

Parenting Across Distance: Grandparent Caregiving, Child Protection, and Legal Responsibility in Indonesian Migrant Worker Families

Angga Ade Putra^{1*}, Muhammad Musip²

¹ Institut Agama Islam Negeri Curup, Bengkulu, Indonesia

² Institut Elkatarie, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia

*Correspondence: anggaade.kms@iaincurup.ac.id

Abstract

International labor migration has reshaped family structures and childcare arrangements in Indonesia, particularly through the increasing involvement of grandparents as primary caregivers for children left behind by migrant parents. This study examines childcare practices in migrant worker families in Rejang Lebong Regency, Bengkulu, and analyzes how Indonesian law responds to these arrangements. Using a socio-legal approach and qualitative case study design, the research draws on in-depth interviews with migrant parents, grandparent caregivers, and local government officials, supported by field observations and documentary analysis. Secondary data were obtained from relevant legislation, including the Marriage Law and the Child Protection Law, as well as academic literature and policy documents. The findings show that childcare is predominantly organized through delegated childcare, whereby grandparents assume daily caregiving responsibilities while parents contribute mainly through remittances and economic support. This arrangement reflects a pattern of parenting from a distance that transforms parental roles from direct caregivers into financial providers. The study further reveals a gap between legal norms and social practice. Although Indonesian law places primary responsibility for childcare on parents, informal caregiving by grandparents and other extended family members is widely accepted and socially legitimized despite receiving limited legal recognition. The study contributes to socio-legal scholarship on transnational families and underscores the need for child protection policies that better accommodate the realities of migrant worker households and evolving caregiving practices in Indonesia.

[Migrasi tenaga kerja internasional telah mengubah struktur keluarga dan pola pengasuhan anak di Indonesia, terutama melalui meningkatnya peran kakek dan nenek sebagai pengasuh utama bagi anak-anak yang ditinggalkan oleh orang tua pekerja migran. Penelitian ini mengkaji praktik pengasuhan anak dalam keluarga pekerja migran di Kabupaten Rejang Lebong, Bengkulu, serta menganalisis bagaimana hukum Indonesia merespons pengaturan pengasuhan tersebut. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan socio-legal dengan desain studi kasus kualitatif. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam dengan orang tua pekerja migran, kakek dan nenek sebagai pengasuh, serta aparat pemerintah setempat, yang didukung oleh observasi lapangan dan studi dokumentasi. Data sekunder bersumber dari peraturan perundang-undangan,

Keywords:

Childcare;
Families of
Migrant
Workers;
Daycare;
Parenting from a
Distance; Child
Custody

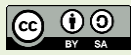
Article History:

Received: 01-05-2026.

Revised: 05-06-2026.

Accepted: 29-06-2026.

kebususnya Undang-Undang Perkawinan dan Undang-Undang Perlindungan Anak, serta berbagai literatur akademik dan dokumen kebijakan terkait. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pengasuhan anak dalam keluarga pekerja migran didominasi oleh pola delegated childcare, yaitu pengalihan pengasuhan sehari-hari kepada kakek dan nenek, sementara orang tua menjalankan perannya terutama melalui dukungan ekonomi dan remitansi. Pola ini mencerminkan praktik parenting from a distance yang menggeser peran orang tua dari pengasuh langsung menjadi penyedia nafkah. Penelitian ini juga menemukan adanya kesenjangan antara norma hukum dan praktik sosial. Meskipun hukum Indonesia menempatkan tanggung jawab utama pengasuhan pada orang tua, praktik pengasuhan informal oleh keluarga besar berlangsung secara luas dan memperoleh legitimasi sosial yang kuat meskipun belum mendapatkan pengakuan hukum yang memadai. Temuan ini menegaskan pentingnya pengembangan kebijakan perlindungan anak yang lebih responsif terhadap realitas keluarga pekerja migran dan dinamika pengasuhan yang terus berkembang di Indonesia.]



Copyright © 2026 by Author(s).

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Introduction

The phenomenon of international labor migration has become an important part of global socioeconomic dynamics, particularly in developing countries. Organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) highlight that the economic contributions of migrant workers have significant social consequences, especially for children left behind.¹ These children often experience changes in caregiving patterns, reduced emotional involvement from parents, and potential vulnerabilities in psychological and social development.² In this context, migrant families are no longer understood as intact domestic units, but rather as transnational families with geographically fragmented relationships.³

In Indonesia, the phenomenon of migrant workers also shows a consistent trend, as reported by the Indonesian Migrant Workers' Protection Agency. This migration is generally driven by economic factors, namely limited local job opportunities and the hope of

¹ Gracia Fellmeth et al., "Health Impacts of Parental Migration on Left-Behind Children and Adolescents: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis," *The Lancet* 392, no. 10164 (2018): 2567–82, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)32558-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)32558-3).

² Ying Liang et al., "Depression Among Left-Behind Children in China," *Journal of Health Psychology* 22, no. 14 (2017): 1897–905, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105316676333>.

³ Ru Gao and Devi Sacchetto, "Constructing a Transnational Childcare Bricolage: Chinese Migrant Families in Italy Coordinating Transnational Mobility and Childcare," *European Societies* 26, no. 3 (2024): 880–907, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2023.2267638>.

improving family well-being.⁴ However, the social consequences of this migration are often overlooked, particularly regarding care practices for children left behind by their parents.⁵ In many cases, the responsibility for child-rearing is no longer carried out directly by the parents, but is transferred to other family members, particularly grandparents.⁶

This phenomenon is also observed in Duku Ilir Village, Rejang Lebong District, Bengkulu, which is geographically a highland area where the primary livelihood of residents is in the agricultural sector, such as rice, vegetables, coffee, and corn. Economic constraints in this sector have driven community members to work abroad as migrant workers. Based on field data, approximately 20 families have migrated abroad, with 15 leaving behind children who still require care. These children are generally cared for by their grandparents, who provide material support from a distance. This situation reflects the practice of “parenting from a distance,” where the parents’ role is reduced to that of mere economic providers, without direct involvement in the daily caregiving process.⁷ The care provided by grandparents is essentially informal and not based on formal legal mechanisms.⁸ From the perspective of Indonesian positive law, the responsibility for childcare in principle remains with the parents, as stipulated in Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage and Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection.⁹ However, reality reveals a gap between legal norms (law in books) and social practices (law in action), particularly within the context of migrant worker families.

However, the practice of transferring child-rearing responsibilities to grandparents raises several important questions from both legal and social perspectives. First, to what extent can this practice be considered fulfillment of parental responsibility? Second, what is

⁴ Reddy Anggara et al., “Understanding the Motivations of Being Indonesian Migrant Workers,” *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024): 2333968, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2333968>.

