JURNAL AL-IJTIMAIYYAH
ISSN 2654-5217 (p); 2461-0755 (e)
Vol. 12, No. 2, July-December 2026: 452-467
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/al-ijtimaiyyah.v12i2

THE ROLE OF *IKATAN KELUARGA MUSLIM INDONESIA* (IKMI) IN THE RESILIENCE OF MUSLIM MIGRANT FAMILIES IN SEOUL: A PERSPECTIVE BASED ON FROMA WALSH'S THEORY

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Abstract

The phenomenon of global migration to Seoul, South Korea, presents complex challenges for Indonesian Muslim families, including the cultural pressure of "palli-palli," minority status, difficulties in accessing places of worship, and the risk of social isolation. This study aims to analyze the role of the *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI) as a supportive element in the application of family resilience principles according to Froma Walsh's theory. The research method employed is qualitative with a phenomenological approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with active IKMI members in Seoul and participatory observation during community activities. Data analysis utilized the Miles and Huberman model, which consists of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The research shows that IKMI functions as a resilience ecosystem that serves as an "extended family substitute" through the three pillars of Froma Walsh's theory. First, within the belief system, IKMI reinforces spiritual values as an emotional resource and a source of Islamic identity. Second, in the organizational structure, IKMI offers a flexible support system through specialized units such as RUMAISA, IMUSKA, and CISS, as well as the "Kampung Al-Falah" program, which serves as a form of social security. Third, in the communication process, IKMI provides an inclusive space for interaction that facilitates the exchange of values across generations. This study found that the harmony between Islamic values and IKMI's structured support is a key factor in the

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Received: June 12, 2026; Accepted: September 12, 2026; Published: December 30, 2026
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resilience of migrant families as they balance their spiritual needs with the demands of social adjustment in Seoul.

Keywords: Family Resilience; Froma Walsh; IKMI; Diaspora Community; Islamic Identity; Social Support.

Abstrak

Fenomena perpindahan global ke Seoul, Korea Selatan, menghadirkan tantangan rumit bagi keluarga Muslim Indonesia, termasuk tekanan budaya palli-palli, status minoritas, serta kesulitan akses ibadah dan risiko keterisolasian sosial. Studi ini bertujuan menganalisis fungsi Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia (IKMI) sebagai elemen pendukung dalam penerapan prinsip-prinsip ketahanan keluarga menurut teori Froma Walsh. Metode penelitian yang diterapkan adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologis. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan informan anggota aktif IKMI di Seoul serta observasi partisipatif di dalam kegiatan komunitas. Analisis data menggunakan model Miles dan Huberman yang terdiri dari pengurangan data, penyajian data, serta penarikan kesimpulan. Penelitian menunjukkan bahwa IKMI berperan sebagai ekosistem ketahanan yang menggantikan fungsi keluarga besar (extended family substitute) melalui tiga pilar teori Froma Walsh. Pertama, dalam sistem keyakinan, IKMI menguatkan nilai spiritual sebagai sumber daya emosional dan penguat identitas Islam. Kedua, dalam pola organisasi, IKMI menawarkan struktur dukungan yang fleksibel melalui unit-unit khusus seperti RUMAISA, IMUSKA, dan CISS, serta program "Kampung Al-Falah" sebagai jaminan sosial. Ketiga, dalam proses komunikasi, IKMI menyediakan ruang interaksi inklusif yang memungkinkan pertukaran nilai antar generasi. Studi ini menemukan bahwa harmoni antara nilai-nilai Islam dan dukungan terstruktur IKMI adalah faktor utama ketahanan keluarga migran dalam menghubungkan kebutuhan spiritual dan tuntutan penyesuaian sosial di Seoul.

Kata Kunci: Ketahanan Keluarga; Froma Walsh; IKMI; Komunitas Diaspora; Identitas Islam; Dukungan Sosial.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the largest senders of migrant workers to South Korea through the Employment Permit System (EPS). Although this scheme is designed to protect the rights of individual workers, the reality on the ground shows a shift in migration patterns from individual migration to family-unit migration. This phenomenon presents new challenges to the resilience of migrant families, particularly in coping with cultural disparities, limited social access, and psychological stress resulting from intensive work hours. The stability of family units in a foreign environment has become a critical issue requiring attention, including the sustainability of their domestic lives amid high work demands. Many Indonesian citizens have chosen to live in South Korea, and data from the South Korean Ministry of the Interior indicate that approximately 2.7 million people with immigrant backgrounds were living there as of November 1, 2024.[1]

According to the latest data from the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Seoul, there are approximately 79,525 Indonesian citizens residing in South Korea, the majority of whom are Indonesian migrant workers. This indicates a significant shift in migration patterns; initially, migration was primarily individual in nature, but it has now evolved into family-unit migration. This significant number not only reflects economic potential but also facilitates the formation of a more structured diaspora community.[2]

Muslims living in South Korea face many challenges. These challenges are not only related to language and economics, but also to preserving their Islamic identity in a society heavily influenced by non-Muslim culture. The family is the smallest unit of society, and its members are in the most vulnerable position. Therefore, household stability can be achieved when the family fulfills its role as the primary protector by filtering out strong local cultural influences and upholding the values of faith. If families lack the ability to adapt effectively to local legal norms and religious values, the risk of family dysfunction due to cultural clashes will increase significantly.[3] In the context of Muslim families, one of the keys to maintaining family resilience is upholding Islamic values, as stated by Allah SWT in Surah Ar-Rūm [30]:21. By making these values the foundation for facing life's various challenges—supported by the principles of Sakinah, Mawaddah, and Rahmah, which ensure a balance between spiritual, social, and psychological aspects—families can strengthen their resilience. However, a family's ability to maintain its resilience and Islamic identity cannot be built entirely from within. In migration situations fraught with social and cultural pressures, families need external support capable of strengthening their social, spiritual, and psychological functions.

