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Raising Children in Times of Change: Parenting and Resilience in an Industrializing Coastal Community

Maslakhatul Ainiyah¹, Auditya Purwandini Sutarto², Nailul Izzah³,
Mohammad Ririn Rosyidi⁴ & Rista Bintarawita Megasari⁵

Department of English Education, Universitas Qomaruddin¹

Department of Industrial Engineering, Universitas Qomaruddin^{2,3,4}

Institut Agama Islam Daruttaqwa Gresik⁵

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Abstract. Coastal communities in Indonesia are undergoing rapid transformation due to industrial expansion; however, little is known about how families adapt to such disruptions. This study aimed to examine parenting practices and family resilience in Mengare, Gresik, East Java, amid environmental decline and exclusion from industrial employment following the development of the Java Integrated Industrial and Port Estate (JIPE). Using a qualitative study design, data was collected through in-depth interviews with 14 parents and community members and one focus group discussion with six teachers, village officials, and religious leaders. Thematic analysis, guided by Walsh's family resilience framework and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, revealed six themes: economic strain and adaptive livelihoods; parenting and family resilience processes; education and skills gap; spirituality as a coping and meaning-making resource; social cohesion and community bonds; and future concerns and uncertainty. Families displayed resilience by reorganizing their roles, relying on communal spirituality, and maintaining social cohesion. However, dual pressures constrained these processes: ecological degradation reduced fishing and pond yields, and industrial exclusion limited access to new employment. Parenting norms emphasized harmony and emotional closeness but provided limited developmental support, while spirituality sustained vertical resilience without equipping families to adapt horizontally to labor-market demands. The findings indicate that family resilience in Mengare is present but bounded, anchored in endurance rather than transformation. The implications include the need for integrated policies and community programs that bridge school–industry gaps, strengthen soft skills, and promote collaborative efforts among families, schools, and local institutions to build adaptive resilience amid industrial change.

Keywords: Coastal communities; ecological system theory; family resilience; industrialization; parenting practices

INTRODUCTION

Rapid industrial growth is reshaping the physical environment and social rhythms of everyday life (Cabana et al., 2024; Gusti, 2024; Pasquali & Marucci, 2021). As ports, factories, and special economic zones rise along shorelines once dominated by fishing boats and fishponds, families are experiencing profound disruptions. Such situations affect how families earn a living,

*Corresponding author: maslakhatulainiyah01@gmail.com

raise children, connect with their communities, and sustain cultural and spiritual traditions (Hu et al., 2023; Kriegl et al., 2022; Rohma, 2018). Behind the national development and economic progress narrative, families quietly face the challenge of staying resilient as industrial change reshapes their lives.

The family remains the primary social unit that sustains children's development, especially during periods of disruption (Kjørholt et al., 2023; M. et al., 2021). Research shows that socioeconomic transformations, such as industrialization, significantly affect family structures, parenting roles, and the resources available to foster resilience (Kjørholt et al., 2023). These challenges are exacerbated in coastal areas due to their ecological vulnerability, limited social support, and dependence on traditional economies (Kjørholt et al., 2023; Nath et al., 2021; Sowman & Raemaekers, 2018).

Previous research has examined industrialization and coastal families, showing that large-scale development projects trigger ecological and economic transformations that alter community livelihoods and cultural practices (Dhoraiffha, 2017; Radulovikj & Stojchevska, 2024). In Gresik, East Java, this transformation has been driven by the Java Integrated Industrial and Port Estate (JIPE), which was designated as a Special Economic Zone in 2021 (Gusti, 2024; Rohma, 2018). JIPE is Indonesia's first fully integrated industrial zone, combining manufacturing, seaport, and residential functions, and has rapidly attracted investment and created jobs. Although the zone promises long-term economic growth, it has disrupted traditional fishing and pond livelihoods in the surrounding coastal villages, creating tension between industrial development and family adaptation (Bappeda, 2024; Carina et al., 2022; Gusti, 2024; Rohma, 2018). Scholars emphasize the importance of recovery models that rely on local culture and community participation in facing industrial transitions (Chen et al., 2020; Hu et al., 2023). However, these studies primarily emphasize macro-level changes, while internal family dynamics and resilience remain underexplored.

