

The Endeavour of Indonesian Female Migrant Workers in Taiwan in Building Family Resilience

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Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji secara mendalam bagaimana upaya pekerja migran Indonesia di Taiwan dalam membangun dan mempertahankan ketahanan keluarga dalam kondisi yang tidak ideal tersebut. Metode kualitatif digunakan dalam penelitian ini, data primer didapatkan dengan wawancara mendalam terhadap 10 pekerja migran perempuan Indonesia di Taiwan, 10 anak pekerja migran dan 10 pengasuh mereka di Indramayu, Jawa Barat. Metode *snowball sampling* digunakan untuk mendapatkan informan di Taiwan dan melalui *purposive sampling* untuk mengumpulkan informan di Indramayu. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa upaya yang dilakukan dalam membangun ketahanan keluarga migran belum maksimal. Ketahanan ekonomi yang diperkirakan akan tinggi pada pekerja migran ternyata tidak tergambar pada penelitian ini sebagai salah satu indikator ketahanan keluarga migran. Lamanya masa migrasi di Taiwan tidak menjamin kuatnya ketahanan ekonomi keluarga migran. Dimensi lain seperti ketahanan psikologis, sosial, dan spiritual juga kurang kokoh sehingga menimbulkan dampak negatif bagi keluarga dan anak-anak yang ditinggalkan.

Kata kunci: ketahanan keluarga; keluarga migran; keluarga transnasional; pekerja migran Indonesia

Abstract

This study aimed to analyze the endeavors of Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan to establish and sustain family resilience under unfavorable circumstances. The research used qualitative methodologies by conducting in-depth interviews with 10 Indonesian female migrant workers in Taiwan, 10 left-behind children in Indonesia, and 10 caregivers as primary data. The snowball sampling technique was used to recruit participants in Taiwan, and purposive sampling was used for participants in Indonesia. This study determined that the efforts taken to enhance the resilience of migrant families have not been optimal. The economic resilience expected to be high among migrant workers is apparently not reflected in this study as an indicator of the resilience of migrant families. The duration of the migration period in Taiwan does not guarantee the solid economic resilience of migrant families. Additionally, the lack of robustness in other sectors, such as psychological, social, and spiritual resilience, leads to adverse consequences for families and children left behind.

Keywords: family resilience; migrant family; transnational families; Indonesian migrant workers

Introduction

Indonesia is one of the significant contributors to migrant workers from Southeast Asia. Over nine million Indonesians are employed as migrant workers in Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan, and about 70 percent are female (BP2MI, 2022). Annually, Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs) send remittances amounting to 11,435 million USD in 2019. These funds declined to 9,164 million USD in 2021 owing to the COVID-19 outbreak and are starting to increase again (Bank Indonesia, 2022). Remittances sent by IMWs to families in Indonesia rank as the country's second most significant contributor to the State Budget,

following gas and oil (VOI, 2022). IMWs perform a wide variety of labor in destination countries, including work in the agricultural sector, infrastructure, home industry, caregivers, and domestic labor. In countries with relatively high aging population rates, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, most female migrant workers are domestic workers or caregivers (Chien, 2018).

The decision made by IMWs, particularly female IMWs, to seek employment overseas is closely related to economic factors. They face difficulties finding employment in their home country. The choice to pursue employment overseas undeniably affects both IMWs and the families left behind. When deciding to

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work abroad, IMWs must be prepared for the repercussions of leaving their families, particularly their children. Due to the host country's policy of granting "partial citizenship," IMWs cannot bring their families (Parreñas, 2014). IMWs are permitted to enter the host country legally if they possess a residency permit and are endorsed by their employers. This caused their status to depend on the employer's household. Consequently, they are obliged to reside in their employer's residence, precluding the possibility of accommodating family members. This separation has caused an increase in the number of transnational families in Indonesia.

Bryceson (2019) defines the transnational family as a structure where family members are separated due to geographical distances caused by migration. Despite their physical separation, every family member maintains a connection with one another and endeavors to cultivate a sense of familial unity, known as "familyhood." Familyhood refers to the close interactions and connections that exist within a family as well as the rules and ideals that guide these relationships. This effort to build familyhood causes a dilemma for IMWs, especially mothers, when they have to work abroad to care for other families and, on the other hand, leave their families and children behind. Left-behind children are typically cared for by other relatives such as grandmothers, elder siblings, or maternal aunts. Sometimes, the father cares for the child if the mother works abroad. In this condition, the mother is forced to perform two roles simultaneously: as a breadwinner or prominent supporter of the family economy and as a caregiver for the children from a distance.

IMWs encounter numerous challenges when providing remote care in the host country. Particular challenges arise owing to time constraints, as they must work more than 18 h daily. In addition, caregivers of the elderly must reside in the same room as their employer, which restricts their ability to communicate with the outside world, including their own family. In some instances, IMWs are prohibited from utilizing communication tools, leading to the severance of contact channels with their families in Indonesia. These problems highlight the difficulties migrant workers face in maintaining contact with their families, let alone in providing

ideal care for children left behind. Consequently, transnational families are often stigmatized as vulnerable and at risk (Baldassar & Merla, 2014). Transnational families encounter several challenges, including 1) disharmony within families, leading to a high rate of divorce; 2) suboptimal childcare arrangements; and 3) remittances not consistently utilized for long-term purposes (Sardjunani, 2013). Pinol et al. (2023) emphasized that transnational families cause mental health issues for migrant mothers, left-behind children, and caregivers of the children. In Indonesia, transnational families have caused several problems for left-behind children, such as low education performance, the increasing number of drop-outs from school, tobacco and cigarette consumption, psychological fragility, and victims of sexual harassment.

Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, which was later changed to Law Number 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation, has included migrant families as part of the government's attention. However, no concrete efforts have been made as a derivative of this law to help and strengthen the resilience of migrant families. The resilience of the IMWs family is closely related to Indonesia's human development efforts, especially when facing the predicted demographic bonus in 2030-2040 and welcoming a golden Indonesia in 2045. There are at least 11 million children among migrant workers whose parents have abandoned them. Therefore, particular emphasis must be placed on transforming transnational families into resilient ones.

This study examines Indonesian Female Migrant Workers (IFMWs) as caregivers or domestic workers in the domestic sector in their duties as migrant workers and mothers from far away. Issues in transnational families frequently arise when mothers migrate abroad. This unusual condition in transnational families raises questions about the resilience of migrant families, and through this research, I have attempted to answer them. The questions were: a) What endeavors do IFMWs undertake to enhance the resilience of their families? b) How does migrant family resilience develop through geographical separation? (c) Which factors enhance the resilience of transnational families? In addition, this study aims to contribute to the existing research on family resilience,

particularly in the context of transnational families.

Theoretical Framework

Transnational Family

Transnationalism evaluates global social phenomena that are more connected in a world without boundaries, thus making it easier for people to move from one country to another. Globalization and technological advancement ease people's mobility, causing an increase in international migration. When entering a country, international immigrants employ two forms of registration status: the first is as refugees for those who wish to become permanent residents, and the second is as guest workers for those who merely want to stay for a short time to work. There are two types of guest workers: skilled workers (expat workers) and blue-collar workers (migrant workers). Migrant workers confront a variety of restrictions as a result of host countries' policies that give them "partial citizenship" (Parreñas, 2014). A migrant worker can legally enter a country with the help of an employer's recommendation and a residency permit obtained by being dependent on a family member. These migrant workers are not covered by labor law; as a result, employees cannot bargain for better working conditions, and they are required to live in the same house as their employers, making it impossible for them to bring their families. This condition forces the formation of a transnational family.

A transnational family is characterized by geographical separation, where parents are materially and emotionally linked to the family left behind in the home country. A kinship relationship is created between migrant parents and their left-behind children to maintain their relationship as a nuclear family (Bryceson, 2019; Hoang et al., 2015; Lam et al., 2013). A transnational family is a dilemma for parents who must leave their children, particularly mothers (transnational motherhood). Transnational motherhood damages the bond between mother and child, which can have long-term negative consequences for children (Leano et al., 2021). Gusman et al. 'study in Indramayu, West Java, found that many left-behind children of migrant workers feel unworthy because they do not have somebody to rely on and share with. Many are bullied because their partners believe that their parents will not defend them. They feel lonely

and "thrown away" by their parents, resulting in a strained relationship with their family. Their academic performance is typically mediocre, and many do not want to pursue higher education because they would rather work and earn money immediately.

Baldassar and Merla (2014) stated that "ideal caregiving" for transnational families includes six crucial aspects: mobility, communication, social relationships, time allocation, education/knowledge, and paid labor. Mobility is described as the ability to travel to receive or provide care. The ability to maintain interactions over great distances and convey products across borders is known as communication. This includes the ability to communicate physically. Social relations are associated with mutual support between the host and home countries, including resources for exchanging information on travel, lodging, and financial support to those providing and receiving care. Time allocation refers to the ability to commit time to provide care, education, and knowledge, while paid work refers to the opportunity to invest in a gratifying employment position while providing care.

Most migrant workers lack access to these six crucial elements. However, their mobility, time management, education, and networking ability are severely limited. Migrant workers are expected to live with their employers and cannot take days off. When their families are sick or die, it is difficult for them to come home to visit and pay their last respects. However, some employers are generous and allow migrant workers to visit their relatives. Information and communication technology (ICT) appears to be a successful technique for transnational families to sustain their union and "familyhood" (Lam et al., 2013). However, most migrant workers are allowed to use mobile phones after finishing their work at night. Unfortunately, children usually fall asleep when the mother finishes work. Communication via video calls may appear to be a better way to give care, but what about parenting quality? To care for children, communication depends not only on quantity but also on quality.

Family Resilience

Family resilience refers to the capacity of a family to utilize its available resources and address existing challenges to fulfil each family member's needs. Family resilience consists of three main variables: physical,

social, and psychological (Sunarti, 2015). Family resilience is founded on establishing a family paradigm that emphasizes the cultivation of competencies and strengths. This paradigm helps comprehend how a family endures and thrives in adversity. Family resilience enables families to survive, overcome the challenges of change, and successfully navigate various crisis scenarios and life problems (Handayani et al., 2018). Family resilience refers to the capacity of individuals or families to utilize their potential to confront and overcome obstacles. This includes re-establishing family functioning in the face of challenges and crises. Family resilience refers to the ability of a family to respond to external and internal threats. Therefore, resilience can be defined as the capacity of a family to overcome internal and external challenges, threats, obstacles, and disturbances that have the potential to generate conflict and disharmony (Sunarti, 2015).

