

KEEPING THE FAMILY WISDOM ALIVE THROUGH FAMILY STORYTELLING

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Abstract. There are not much research available regarding family storytelling, though this activity already proven to be effective on identity building, developing strong relationship within family member, and also as a foundation for building family values. That is why this research is conducted in order to identify the function of family storytelling and how the stories conducted. This research is conducted by qualitative method, with in-depth interview as the data collecting technique. All informants are female because research showed that the main storyteller in the family, usually are women. As a conclusion, it is identified that family storytelling practice is a very personal and unique process and each informant has a unique insight on understanding their family stories. The uniqueness might be occur because of the different dynamic and character of the family.

Keywords: Family Communication, Family Storytelling, Family Stories, Family Wisdom, Family Identity.

Abstrak. Penelitian mengenai family storytelling belum banyak dilakukan, padahal kegiatan ini sudah terbukti efektif dalam membangun jati diri, membangun hubungan yang kuat dalam anggota keluarga, serta sebagai landasan dalam membangun nilai-nilai kekeluargaan. Oleh karena itu penelitian ini dilakukan dengan tujuan untuk mengetahui fungsi bercerita dalam keluarga dan bagaimana cara penyampaian cerita tersebut. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan metode kualitatif, dengan teknik pengumpulan data wawancara mendalam. Semua informan adalah perempuan karena penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pendongeng utama dalam keluarga biasanya adalah perempuan. Kesimpulannya, diketahui bahwa praktik bercerita keluarga merupakan proses yang sangat personal dan unik dan setiap informan mempunyai wawasan yang unik dalam memahami cerita keluarganya. Keunikan tersebut mungkin terjadi karena dinamika dan karakter keluarga yang berbeda.

Kata Kunci: Komunikasi Keluarga, Family Storytelling, Kisah Keluarga, Hikmah Keluarga, Identitas Keluarga.

INTRODUCTION

Storytelling is an activity that we do almost all the time. The story we share will be adjusted based on various considerations, starting from who the audience will be. Storyteller will suits what stories to tell and also how the stories will spread based on who are the audience. One storytelling activity that is commonly carried out, but has not been researched too much, is the activity of family storytelling. Perhaps the reason why storytelling activities in the family are rarely observed academically is because the family often considered a personal institution. What happens in the family often acknowledge only worth remain in the family. Another reason may be caused by the unintentionality of the storytelling activities. Some family members might not realize they are telling family stories since the activity is similar with other routine interpersonal communication practice between family members. In contrast, for example, a student easily realizes when the teacher is carrying out storytelling activities. When at school students realize that the teacher is telling a story because it usually starts with a special situation. For example, starting with a circle time routine, then the teacher prepares storytelling tools (for example, hand puppets, picture books, or costumes). But when proceed in the family, family member not necessarily realize they are engaging in family storytelling activities. Family storytelling usually flows in between other family subject that is discussed during family interaction, carried out instinctively and without planning, without being preceded by a statement: " Mom (or Dad) wants to Tell me first, okay... " and can be done at any time without special preparation.

Storytelling believed to be one of the oldest human activities. This was stated by Sherman (2008) who explained that the activity of storytelling has been a

fundamental activity in interactions between humans since ancient times. Some literature even states that storytelling is an activity that developed along with the emergence of language. The history of storytelling can only be traced back as far as the early development of written language. It was further explained that the activity of telling stories has been a fundamental activity in interactions between humans since ancient times. Anyone who chooses to do this storytelling activity can be said to be a storyteller . Conditions for being a storyteller is having a series of stories , the skill of telling stories (which is a very subjective assessment of the level of skill or not) , and access to the audience.