Psychosocial–spiritual interventions have also been studied, particularly among parents of children with disabilities or chronic illnesses (Bagereka et al., 2023; Brelsford et al., 2024; Chua & Shorey, 2022; Gur & Reich, 2025). These studies consistently demonstrate that spirituality and meaning-making processes strengthen emotional regulation and family cohesion, key components of resilience (Sumaiya et al., 2025). However, such applications have largely remained within clinical or therapeutic contexts rather than being extended to families experiencing structural disruptions, such as those caused by industrialization and environmental change. Highlighting these studies helps identify an important conceptual gap: while the psychosocial–spiritual dimension of family resilience is well established in medical settings, its relevance to coastal families adapting to socioeconomic and ecological transformations remains underexplored.

In contrast, research on parenting in coastal communities provides further insights. Studies in South India and Indonesia have reported that fisher families often face developmental risks, poor academic performance, and experiences of physical abuse shaped by economic hardship (Ab et al., 2024; Ainiyah et al., 2024; M. et al., 2021). In Sinjai, for example, parents combine religious teachings with traditional practices to maintain household order (Ab et al., 2024). Other studies have focused on the impact of digitalization on parenting or the role of local wisdom and cultural values in sustaining children's character (Bayu & Rahmadina, 2020; Cabana et al., 2024; Defina et al., 2023; Yusran, 2023; Zaenurrosyid et al., 2024). While these findings highlight the importance of communal norms and religiosity, they have not yet detailed how industrialization influences parenting patterns or family resilience. In particular, participatory approaches that integrate spirituality, local wisdom, and psychosocial support are scarce.

Walsh's family resilience framework offers a valuable perspective to address this gap

(Walsh, 2003, 2021). This framework conceptualizes resilience not as an individual trait but as a dynamic process embedded within family systems (Walsh, 2016). This perspective emphasizes how families use their strengths to cope with adversity, adjust their roles, and foster growth, even under challenging circumstances. Walsh identifies three core domains: (1) belief systems, which support meaning-making, hope, and coherence (e.g., spirituality, shared values); (2) organizational patterns, which involve flexibility, connectedness, and resource mobilization; and (3) communication and problem-solving processes, which emphasize clarity, emotional openness, and collaborative decision-making. In coastal communities such as Mengare, Gresik, this framework may help illuminate how psychospiritual practices, such as prayers, Qur'an recitation, and communal rituals, function as belief systems that offer comfort and coherence during environmental and economic uncertainty (Sumaiya et al., 2025). Simultaneously, organizational patterns are reflected in how families adapt their internal roles; for example, mothers take on new income-generating responsibilities, while children assist with household tasks and rely on relatives and community ties for support. Communication and problem-solving processes are evident in how parents emphasize harmony and avoid conflict, often relying on indirect advice rather than explicit rules or expectations (Najiyyah et al., 2024). While these strategies help preserve emotional closeness, they may also limit the development of autonomy and future preparedness among older adults. Thus, Walsh's framework helps explain how family resilience in coastal communities is sustained through belief and cohesion, but also bounded by how families organize and communicate in the face of industrial disruption.

Moreover, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory explains human development through nested systems ranging from immediate family to larger sociocultural and historical contexts (Antony, 2022; Piel et al., 2017). The model comprises the microsystem (family, peers, school), mesosystem (interactions across microsystems, such as parent-school relationships), exo-system (institutions that indirectly affect families, such as parental workplaces and industrial policies), macrosystem (broader cultural, religious, and economic values), and chronosystem (time dimension, including life transitions and socio-historical changes) (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). These layers interact dynamically to shape the system's development and resilience.

Accordingly, in this study, Bronfenbrenner's theory provides the rationale for situating family resilience processes within the broader context of industrialization in Gresik. While Walsh explains how families mobilize resilience internally, Bronfenbrenner emphasizes how these efforts are constrained or supported by exosystemic pressures (e.g., factory employment opportunities), macrosystemic cultural values (e.g., resistance to migration, reliance on religiosity), and chronosystemic disruptions (e.g., the long-term impact of industrial projects). Integrating Bronfenbrenner's and Walsh's frameworks allows for a comprehensive evaluation of psychospiritual resilience as a family-level process and an ecologically situated response to industrial change.

Despite the growing body of research, important gaps remain. Few studies have examined how industrialization influences parenting practices and family resilience in coastal regions of Indonesia. While psychosocial-spiritual support has been explored in families facing illness or disability, little is known about its role in communities dealing with broader economic and environmental disruptions. Moreover, research on parenting in coastal contexts has not fully addressed the interactions among communal norms, spirituality, and adaptive competence in preparing children for an industrialized future.