In the case of migrant workers, migration encompasses intergenerational interactions, specifically between families in the host country and those left in their home country. Consequently, this separation sometimes results in psychosomatic illnesses, behavioral issues, depression, anxiety disorders, and other social impacts that affect the resilience of migrant families (Falicov, 2012). Garabiles et al. (2017) utilized case studies of Filipino migrant workers in Hong Kong and Macau to define a model of migrant family resilience. They explain three crucial phases in building the resilience of migrant families based on the developed model: pre-departure, during the migration process, and post-migration, or when parents return to their homeland and begin a new life with their family. According to the concept proposed in this study, resilience in migrant families is a collectivistic process negotiated with each family member. This model highlights five relational stages that families go through to successfully adapt to separation: communication, restructuring, reunion, permanent reunification, and strengthening family commitment. It is expected that by implementing these five methods, families will be able to survive and support one another during the migration process.

Migrant families are unique because they live geographically apart, but sometimes live

together (physically) for a minimal time. The divorce rate among migrant workers is high because it is not easy to maintain a relationship between husband and wife when separated for a long time. Usually, IFMWs will go to work abroad not only for one or two years but also for more. For example, in the case of Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan, the current policy allows them to extend their contracts for a maximum of 12-15 years. Therefore, most IFMWs extend their contracts to the maximum time allowed. Of course, this is not a manageable condition for husbands and wives to fulfil each other's rights and obligations. Regarding left-behind children, it is ubiquitous for migrant families where mothers leave their children when they are toddlers, and reunite when the children are teenagers or older. Children lose ties with their mothers due to geographical separation, poor communication, and a lack of parenting practices.

In Indonesia, the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection launched Regulation No. 7 of 2022 concerning improving family quality through development. This regulation aims to encourage the implementation of the Family Resilience and Welfare concept in all targeted development activities and increase the implementation of welfare development policies for Ministries and Regional Governments. In this Ministerial Regulation, family resilience is divided into five aspects: 1) religious resilience, 2) physical resilience, 3) psychological resilience, 4) economic resilience, and 5) social resilience.

According to the above ministry regulations, religious resilience refers to individuals' ability to sustain their religion and spiritual well-being in the face of stress, adversity, or difficulty. Physical resilience is related to a family's ability to provide nutritious food, health facilities, and decent housing. Psychological resilience includes overcoming non-physical problems, positive emotional control, positive self-concept, and caring for family members. Economic resilience refers to the ability of the family to provide regular income for family members to fulfil daily costs. Ideally, the family also has savings and an emergency fund to cover at least three months of living expenses. Social resilience relies on religious beliefs, good communication, and strong family commitment.

Sunarti et al. (2015) simplified those five aspects of family resilience into three categories:

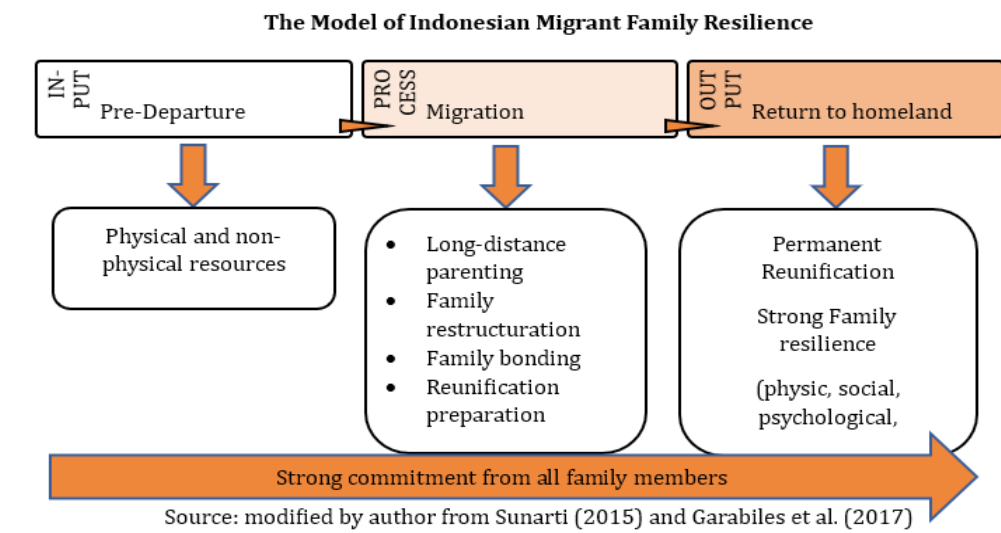


Figure 1. The Model of Indonesian Migrant Family Resilience
Source: Modified by Author from Sunarti (2015) and Garabiles et al. (2017)

physical, social, and psychological. These resiliencies are the outputs of the input and process components.