⁵ A. Umar et al., “The Transformation of Husbands’ Roles in Indonesian Migrant Worker Families and the Implications for Children’s Islamic Education,” *Tadris: Jurnal Keguruan Dan Ilmu Tarbiyah* 11, no. 1 (2026): 56–62, <https://doi.org/10.24042/tadris.v11i1.29745>.

⁶ Urip Tri Wijayanti and Dwi Purwaningsih, “Migrant Workers’ Child Care Style in Cilacap District,” *Randwick International of Social Science Journal* 1, no. 3 (2020): 410–18, <https://doi.org/10.47175/rissj.v1i3.95>.

⁷ Ike Junita Triwardhani et al., “Culture in Collective Parenting of Children of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers (IKW),” April 23, 2022, 35–38, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.220407.008>.

⁸ Lenny Lia Ekawati et al., “Entrusting Children to Grandmothers: Exploring Care Dynamics through Multiple Roles of Women in Eastern Indonesia,” *Humaniora* 36, no. 1 (2024): 72–83, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.93794>.

⁹ Inna Fauziatal Ngazizah et al., “Effectiveness Of Child Protection Law In Fulfilling The Right To Child Custody (Hadhanah) In Kudus Indonesia,” *Jurnal Hukum IUS QUILA IUSTUM* 32, no. 2 (2025): 265–86, <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol32.iss2.art1>.

the legal status of the care provided informally by grandparents? Third, does this caregiving model meet the principles of the child's best interests? These questions become increasingly relevant given the lack of regulations specifically addressing childcare within the context of migrant worker families.

Several previous studies have addressed the phenomenon of children being left behind by migrant workers, but these can be categorized into three main clusters. First, studies have focused on social and psychological impacts on children, such as emotional issues, education, and family relationships. This research topic has been examined by Nistor,¹⁰ Nicolescu,¹¹ and Wijayanti.¹² Second, studies by Kristina,¹³ Irawan,¹⁴ and Iqbal¹⁵ that highlight caregiving strategies within migrant families, including the role of other family members in filling parental functions. Third, research by Fauziningtyas¹⁶ and Kesumaningsari¹⁷ that examines the normative or legal aspects of child-rearing, particularly regarding parental responsibility and child protection. Nevertheless, most of this research proceeds separately between social and legal approaches.

Thus, there is a research gap in the form of a lack of studies that integrate the child-rearing practices of grandparents in migrant worker families with a comprehensive legal analysis using a socio-legal approach. Furthermore, limited research specifically highlights

¹⁰ Gheorghița Nistor and Maria Diana Secară, "The Health and Psycho-Social Development of Children with Parents Working Abroad. Case Study: Delegation of Parental Authority for Children from Rural Areas," *Revista de Asistență Socială* XIX, no. 4 (2020): 39–56.

¹¹ Adrian Nicolescu, "The Protection of Children with Parents Left for Work Abroad," *Social Sciences and Education Research Review* 4, no. 2 (2017): 209–14.

¹² Istiana Wijayanti, "Pengaruh Pola Asuh Orang Tua Dalam Keluarga Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Terhadap Perkembangan Sosial Emosional Siswa Di SD Negeri 2 Poncorejo Kendal" (Skripsi, Universitas Islam Sultan Agung, 2024), <https://repository.unissula.ac.id/34492/>.

¹³ Anita Kristina and Muhamad Abdul Jumali, "Building Kinship Negotiations: Definition of Social Protection for Children of Indonesian Migrant Workers," *Jurnal Biometrika Dan Kependudukan* 14, no. 1 (2025): 11–21, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jbk.v14i1.2025.11-21>.

¹⁴ Marendra Hengky Irawan et al., "Parenting Patterns of Substitute Parents for Children of Indonesian Migrant Workers: Analysis of Social Systems and Social Norms in Parenting Patterns for Children of Migrant Workers in Donomulyo District, Malang Regency," *International Journal of Research in Social Science and Humanities (IJRSS)* 5, no. 4 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.47505/IJRSS>.

¹⁵ Muhammad Iqbal and Yuherina Gusman, "Long-Distance Parenting and Family Resilience Strategies of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Taiwan," *Islamic Guidance and Counseling Journal* 9, no. 1 (2026), <https://doi.org/10.25217/0020269738800>.

¹⁶ Rista Fauziningtyas et al., "The Experiences of Grandparents Raising Grandchildren in Indonesia," *Working with Older People* 23, no. 1 (2018): 17–26, <https://doi.org/10.1108/WWOP-10-2018-0019>.

¹⁷ Ni Putu Adelia Kesumaningsari et al., "Parenting Support from Grandparents and Work-Family Conflict among Working Mothers: The Mediating Role of Parenting Stress," *Insight: Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi* 27, no. 2 (2025): 189–213, <https://doi.org/10.26486/psikologi.v27i2.4749>.

the phenomenon of delegated childcare as a form of parental role transformation within the local context in Indonesia. Based on these gaps, the novelty of this study lies in its effort to examine child-rearing practices within migrant worker families carried out by grandparents as a form of delegated childcare and to analyze them within the framework of the relationship between legal norms and social practices. This study not only describes this phenomenon but also critiques the alignment of such practices with the principles of parental responsibility and the best interests of the child.

Based on the above, this study formulates the following main questions: (1) how are child-rearing practices in migrant worker families carried out by grandparents in Duku Ilir Village; (2) how are these practices viewed from the perspective of Indonesian positive law; and (3) how can the gap between legal norms and social practices in this context be explained from a socio-legal perspective? The objectives of this study were to analyze child-rearing practices within migrant worker families, assess their alignment with the applicable legal framework, and identify the gap between legal norms and social realities. Theoretically, this study is expected to enrich socio-legal studies on transnational families and child-rearing. Practically, the results of this study are expected to contribute to the development of child protection policies, particularly in the context of migrant-worker families in Indonesia.

Method

This study employs a socio-legal approach that integrates normative legal analysis with an empirical examination of social practices in society. The study is qualitative in nature and uses a case-study design. The research was conducted in Duku Ilir Village, Rejang Lebong Regency, Bengkulu, which was selected through purposive sampling because of the presence of migrant worker families whose children are cared for by their grandparents. This study focuses on migrant worker families who leave their children to care for extended family members.

The data used in this study consisted of primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with purposively selected informants, namely migrant worker parents, grandparents serving as caregivers, and village officials familiar with the local community's social conditions. In addition, field observations were conducted to directly understand caregiving practices occurring in daily life. Secondary data were obtained from primary legal sources, including legislation such as Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage and

Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection. In addition, secondary data were supplemented by official documents and academic literature related to child-rearing and migrant worker families.