The idea for this research started from the results of the researcher's observations while practicing play and creative arts therapy. Play therapy is a psychotherapy method used to help individuals or groups who experience psychological, emotional and social discomfort. One of the tools used in play therapy practice is a therapeutic story. When using a therapeutic story, therapist creates a story specifically designed to suit the client's needs. This fictional story establish based on is a fictional with metaphors chosen by the play therapist to help clients to become more resilient individuals. The finding in my therapy room showed development in clients mental health condition and their communication skill. The results of this observation are reinforced by Sherman's (2008) statement which explains that the shared experience (between the storyteller and the audience) created through stories is considered capable of masking individual differences and warming the atmosphere. Unfortunately, as therapist, I found that storytelling activities in the play therapy room were rarely carried out by parents at home. In several cases, clients (aged between 4 and 8 years) apparently felt they had never experienced storytelling activities with their parents. Even if they do,

then the story is not a personal story aimed specifically at them. Usually, parents tend to randomly choose existing picture books and not necessarily according to the child's mood at that time. In the end, it was felt that this random selection of stories did not create a personal connection with the recipient of the story as an audience. In fact, one of the benefits of storytelling as stated by East, Jackson, O'Brien, and Peters is that it is a very meaningful process that can build fighting power (2010). This means that if the story is told by someone closest to the recipient of the message with personal story content (in the sense that it concerns characters or habits in a family), then the impact of this storytelling activity should be more meaningful for the recipient of the message. From here, researchers became interested in finding out what the functions of family storytelling are and how these activities are carried out.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Family communication plays an important role in every family and each family will have a typical style of communication. One of the studies in Betawi ethnicity family showed that families communicate based on equality and openness (Putri, Fajri, Novita, 2022). While other study explained in a particular situation such as financial crisis, family member will develop certain strategy to cope with the crisis (Subandiah, 2015). These two studies shows that family communication is a unique process that will adapt differently by each family. Though each family might has significant family communication pattern that differ from others, but one of the method that usually use in family communication is by telling family stories.

Stories and rituals are two forms of symbolic production that are considered vital in chronologizing family experiences and shaping perceptions of everyday events (Kohli, 1986, in Gillis, 1996 , in Vangelisti,

2004) . Some literature related to family communication clearly distinguishes between family stories and family rituals. Without reducing the importance of family rituals as part of shaping the experiences and perceptions of its members, this research only focuses on the form of symbol production through family stories. To understand more about family stories, here are several definitions related to family stories:

Stone in Turner and West (2013) defines family stories as pieces of knowledge or stories about family members, whether living or dead, where the family members together create a family canon that will be told repeatedly. While, Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton in Turner and West (2013) explained that family stories are something that binds family members to each other in a shared memory, recognition of the past, and hope for the future. come.

These two definitions emphasize family storytelling as a repeated storytelling process with the aim of bonding family members. The boundaries of family members themselves are very broad and flexible. So there is no expert agreement regarding who is meant by family. Family can mean people who are related by blood. It can also be understood as people who are related by marriage. Or it can even be understood as a group of people who feel close emotionally or physically.

The definitions above are complemented by Brody's statement (in Vangelisti, 2004) which strengthens the importance of storytelling activities. According to Brody, the main mechanism for instilling meaning in an event is by telling the story of the event.

For family member as the audiences, storytelling activities provide opportunities to play, share experiences, and form bonds (Sherman, 2008). More than that, stories are believed to be able to form bonds within groups. The shared experience created

through stories will be able to disguise individual differences and enlighten the atmosphere. Meanwhile, the storyteller will get positive emotional feelings as a person who is able to attract the attention of the audience and maintain the group through his storytelling activities. In the context of a community, stories shared with its members are considered capable of transmitting group values. An interesting story will be able to convey the moral of the story more easily. Stories are also considered to be able to provide punishment for negative behavior without having to put too much pressure on the perpetrator. In families, shared favorite stories can form shared terms that are associated with everyday family life.

In a broader framework, Duffy (in Malchiodi, 2015) explains that storytelling is a way of teaching and healing that has long been applied to children who have experienced trauma. For children who have experienced trauma, stories can be something they hear or tell while playing or through other creative mediums. This means that if storytelling activities are made a habit in the family, there is a big possibility that family members will become psychologically and emotionally healthy as well as having strong relationships with other family members.