The input component consists of the resources owned by the family, whether physical or non-physical. The process components relate to the problems faced by the family and how they solve them. Other components include economic problems and parenting styles. Meanwhile, the output consists of physical, social, and psychological well-being. However, the concept developed by Sunarti is too general and cannot be fully adopted by transnational families because their conditions are quite different from those of normal families.

Garabiles (2017) developed the resilience model of migrant families in the Philippines. Their concept emphasized the role of temporal and spatial elements in collective migration experiences. Parts missing in Sunarty's model. Referring to the family resilience measurement method compiled by Sunarti et al. (2015) and modifying the resilience model of migrant families in the Philippines compiled by Garabiles et al. (2017), Indonesian migrant family resilience was analyzed using the above model.

Methods

This study was conducted in several cities from north to central Taiwan, including Taipei, New Taipei City, Taoyuan, Taichung, and Chiayi. Taiwan is one of the IFMWs' favorite destinations. There are 239,384 IMWs working there, with 76,181 in the formal sector and 163,203 in the

informal sector (MOL Taiwan, 2022). This study uses qualitative approaches by collecting data through in-depth interviews with ten IFMWs. A snowball sampling approach was used to manage the informants. All IFMWs interviewed for this study were caregivers. The reason for choosing caregivers is that they are women and most family problems arise when one who migrates is a mother.

Besides IFMWs, 10 left-behind children and 10 caregivers were also interviewed to provide more information regarding the condition of migrant families after their mother's migration. The left-behind children and their caregivers came from Indramayu, West Java. Indramayu are one of the top three IMW sources, and most of them work in Taiwan or Saudi Arabia. Data on the children and caregivers were collected through Al Azhar University Indonesia's University Social Responsibility (USR) program in September 2022.

Results

Data were collected in Taiwan from July to August 2022. The informants' ages ranged from 31 to 48 years, and they had been in Taiwan for 3-12 years. Forty% of them were divorced and had one to three children. Data for Indonesia were collected in September 2022. Ten left-behind children ranging in age from 7 to 22 years were enrolled. Most parents who work abroad are mothers who stay for 2-19 years.

The caregivers varied from husband, sister, sister-in-law, mother, and mother-in-law. Their

Code	Age (years)	Type of work	Duration of stay in Taiwan	Location in Taiwan	Marriage Status	Number of Children
A	34	Caregiver	6	Taipei	Married	1
B	37	Caregiver	3	Daan	Divorce	3
C	45	Caregiver	12	Beitou	Divorce	1
D	37	Caregiver	7	Ruifang	Married (second married)	3
E	34	Caregiver	5	Shilin	Married	2
F	36	Caregiver	6	Taipei	Divorce	2
G	48	Caregiver	10	Taichung	Divorce	3
H	37	Caregiver	8	Chiayi	Married	1
I	31	Caregiver	2	Dajja	Married	1
J	33	Caregiver	5	Miaoli	Married	1

Table 1. characteristics of Informants in Taiwan

Source: Field Data (2022)

Code	Age (years)	Sex	Parents Who Migrate	Destination Country	Duration of Parents' Migration
A1	15	Male	Mother	Taiwan	12 years
B1	12	Male	Mother and Father	Taiwan	11 years
C1	10	Male	Mother	Taiwan	9 years
D1	7	Male	Mother	Taiwan	5 years
E1	11	Female	Mother	Taiwan	4,5 years
F1	17	Female	Mother	Taiwan	7 years
G1	12	Male	Mother	Taiwan	10 years
H1	20	Female	Mother	Saudi Arabia	19 years
I1	12	Female	Mother	Singapore	2 years
J1	7	Female	Mother	Taiwan	4 years

Table 2. Characteristics of Informants in Indonesia (Left-behind Children)

Source: Field Data (2022)

Code	Age (years)	Sex	Relation with Migrant Parents
A2	31	Female	Younger sister
B2	62	Female	Aunty
C2	44	Male	Husband
D2	34	Female	Elder Daughter
E2	60	Female	Mother in Law
F2	62	Female	Sister in Law
G2	40	Female	Elder sister
H2	60	Female	Mother
I2	65	Female	Mother
J2	55	Female	Mother

Table 3. Characteristics of Informants in Indonesia (Caregivers)

Source: Field Data (2022)

ages ranged from 31 to 65 years old. From the interviews, the condition of family resilience of IFMWs in Taiwan can be explained as follows:

Religious Resilience

Many studies show that mother migration to work abroad has negative impacts on children,

such as drug addiction, consumption of cigarettes and alcohol, committing criminal acts such as stealing, declining academic performance, and dropping out of school (Ayumi, 2015; Rizky et al., 2017). One reason for these negative impacts is the difficulty of migrant workers to oversee their children's spiritual lives because they

live far away. In this research, all respondents were Muslims who found it difficult to impart religious principles to their children's daily lives. This is due to three primary factors: 1) the poor knowledge of IFMWs, which makes it difficult for most of them to teach children the fundamentals of religion; and 2) time restrictions, where they must work 12-18 hours daily. The time to contact the family is limited, and many other issues must be communicated to the family. Therefore, religious issues are not always prioritized. 3) Communication methods have only been by telephone or video call, which are ineffective in instilling religious values in a family. Owing to limited physical touch and conversation, parents find it challenging to be role models in religious practice. As an alternative, 30% of informants said that they sent their children to Islamic boarding schools to educate children and provide them with basic knowledge of Islam. They will contact the children three times a week to control whether they have prayed during the day. However, this method does not always work because many children are reluctant to answer their mothers' calls, or the rules of Islamic boarding schools limit the child's communication schedule with the family. Another strategy IFMWs implement is to entrust children to people or relatives who understand religion.