Data collection techniques included semi-structured interviews, non-participatory observations, and documentary analyses. Interviews were conducted to explore the experiences, perceptions, and child-rearing practices of the informants. Observations were used to obtain a contextual understanding of the interactions between children and caregivers, while documentation was used to reinforce the empirical and normative data. Data analysis was conducted qualitatively using thematic analysis. The data obtained were classified, coded, and interpreted to identify patterns of caregiving, forms of responsibility transfer, and alignment between existing practices and applicable legal norms. Using the socio-legal framework developed by Eugen Ehrlich and John Griffiths, this analysis focuses not only on the legal text (law in the books) but also on its application and social dynamics (law in practice).

Results and Discussion

Mapping Care Practices: Grandparent-Led Childcare in Migrant Worker Families

Child-rearing practices in migrant worker families in Duku Ilir Village revealed a pattern of transferring child-rearing responsibilities from parents to other family members, particularly grandparents. Based on the interview findings, this transfer is not temporary, but occurs over a relatively long period. For example, in the case of R.S. (seven years old), who has been cared for by his grandmother, R.C., since his mother began working as a migrant worker three years ago, daily care is entirely in the grandmother's hands.¹⁸ A similar situation was found in R.A. (12 years old), who had been without her mother for six years and was being raised by her father, B.I.¹⁹

Structurally, the caregiving patterns that emerge can be categorized as delegated childcare, meaning the informal transfer of caregiving responsibilities to other family

¹⁸ Interview with R.C., a grandmother raising her grandchild whose parents have gone abroad to work, November 25, 2025.

¹⁹ Interview with B.I., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, December 10, 2025.

members.²⁰ In practice, grandparents serve as the primary caregivers, though variations exist, such as care provided by the biological father. For example, in the case of D.D.J (eight years old), care is provided by his father, I.M., with support from his grandmother when his father is working. However, in all these cases, parents working abroad are no longer directly involved in daily caregiving practices.²¹

The caregiving patterns practiced by caregivers tend to focus on meeting the child's basic needs. R.C., the grandmother caring for R.S., explained that she is responsible for preparing meals, meeting daily needs, and ensuring that the child continues to attend school.²² The same was conveyed by I.M., who stated that he strives to meet his children's dietary and daily needs while living together.²³ These findings indicate that caregiving is more of a functional nature—oriented toward meeting physical needs— than developmental caregiving, which involves deeper emotional and psychological nurturing.

Furthermore, caregiving practices occur within a completely informal framework. No written agreements or formal legal mechanisms were found to regulate the transfer of caregiving responsibilities. Caregivers also generally lack an understanding of the concept of caregiving from a legal perspective. R.C. explicitly stated that she “had never heard the term *hadhanah* before,”²⁴ while I.M.²⁵ and B.I.²⁶ also admitted to being unaware of the concept. This indicates that caregiving practices are based more on social norms and practical needs of the family than on legal awareness.

However, the role of parents as migrant workers tends to be limited to providing economic support. In R.S.'s case, his mother regularly sends money every month, which is

²⁰ Thida Kim et al., “‘I’m Not a Complete Mother’: Childcare Choices of Migrant Women in Cambodia,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 52, no. 6 (2026): 1479–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2594849>.

²¹ Interview with I.M., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, November 20, 2025.

²² Interview with R.C., a grandmother raising her grandchild whose parents have gone abroad to work, November 25, 2025.

²³ Interview with I.M., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, November 20, 2025.

²⁴ Interview with R.C., a grandmother raising her grandchild whose parents have gone abroad to work, November 25, 2025.

²⁵ Interview with I.M., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, November 20, 2025.

²⁶ Interview with B.I., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, December 10, 2025.

used to buy clothes and kitchen supplies, and is partially saved.²⁷ Similarly, I.M. noted that his child's mother's primary contribution consisted of remittances for daily needs and education.²⁸ B.I. also revealed that most of his child's needs, including education costs and home renovations, come from remittances sent by his mother working abroad.²⁹ These findings indicate that parental involvement is more focused on financial aspects.

However, parental involvement in non-material aspects, particularly emotional interactions, is relatively limited. Communication between parents and children generally occurs via phone at an irregular frequency. R.C. noted that R.S.'s mother usually calls two to three times a week,³⁰ while in Daffa's case, communication occurs only about once a week.³¹ In fact, in R.A.'s case, communication with her mother is quite rare because of time constraints and time zone differences.³² This indicates that the relationship between parents and children remains intact, but with limited intensity.

From the children's perspective, their responses to this situation vary depending on their age and duration of separation from their parents. In the early stages of separation, the children tended to struggle with adaptation. R.C. noted that R.S. felt lonely and often cried when his mother left him.³³ I.M. shared a similar experience, mentioning that his child sometimes became fussy and cried because he had missed his mother. Children often ask when their parents will return. However, over a longer period, children begin to show signs of adaptation.³⁴ B.I. stated that his child now appears "fine" because they have grown accustomed to the situation, even though they initially experienced emotional difficulties.³⁵

²⁷ Interview with R.C., a grandmother raising her grandchild whose parents have gone abroad to work, November 25, 2025.

²⁸ Interview with I.M., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, November 20, 2025.

²⁹ Interview with B.I., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, December 10, 2025.

³⁰ Interview with R.C., a grandmother raising her grandchild whose parents have gone abroad to work, November 25, 2025.

³¹ Interview with I.M., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, November 20, 2025.

³² Interview with B.I., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, December 10, 2025.

³³ Interview with R.C., a grandmother raising her grandchild whose parents have gone abroad to work, November 25, 2025.

³⁴ Interview with I.M., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, November 20, 2025.

³⁵ Interview with B.I., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, December 10, 2025.

Overall, child-rearing practices among migrant worker families in Duku Ilir Village revealed a pattern of caregiving that is substitute-based, informal, and focused on meeting basic needs. The care provided by grandparents serves not only as a practical solution to parental absence, but also shapes a new caregiving structure within the family. However, this pattern also reveals limitations in fulfilling more comprehensive aspects of child rearing, particularly those related to the child's emotional and psychosocial development. To better illustrate the patterns of childcare arrangements identified in this study, the empirical findings are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Patterns of Delegated Childcare in Migrant Worker Families

No	Child (Age)	Migrant Parent (Duration)	Primary Caregiver	Care Arrangement	Parental Involvement	Child's Response
1	R.S. (7)	Mother (3 years)	Grandmother (R.C.)	Full delegation to grandmother	Financial support only (monthly remittance)	Initially lonely, often cried and missed mother
2	D.D.J (8)	Mother (3.5 years)	Father (I.M.) + grandmother (occasional)	Partial delegation (father + extended family)	Financial support + limited involvement	Rewel, emotionally expressive, misses mother
3	R.A. (12)	Mother (6 years)	Father (B.I.)	Full delegation to father	Financial support dominant	Adapted over time, emotionally more stable

Source: Compiled based on interview results

As shown in Table 1, childcare practices in migrant worker families tend to follow a pattern of delegated caregiving in which grandparents or remaining parents assume full responsibility for daily childcare. Parental involvement is largely limited to financial provisions, whereas emotional and day-to-day interactions remain minimal and irregular. These patterns indicate a shift from direct parenting to what can be characterized as distance-based or absentee parenting.