Meanwhile, according to Sluzki (in Turner and West, 2013), the function of storytelling activities in the family is:

1. Shaping the identities of family members and helping families define, articulate, and refine their collective family identity.
2. Creating links between the past, present and future or what some researchers call a narrative legacy that is passed on from generation to generation. This narrative legacy will become a repository of stories that help family members understand the present and the future.
3. Teaching life lessons and moral values through stories, so that the practice of control and authority in the family does

not occur directly. But wrapped in a story of family experience.

Based on the three function of storytelling above, this activity might also contribute to build mindfulness for every individual in the family. Mindfulness is important in communication activities in a broader context, such as in community or when communicating with people from different culture. Someone who has a mindful communication character that is minimal has the potential to experience communication difficulties and irritate the feelings of others, even hurt the general social environment (Wahyuningtyas, 2016).

Basically all humans are storytellers. This was stated by Fisher (in Griffin, 2022) : “People are storytelling animals.” He views the activity of telling stories or constructing narratives as symbolic actions that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create and interpret them. Fisher believes that humans are narrative creatures, who experience and face life as a series of ongoing narratives, in which there is conflict, characters, beginning, middle, and end. In the narrative paradigm, the communicator (storyteller) is considered the central figure. His role is even considered more important than the story he tells. Based on these statements, Fisher considers that the role of the storyteller is very important, even more important than the idea or plot and storytelling techniques he uses .

Stories themselves, according to Sherman (2008), are divided into several types: True stories, folklore, fiction and literature and fairy tales . According to Sherman, various types of stories can be developed by a storyteller from stories from his own family or from other people's conversations that he heard . In this research, the story in question will focus more on real stories originating from family members. Family stories themselves have several types (Turner and West, 2013):

1. Courtship Stories: Stories that fall into this category are those related to first meetings, love, courtship, and wedding ceremonies of family members.
2. Birth Stories: Stories that focus on the birth stories of family members. Stories of this type will often build meaning within family members regarding whether someone is accepted or not in the family, the expected role in the family, and the parents' hopes and dreams for their children.
3. Survival stories: Stories that teach family members how to face a world that is not always pleasant.

Although each family is a unique group and so are the stories told within that family, all family stories have the following characteristics (Turner and West, 2013):

1. Subject (Subject): A family story is a person or group of people who are part of the family receiving the story.
2. Sequence: Family stories have a clear plot that moves with time. Family stories may be told chronologically, or they can be told in a forward-backward flow or flashback.
3. Significance: The story told is considered important by the family from various points of view, including in terms of naming a form of control and authority between family members .
4. Implementation (Performance): Family stories must be told repeatedly in front of an audience. This audience is very likely to participate in the storytelling process that is carried out.
5. Dramatic elements: Family stories usually contain a number of dramatic qualities such as conflict, tension, or humor that become a plot twist.
6. Fluidity: Family stories change over time as needed. It is very likely that a story will be elaborated, renovated, and removed as time goes by.

7. Negotiated meanings: Family stories are generally characterized by some sense of meaning that is understood (if not accepted) by family members.

METHOD

The approach I uses is qualitative approach. A qualitative approach was chosen in order to getting an in-depth picture of the function and process of storytelling in informant's family. The data collection technique compiled through in-depth interviews involving four adult female informants. Adult female informants were chosen because research shows that the main storytellers in a family are mostly adult women rather than men. The following is the informant's personal data:

Informant 1:

Informant 1 is a marketing professional who is in his mid-forties. Informant 1 graduated from a private university in Jakarta with a Bachelor of Laws degree. She has a 15 years old daughter and currently lives in Jakarta with her husband and only child. Informant 1 is the youngest of five children (three girls, two boys) who was born in Syria when his father served as a diplomat in that country. Until the end of junior high school, informant 1 moved from one country to another along with all his family members. However, the informant admitted that she never felt like he had lost his identity as an Indonesian when moving from one country to another. One of them is because according to informant 1, his family has a very close relationship and is used to sharing stories on all occasions. So even though you are physically far away, your emotional closeness with extended family is still maintained. The informant's father comes from Palembang and his mother from Banten. The informant's husband comes from Minankabau. In the interview, the informant admitted that one of the stories he

remembered most was about his grandfather's struggle during the war for independence.