As a Muslim minority community, the efforts that can be made to preserve religious identity and practice one's faith are a collective responsibility that should be supported by various Islamic organizations.[4] In South Korea, there are several Muslim organizations that serve as hubs for social and religious activities, including international organizations such as the Korea Muslim Federation (KMF), as well as many others with nationalist or specific

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antaranews.com, 'Populasi warga Korsel berlatar belakang migran meningkat pada 2024', Antara News, 8 December 2025, https://www.antaranews.com/berita/5293735/populasi-warga-korsel-berlatar-belakang-migran-meningkat-pada-2024.

[2]Adinda Nur Rachmah and Jajang Jahroni, 'Dinamika Keislaman di Korea Selatan: Studi Kasus Komunitas Muslim Indonesia (KMI) 2007-2020', *Socio Historica: Journal of Islamic Social History* 3, no. 2 (December 2024): 116–32, https://doi.org/10.15408/sh.v3i2.38050.

[3]Lina Nur Anisa, 'The Psychological Well-Being in Building Resilience of Indonesian Muslim Families: A Study of Hussein Muhammad's Thought', *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar'iah* 15, no. 1 (July 2023): 163–77, https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v15i1.22102.

[4]Awalia Rahma, Abdullah Maulani, Tati Rohayati, and Yessie Kualasari, 'The Resilience of Muslim Identity and the Awareness of Halal Principles Among Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs) in South Korea', *Penamas* 37, no. 2 (December 2024): 172–85, https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v37i2.829.

ethnic bases. The presence of these Muslim organizations plays a significant role as a social and spiritual support system for Muslims living as a minority group. *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI) focuses on comprehensively meeting the religious, social, and cultural needs of Indonesian citizens, particularly those in Seoul, South Korea.[5] From the perspective of the Muslim diaspora community, the role of organizations such as IKMI is crucial. This aligns with the grand vision of IKMI Korea as the central driving force behind Islamic civilization in Seoul. IKMI serves not merely as a gathering place but also as a space for spiritual support that strengthens family resilience through various religious guidance activities, children's education, and solidarity among members. This study hypothesizes that structured support from IKMI—through regular family counseling sessions, peer counseling, and religious education programs—can be a significant factor in helping Muslim families in Seoul preserve Islamic values and family resilience amid intense cultural and social pressures.

Among the various Muslim organizations thriving in South Korea, the *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI) stands out as one of the diaspora communities that actively provides support to Indonesian migrant families. This role warrants further study because it has the potential to be a key factor in building family resilience within the Muslim minority community. Given the "palli-palli" culture and social isolation faced by migrant families in Seoul, it is evident that a support system capable of maintaining family resilience within a minority community is essential. Although several studies have addressed the resilience of migrant families in South Korea—particularly in Seoul—these have so far been dominated by sociological or economic perspectives. Consequently, there remains a research gap regarding how Muslim communities, specifically, can foster such resilience.

For migrant families, communities such as *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI) are not merely socio-religious organizations; they also serve as an "extended family substitute" that is not physically present in the destination country. These communities provide social capital that is difficult to obtain from the local environment—ranging from emotional support, information, and practical assistance to the reinforcement of Islamic identity. In addition to providing facilities for worship and religious education, IKMI also serves as a space for migrant families to share experiences, normalize the challenges of acculturation, and collectively develop adaptation strategies. The interactions fostered within the community help reduce feelings of isolation, improve the mental health of family members, and ultimately strengthen the stability and functioning of migrant families amid the social and cultural pressures they face.

IKMI's strategic role becomes even more important when considered in light of the complex challenges faced by Muslim migrant families in South Korea. As a minority group living in a different social and cultural environment, they face not only economic adaptation issues but also psychosocial pressures that could potentially affect family stability. A study by Srimulyani shows that efforts to maintain religious identity are a vital strategy for the Muslim diaspora in South Korea to preserve their existence and social resilience.[6] Although other studies, such as the one conducted by Awalia Rahma, confirm that identity resilience and halal awareness are key defense mechanisms for migrant workers, these studies still tend to focus on the individual level.[7]

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[5]'IKMI Korea – Masjid Indonesia Seoul', accessed 17 December 2025, https://ikmikorea.org/.

[6]Eka Srimulyani, 'Indonesian Muslim Diaspora in Contemporary South Korea: Living as Religious Minority Group in Non-Muslim Country', *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (December 2021): 668, https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v5i2.9733.