Parenting from a Distance: The Transformation of Parental Roles in Transnational Families

Empirical findings regarding parenting practices in migrant worker families in Duku Ilir Village not only reveal a shift in caregiving responsibilities but also indicate a fundamental transformation in parental roles. In this context, parents working abroad no longer perform direct caregiving functions, but instead see their roles reduced to that of economic providers.³⁶ This phenomenon can be understood as a form of parenting from a distance, where the parent–child relationship is maintained, but in a limited and indirect form.³⁷

This role transformation is evident in the patterns of parental involvement, which are more focused on meeting material needs. In all observed cases, the primary contribution from parents consisted of regular remittances to meet children's needs, including educational expenses, daily consumption, and other necessities. As stated by R.C., R.S.'s grandmother, the money sent by parents is used to purchase daily necessities, and some is saved. A similar point was made by I.M. and B.I., who emphasized that financial support from migrant parents is the primary source for meeting children's needs. Thus, the parental role shifted from the caregiver to the economic provider.³⁸

However, this reduction in parental roles is not balanced by adequate involvement in non-material aspects of child-rearing. Emotional interactions between parents and children tend to be limited and do not occur intensively. Inconsistent communication frequency, ranging from one to three times a week, and in some cases even less frequently, indicates that the emotional bond between parents and children is weakening. For example, in the case of R.A., communication with her mother occurs sporadically because of time constraints and time zone differences. This situation indicates that parents' presence in the child's life is partial and not sustained.

³⁶ Digdo Aji Mukti et al., "Pembentukan Akhlak Mahmudah Perspektif Keluarga Masalah Sebagai Upaya Pencegahan Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19," *SETARA: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak* 2, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.32332/jsga.v2i01.2220>.

³⁷ Delipiter Lase et al., "Parents' Perceptions of Distance Learning during COVID-19 in Rural Indonesia," SSRN Scholarly Paper no. 3890610 (Social Science Research Network, February 25, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3890610>.

³⁸ Tri Yuni Hendrowati et al., "Parenting Patterns of Migrant Workers in Children's Education," *International Journal of Community Care of Humanity (IJCCH)* 1, no. 2 (2023): 134–42.

This phenomenon can be further categorized as a form of absentee parenting, a condition in which parents are physically absent and functionally not fully engaged in the caregiving process.³⁹ This absence is not merely geographical but also reflects limitations in fulfilling emotional and social parental functions. In this context, while parents continue to fulfill economic responsibilities, comprehensive caregiving functions are carried out by others, primarily grandparents.⁴⁰

As a consequence of this situation, a process of reconfiguration of the family structure occurs, in which the family structure adapts to accommodate the parents' absence. Grandparents no longer serve as supporting figures but as primary actors in child-rearing.⁴¹ In some cases, the child's emotional bond is actually stronger with the substitute caregiver than with the biological parents. This indicates that family relationships in the context of migration change not only structurally but also relationally.⁴²

On the other hand, this transformation of parental roles also has implications for children's emotional and psychological well-being. The field findings showed that children left behind by their parents tended to experience an emotional gap, particularly during the initial phase of separation. Feelings of longing, loneliness, and emotional behaviors, such as crying and fussing, serve as indicators of unmet emotional needs. As noted by R.C., R.S. often cried and missed his mother during the initial phase of separation.⁴³ A similar observation was made by Muda, who mentioned that his child frequently exhibited emotional behaviors stemming from longing for his mother.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, in the long term, some children demonstrated the ability to adapt to these conditions. In the case of R.A., for example, the child appeared more emotionally stable

³⁹ Saleh Seid Adem, "Maternal Absence and Transnational Female Labour Migration; Implications for the Left-behind Child," *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care* 17, no. 3 (2021): 315–36, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJMHSC-01-2020-0003>.

⁴⁰ Lisa A. Cameron et al., *Women's Transitions in the Labour Market as a Result of Childbearing: The Challenges of Formal Sector Employment in Indonesia*, Working Paper no. 16136 (IZA Discussion Papers, 2023), <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/272763>.

⁴¹ Andhita Risko Faristiana, "Intergenerational Social Conflict in Indonesian Migrant Worker Families," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 14, no. 3 (2025): 556–70, <https://doi.org/10.23887/jish.v14i3.103063>.

⁴² Bittiandra Chand Somaiah and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, "Grandparenting Left-behind Children in Javanese Migrant-Sending Villages: Trigenerational Care Circuits and the Negotiation of Care," *Geoforum* 143 (July 2023): 103767, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2023.103767>.

⁴³ Interview with R.C., a grandmother raising her grandchild whose parents have gone abroad to work, November 25, 2025.

⁴⁴ Interview with I.M., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, November 20, 2025.

after years of separation from her mother.⁴⁵ However, this state of “habituation” does not necessarily indicate that the child’s emotional needs have been optimally met. Rather, it may reflect a form of adjustment to existing limitations, a phenomenon often linked in the literature to “care deficit”—a condition where caregiving needs remain unmet despite adequate material provision. Furthermore, the practice of parenting from a distance in this context is often normalized by society as a consequence of economic demands. As expressed by village officials, the decision to work abroad is viewed as a rational choice to improve family well-being, despite its implications for child-rearing. This normalization suggests that parenting practices that are normatively suboptimal can be socially accepted because they are seen as a solution to economic constraints.⁴⁶

The community-level perspective further reinforces the findings regarding the transformation of parental roles within migrant worker families. Interviews with Adham Khalik and Ali reveal that “parenting from a distance” is understood as an unavoidable consequence of economic pressures. Both acknowledge the dual nature of this phenomenon: improved family economic well-being and the potential for a lack of attention and affection toward children. In fact, this situation is considered difficult to avoid due to the community’s limited economic options, so the care provided by grandparents is viewed as the most realistic solution, even if not the ideal one.⁴⁷ Furthermore, interventions at the local government level remain limited to economic assistance, such as scholarships or support for basic needs, and have not specifically targeted improving the quality of childcare within migrant worker families.⁴⁸ These findings indicate that existing caregiving practices are shaped not only by individual decisions but also by broader social and economic structures.

