents tend to apply permissive indulgent parenting patterns with a lack of control over a child's negative will. A surrogate parent, either a grandmother or an aunt, cannot apply strict control over the child. The responsibilities that they carry cannot be undertaken as well as the responsibilities of a mother. The study conducted by GRAHAM et al. (2012) states that mothers will delegate full caretaking to their extended families, regardless of the type of care needed.

Child protection has been regulated in Law No. 23 of 2012, Article 26 Paragraph 1, part of which states that parents have the obligation and responsibility to care for, maintain, educate and protect their children. In the case of the children of migrant workers, this article is considered to be unable to cover the protection of children of migrant workers. These children do not yet have protection from the state or local government so their condition needs to be considered.

Children who are raised by their fathers, grandmothers, or the siblings of the fathers and mothers receive full attention. Nevertheless, they are also often scolded by those who care for them. The respondents said they have been scolded by the people who cared for them due to their delinquency or disobedience. Fortunately, they have never been physically abused and injured. Most often, they are reprimanded by those who care for them. In this case, the psychological problems of the children of migrant workers need more attention because of the problems that they bear. The weak economic conditions require the parents to work abroad, leaving their child and causing them to get less attention. In other words, a family unit that is not intact can have a psychological impact on the child (CHOLIFAH, 2018).

There are various impacts that can affect the children when their parents leave for overseas. In addition to the psychological effects, children can also experience family disintegration. The departure of their parents overseas is the same as the separation of the family. A study conducted by ANYANWU & ERHIJAKPOR (2010) explained that poor households encourage them to become migrant workers and later on, they will send their earnings to their home country. However, their families tend to spend it all. This is why it is difficult for them to escape from poverty, since their children are very consumptive. Meanwhile, the function of affection in the family is no longer obtained by the child whose mother has left for overseas. In addition, juvenile delinquency can also be experienced by the chil-

dren of migrant workers considering that they are not properly supervised. The family disintegration that they feel leads to minimal supervision and their behaviour is not manageable. As a worse consequence, they might misbehave and conduct criminal acts.

The separation of the children from their mothers who work overseas reduces the intensity of interaction between them. Formerly, they interact every day, but due to the distance, their interactions go from the child meeting with them every day and the supervision of the mother pointedly decreases. The respondents assert that the level of interaction between the mother and child becomes rare. Although communication technology is available, the mother and child are not communicating every day. The children only communicate with their mothers through the phone lines, whereas if they have problems, they can only grumble about them to their fathers or grandmothers (ROHMAH, 2010). Although the children are taken care of by their closest relatives, these kinpersons do not necessarily provide academic assistance exactly like their mothers used to. In the study of ASIS (2006), the children of migrant mothers have a lower global happiness level than the kids of non-migrant workers, since they are experiencing hardship, namely academic discomfort. Different types of parenting also hamper them.

The study of the families of migrant workers from Madura found that the children of international migrant workers experienced academic underdevelopment. They did not show a significant improvement in school thus they always encounter complications in their academic life. This is also influenced by the absence of parental supervision over the children's learning. The study conducted by MAS'UDAH (2019) revealed that although some migrant workers and their families think of improving the family education, not all migrant workers think about the importance of education for their children as the next generation.

The impact that follows the separation of mother and child has never been taken into account. Only one aspect is what the parents think about, namely how to immediately make money to improve their life. A mother and her extended family do not consider how a child can carry out his or her life when they have left for work overseas. The children of migrant workers who live without proper and adequate family control might be underachieving, lonely, poorly treated, have poor nutrition, and have their educa-

tion disrupted. The dominant parenting method applied by the mother in the microsystem then disintegrates because the surrogate parents do not have the same control as that applied by the child-bearer (KURNIA & NURCHAYATI, 2018).

The academic achievements of a migrant worker's child depend on how he or she learns and the child's level of understanding. The study conducted by AMAN et al (2019) in Jafarabad, Bolchistan, Pakistan found that children find it difficult to perform well at school because most of their parents do not realise the importance of education and they provide only minor emotional support by not monitoring their children's class work. SURY-ADARMA et al. (2006) explained that the children's underdevelopment is also caused by the low level of education of their parents and family so then they are less motivated to learn. At the very least, they still need guidance from their closest family members who can accompany them in their learning. When their mothers are at home, they set the study time and help the children with their work. However, when their mothers have gone abroad, the changing pattern of caretaking forces them to adapt. This includes how they escalate their academic achievements. A study conducted by JINGZHONG & LU (2011) in China showed that children left by their migrant parents experience learning difficulties, not to mention they are living with their grandmothers who are unable to supervise them while learning. Additionally, children begin to get used to talking about their desires or goals to those who care for them. They often share their dreams with grandmothers, aunts, fathers or other relatives. The children of migrant workers have the desire to obtain a higher education such as becoming a doctor or police.

When they, the families of the migrant workers including their children, were asked about the decision of working overseas, they believed that working overseas could improve their economic condition and family welfare. All of the respondents support that. They also claim that when the mothers work overseas, their children will not get into trouble. In the study of JONES & KITTTISUKSATHIT (2003) in Thailand, people who choose to become migrant workers overseas believe that happiness and well-being is measured by the amount of money that they own in order to purchase their daily supplies. The respondents mentioned that by becoming international migrant workers, they have the ability to provide higher education for the children as an arrangement of love for their children and families.

Madurese mothers who decide to work overseas do so from an economic orientation as an effort to escape from the poverty zone.

4. CONCLUSION

The study was conducted to find out the life and obstacles encountered by the children of international migrant workers from Madura, East Java. This study concludes that poverty conditions are the cause of women taking the decision going overseas as migrant workers. This decision has consequences, namely that they have to leave their children and mandate their caretaking to their extended families. Children left by their mothers migrating abroad encounter a number of problems such as the psychological problems that spread to their academic achievement which hampers them from making significant improvements. They feel lonely and vulnerable to deviant behaviour because of the gentle social control parenting type.

The impact of the separation between mother and child has never been taken into account. Local and central government should issue a protection and guarantee policy for the children of migrant workers. Children who have been left by their mothers since childhood without any collateral are social problems that need to be addressed. Based on this research, the children of migrant workers tend to have academic difficulties as they suffer from loneliness and they are also not well treated. For these reasons, their educational development might be in jeopardy.

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