"I entrusted my child to my sister because my sister graduated from an Islamic boarding school and currently works as a teacher. With her background, I feel at ease leaving my children, even though I am physically far away from home. Entrusting children with the right people is important, especially for religious education and resilience. Under the care of my sister, all my daughters reflect the Muslim personality in everyday life, such as covering their bodies in line with Islamic guidelines; the children are polite and have good education. My three daughters received a good education and are currently undergoing higher education at a reputable state university in our country." (D, 37 years old, Ruifang)

From the children's point of view, they stated that they are unhappy when their mothers call only to ask about the daily routine, such as "Have you eaten?", "Have you prayed?" and so on. They expected the mothers to ask more personal

questions about how they felt and how their day was going.

"My mom has worked in Taiwan for 9 years. She left when I was one year old. I want her to be here to accompany me in studying and learning about the Quran. She called me twice a week, 30 minutes for every call. Nevertheless, sometimes, I am unwilling to receive calls. So, I ignore her" (C1, 10 years old, Indramayu)

Another reason for the weak religious resilience of migrant families is the fragile bond between parents and children, which makes it difficult for parents to inherit the religious values of their children. In this case, the caregivers cannot mediate between the children and parents because of their hustle activities and limited knowledge.

Regarding religious resilience for IFMWs, they experienced several difficulties, including the freedom to perform religious orders. IFMWs have to work 14 to 18 hours daily, which causes difficulty in performing obligatory prayers five times a day. It is common for them to combine *Zuhr* and *Isha* prayers at one time at *Isha* time. During Ramadan, some respondents had difficulty fasting. Difficulties in fasting during the month of Ramadan are due to restrictions from employers because of the misunderstanding that Muslims do not eat or drink for the entire month. Employers worry that IFMWs will fall ill or even die. Sometimes, the decision to not fast comes from IFMWs due to the heavy workload, especially if Ramadan coincides with summer. Maintaining halal food is also challenging because it is difficult to obtain it in Taiwan, and IFMWs usually eat what is in the employer's house. The majority of dishes served at the employer's house were non-halal food. The company usually provides food for factory workers but does not consider it halal or haram. Some IFMWs who communicate well with their employers have leeway to cook for themselves following Islamic rules. Government Regulation No. 87 of 2014 in Article 7 lists eight family functions, including religious functions. The family is the first place for children to know, instill, grow, and develop religious values. However, the above conditions and realities show that it is difficult for migrant workers to build family resilience in the context of religious resilience, either overseas or for their families and children left behind in Indonesia.

Physical Resilience

The family is responsible for ensuring the resilience of all family members by meeting their needs for food, nutrition, clothing, and adequate housing; ensuring the health of all family members; and maintaining a healthy home and environment. A large number of monthly remittances help IFMWs increase the physical resilience of families in the home country. Several studies have proven that sending remittance money makes it easier for PMI families to pay for their children's education, access health services (Farooq & Javed, 2009), and provide decent housing for those left behind (Pei, 2006). However, the home cannot protect many children with IFMW from sexual predators. Data in West Java show that 40% of child victims of sexual violence are IFMW children, with the perpetrators usually people closest to them, such as uncles, cousins, and even biological fathers (Aminudin, 2017; Dwinanda, 2017).

Most informants stated that their families' nutritional status improved when they started working as migrant workers in Taiwan. Nevertheless, the nutritional value and quality of children's meals cannot always be ensured because of the tendency of child caregivers to offer fast food options that are deficient in essential nutrients. From a health standpoint, migrant worker families can afford national health insurance for their families, thereby enhancing their access to healthcare. Regarding housing, they offer accommodation with improved sanitation facilities. Almost all respondents built decent houses because of their hard work in Taiwan. In general, the physical health of migrant families is quite good compared to that before leaving abroad.

"Alhamdulillah. As my wife works in Taiwan, I can afford nutritious and delicious food for my children. Our family members are also covered by national health insurance (BPJS Kesehatan)." (C2, 44 years old, Indramayu)

C2's wife has worked in Taiwan since 2017 as a caregiver in Taipei City. Every month, his wife sends around five million rupiahs. He utilized that money for living costs with his three children. Every day, he cooks for his children and sends them to the school. During the weekend, he works as a farm worker because the money sent by his wife is insufficient to cover all the

costs of his family. This is especially true for their youngest child, who needs extra money for formula milk and diapers. In addition, sometimes other children request fast food for their meals, which needs extra money.