Thus, these findings suggest that caregiving practices within migrant worker families reflect not only technical changes in the division of roles, but also a more fundamental transformation in the concept of parenthood. Parents are no longer positioned as the primary

⁴⁵ Interview with B.I., a parent who has delegated child-rearing responsibilities to his parents, December 10, 2025.

⁴⁶ Sneha Kumar, “Offspring’s Labor Migration and Its Implications for Elderly Parents’ Emotional Wellbeing in Indonesia,” *Social Science & Medicine* 276 (May 2021): 113832, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.113832>.

⁴⁷ Interview with Adam Khalik, Head of Duku Ilir Village, Rejang Lebong Regency, Bengkulu Province, December 25, 2025.

⁴⁸ Interview with Ali, Head of Hamlet 1, Duku Ilir Village, Rejang Lebong Regency, Bengkulu Province, December 25, 2025.

actors in daily caregiving, but rather as economic supporters from a distance. Meanwhile, direct caregiving functions are carried out by other generations within the family. This transformation warrants further analysis within a legal framework, particularly to assess the extent to which these practices align or conflict with the principle of parental responsibility under Indonesian positive law.

Legal Framework and the Limits of Positive Law in Childcare Arrangements

Under Indonesian positive law, the responsibility for child care remains, in principle, with the parents,⁴⁹ regardless of their economic or geographical circumstances. This provision is explicitly set forth in Law No. 1 of 1974 on marriage, which affirms that parents have a duty to care for and educate their children to the best of their ability.⁵⁰ This principle is further reinforced in Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection, which establishes the best interests of the child as the primary foundation for every aspect of child-rearing.⁵¹ Normally, these two regulations encompass three main dimensions of parental responsibility: meeting physical needs, providing emotional care, and fostering the child's social and educational development.⁵² Thus, parental responsibility cannot be reduced to merely meeting economic needs.⁵³ Parents are still required to be actively present in their children's lives, both directly and through sustained involvement in their children's growth and development processes.⁵⁴

However, the empirical findings in this study indicate that parenting practices within migrant worker families in Duku Ilir Village do not fully align with this normative framework. The role of parents working abroad tends to be limited to providing financial support, while daily caregiving functions are delegated to grandparents or other family members. In this

⁴⁹ Saidatul Chumayro et al., "Resiliensi Keluarga Sakinah Dalam Pasangan Long Distance Marriage Di Kalangan Buruh Bangunan," *El-Izdiwaj: Indonesian Journal of Civil and Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 1 (2024), <https://dx.doi.org/10.24042/el-izdiwaj.v5i1.21745>.

⁵⁰ Sudirman L., "Child Custody After Divorce: Enhance A Shared-Parenting In Indonesian Marriage Legal System," *Russian Law Journal* 11, no. 3 (2023).

⁵¹ Saraswati Rika, "Accommodating the 'Best Interests of the Child' in Custody Disputes in the Indonesian System/s of Family Law," *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 35, no. 1 (2021): ebab011, <https://doi.org/10.1093/lawfam/ebab011>.

⁵² Bambang Eko Turisno et al., "Negligence in Implementing Child Custody Decisions: A Threat to Child Protection in Indonesia," *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences* 16, no. 2 (2021), <https://ijcjs.com/menu-script/index.php/ijcjs/article/view/66>.

⁵³ Amrina Rosyada et al., "Gender Justice in Husband and Wife Relations According to Shaykh Nawawi Al-Bantani: A Study of the Kitab Syarah 'Uqūd al-Lujain," *Qanun: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 2, no. 2 (2024), <https://dx.doi.org/10.62870/qanun.v2i2.27087>.

⁵⁴ Khoiruddin Nasution and Syamruddin Nasution, "Implementation of Indonesian Islamic Family Law to Guarantee Children's Rights," *Al-Jami'ab: Journal of Islamic Studies* 59, no. 2 (2021): 347–74, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2021.592.347-374>.

context, the meaning of caregiving responsibility is reduced, shifting from a holistic approach to a partial focus on economic aspects. Furthermore, the practice of delegating childcare to grandparents found in this study lacks a clear legal basis in the Indonesian Positive Law. Although extended family childcare is common in social practice, positive law does not explicitly regulate the mechanisms for delegated childcare within the context of intact (non-divorced) families.⁵⁵ Regulations regarding childcare by parties other than parents generally arise in specific contexts, such as divorce or the establishment of guardianship, which require formal legal mechanisms. Thus, the practice of childcare by grandparents in migrant worker families falls into a legally grey area—that is, it is not fully regulated, but is also not explicitly prohibited.

The absence of specific regulations indicates limitations in positive laws when responding to the dynamics of transnational families. The law still operates on the assumption that families are units living within the same domestic space, and thus has not fully adapted to the phenomenon of labor migration, which leads to family fragmentation.⁵⁶ In this context, the law tends to uphold the concept of direct parental presence as the foundation of caregiving, whereas social reality indicates the need for flexibility in caregiving arrangements. On the other hand, from a child protection perspective, the practice of caregiving by grandparents also raises questions regarding the fulfillment of the principle of the child's best interests. Although a child's material needs may be met through remittances from parents, limitations in emotional interaction and direct parental involvement have the potential to affect a child's psychological development. In this regard, positive law has not yet provided clear parameters for how to assess the quality of care in situations where parents are not physically present.⁵⁷

Thus, it can be concluded that there are limitations within Indonesia's positive legal framework in accommodating child-rearing practices among migrant-worker families. The

⁵⁵ Sukron Ma'mun et al., "Childfree Phenomenon Among Urban Muslims: A Multidisciplinary Examination of Science and Morality," *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 28, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v28i1.6773>.

⁵⁶ Nicolaus Petrus Likuwatan Werang and Maria Lusiana Florentin Werang, "Evaluation of Child Protection Case in Indonesia: Exploring Barriers and Policy Directions," *Journal of Gender Equality Disability Social Inclusion and Children* 3, no. 2 (2026): 118–31, <https://doi.org/10.61511/jgedsic.v3i2.2026.2191>.

⁵⁷ M. Tantowi Nur Ansori and Made Warka, "Problems in Regulating Child Neglect: Regulatory Limitations in Indonesia," *Akrab Juara: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 10, no. 4 (2025): 1963–83, <https://doi.org/10.58487/akrabjuara.v10i4.2672>.

law still positions parents as primary caregivers without providing clear alternative mechanisms when that role is, in fact, carried out by others. This situation highlights the need to reassess the relevance and adaptability of the law to changes in family structures within contemporary society, particularly in the context of labor migration.