Informant 2:

Informant 2 is 33 years old, of East Javanese and Chinese descent. Informant 2 spent his childhood and adolescence in Gresik and 9 years ago moved to Bali to work as a traveler guide especially for European traveller. Informant 2 is not yet (or not) married and currently lives alone in Bali. Informant 2's educational background is a Bachelor of Communication Science from a state university in Surabaya. Informant 2's educational background is more or less in line with his father's profession, who is one of the senior broadcasters in Indonesia. He has a younger brother who was adopted by the informant's parents when informant 2 was a teenager. Informant 2's father's grandfather was a victim in G30S 1965 incident. In the interview, the informant admitted that one of the family stories that was most often repeated in his family was the one related to this matter, followed by the story of his father's family's struggle to get out of poverty.

Informant 3:

Informant 3 is a professional in the advertising field and is in his mid-forties. Informant 3's educational background is a graduate of the D3 Chinese Literature program from the State University in Jakarta. She is married with no children. Informant 3 comes from a Javanese (from his mother) and Madurese (from his father) family. Informant 3's parents divorced when she was little. Informant 3's upbringing as a child was in the hands of his mother. The divorce of informant 3's parents meant that the informant was not close to his father. This is because after the divorce the informant's parents had a bad relationship. However, as an adult, informant 3 began to regularly

interact with his father's extended family. At least every year and during ceremonies such as weddings and mourning, she will meet and interact with his father's family. This was proven in the interview, informant 3 admitted that women in their family always had a dominant role in the family. Informant 3 lived almost all his school years at her grandmother's house. The role of grandparent (grandmother) was quite large in the informant's growth and development, considering that informant 3's biological mother was busy working, to support her three children. Informant 3 is the youngest of three siblings (two girls, one boy) who currently lives with her husband in South Tangerang. According to informant 3, Eyang Putri was one of the most influential figures in her life.

Informant 4:

Informant 4 is a professional in the field of promotion with a D3 educational background in office administration from the State University in Jakarta. Currently informant 4 is in her mid-forties and is not married. Throughout his growth and development, informant 4 lived in his mother's extended family home. This is because his parents separated when he was little. It can practically be said that informant 4 has no emotional connection with her father and her father's side of the family. In the interview, informant 4 admitted that she did not feel an emotional bond or closeness with her father. The informant's mother comes from the Minang tribe, while his father comes from Aceh. Currently informant 4 lives in Jakarta with her mother's extended family. The informant's mother is a housewife who in her youth worked outside the home and sold food based on orders. One of the family stories that informant 4 remembers most is about her mischief as a child.

In the interviews, researchers used an interview guide which was based on a

number of key concepts in this research, namely: Function of family stories, Types of family stories, and characteristics of family stories.

Table 1. Interview Guide

Draft	Dimensions
The Function of Family Stories	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shaping the identities of family members and helping families define, articulate, and refine their collective family identity. 2. Creating links between the past, present and future 3. Teaches life lessons and moral values through stories.
Family Story Type	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Courtship Stories</i> : Stories that fall into this category are those related to the first meeting, love, courtship period, and wedding ceremonies of family members. 2. <i>Birth Stories</i> : Stories that focus on the birth stories of family members. 3. <i>Survival stories</i> : Stories that teach family members how to face a world that is not always pleasant.
Characteristics of Family Stories	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Subject (<i>Subject</i>) : A family story is a person or group of people who are part of the family receiving the story. 2. Sequence : Family stories have a clear plot that moves with time. Family stories may be told chronologically, or they can be told in a