[7]Rahma, Maulani, Rohayati, and Kualasari, 'The Resilience of Muslim Identity and the Awareness of Halal Principles Among Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs) in South Korea'.

These various challenges have drawn the attention of a number of researchers seeking to identify the factors that support the resilience of migrant families and individuals. However, the evolving focus of these studies still reveals several limitations that open the door to further research; for example, studies by Puspawati et al. and Saefullah et al. indicate that the presence of social support plays a significant role in helping migrant families cope with various challenges during the migration process.[8] Nevertheless, these studies have primarily highlighted the individual and family aspects as recipients of support, and thus have not thoroughly examined the role of institutions or community organizations as actors contributing to the resilience of migrant families. Furthermore, research on Indonesian migrant families abroad still tends to focus on issues of cultural adaptation, child-rearing, and socioeconomic well-being.

Meanwhile, studies examining the relationship between religious organizations and the resilience of migrant families remain relatively limited. Research by Gusman et al. has shown that religious-based organizations can serve as a source of social and spiritual support for migrant families.[9] However, that study was conducted among the Indonesian migrant community in Taiwan and therefore does not represent the conditions of the Indonesian diaspora in South Korea, which has different social and cultural characteristics and faces distinct migration challenges. Consequently, there remains a lack of research that specifically highlights the contribution of Indonesian Muslim diaspora organizations in strengthening the resilience of migrant families in their destination countries.

To understand how diaspora organizations contribute to strengthening the resilience of migrant families, a conceptual framework is needed that can explain the process by which families adapt to the pressures and crises of migration. In this context, the family resilience approach is relevant because it positions families as active agents capable of building both internal and external strengths to face various challenges.

From a family psychology perspective, resilience is defined as a family's ability to adapt and grow from a crisis through a systematic, dynamic process. This study uses the Family Resilience Framework developed by Froma Walsh to understand the dynamics of Muslim migrant families in Seoul. Unlike McCubbin's family stress theory, which focuses more on how families manage stress and adapt after a crisis,[10] or Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, which focuses on the impact of the macroenvironment on individual development,[11] Walsh's framework provides a deeper insight into the internal processes within families. Walsh's strength lies in three pillars—belief systems, organizational structure, and communication—which view families as active agents in constructing meaning amid the challenges of migration.

The application of Froma Walsh's family resilience theory in international migration research remains relatively limited. While the study by Meitasari et al. has indeed applied

[8]Ani Agus Puspawati, Susana Indriyati Caturiani, Anisa Utami, M. Irsyad Fadoli, Anjani Eka Puteri, and Tarisa Dwina Putri, 'The Resilience Families of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI)', *KnE Social Sciences*, ahead of print, 6 March 2023, https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v8i5.13024; Lalu Saefullah, Sri Rum Giyarsih, and Diana Setiyawati, 'Pengaruh Dukungan Sosial Terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga Tenaga Kerja Indonesia', *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis (JSPH)* 3, no. 2 (December 2018): 119–32, https://doi.org/10.17977/um021v3i22018p119-132.

[9]Yuherina Gusman, Ramdhan Muhaimin, Riki Rahman, and Syuan-yuan Chiou, 'Exploring the Contribution of Faith-Based Organisations to the Resilience of Migrant Families in Indonesia and Taiwan', *Penamas* 38, no. 2 (July–December 2025): 250–62, https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v38i2.1012.

[10]Carol Musil, Alexandra Jeanblanc, Jaclene Zauszniewski, and Christopher Burant, 'Grandmother Caregivers' Resilience, Mindfulness, and Resourcefulness and McCubbin's Model of Family Stress', *Innovation in Aging* 7, no. Suppl 1 (December 2023): 124, https://doi.org/10.1093/geroni/igad104.0404.

[11]Arif Sugitanata, 'Analisis Ekologi Sistem Bronfenbrenner Terhadap Upaya Perlindungan Anak Dari Bahaya Pornografi Di Era Globalisasi Digital', *SPECTRUM: Journal of Gender and Children Studies* 3, no. 2 (December 2023): 129–38, https://doi.org/10.30984/spectrum.v3i2.778.

this theory, it did not do so in the context of migrant families or diaspora organizations. Consequently, there remains a research gap that has not been extensively explored: a study examining how the *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI) in Seoul serves as a source of social, spiritual, and cultural support in building the resilience of Indonesian migrant families.[12] This study is significant because it seeks to explain the contribution of IKMI through the dimensions of family belief systems, organizational patterns, and communication processes, as developed by Froma Walsh; it is therefore expected to provide a new perspective on the development of studies on the resilience of migrant families and Muslim diaspora communities in the era of globalization. Moreover, the issue of family resilience among migrant communities is a crucial issue in contemporary Islamic family law.[13]

Within the context of contemporary Islamic family law, the use of Froma Walsh's Family Resilience Framework—which is rooted in Western tradition—is deliberately positioned as an analytical-methodological tool, not as a substitute for Sharia values. The epistemological contrast between Western psychological approaches—which tend to be secular and pragmatic—is deconstructed in this study by integrating normative Islamic values as the primary substance underpinning its indicators. Thus, Walsh's "belief systems" pillar is not interpreted within a secular Western framework but is inherently intertwined with the pillar of *'aqidah*, the manifestation of *tawakal*, and the goal of *sakinah* in Islamic marriage. This integration is necessary to produce an objective analytical tool while preserving the originality of the Islamic values of the research subjects in Seoul.