Building on these gaps, this study explores how coastal families in Gresik navigate parenting and family resilience during industrial transformation. Guided by Walsh's family resilience framework and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, this study conceptualizes family resilience as a psychospiritual and ecological process that operates across multiple levels, from individual belief

systems and family interactions to broader community, institutional, and environmental contexts. Unlike prior research that emphasizes macro-level economic or environmental impacts, this study highlights micro-level family resilience processes and psychospiritual coping within coastal communities in Indonesia. By integrating these frameworks, this study aims to reveal how internal family strengths (such as spirituality, communication, and role reorganization) interact with external ecological systems (such as education, labor, and industrial change) to shape adaptive and bounded forms of resilience. This study demonstrates how spirituality and communal cohesion sustain stability, yet may be insufficient for fostering adaptive skills in the face of ecological and industrial disruption.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative, exploratory design with thematic analysis to capture the lived experiences of families in coastal communities undergoing rapid industrial transformation. A qualitative approach was chosen to explore parenting practices, family resilience processes, and the role of spirituality within a specific sociocultural and ecological context. The study design was guided by Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and Walsh's family resilience framework to examine family resilience as a systemic and psychospiritual process.

The study was conducted in Pesisir Mengare, comprising three coastal villages, Watuagung, Kramat, and Tajungwidoro, located in Bungah District, Gresik Regency, East Java. Since 2013, these communities have been directly affected by the Java Integrated Industrial and Port Estate (JIPE) development, a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) that has altered local livelihoods and intensified socioeconomic pressures. While JIPE promises economic growth, families in these coastal villages continue to experience disruption to traditional fishing-based livelihoods, contributing to uncertainty and new parenting challenges for women.

Participants were selected using purposive sampling to ensure representation from all three villages in the study. Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted with parents from fishermen households (four or five from each village, including fishermen and their spouses). Recruitment continued until thematic saturation was reached, while ensuring balance across villages. To capture perspectives beyond individual households, a focus group discussion (FGD) was held with six key stakeholders: two village authorities, one school teacher, two parents, and one religious leader. All participants were briefed on the research objectives and provided written informed consent before participation.

Semi-structured interviews and one stakeholder focus group discussion (FGD) were conducted between August 1 and September 5, 2025. The interviews sought to explore families' lived experiences of industrial transformation, parenting practices, and resilience processes, whereas the FGD aimed to capture community-level perspectives and institutional viewpoints. In total, 14 individual interviews and one FGD with six participants were conducted. The interview sessions lasted 30-60 minutes, and the FGD lasted approximately 90 minutes. All sessions were audio-recorded with the participants' consent and later transcribed verbatim for analysis.

The first domain focused on socioeconomic changes following industrialization, with questions such as, "Before the industrial zone was established, what was your family's livelihood, and how has it changed?" The second domain addressed family resilience processes and parenting, with prompts such as "When your child misbehaves, how do you usually respond—by advising, punishing, or other ways?" and "What rules are applied at home for study, play, or household chores?" The third domain explored resilience and coping strategies, for example, "When there are

problems in the family, to whom do you usually turn for support?" The fourth domain investigated spiritual coping and local wisdom, with questions such as "When feeling stressed or sad, what religious or communal practices help you find strength?" and "Do you participate in activities such as prayer groups, *pengajian*, or *tahlilan*?"

The FGD was structured around similar themes but tailored to the participants' roles in the community. For instance, village leaders were asked about changes in social cohesion, teachers reflected on students' academic and behavioral shifts, and religious leaders discussed the role of faith and tradition in sustaining family resilience. The FGD also explored community-level support mechanisms and the participants' expectations of external assistance. Interviews lasted 30–60 minutes, while the FGD ran for approximately 90 minutes. All sessions were audio-recorded with permission and transcribed verbatim for subsequent analysis.

The interview guide was designed to capture both the psychosocial–spiritual and ecological dimensions of family resilience, as conceptualized in Walsh's (2016) family resilience framework and Bronfenbrenner's (2005) ecological systems theory. Deductive codes, such as changing family roles, adaptability, and shared family activities, were operationalized through questions such as: "How have roles within your family changed since industrial development began?"; "When challenges arise, how does your family adapt or share responsibilities?"; "What activities do you do together to maintain closeness or overcome difficulties?"

These questions were intended to elicit narratives that reflect belief systems, organizational patterns, and communication processes (Walsh, 2016), while situating them within broader ecological contexts such as work, education, and community life (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). This theoretical alignment ensured that the coding structure was grounded in both deductive (theory-driven) and inductive (data-driven) insights drawn from the participants' lived experiences. All participants were informed of the study's objectives, procedures, and confidentiality measures before providing written informed consent. This study adhered to the principles of the Declaration of Helsinki on research involving human subjects and received approval from the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas Aisyiyah Yogyakarta (No. 4746/KEP-UNISA/VIII/2025).