	<p>forward-backward flow or flashback.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Significance : The story told is considered important by the family from various points of view, including in terms of naming a form of control and authority between family members . 4. Implementation (<i>Performance</i>) : Family stories must be told repeatedly in front of an audience. This audience is very likely to participate in the storytelling process that is carried out. 5. <i>Dramatic elements</i> : Family stories usually contain a number of dramatic qualities such as conflict, tension, or humor that become a <i>plot twist</i>. 6. Fluidity : Family stories change over time as needed . It is very likely that a story will be elaborated, renovated, and removed as time goes by. 7. <i>Negotiated meanings</i> : Family stories are generally characterized by some sense of meaning that is understood (if not accepted) by family members.
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Interviews with informants were conducted online using WhatsApp, email and voice calls. Online interviews had to be

carried out considering the Covid-19 pandemic situation that was hitting when the researchers entered the field.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For all informants, storytelling activities in the family are especially needed to strengthen relationships between family members and develop engagement in family relationship. For example, this was stated by informant 2: “ *...I think these stories are important to confirm that these people exist. They're human, they have history...These stories are important because theirs is part of who we are, what makes us...not just to be inspired...and how ever ugly it may seem...it's a part of who we are...*”

The statement above illustrates the function of stories stated by Sluzki, namely that family stories can create connection between the past, present and future. Family stories as a narrative legacy passed down from generation to generation were acknowledged by the informants to help them understand who their family was. Furthermore, the informants were able to relate who their family was and how the informants should behave in their daily lives. Informants felt that the family stories they heard, made them try to maintain the values interpreted from the stories. This was expressed by informant 1 in the following interview excerpt when explaining the story about his grandfather who worked as a doctor and was always narrated as a helpful doctor: “*But what left an impression on my grandfather was his social spirit, because he imagined the colonial era... raising 6 children and then at home also raising several of my grandmother's 3 younger siblings, he wasn't always paid with money ... in fact, he often wasn't even paid. But in the end my grandfather's name always remain good, because when I hear stories about my mother's family my grandfather's name*

appears all the time... "The value of togetherness, the value of helping each other, which was exemplified and taught by my late parents... we will pass this on to our children".

Apart from passing on family values, informant 1 also felt that her grandfather's habit of being close to his extended family made her wants to be close to her extended family. One of the things informant 1 did to continue this habit was to be active in large family events such as being the organizer for a family social gathering.

Apart from being considered a narrative legacy, family stories were also considered by the informants to be a way to shape their family and self's identity. For example, informant 3 described his family with the following analogy: “*My family is probably like The Amazons from Wonder Woman. In my family, the woman is very dominant, in everything. Even though we are a Javanese family 🤗*”.

Informant 3 felt that the dominance of women in his extended family was possible because there were more female family members than men and also because Eyang (informant 3's grandmother) was a very strong and dominant female figure. So, for generations, female family members have picked up on Eyang's strong narrative and unwittingly contributed to continuing this domination, as explained by informant 3 in the following interview excerpt: “*From the beginning, the women in my family have had greater responsibilities than the men. Even though my mother and aunt always nag me, they do the same thing to their respective families*”.

Without realizing it, in the end, the narrative inheritance conveyed through family stories automatically helps families determine, articulate and refine the collective identity within the family. In the case of informant 3, this can be seen in how the women in informant 3's family adopted

Eyang's self-identity as the dominant woman and implemented it in their respective nuclear families.

One slightly different function of family stories was stated by informant 4 in the following interview excerpt: "*The activity of telling stories in our extended family is really meaningful for me, who is an only child, where our activities of gathering and talking are what makes me close to all my aunts and uncles. I don't feel like I'm a child who is alone and feels lonely*". For informant 4, the main function of family stories is as a tool to get through his loneliness as an only child of divorced parents.

The topics that informants remember most likely divided into two main topics: Family history which tells the life journey of family members who have died and everyday stories which tend to have a humorous nuance. If we refer to the type of family story described by Turner and West, these two main topics can actually be categorized as survival stories. For example, informant 2 most remembers the story when Opa (paternal grandfather) was "picked up" by people in uniform after the 1965 G30S incident and how the family tried to survive this completely new situation. Informant 1 best remembers stories about his grandfathers who were fighters on the battlefield and fighters for humanity. These two stories can be categorized as survival stories where informants get information about how to save themselves from life's misfortunes.