According to Froma Walsh, family resilience is not merely the ability to survive, but also the capacity to adapt and grow after a crisis.[14] Migrant families often face complex challenges that significantly impact their family resilience. The pressure arises from trying to balance the cultural values of their country of origin with the demands of a new environment that is quite different. In these circumstances, strong family resilience is essential, because without that foundation, language barriers, limited social access, and heavy workloads can trigger family conflicts.[15] It also serves as a psychosocial adaptation mechanism that not only protects families from economic pressures but also helps maintain the integrity of the family's structure, function, and meaning while living abroad.

Froma Walsh identifies three components that serve as the main pillars of family resilience. First, belief systems, which are the cornerstone of family resilience. This refers to a family's ability to view crises as challenges, as spirituality or religious values often serve as an emotional foundation. Second, organizational patterns, which are a key foundation of family resilience, help organize roles within the family, emphasizing flexibility in the division of roles and responsibilities within the household. Third, effective communication processes.[16] Openness in expressing emotions and collaboration in collective problem-solving are crucial for preventing psychological isolation while living abroad.

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[12]Indah Meitasari, Fentiny Nugroho, and Triyanti Anugrahini, 'Fostering Low-Income Family Resilience: Findings from Walsh Family Resilience Framework in Tapos Depok, Indonesia', *International Journal of Social Science Research and Review* 6, no. 6 (June 2023): 204–17, https://doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v6i6.1154.

[13]Dofa Ibrah Lil Insan and Ahsin Dinal Mustafa, 'Upaya Membentuk Keluarga Islami Dalam Keluarga Pekerja Migran Perspektif Sayyid Muhammad', *Sakina: Journal of Family Studies* 6, no. 3 (June 2022), https://doi.org/10.18860/jfs.v6i3.1964.

[14]Froma Walsh, *Strengthening Family Resilience*, 3rd ed. (Guilford Publications, 2015).

[15]Sri Pujiati, Parwitaningsih Parwitaningsih, Dwi Arief, and Fuji Nurul Laili, 'Membangun Kehidupan Pasca Migrasi: Sebuah Kajian tentang Ketahanan Keluarga dan Modal Sosial dalam Proses Strukturasi Sosial Purna Pekerja Migran di Desa Sende', *Sosioglobal: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Penelitian Sosiologi* 10, no. 1 (December 2025): 58–74, https://doi.org/10.24198/jsg.v10i1.67431.

[16]Walsh, *Strengthening Family Resilience*.

These three dimensions are not only relevant for understanding the internal dynamics of the family but can also be used to explain how the social environment surrounding the family contributes to the development of their resilience. In the context of migration, one source of external support that has the potential to strengthen these three dimensions is the religious diaspora community.

In line with Froma Walsh's theory, this community helps migrants cope with several challenges. First, shared meaning, where challenges such as the difficulty of finding halal food or work-related stress are no longer burdensome personal issues because they are faced collectively. Second, tangible support, where IKMI is able to provide a social safety net through financial assistance or housing when members face a crisis. Third, emotional regulation, whereby inclusive interactions within the community can prevent psychological isolation and safeguard the mental health of families.

These various forms of support demonstrate that diaspora communities not only serve as spaces for social interaction but also act as strategic resources in strengthening the resilience of migrant families. Thus, the existence of Muslim communities is not merely a complement to social life in Seoul but a vital instrument in preventing the risk of family dysfunction resulting from the pressures of acculturation.[17] These conceptual findings indicate that religious diaspora communities play a strategic role in building the adaptive capacity of migrant families. However, the specific mechanisms through which Muslim diaspora organizations contribute to the development of family resilience still require more in-depth study, particularly in the context of the Indonesian diaspora in South Korea, which possesses distinctive social and cultural characteristics.

The novelty of this study lies in its analysis of the role of the *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI) as a Muslim diaspora organization in building the resilience of Indonesian migrant families in South Korea. By combining the perspective of diaspora organizations with Froma Walsh's Family Resilience Framework, this study introduces the concept of the Muslim diaspora community as a substitute for the extended family—positioning IKMI not merely as a community forum, but as a strategic actor whose social, spiritual, and cultural support strengthens the adaptive capacity of migrant families facing life's challenges in their destination country.

Based on this, this study aims to analyze the role of IKMI Seoul in building the resilience of Indonesian Muslim migrant families based on Froma Walsh's Family Resilience Framework, particularly in the dimensions of family belief systems, organizational patterns, and communication processes. Furthermore, this study also explains the contribution of the social, spiritual, and cultural support provided by IKMI in strengthening the adaptive capacity of Indonesian Muslim migrant families in South Korea.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative case study design with a phenomenological approach to examine the role of the *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI) in strengthening the resilience of Indonesian migrant families in Seoul, South Korea.[18] IKMI is defined as a bounded case, while the phenomenological approach is used to explore the life experiences of migrant families, community leaders, and Indonesian students in the context of the

[17]Ahmad Ro'i Alfaza, Bambang Yuniarto, and Ahmad Sururi, 'Dampak Migrasi TKW Terhadap Pengasuhan Keluarga Di Indramayu: Peran Remitan Dalam Menyokong Kesejahteraan', *JURNAL PENDIDIKAN DAN ILMU SOSIAL (JUPENDIS)* 3, no. 1 (January 2025): 193–203, https://doi.org/10.54066/jupendis.v3i1.2861.