Bridging the Gap: A Socio-Legal Analysis of Law in Books and Law in Action

An analysis of child-rearing practices among migrant worker families in Duku Ilir Village revealed a significant gap between legal norms (law in books) and social practices (law in action). Normally, Indonesian positive law designates parents as the primary actors fully responsible for child-rearing in physical, emotional, and social aspects alike. However, empirical reality reveals that in practice, this responsibility undergoes transformation and is even transferred to others, particularly grandparents.⁵⁸ This gap cannot be understood merely as a violation of legal norms, but rather as the result of the interplay between economic, social, and cultural factors that shape child-rearing practices in society. In migrant worker families, the decision to work abroad is generally driven by urgent economic needs. As Adham Khalik notes, the choice to migrate is often not a preference but a form of necessity resulting from local economic constraints. In such situations, delegating care to grandparents is the most realistic solution, even if it is not entirely ideal from a normative perspective.

Within a socio-legal framework, this situation reflects the coexistence of multiple norms that operate simultaneously. On the one hand, there are formal legal norms governing parental responsibility, while on the other hand, there are social norms that are more flexible and adaptive to the practical needs of society.⁵⁹ These social norms enable the practice of delegated childcare, which is not explicitly regulated by law but is socially accepted and legitimized. Thus, the practice of childcare by grandparents can be understood as a form of “social legitimacy,” even though it lacks a formal legal basis.

Furthermore, the gap between “law in books” and “law in action” highlights the limitations of the legal system in responding to changes in family structures resulting from migration. Positive law still operates within the framework of the conventional family, which

⁵⁸ Ibnu Akbar Maliki and Anta Mustika Sari, “Relasi Suami Istri Dalam Pengasuhan Anak Perspektif Mubadalah (Studi Kasus Di Desa Rajabasa Lama II),” *SETARA: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak* 5, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.32332/jsga.v5i02.6880>.

⁵⁹ Hanna Fromell et al., “One Size Does Not Fit All: Plurality of Social Norms and Saving Behavior in Kenya,” *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 192 (December 2021): 73–91, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2021.09.028>.

assumes the physical presence of parents within a single household, whereas reality reveals the emergence of geographically fragmented transnational families. In this context, the law not only lags behind social reality (law lag) but also fails to provide adaptive mechanisms to accommodate the alternative caregiving practices emerging in society.⁶⁰

On the other hand, grandparents' caregiving also raises ambivalence from the perspective of child protection. On the one hand, this practice ensures the fulfillment of children's basic needs and maintains the continuity of care in the absence of parents. However, on the other hand, limitations in emotional care and direct parental involvement have the potential to create a care deficit, as evidenced by the emotional gap experienced by the children in this study. This situation places children in a position between the fulfillment of material needs and a lack of emotional attention.

From a socio-legal perspective, this phenomenon indicates that compliance with the law is not always the primary factor shaping social practices. Communities tend to develop adaptive mechanisms deemed most suitable to their needs and circumstances, even if they are not fully aligned with formal legal norms. In this context, the law does not function as an effective regulatory instrument, but rather as a normative framework with limited reach over everyday practices.⁶¹ Furthermore, the lack of intervention by the state or government in regulating and overseeing child-rearing practices among migrant worker families further widens this gap. As Ali pointed out, current government intervention remains limited to providing economic assistance, such as scholarships or aid for basic needs, without addressing the quality of child-rearing. This indicates that existing policies remain focused on the economic dimension, whereas the social and psychological dimensions of children have not yet become a primary concern.⁶²

Thus, the gap between "law in books" and "law in action" in the context of child-rearing within migrant worker families not only reflects a mismatch between norms and practices but also highlights the need for a more contextual and adaptive legal approach. The

⁶⁰ Sally Wheeler, "Socio-Legal Studies in 2020," *Journal of Law and Society* 47, no. S2 (2020): S209–26, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jols.12267>.

⁶¹ Tanja Herklotz, "Law and Society Studies in Context: Suggestions for a Cross-Country Comparison of Socio-Legal Research and Teaching," *German Law Journal* 21, no. 7 (2020): 1332–44, <https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2020.76>.

⁶² Ibnu Akbar Maliki et al., "Pengasuhan Dan Perlindungan Anak Dalam Undang-Undang Negara Muslim (Meninjau Resiprokalitas Keluarga Dan Negara)," *Syakhshiyah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.32332/syakhshiyah.v3i1.7028>.

law needs to shift from a normative-formal approach toward one that is more responsive to social realities, including acknowledging the practice of delegated childcare and strengthening child protection mechanisms within transnational families.

The findings of this study can be further understood through the perspective of “Living Law” proposed by Eugen Ehrlich. According to Ehrlich, the law that truly exists within a society is not always identical to the law written in statutes; rather, it is reflected in patterns of behavior and norms that are repeatedly practiced in social life.⁶³ In the context of this study, the practice of child rearing by grandparents in migrant worker families exhibits characteristics of living law because it enjoys strong acceptance and legitimacy from society despite lacking explicit provisions in positive law. This practice is not viewed as a deviation, but rather as a social mechanism considered rational and effective for ensuring the continuity of child-rearing while parents work abroad.

Furthermore, the findings of this study also confirm the operation of legal pluralism, as described by John Griffiths. In child-rearing practices among migrant worker families, more than one normative system operates simultaneously. On the one hand, Indonesian positive law designates parents as the primary parties responsible for child rearing. On the other hand, family and societal norms provide a space of legitimacy for grandparents to assume child-rearing functions when economic conditions necessitate parental migration. The existence of these two normative systems indicates that the regulation of social life is not solely determined by state law but also by social norms that have developed within the community.⁶⁴ Thus, the gap between “law in books” and “law in action” identified in this study cannot be understood merely as a form of non-compliance with the law but rather as a manifestation of the interaction between state law and the living law within society.

Conclusion

This study shows that child-rearing practices in migrant worker families in Rejang Lebong Regency reflect a significant transformation in parental roles, marked by the emergence of “parenting from a distance.” In this context, the parental role tends to be reduced to that of an economic provider, while daily caregiving functions are informally

⁶³ S. Karvatska, “Socio-Historical Factors of Law Perception in ‘Living Law’ Concept by Eugen Ehrlich,” *Ehrlich’s Journal*, no. 1 (2017): 42–51.

⁶⁴ Suci Flambonita, “The Concept of Legal Pluralism in Indonesia in the New Social Movement,” *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi* 10, no. 3 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.20961/jas.v10i0.45939>.

delegated to grandparents or other family members in the form of delegated childcare. This practice not only shapes a new caregiving structure within the family but also highlights the gap between legal norms (law in books) and social practices (law in action). Although Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage and Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection affirm parents' comprehensive responsibility for child-rearing, on-the-ground realities show that this responsibility is fulfilled only partially and is more focused on economic aspects.