Meanwhile, informants 3 and 4 remembered more funny stories that could entertain them when they listened to them. This is interesting, considering that informants 3 and 4 are individuals who, as children, did not have good relationships with their father as a result of their parents' divorce process. It is important to explore this characteristic further to find out whether individuals who grew up in families with divorced parents have a tendency to only

remember funny or happy family stories. In the interview, informant 3 got an insight into why he could only remember funny family stories. Even when the story is actually a sad story. For example, the story about when she, her brothers and mother were forced to run away from home to escape from their father. What she remembered from this situation is only the funny parts. Not the sad or scary parts. Informant 3 suspects that interpreting all stories as funny may be a coping mechanism for her family, which often experiences quite serious problems. Based on her explanation, I categorize these everyday stories filled with humor as survival stories. The categorization seems fair, because everyday stories angled with humor are captured by informants as a survival strategy in real life.

In practice, storytelling activities in the informants' families have a number of unique features, especially in terms of the technical application of story characteristics. All informants revealed that the seven characteristics of family stories (subject, sequence, significance, implementation, dramatic elements, fluidity, and negotiated meaning) were applied when storytelling activities happened.

In terms of the subject of the story, the informants stated that the subject of their family story was almost certainly a person or group of people who were part of the family receiving the story. However, sometimes these stories involve subjects from outside the family, as explained by informant 3 in the following quote: "*...The Wijaya ghost story, it was repeated over and over, until we called the ghost Helen, we told her stories so often, we needed to give her a name...*". In informant 3's family, sometimes family stories will involve subjects from outside their family, for example stories about ghosts that the informant's family believes live in their extended family's house. Meanwhile, informant 2 considers that the subjects of the

stories are often relatives who are not related by blood. For example, family friends who are so close that they often appear as subjects in informant 2's family stories.

All informants were aware of the sequence of stories when storytellers in their families told family stories. Usually this order goes forward chronologically. However, informants sometimes found that the story was not delivered completely from beginning to end. Only informant 4 stated that the order of telling the story was always the same on all occasions. For example, the story about informant 4's as a trouble maker in her childhood. This story will be told chronologically when family members gather together on the veranda of their extended family's house. Informant 4 felt that the stories told were always consistent. This is interesting because in informant 4's family, the characteristics of fluidity and dramatic elements are not really applied. Fluidity in the story, understood as the frequency with which the story changes over time. If fluidity is not applied then dramatic elements should automatically not be used in storytelling activities. According to the informant, the 4 stories told were always in the same order so that there were no elaborations, renovations or parts of the story that were omitted. It's just that informant 4 realized that the topic of the informant's father was never discussed in her family. During the interview, informant 4 said: "*I assumed that (the story about the informant's father) would never come up so that I wouldn't feel as strange as growing up without a father at home... Maybe it's because of the lack of contact with my father that I feel like my life is normal without my father...*". Based on this statement, it can be stated that in informant 4's family, family stories seem to have strict guidelines regarding what can or cannot be told. There is a mutual agreement regarding what can and cannot be discussed in family stories. Subjects that were taboo in informant 4's family seemed to

have been deliberately omitted from the start so that they were never discussed at all.

If informant 4 felt that fluidity in family stories did not appear as a story characteristic, other informants actually felt that the family stories told were very fluid. Liquid here mainly means that when the story is told, it will influence the plot that is told. Liquid also means that the family story that is told is very likely on different occasions to be cut or added as needed. Story cuts will usually be related to who is involved in the storytelling activity at that time. For example, details regarding the story of the murder of informant 1's grandfather as a victim of the war for independence were not told in detail when informant 1 was still a child. The details of the story increase as the age of the recipient of the story increases. Apart from that, cutting the story can also occur when the storyteller needs an example of the situation currently being faced. For example, according to informant 2, when facing family members who complain about difficulties, informant 2's father will usually talk about the difficulties of his life in the past. This story is usually not told in full but is cut in parts according to the needs of the recipient of the story at that time. This shows that the activity of telling stories in the family, even though it is an informal activity that usually occurs without special planning, still requires audience analysis. So the storyteller can adjust the plot or even add dramatic elements to the story.