[18]Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*, 6th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2018).

diaspora.[19] The researcher served as a participant observer through involvement in the International Community Service Program (KKN) in Seoul beginning in September 2025. This involvement provided formal access to the field through institutional collaboration between the university and IKMI, thereby enabling continuous observation of community activities and organizational dynamics.

Participants were selected using purposive sampling. Informants consisted of IKMI officials, families of Indonesian migrants, and Indonesian students living in Seoul, South Korea. These three groups were selected to capture complementary perspectives on the structure of the diaspora community, the social support system, and the process of family resilience. The adequate number of informants was determined based on the achievement of data saturation.[20]

Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and digital ethnography (netnographic observation).[21] In-depth interviews were conducted in April 2026 to explore the participants' subjective experiences. Digital ethnography was conducted from September 2025 to April 2026 by systematically reviewing IKMI's official website and social media to analyze patterns of interaction, forms of social and spiritual support, and the community's response to the organization's programs. This triangulation strengthened the credibility of the data through cross-verification between offline and online sources.

The data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive model, which consists of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions/verification.[22] The coding process was guided by the Family Resilience Framework (Froma Walsh), focusing on three analytical dimensions: family belief systems, organizational patterns, and communication processes. This framework was used to interpret IKMI's contribution to strengthening the adaptive capacity of Indonesian migrant families in Seoul.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

The lives of migrant families in Seoul reflect their efforts to balance hopes, economic well-being, and the complex realities of sociocultural adaptation. Compounding this is their status as a minority, which often creates pressure to adapt as quickly as possible to a culture vastly different from that of their home countries. Korea's work culture and pace of life—known as "palli-palli culture"—emphasizes efficiency and speed in daily activities, which indirectly creates a dual psychological strain for migrant families. While they are expected to adapt to Korea's highly competitive professional environment, Muslim migrants also have spiritual needs that must be met. This conflict often leads to mental exhaustion due to high stress levels; in fact, South Korea has one of the highest suicide rates among OECD countries, a statistic often linked to its high-pressure work culture, making cultural adaptation a serious ongoing challenge for migrants[23]—though this pressure does not preclude the possibility of quickly finding work in the informal sector.

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[19]John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2018).

[20]Greg Guest, Arwen Bunce, and Laura Johnson, 'How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability', *Field Methods* 18, no. 1 (2006): 59–82, https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05279903.

[21]Robert V. Kozinets, *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2010).

[22]Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (SAGE Publications, 2013).

[23]'Number of Suicides in Korea Hits 13-Year High in 2024', *The Korea Times*, 25 September 2025, https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/southkorea/society/20250925/number-of-suicides-in-korea-hits-13-year-high-in-2024.

This stands in stark contrast to the phenomenon among local communities, where individuals are increasingly caught up in a trend of withdrawing from social interaction to avoid the pressure of societal expectations. However, Indonesian migrant families demonstrate a unique pattern of resilience: rather than withdrawing individually, they strengthen their sense of community. This resilience is built through active involvement in a community that shares common religious values. These efforts are further reinforced by the role of the *Ikatan Keluarga Muslim Indonesia* (IKMI), which provides collective psychosocial and spiritual support. This approach aligns with the need for a family resilience model that integrates individual, family, and community support to address the multidimensional challenges of life in Korea. Both students and professional workers experience this: the pressure to always be productive in their external environments often leads to physical and emotional exhaustion when they return home.[24] This situation is further exacerbated by the absence of family members, who would normally serve as support systems back in their hometowns. The absence of close relatives forces migrants to be self-reliant in every aspect of life, but this can also increase the risk of social isolation and cause psychological stress. This situation becomes a crucial starting point for Muslim families' belief systems as they navigate a potential identity crisis to avoid feeling marginalized.

Recognizing these challenges, migrant families do not merely passively endure but actively engage—for example, by seeking environments aligned with their religious values. These efforts can begin even before directly facing such crises in Seoul, by seeking out supportive communities. This aligns with the statement of an informant, a migrant student at Kookmin University:

> *"Before I came to Korea, I had already started looking for information about communities and environments that could support me, especially as a Muslim. And when I first arrived in Korea, I went to the Al-Falah Mosque; I found the atmosphere there to be a good fit and felt comfortable, so I eventually decided to join IKMI."*[25]

This statement demonstrates that the presence of communities such as IKMI can fulfill migrants' need for a strong sense of belonging.[26] The sense of belonging to a group can minimize social isolation and strengthen their resolve in the face of local cultural pressures. IKMI Korea was the first Indonesian Muslim organization established in South Korea in 1997; it is not merely a gathering place, but also a driving force behind the construction of places of worship, as outlined in IKMI Korea's overarching vision to serve as the central driving force of Islamic civilization in Seoul.[27] IKMI serves as a space for spiritual, social, and emotional support that strengthens family resilience through religious guidance, children's education, and solidarity among members, by transforming the Al-Falah Mosque into not just a place of worship, but also a center for fellowship and community activities.[28] As explained by one of IKMI's board members:

[24]Getar Hati, 'Child-Rearing Barriers and Social Support of Migrant Families: A Case Study of Indonesian Mothers Living in Seoul, South Korea', *Jurnal Ilmu Keluarga Dan Konsumen* 15, no. 2 (July 2022): 153–63, https://doi.org/10.24156/jikk.2022.15.2.153.