Furthermore, the prevailing child-rearing practices exist in a legal gray area because they are not explicitly regulated; yet, they still gain social legitimacy as a solution to the economic pressures faced by families. On the one hand, child-rearing by the extended family ensures the continued fulfillment of children's basic needs, but on the other hand, it has the potential to create a care deficit, particularly in the emotional and psychological aspects of the child. These findings confirm that the existing legal framework is not yet fully adaptive to the dynamics of transnational families, thus requiring a more contextual approach to understand and respond to child-rearing practices within migrant worker families.

Declarations

Author contribution statement

AAP was responsible for conceptualizing the research ideas, developing the theoretical and analytical framework, and drafting the main manuscript. MM contributed to the collection and analysis of primary and secondary legal materials, particularly in the fields of Islamic family law and legal policy. Subsequently, both authors collaborated to strengthen the sociological-legal analysis, review the international literature, and refine the results and discussion sections. All authors participated in the critical review, substantial revisions, and approval of the final version of the manuscript for publication.

Declaration of interests statement

The authors declare that they have no known financial conflicts of interest or personal relationships that could influence or are deemed to have influenced the research results reported in this manuscript

AI Usage Statement

The author used Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools solely to assist with language editing, grammar checking, and improving the readability of the manuscript. AI was not used in formulating research ideas, analyzing data, interpreting results, or drawing conclusions. All responsibility for the content, accuracy, and academic integrity of this article rests entirely with the authors. AI is not listed as an author or contributor.

References

- Adem, Saleh Seid. "Maternal Absence and Transnational Female Labour Migration; Implications for the Left-behind Child." *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care* 17, no. 3 (2021): 315–36. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJMHSC-01-2020-0003>.
- Anggara, Reddy, Slamet Mulyana, Gati Gayatri, and Hanny Hafiar. "Understanding the Motivations of Being Indonesian Migrant Workers." *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024): 2333968. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2333968>.
- Ansori, M. Tantowi Nur, and Made Warka. "Problems in Regulating Child Neglect: Regulatory Limitations in Indonesia." *Akrab Juara: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 10, no. 4 (2025): 1963–83. <https://doi.org/10.58487/akrabjuara.v10i4.2672>.
- Cameron, Lisa A., Diana Contreras Suarez, and Yi-Ping Tseng. *Women's Transitions in the Labour Market as a Result of Childbearing: The Challenges of Formal Sector Employment in Indonesia*. Working Paper No. 16136. IZA Discussion Papers, 2023. <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/272763>.
- Chumayro, Saidatul, Nugraha Adi Saputra, and Ibnu Akbar Maliki. "Resiliensi Keluarga Sakinah Dalam Pasangan Long Distance Marriage Di Kalangan Buruh Bangunan." *El-Izdiwaj: Indonesian Journal of Civil and Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 1 (2024). <https://dx.doi.org/10.24042/el-izdiwaj.v5i1.21745>.
- Ekawati, Lenny Lia, I. Nyoman Indra Kresna Wijaya, and Benidiktus Delpada. "Entrusting Children to Grandmothers: Exploring Care Dynamics through Multiple Roles of Women in Eastern Indonesia." *Humaniora* 36, no. 1 (2024): 72–83. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.93794>.
- Faristiana, Andhita Risko. "Intergenerational Social Conflict in Indonesian Migrant Worker Families." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 14, no. 3 (2025): 556–70. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jish.v14i3.103063>.
- Fauziningtyas, Rista, Retno Indarwati, Delisa Alfriani, et al. "The Experiences of Grandparents Raising Grandchildren in Indonesia." *Working with Older People* 23, no. 1 (2018): 17–26. <https://doi.org/10.1108/WWOP-10-2018-0019>.
- Fellmeth, Gracia, Kelly Rose-Clarke, Chenyue Zhao, et al. "Health Impacts of Parental Migration on Left-Behind Children and Adolescents: A Systematic Review and Meta-

- Analysis.” *The Lancet* 392, no. 10164 (2018): 2567–82. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)32558-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)32558-3).
- Flambonita, Suci. “The Concept of Legal Pluralism in Indonesia in the New Social Movement.” *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi* 10, no. 3 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.20961/jas.v10i0.45939>.
- Fromell, Hanna, Daniele Nosenzo, Trudy Owens, and Fabio Tufano. “One Size Does Not Fit All: Plurality of Social Norms and Saving Behavior in Kenya.” *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 192 (December 2021): 73–91. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2021.09.028>.
- Gao, Ru, and Devi Sacchetto. “Constructing a Transnational Childcare Bricolage: Chinese Migrant Families in Italy Coordinating Transnational Mobility and Childcare.” *European Societies* 26, no. 3 (2024): 880–907. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2023.2267638>.
- Hendrowati, Tri Yuni, Lestari Budianto, Lathifah Hanum, Dedy Surya, and Dumiyati. “Parenting Patterns of Migrant Workers in Children’s Education.” *International Journal of Community Care of Humanity (IJCCH)* 1, no. 2 (2023): 134–42.
- Herklotz, Tanja. “Law and Society Studies in Context: Suggestions for a Cross-Country Comparison of Socio-Legal Research and Teaching.” *German Law Journal* 21, no. 7 (2020): 1332–44. <https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2020.76>.
- Iqbal, Muhammad, and Yuherina Gusman. “Long-Distance Parenting and Family Resilience Strategies of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Taiwan.” *Islamic Guidance and Counseling Journal* 9, no. 1 (2026). <https://doi.org/10.25217/0020269738800>.
- Irawan, Marendra Hengky, Kasuwi Saiban, and Junianto. “Parenting Patterns of Substitute Parents for Children of Indonesian Migrant Workers: Analysis of Social Systems and Social Norms in Parenting Patterns for Children of Migrant Workers in Donomulyo District, Malang Regency.” *International Journal of Research in Social Science and Humanities (IJRSS)* 5, no. 4 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.47505/IJRSS>.
- Karvatska, S. “Socio-Historical Factors of Law Perception in ‘Living Law’ Concept by Eugen Ehrlich.” *Ehrlich’s Journal*, no. 1 (2017): 42–51.
- Kesumaningsari, Ni Putu Adelia, Faith Joanna Hartoyo, and Yuan Yovita Setiawan. “Parenting Support from Grandparents and Work-Family Conflict among Working