Psychological Resilience

Psychological resilience refers to the family members' ability to manage their emotions and establish a positive self-concept, which is critical when dealing with non-physical family problems. Thus, positive self-concept and emotions are indicators of psychological resilience. A family's ability to overcome various non-physical issues, such as positive emotional control, positive self-concept (including hope and satisfaction), husband's concern for his wife, and satisfaction with family harmony, indicates psychological resilience (Sunarti, 2015). Maintaining family integrity and harmony by enhancing the quality and intensity of family interactions, preventing divorce, applying excellent parenting methods, and recovering from family crises may enhance family psychological resilience.

Maintaining contact with married couples is a common problem among migrant workers. Long distances often result in misunderstandings and arguments. Not to mention the fact that workers have limited time, making it difficult to solve problems properly. The separation of husband or wife for quite a long time often creates a feeling of loneliness, causing each party to look for a replacement partner during the migration process. Consequently, this unhealthy relationship pattern often leads to divorce. According to Lutfiyyah (2018), there are three leading causes of divorce among IFMWs: 1) economics. Although not always the primary cause, it cannot be denied that economic factors influence the high divorce rate among IFMWs. The wife works abroad because the husband cannot meet the family's needs. This condition is exacerbated by the low financial literacy skills possessed by IFMWs and their families, so that remittances sent to Indonesia cannot be utilized as effectively as possible, causing the chain of sending IFMWs abroad to be unbroken; and 2) infidelity, often husbands who live in Indonesia remarry without the knowledge of the first wife. To finance his new household, the husband uses the money sent by his wife from abroad. Wives who are abroad sometimes also have relationships with other men, even though

they are still legally bound as wives to their husbands in Indonesia; 3) domestic violence, Law No. 23 of 2004 Article 1 Paragraph 1, defines domestic violence as any act against someone, especially women, which results in physical, sexual, psychological misery or suffering, and domestic neglect, including threats to commit acts, coercion, or confiscation. This form of violence can be physical, verbal, psychological, sexual, or even economic (Kemenkumham, 2022). Most forms of violence experienced by IFMWs are physical, psychological, and verbal violence. As seen in the respondents' data, almost 50% of respondents divorced because of these three factors.

In Japan, children are the most vulnerable victims of divorce. Children are indirectly taken from their parents. On the one hand, the children are separated from the mother because she works abroad to be the family breadwinner; on the other hand, the children lose their father because he is absent due to divorce. This condition often harms children, such as losing their passion for life, being lazy at school, having inappropriate relationships, and becoming involved in drugs and free sex. Another component of psychological resilience is stress management, life motivation, and emotions. Most informants emphasized that getting closer to God was one way to manage the soul. In addition, social support from those closest to them is recognized as having a significant impact, especially on their mental health. As stated by several informants, they also received support from other migrant workers or Indonesian students in Taiwan through active participation in Islamic classes at mosques or through various online activities. As discussed by Suryaneta and Gusman (2022) in their analysis of the impact of social support from Indonesian students in Taiwan on IFMWs by providing a series of online empowerment programs, it has a positive impact on IFMWs in the form of 1) the opportunity to increase knowledge and skills without having to leave the home employer. The policy currently in effect in Taiwan indirectly limits the mobility of IFMWs, which can only take days off once a month. However, since the pandemic, many employers have not allowed workers to take days off at all; 2) the available online programs provide opportunities for IFMWs to interact with other IFMWs who are in the same situation and struggle; 3) through this online activity IFMWs

can share feelings, thoughts, information, and even problems to get alternative solutions from fellow IFMWs colleagues or students; 4) joining various online activities can reduce feelings of loneliness; and 5) by joining online programs, IFMWs are motivated to become a better version of themselves.

For IFMW children, the problems related to psychological resilience are feeling lonely, abandoned, and low self-esteem, and some of them are children who are challenging to manage because they lost their parental figure while they were growing up (Adhikari et al., 2014; Lam & Yeoh, 2018; Umami & Turnip, 2019; Yeoh & Graham, 2013). The impact is that many children drop out of school, do not achieve well, and are trapped in various risky activities. The feeling of loneliness experienced by children is caused by a bond that is not adequately developed between mother and child, especially for children who were abandoned when they were still toddlers. Some children feel abandoned, which causes the relationship between parents and children to deteriorate (Gusman et al., 2022). Communication can be an alternative approach for increasing mother-child bonding; nevertheless, most respondents reported having difficulty communicating due to restricted time to contact the family. When they have a problem with their family, they do not have a better way of communicating or solving it. They can only contact their family by phone, but there are times when the family blocks communication channels with their children or husbands, making the problem even more challenging.

Economic Resilience

Family welfare can be divided into two categories: economic and material welfare. Economic welfare is assessed by fulfilling family inputs (income, wages, assets, and expenses). In contrast, material welfare is measured by the number of types of goods and services available to the family. Family economic resilience can be described as a dynamic condition regarding the persistence and strength of a family in facing various challenges and threats that come from within or from outside, which directly or indirectly endanger the family economy. Solid economic resilience in the family also creates a strong economic foundation for the country (Wulandari, 2017).

"My daughter sent all of her salaries back home. I use that money to pay our big family's monthly bills because her sister and family also live with me to assist in caring for my daughter's children. I used this money to pay her children's school fees and other needs. I also started to build a house and invest money to buy some land. "(I2, 65 years old, Indramayu)

A case like I2 is common in migrant families because, before migration, they are not educated on how to manage their salary.