[25]Interview with an IKMI member, a migrant student at Kookmin University, April 2026.

[26]Avi Sharma, 'Migration, Identity, and Everyday Urbanism: Negotiating Space and Place in the City', *Journal of Urban History* 47, no. 4 (July 2021): 899–906, https://doi.org/10.1177/00961442211003024.

[27]'IKMI Korea – Masjid Indonesia Seoul'.

[28]Puspawati, Caturiani, Utami, Fadoli, Puteri, and Putri, 'The Resilience Families of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI)'.

> *"At that time, a PMI member had been in an accident and needed financial assistance. So we and the other congregation members tried to help by raising money through a fundraiser. And if, for example, someone needs help with housing or other needs, we also help them find [it]."*[29]

With the high cost of living and healthcare, migrant families often find themselves in a financially vulnerable position. These findings suggest that IKMI serves as a vital support mechanism.

In addition to providing emergency relief, IKMI also strives to build long-term, systemic support structures for resilience. One innovative strategy initiated by the community is the "Kampung Al-Falah" program, which aims to create a welcoming and supportive living environment for fellow Muslims amid the challenges of social isolation in Seoul. As explained by another of IKMI's board members:

> *"One of the programs currently underway is the development of the Al-Falah community. So we bring together members of the congregation who are looking for a place to live, and we help them find housing near the mosque. That way, the guidance and outreach efforts can be more intensive, and by fostering a sense of community among the migrant families there, we can help them feel more at home and supported."*[30]

This program represents the community's effort to transform geographical proximity into emotional closeness, so that migrant families no longer feel isolated but instead have an ecosystem that sustainably supports their family resilience.

Discussion

From a sociological perspective on the family, family resilience is not viewed as a static condition, but rather as a dynamic process shaped through the negotiation of roles, gender relations, and economic strategies in everyday life.[31] For the Muslim diaspora in South Korea, family resilience is not limited to the ability to survive, but also includes the capacity to adapt and continue to grow after facing a crisis of acculturation.[32] Migrant families often face complex challenges that significantly impact family resilience. The pressure arises from trying to balance the cultural values of their country of origin with the demands of a new environment that is quite different. In these circumstances, strong family resilience is essential, because without that foundation, language barriers, limited social access, and heavy workloads can trigger family conflicts.[33] It also serves as a psychosocial coping mechanism that not only protects families from economic pressures but also helps maintain the integrity of the family's structure, function, and meaning while they are in Seoul.

To cope with the crisis they are facing, families must have supportive resources, one of which is social support.[34] As a foundation for maintaining family resilience, Froma Walsh has identified three components that serve as the main pillars—both internal and external sources of family resilience—namely: belief systems, organizational patterns, and communication processes. First, belief systems essentially serve as the foundational basis for determining the direction of resilience. Families that are able to view crises while living

[29]Interview with an IKMI board member, April 2026.

[30]Interview with an IKMI board member, April 2026.

[31]Pujiati, Parwitaningsih, Arief, and Laili, 'Membangun Kehidupan Pasca Migrasi'.

[32]Hyuk Im, Ki Young Lee, and Hyo Young Lee, 'Acculturation Stress and Mental Health Among the Marriage Migrant Women in Busan, South Korea', *Community Mental Health Journal* 50, no. 4 (May 2014): 497–503, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10597-013-9663-x.

[33]Pujiati, Parwitaningsih, Arief, and Laili, 'Membangun Kehidupan Pasca Migrasi'.

[34]Rezkiyah Rosyidah, Jayaning Sila Astuti, and Dinda Mareta Dellavia Michelino, 'Peran Dukungan Keluarga Terhadap Resiliensi Keluarga Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (TKI) Di Bangkalan', *Jurnal Psikologi Teori Dan Terapan* 14, no. 1 (February 2023): 23–31, https://doi.org/10.26740/jptt.v14n1.p23-31.

abroad as surmountable obstacles tend to have a high level of confidence. This is because spiritual and religious values act as an emotional foundation that helps them cope with problems.[35] This is where we find both a convergence and a resolution of the theoretical tension between Western perspectives and Islamic family law. When Froma Walsh defines belief systems pragmatically as psychological tools (coping mechanisms) for reducing stress,[36] this study links that framing to the use of Islamic values as its primary foundation. The dimension of transcendence in Walsh's theory is fundamentally complemented by the element of aqidah (faith), which leads migrant families in Seoul to believe that the acculturation crisis is not merely a coincidence, but a measurable test of faith (ibtilā').[37]

Also, the ability to frame problems positively (finding meaning in difficulties) is encouraged by the teaching of tawakal. This attitude of tawakal is not a passive one, but rather a driving force for optimism rooted in theological conviction. From the perspective of Islamic Family Law, the sense of calm experienced by the informants is a tangible manifestation of achieving inner peace, or Sakinah. In the view of Muslim families, sakinah symbolizes a harmonious household where partners complement one another to achieve well-being—which encompasses a sense of security and mutual respect, forming the foundation of family resilience. Spirituality within the community is not merely a matter of rituals or routines but serves as a means of emotional release. The belief that with every difficulty there is ease, as Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala states in Asy-Syarḥ [94]:5: "Indeed, with hardship comes ease," has been internalized to such an extent that the problems faced are no longer viewed as failures but rather as tests that strengthen faith.