Family stories shared in the informants' families are always considered to have significance by the informants. For example, for informant 1, stories about his grandfather's work ethic as a doctor caused him to adopt her grandfather's behavior during her daily activities. This means that the story forms a control mechanism in informant 1's behavior even though she admits that never crossed her mind to become a doctor like the grandfather. It's just that

informant 1's grandfather's work ethic controls the informant when working and doing her daily activities. She admitted always tried to be an individual who was humble, happy to help, and prioritized togetherness because she remembered stories about her grandfather's work ethic. It seems that the more often a family story is repeated, the more significant the informant will feel the story is. For example, according to informant 2, because there are so many stories about Opa who disappeared after the 1965 G30S incident, this story is considered the most inspiring story and makes her proud of her grandfather. But it became interesting, because informant 2 stated that another story that her father often repeated was the story of how he struggle through difficult times after Opa's disappearance. According to informant 2, she often felt that her father was exaggerating and repeating the story too often and it felt as if he was bragging about having big achievement after going through life's difficult trials. Informant 2's feelings perhaps arose because the father, as the storyteller, made himself the subject of the story. So this success story, which should be inspiring, seems like it's just a hoax. This is different from the story about Opa who disappeared after the G30S incident where the subject was not the storyteller.

The next characteristic that is always present in the informants' family stories is the dramatic element. Dramatic elements can be in the form of adding conflict, tension, or humor to create a plot twist. Regarding the dramatic element in the form of humor as a form of plot twist, informant 3 stated the following: *"The story of the moment my mother ran away from home when I was about to separate from my father was also repeated over and over again. But what's strange is why it's in the funny story category, right? I'm confused about my family 😊"*. This statement shows that even a sad story can be implanted in the mind of the recipient

of the story as something funny. This really depends on who the storyteller is, as stated by Fisher (in Griffin, 2022) that what is more important than what or how a story is told is who the storyteller is. Different storytellers will have different impacts. More or less the same thing happened to informant 2 when her father told his success story over and over again. It is not the story but who the teller is that causes a story to be interesting or uninteresting.

A final characteristic of family stories is negotiated meaning. In a family story, the informant negotiate the meaning of the story being told. These negotiations continue until an agreement emerges that most likely is not the agreement that was expressly discussed. Instead, it just appears automatically after the same story is told repeatedly. For example, in informant 4's family, although there was never a prohibition on telling stories about the informant's father, all family members seemed to understand that stories about her father were stories that did not need to be told. Why this kind of meaning can be formed is probably due to the process of telling family stories which are continuously repeated so that without realizing it, subjects that are never mentioned in the story will eventually disappear forever from the family narrative.

CONCLUSION

Some interesting findings in this research include:

1. The informants stated that communication technology allows family stories to be passed on in rapidly changing times. For example, the use of social media applications is considered capable of continuing the habit of telling stories face-to-face when direct interaction is difficult. However, the informant also realized that on the other hand, communication technology might

also cause problems in family communication. This was experienced by informant 4 in his extended family. According to informant 4, because his extended family is dominated by relatively elderly family members, sometimes conversations via communication technology actually end in arguments. For example, during the last presidential election, several family members decided to leave the chat group because they felt the candidate was being attacked by other family members. These findings are interesting to observe in more depth, namely regarding the use of communication technology in storytelling practices in families.

2. In the case of informants 3 and 4, both of whom experienced their parents' divorce as children, it was found that the informants liked family stories that contained humor. Both informants 3 and 4, without realizing it, only kept family stories that were considered to have humorous value. Meanwhile, informants 1 and 2 are not like that. Therefore, it is interesting to carry out further research regarding the function and characteristics of family stories in divorced families, to prove whether it is true that in the case of divorced families, the members tend to only remember stories that have a humorous nuance.
3. In the findings of this research, it is known that for some informants, storytelling activities become intertwined with family ritual activities. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate further whether there is a relationship between storytelling activities and family rituals. In this way, the research results can be more complete in presenting data regarding storytelling activities and family communication rituals.
4. In terms of data collection techniques, this research has limitations in terms of

the data collection techniques used. Further research needs to be carried out by adding other data collection techniques (for example document study or text analysis on informants' social media accounts) so that the data collected can be more diverse and complementary.

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