Referring to the economic resilience indicators regulated by the Indonesian government, a family is declared to have good economic resilience if it has savings or emergency funds that can support the family's life for at least three months. With the salaries earned in Taiwan, all informants qualify as resilient in the economy. Their salaries and savings can guarantee life for at least three months after returning to Indonesia. After a few months in their homeland, they find meeting the family's economic needs challenging. This is because of their unemployment status when they return to their homeland, and only limited emergency funds and no pension funds have been collected while they are still actively working as migrant workers. Many IFMWs are unprepared to return to their homeland. They have some investments, but not productive assets, such as houses, luxury cars, and luxury home appliances, and do not have the skills to invest their salaries. Therefore, after several months in Indonesia, they will return abroad as IFMWs to support their families. The economic resilience of migrant families also depends on the families left behind. Most IFMW families have poor financial literacy; therefore, remittances sent to Indonesia cannot be expected to become sustainable security funds. The remittances sent were spent on daily living expenses and purchase of consumptive goods.

Social Resilience

Social resilience is the strength of a family in implementing religious values, maintaining bonds and commitments, effective communication, division of roles and acceptance, setting goals, and encouragement to move forward, which is a strength in facing family problems and having healthy social relationships

(Sunarti et al., 2015). If linked to normative values regarding how families should behave, the conditions for achieving social resilience are linked to optimizing family functions. In this study, all informants stated that they and their families had a good relationship with the community, actively participated in activities in the community, and even had a good relationship with their ex-husbands and family, even though the reason for separating was domestic violence. However, some respondents' children withdrew from society because they were ashamed of being children of migrant workers and were often bullied for being their children of migrant workers.

Discussion

The migrant family resilience model described in this theoretical framework illustrates the steps and procedures involved in building a strong family. These stages begin before departure, during migration, and continue until the IFMWs return to their homeland and reunite with their families. They start with input, including physical and non-physical resources, prepared before the IFMWs migrate abroad. Physical resources include family wealth and assets, whereas non-physical resources include education, goal setting, religious values, communication, and bonding. To successfully navigate the migration process, input must be thoroughly prepared, particularly when dealing with communication challenges, rearranging family roles owing to distance, strengthening bonds when separated, and mixing the family's vision and mission to achieve the expected output. The desired outcome is that the family will be permanently reunited, both physically and materially, as well as psychologically. These outcomes are attainable through remarkable commitment, coordination, and cooperation among family members. The reality that occurs in the IFMWs family can be described as follows:

a. Pre-departure

Regarding physical resources, most IFMWs do not have sufficient money to leave the country. They dare to go abroad and are forced to leave their families and children in Indonesia simply because they seek better jobs with higher salaries (Iqbal & Gusman, 2015). They commonly fall into debt with the agency that sends them to cover their departure costs. As a

result, the first year of IFMWs' salaries is often taken to pay off these debts. Only in the third year are IFMWs able to enjoy the fruits of their labor and send it to their relatives in Indonesia (Cheng, 2016). Several countries, including Hong Kong and Taiwan, have introduced a direct recruiting system to reduce departure and placement costs; however, this policy applies only to those who extend their contracts. Nevertheless, those working in Hong Kong or Taiwan for the first time must go through procedures that drain their finances and savings or lock them in enormous debts. As explained by one of the caregivers:

"This year is the second contract for my daughter to work in Taiwan. She could send the money in this second contract because, in the first contract, all her salaries were used to pay the debt. The agency lent her some money to support the working process in Taiwan and to leave some money for the family left behind to support our life since she is abroad." (J2, 55 years old, Indramayu)

Likewise, in terms of nonphysical resources, IFMW education is inadequate. According to BP2MI data, the average IMW who departed had completed elementary school (17.3%), middle school (31.9%), and high school (46.25%) (BP2MI, 2022). Because of their poor level of education, IFMWs can only perform 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous, and meaningless), which impacts their status in the host country, and hence, the quality of long-distance care they can provide. Based on Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of IFMWs and their Families, IFMWs should acquire training or provisions to prepare them for working overseas during this phase. Unfortunately, training and support did not contain components for building a strong and resilient family, even if they must be separated for an extended period. The law also does not govern the state's responsibility to safeguard and empower IFMW families while working abroad.

b. Migration Process

Migrant families face numerous hurdles and problems during the migration process. Advanced technologies allow IFMWs and their families to interact and stay connected despite being geographically separated. IFMWs and their families try to bind their familyhood with current communication technology by exchanging

memories and expressing positive or negative emotions, such as love, concern, and rage. This medium is also used to build family memories such as celebrating significant occasions like birthdays, Eid al-Fitr, and other moments of togetherness. However, to foster strong family resilience through such communication, both sides must exert total effort. Children frequently dislike being approached by their mothers since they talk about ordinary topics such as "How is school?", "Have you eaten?" and "Have you done your homework?". Children do not receive special attention during long-distance communication. Even with family issues, phone or video conference communication is considered ineffective because IFMWs have limited time and freedom to convey their feelings. One of these is the narrative of informant G, who struggled to communicate with her child and was powerless to intervene because of distance.