Based on this, the internalization of this Quranic verse becomes a spiritual resource that provides a "framework of meaning," as conceptualized by Walsh, in which the suffering of living abroad is transformed into comfort and hope rooted in faith.[38] Through studies at IKMI, the values of mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf are continually emphasized, so that marital conflicts arising from the pressures of life in Korea can be minimized through patience and other values rooted in faith. Through this framework of interpretation, the existence of Islamic marriage is no longer viewed merely in terms of formal legal validity, but rather in terms of how horizontal interactions between husband and wife are maintained to achieve the true purpose of marriage: a family that is sakinah.[39] As such, the fusion of Western structural frameworks and Islamic values was successfully deconstructed in a harmonious manner: Walsh's concept provided the conceptual framework, while the aspects of aqidah and tawakal served as the driving force behind the resilience of these migrant families in Seoul. Second, family resilience also depends on organizational patterns; flexibility in the division of roles and responsibilities becomes crucial when families lose direct access to the support systems available in their places of origin. A family's ability to persevere ensures the fulfillment of family members' roles and economic stability in the face of external pressures.

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[35]Burhan Nudin, Fuat Hasanudin, and Muhammad Iqbal, *Resiliensi Keluarga Islami Masyarakat Ekonomi Bawah Saat Masa Pandemi Covid-19 Di Purworejo*, in *Ketahanan Keluarga Islami Dalam Multi Perspektif* (2021), www.aswajapressindo.co.id.

[36]Froma Walsh, 'Family Resilience: A Framework for Clinical Practice', *Family Process* 42, no. 1 (March 2003): 1–18, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2003.00001.x.

[37]Sri Wahyuni, 'Hukum Keluarga Islam Dalam Masyarakat Muslim Diaspora Di Barat (Perspektif Hukum Perdata Internasional)', *Al-Mazaahib: Jurnal Perbandingan Hukum* 2, no. 2 (December 2014), https://doi.org/10.14421/al-mazaahib.v2i2.1372.

[38]Froma Walsh, *Spiritual Resources in Family Therapy* (Guilford Press, 2008), 3–5.

[39]Desy Indah Fitriani and Kholid Saifulloh, 'Konsep Keluarga Sakinah Dalam Islam Dan Implementasinya Dalam Kehidupan Rumah Tangga Muslim Perspektif Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas', *JURISY: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 5, no. 2 (September 2025): 100–119, https://ejurnal.inhafi.ac.id/index.php/jurisy/article/view/724.

However, these patterns refer not only to household structure but also to how families are able to access social and economic support from their surrounding community.[40]

For migrant families in Seoul, IKMI serves as a helpful external support system. According to an interview with one of IKMI's board members, the migrant population in Seoul is predominantly made up of students and office workers; therefore, the organization has adopted a semi-autonomous model tailored to the needs of these migrants, namely: Rumah Muslimah Indonesia (RUMAISA), which focuses on activities for homemakers and families; the Indonesian Muslim Students Society in Korea (IMUSKA) for students; and the Center of Islamic Studies Seoul (CISS) for foreign residents in Korea—all of which demonstrate a well-organized division of roles.[41] In the family context, social adaptation often places significant pressure on migrants. This division of roles is highly beneficial, as organizations like RUMAISA can help reconstruct family dynamics. When a wife experiences parenting stress due to social isolation and the burden of raising children without support from extended family, interacting with fellow mothers at RUMAISA can provide tangible emotional support. The challenges faced by migrants in Seoul extend beyond cultural adaptation to include financial stability amid a high cost of living. Being far from their extended families—who would typically provide support during economic hardships back in Indonesia—makes vulnerability to economic hardship a real threat to migrant families. It is in situations like these that IKMI provides assistance in the form of both emotional and material support.