- Mothers: The Mediating Role of Parenting Stress.” *Insight: Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi* 27, no. 2 (2025): 189–213. <https://doi.org/10.26486/psikologi.v27i2.4749>.
- Kim, Thida, Lucy P. Jordan, and Sokunnara Thlen. “‘I’m Not a Complete Mother’: Childcare Choices of Migrant Women in Cambodia.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 52, no. 6 (2026): 1479–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2594849>.
- Kristina, Anita, and Muhamad Abdul Jumali. “Building Kinship Negotiations: Definition of Social Protection for Children of Indonesian Migrant Workers.” *Jurnal Biometrika Dan Kependudukan* 14, no. 1 (2025): 11–21. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jbk.v14i1.2025.11-21>.
- Kumar, Sneha. “Offspring’s Labor Migration and Its Implications for Elderly Parents’ Emotional Wellbeing in Indonesia.” *Social Science & Medicine* 276 (May 2021): 113832. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.113832>.
- Lase, Delipiter, Trisa Genia Chrisantiana Zega, Dorkas Orienti Daeli, and Sonny Eli Zaluchu. “Parents’ Perceptions of Distance Learning during COVID-19 in Rural Indonesia.” SSRN Scholarly Paper No. 3890610. Social Science Research Network, February 25, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3890610>.
- Liang, Ying, Lei Wang, and Guoqiang Rui. “Depression Among Left-Behind Children in China.” *Journal of Health Psychology* 22, no. 14 (2017): 1897–905. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105316676333>.
- Maliki, Ibnu Akbar, Nurhidayati, and Mardan Erwinsyah. “Pengasuhan Dan Perlindungan Anak Dalam Undang-Undang Negara Muslim (Meninjau Resiprokalitas Keluarga Dan Negara).” *Syakhshiyah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3, no. 1 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.32332/syakhshiyah.v3i1.7028>.
- Maliki, Ibnu Akbar, and Anta Mustika Sari. “Relasi Suami Istri Dalam Pengasuhan Anak Perspektif Mubadalah (Studi Kasus Di Desa Rajabasa Lama II).” *SETARA: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak* 5, no. 2 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.32332/jsga.v5i02.6880>.
- Ma’mun, Sukron, Sheikh Adnan Ahmad Usmani, and Ibnu Akbar Maliki. “Childfree Phenomenon Among Urban Muslims: A Multidisciplinary Examination of Science and Morality.” *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 28, no. 1 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v28i1.6773>.
- Mukti, Digdo Aji, Mufliha Wijayati, and Ibnu Akbar Maliki. “Pembentukan Akhlak Mahmudah Perspektif Keluarga Masalah Sebagai Upaya Pencegahan Menghadapi

- Pandemi Covid-19.” *SETARA: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak* 2, no. 1 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.32332/jsga.v2i01.2220>.
- Nasution, Khoiruddin, and Syamruddin Nasution. “Implementation of Indonesian Islamic Family Law to Guarantee Children’s Rights.” *Al-Jami’ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 59, no. 2 (2021): 347–74. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2021.592.347-374>.
- Ngazizah, Inna Fauziatal, Hamdan Yawaee, Kudrat Abdillah, and Muhammad Zainal Abidin. “Effectiveness Of Child Protection Law In Fulfilling The Right To Child Custody (Hadhanah) In Kudus Indonesia.” *Jurnal Hukum IUS QULA IUSTUM* 32, no. 2 (2025): 265–86. <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol32.iss2.art1>.
- Niculescu, Adrian. “The Protection of Children with Parents Left for Work Abroad.” *Social Sciences and Education Research Review* 4, no. 2 (2017): 209–14.
- Nistor, Gheorghita, and Maria Diana Secară. “The Health and Psycho-Social Development of Children with Parents Working Abroad. Case Study: Delegation of Parental Authority for Children from Rural Areas.” *Revista de Asistență Socială* XIX, no. 4 (2020): 39–56.
- Rika, Saraswati. “Accommodating the ‘Best Interests of the Child’ in Custody Disputes in the Indonesian System/s of Family Law.” *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 35, no. 1 (2021): eba011. <https://doi.org/10.1093/lawfam/ebab011>.
- Rosyada, Amrina, Lisna Mualifah, and Ibnu Akbar Maliki. “Gender Justice in Husband and Wife Relations According to Shaykh Nawawi Al-Bantani: A Study of the Kitab Syarah ‘Uqūd al-Lujain.” *Qanun: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 2, no. 2 (2024). <https://dx.doi.org/10.62870/qanun.v2i2.27087>.
- Somaiah, Bittiandra Chand, and Brenda S. A. Yeoh. “Grandparenting Left-behind Children in Javanese Migrant-Sending Villages: Trigenerational Care Circuits and the Negotiation of Care.” *Geoforum* 143 (July 2023): 103767. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2023.103767>.
- Sudirman L. “Child Custody After Divorce: Enhance A Shared-Parenting In Indonesian Marriage Legal System.” *Russian Law Journal* 11, no. 3 (2023).
- Triwardhani, Ike Junita, Wulan Trigartanti, and Endri Listiani. “Culture in Collective Parenting of Children of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers (TKW).” April 23, 2022, 35–38. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.220407.008>.

- Turisno, Bambang Eko, R. Suharto, Ery Agus Priyono, and Siti Mahmudah. "Negligence in Implementing Child Custody Decisions: A Threat to Child Protection in Indonesia." *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences* 16, no. 2 (2021). <https://ijcjs.com/menu-script/index.php/ijcjs/article/view/66>.
- Umar, A., Nita Yuli Astuti, and Nasikhin. "The Transformation of Husbands' Roles in Indonesian Migrant Worker Families and the Implications for Children's Islamic Education." *Tadris: Jurnal Keguruan Dan Ilmu Tarbiyah* 11, no. 1 (2026): 56–62. <https://doi.org/10.24042/tadris.v11i1.29745>.
- Werang, Nicolaus Petrus Likuwatan, and Maria Lusiana Florentin Werang. "Evaluation of Child Protection Case in Indonesia: Exploring Barriers and Policy Directions." *Journal of Gender Equality Disability Social Inclusion and Children* 3, no. 2 (2026): 118–31. <https://doi.org/10.61511/jgedsic.v3i2.2026.2191>.
- Wheeler, Sally. "Socio-Legal Studies in 2020." *Journal of Law and Society* 47, no. S2 (2020): S209–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jols.12267>.
- Wijayanti, Istiana. "Pengaruh Pola Asuh Orang Tua Dalam Keluarga Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Terhadap Perkembangan Sosial Emosional Siswa Di SD Negeri 2 Poncorejo Kendal." Skripsi, Universitas Islam Sultan Agung, 2024. <https://repository.unissula.ac.id/34492/>.
- Wijayanti, Urip Tri, and Dwi Purwaningsih. "Migrant Workers' Child Care Style in Cilacap District." *Randwick International of Social Science Journal* 1, no. 3 (2020): 410–18. <https://doi.org/10.47175/rissj.v1i3.95>.