"I am at a loss as to establishing communication with my children. Before migrating to Taiwan, I divorced my husband. When I left Taiwan, my husband took my children and handed them to his relatives. My husband's family always blocks my phone number when I call my child. I do not know how to communicate with my children. I can only hope that my children are safe. I hope my husband's family does not say anything negative about me so my children will not despise me." (G, 48 years old, Taichung).

G's experience demonstrates that communication technology might be an alternative for transnational families to construct familyhood. However, it can also be a barrier to healthy communication between children and parents if problems arise. Another factor that needs to be considered is the restricted connection time and IFMWs' inadequate experience in maximizing the function of communication technology to carry out education and care for children remotely, causing the problem during the migration process to become more complex. In particular, communication technology cannot replace parents' physical presence.

Another issue is altering the responsibilities of family members. When a mother goes to work overseas, she automatically becomes the backbone of the family, yet her position as

a mother does not vanish. Mothers must be able to maximize their long-distance parenting abilities. As a result, mothers who work as migrant workers bear a double burden. It is common for caretakers entrusted with children while the mother works abroad to focus only on the child's basic needs, such as clothing, food, and shelter. They lack love, care, and attention. These children tend to be more likely to engage in dangerous behaviors. Therefore, to form a strong transnational family during the migration process, relevant parties must intervene and provide social assistance so that raising children can continue functioning smoothly even when the mothers are far away.

c. Post Migration

Undoubtedly, a successful former migrant worker is expected to end because of the international migration process for IFMWs. Building a resilient family is positively correlated with success. Usually, a family becomes less resilient when the mother is physically absent for an extended time. Each family member requires time to re-adjust and form emotional connections through reunions, whether by moving temporarily or permanently (back to their home country). At this point, a new family vision and mission must be introduced, in addition to several other activities that must be done to build strong family resilience. For instance, to enhance family finances, the father and mother decided to work or start a business domestically, sensibly investing the money earned from working overseas and providing children with top-notch education to enable them to stand on their own two feet. However, this is not easy to implement because the family's vision and mission should have been established in the input phase before IFMWs worked abroad, not after coming back from the migration. If the vision and mission are established before migration, all family members will have the same goals and views; therefore, they can maximize their roles during the migration process.

Conclusion

This study shows that all five aspects of family resilience are fragile in transnational families. Economic resilience is expected to be robust, since economic reasons become the main push factors for migrant workers to leave the country. However, the mismanagement of remittances

caused the family economy to remain weak. Migrant workers in Taiwan can send remittances of roughly 3-5 million rupiah to families in Indonesia every month, comparable to the average monthly income of Indonesian citizens in 2021 of 5.2 million rupiah. However, migrant families in Indonesia are unable to manage their money effectively. Money is frequently spent on luxury, consumptive, and unproductive items. Consequently, when migrant workers return to their home countries, they can only employ their available savings for a few months. The result is that IFMWs will return abroad to support their families because it is difficult to find another job at home that pays the same salary as that gained abroad. Therefore, the results show that 60% of IMWs have worked for over seven years. The fragility of family resilience also causes negative impacts on children; for example, the weakness of religious and psychological resilience leads to an increased number of divorces among migrant parents. Divorce impacts the psychological well-being of children, which causes them to be involved in some risky behaviors.

Regarding the migration process, mother migration overseas causes issues for the families left behind, particularly for children. Many migrant workers' children fail out of school, perform poorly, and become addicted to drugs and alcohol. Many children struggle to adjust to separation from their parents, particularly mothers, in terms of mental health and psychological well-being. Despite the availability of surrogate caregivers for mothers and technological advances such as video conversations, the Internet, and social media, children continue to feel abandoned and lonely. Although children understand that remittances can help them improve their quality of life, their souls are left empty when their mothers are absent.

Actions to enhance family resilience have not been optimal because of migrant workers' lack of information on what actions must be taken before leaving their families. A lack of understanding of optimizing technology for long-distance care contributes to migrant families' inability to create resilience. The migration process becomes only a survival and material-gathering endeavor, combined with a lack of a family vision and mission before migration. Due to a lack of financial literacy, the families left behind cannot make the most significant use of remittances.

In this regard, support from related stakeholders is needed to assist migrant workers in creating strong family resilience. In the pre-departure phase, the government and agency may include teaching materials to prepare the family before migration. The preparation includes financial literacy to ensure that remittances are managed wisely. Parenting training is also needed for parents, caregivers, and left-behind children. Therefore, even if mothers are far away, coparenting can be conducted with caregivers. During the migration phase, co-parenting can be established not only with the support of core families but also from society, for example, the neighborhood, local government, NGOs, and faith-based organizations. The post-migration phase is the most crucial phase. Family reunions should be prepared before the return time. The vision and mission of the family should be established in the pre-departure phase by involving all the family members. Thus, when migrant workers return to their home countries for good, the family can continue their lives without a difficult adaptation process. To achieve this goal, the government can create several programs during the pre-departure, migration, and post-migration phases. The programme provides communication strategies for transnational families, ways to share family roles, and plans for future permanent reunions.

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