In Korean society, which tends to be individualistic and has a very fast-paced work rhythm, social isolation poses a serious threat to the mental health of migrant families. Therefore, one effective approach is to bring migrant families together within a single community, thereby creating an atmosphere akin to that of an extended family. Having neighbors who share the same cultural background and beliefs facilitates mutual support, allowing the burden of problems to be shared rather than borne alone. The strength of this organizational model is enhanced by the third pillar of Froma Walsh's theory: the communication process. The success of a family's psychological adaptation is also determined by effective communication processes. Openness in honestly expressing emotions can mitigate the risk of psychological isolation often experienced by migrant families. Effective communication not only serves to find solutions but also strengthens emotional bonds within the family.[42]

The existence of the "Kampung Al-Falah" program is not, in theory, intended as a form of social exclusion (ghettoization) or an attempt to isolate itself from Seoul's local community. From the perspective of Froma Walsh's theory of family resilience, this collective living environment actually serves as a secure base and a source of psychosocial and spiritual renewal for migrant families.[43] Life in South Korea as a minority, amid intense "palli-palli" cultural pressures, puts migrants at risk of constant acculturation stress. With a supportive ecosystem in their local communities, migrant families gain the space to normalize these pressures, regulate their emotions, and fulfill their spiritual needs without distortion.[44] The strong internal resilience and psychological stability gained from this community actually serve as the foundation (psychological bandwidth) for family members

[40]Nudin, Hasanudin, and Iqbal, *Resiliensi Keluarga Islami Masyarakat Ekonomi Bawah Saat Masa Pandemi Covid-19 Di Purworejo*.

[41]Interview with an IKMI board member, April 2026.

[42]Eunike Apostelina, 'Resiliensi Keluarga Pada Keluarga Yang Memiliki Anak Autis', *Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengukuran Psikologi: JPPP* 1, no. 1 (2012): 164–76, https://doi.org/10.21009/JPPP.011.22.

[43]Tutik Sulistyowati and Vina Salviana Darvina Soedarwo, 'Resiliensi Keluarga Pekerja Migran Dalam Long Distance Relationship: Perspektif Sosiologi Keluarga', *Jurnal Psikohumanika* 17, no. 2 (December 2025): 73–87, https://doi.org/10.31001/j.psi.v17i2.2428.

[44]Rachmah and Jahroni, 'Dinamika Keislaman di Korea Selatan'.

to interact and communicate in a more adaptive, healthy, and confident manner with the local Korean community, both in professional settings and in everyday public spaces.

In a high-pressure migrant environment, open communication and the availability of spaces to share experiences are key to preventing families from experiencing psychological isolation. In this regard, migrant families actively utilize inclusive interaction platforms designed for all members of migrant families. This is evident in the design of existing activities, such as Muslim women's religious study groups (taklim Muslimah), which continue to accommodate the presence of children, allowing mothers to access spiritual and social support without having to neglect their parenting roles. Through activities that involve children, parents indirectly transmit Indonesian religious and cultural values in a relaxed and supportive atmosphere. This inclusive communication model also serves as a means for members to share solutions to the challenges of living in Korea, so that the psychological stress they experience does not become an individual burden but rather a problem that can be solved together. The inclusive communication fostered within the IKMI community helps children understand their position as Muslims within the dominant Korean culture. This can prevent a communication gap from arising between parents who firmly hold onto their religious values and children who are beginning to assimilate. Thus, the resilience built is not merely situational for the present but also forward-looking, ensuring the continuity of the family's religious identity in the future.

Overall, these findings indicate that communities like IKMI function as an ecosystem of resilience that replaces the role of the extended family for migrants in Korea. Although IKMI's role is highly significant, the resilience of migrant families in Seoul still faces ongoing challenges. Closer collaboration is needed between Muslim community organizations such as IKMI and family law institutions in Indonesia to provide remote counseling services grounded in Islamic family law values. Additionally, legal literacy for migrant families regarding their rights in South Korea must be strengthened.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the resilience of Muslim migrant nuclear families living together in Seoul is a dynamic process that does not exist in isolation but is rather the result of systemic interactions between individuals and their supportive environment. IKMI has proven to play a vital role as an extended family substitute that mediates the pressures of acculturation in South Korea by filling gaps in the social support system. Through Froma Walsh's framework, this study confirms that the effectiveness of religious organizations in building migrant family resilience lies in the integration of three pillars: strengthening belief systems through spiritual values, organizational flexibility in providing socioeconomic safety nets (such as RUMAISA and Kampung Al-Falah), and the facilitation of inclusive communication processes that mitigate psychological isolation and facilitate the intergenerational transmission of values.

The main contribution of this study lies in the expansion of the application of Walsh's family resilience theory within the context of the Muslim diaspora in Muslim-minority countries. Unlike previous studies, which were more sociological and economic in nature, this research offers a new perspective: that religious organizations can serve as legal and social instruments that preserve the integrity of the family unit from dysfunction caused by cultural clashes. These findings confirm that the sustainability of migrant family resilience depends not only on individual adaptive capacity but also on the presence of community-based organizations capable of integrating spiritual needs with the pragmatic demands of social adaptation. These findings are expected to serve as an important reference for practitioners of Islamic family law and diaspora community activists in developing more structured support programs for migrant families—programs grounded in

strengthening social-religious capital—so that Muslim families abroad are not only able to survive but also to thrive in challenging environments.

These findings should be read in light of certain limitations. As a single-case study centered on IKMI Seoul, the conclusions cannot be generalized to other Indonesian Muslim diaspora organizations operating under different host-country conditions or organizational structures. The reliance on a modest number of informants and the researcher's own positioning as a participant observer within the community may also shape the interpretive lens applied to the findings. Future research would benefit from comparative studies across multiple diaspora organizations and destination countries to test the transferability of the extended-family-substitute concept proposed here.

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