Data analysis followed Braun and Clarke's six-step approach to thematic analysis, which involves familiarization, generating codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2021). NVivo 14 assisted with data management, coding, and retrieval, enabling systematic organization of transcripts and enhancing transparency in the analytic process. A hybrid coding strategy was used. Deductive codes were guided by Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (micro, meso, exo, macro, chrono) and Walsh's family resilience framework (belief systems, organizational patterns, communication/problem-solving), with Baumrind's parenting style typology used to contextualize disciplinary practices. Simultaneously, inductive codes were generated from the data to capture context-specific issues, such as unsuccessful factory recruitment attempts or reluctance to migrate. Quotations from participants are reported by occupation or role (e.g., Fisherman, Teacher, Village Head). For the individual interviews, each participant was assigned a numeric code (e.g., Fisherman 02). For the FGD participants, role descriptions were used without numbering.

Several strategies were implemented to ensure trustworthiness. Triangulation was achieved by comparing interview and FGD data across the different participant groups. Member checking was conducted by sharing the summary findings with selected participants to verify their accuracy and resonance. Reflexivity was maintained through field notes and regular discussions among the research team to examine potential biases. These strategies enhanced the credibility, transferability, and dependability of our findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Characteristics of Participants

Table 1 presents the sociodemographic characteristics of the 14 interview participants. The majority were male (71.4%) and worked as fishermen (71.4%), while women were mostly housewives or engaged in small-scale economic activities, such as guarding ponds or petty trade (14.3%). The mean age of the participants was 48.7 years (SD = 8.63). Educational attainment was generally low, with most having completed elementary school (64.3%), while a smaller proportion had not completed formal education (21.4%). Two participants had completed high school education. Family size was moderate, with 57.1% and 42.9% of the respondents reporting one to two and three to five children, respectively. Importantly, all households reported monthly incomes of less than IDR 3 million, which is significantly lower than the Upah Minimum Kabupaten (UMK) in Gresik. This income underscores their precarious position relative to local labor standards in the Philippines.

Table 1.

Sociodemographic characteristics of interview participants (N = 14)

Variable	Category	frequency or mean	% or standard deviation
Gender	Male	10	71.4%
	Female	3	21.4%
Occupation	Fisherman	10	71.4%
	Homemakers	2	14.3%
	Other occupations (pond workers, petty traders)	2	14.3%
Age (years)		48.7	8.63
Education	No or incomplete formal education	3	21.4%
	elementary	9	64.3%
	high school	2	14.3%
Number of Children	1-2	8	57.1%
	3-5	6	42.9%

In addition to the individual interviews, one focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted with six community representatives. The participants were purposively selected to capture diverse perspectives from local leadership, family, and educational contexts. Table 2 summarizes the sociodemographic characteristics of the participants.

Table 2.

Sociodemographic characteristics of FGD participants (N = 6)

ID	Age	Gender	Role
FGD01	51	Male	Village Head
FGD02	30	Male	Village Official
FGD03	38	Female	Parent
FGD04	30	Male	Parent
FGD05	58	Male	Teacher
FGD06	57	Male	Religious Leader

The group consisted predominantly of men aged 30 to 58 years and included a village head, a sub-village head, a religious leader, a teacher, and parents. This composition ensured that both formal and informal community roles were represented in the discussion, enriching the analysis with multi-voicing insights.

Six Identified Themes

The first theme is economic strain and adaptive livelihoods. Coastal families in Mengare are experiencing significant economic strain due to the decline in traditional livelihoods, such as fishing and aquaculture. Many households reported that their income has dropped considerably, with most earning less than IDR 3 million per month, below the Upah Minimum Kabupaten (UMK) Gresik, underscoring the severity of their economic vulnerability. This decline is primarily attributed to environmental degradation and changes resulting from industrial expansion, particularly the development of the JIPE. A religious leader captured this contrast vividly:

"Indeed, before JIPE existed, no one from Mengare worked in factories, he said. It was easy to earn money. In the past, for example, early in the morning, if you went to the fishponds, you could easily get 200,000 to 300,000 rupiah. Catching crabs and fish was straightforward. In fact, when children of Mengare people worked in factories, they seemed like outsiders." (FGD, Religious Leader)

However, the current reality paints a much bleaker picture. According to the village head:

"Before the JIPE reclamation, fishpond farmers and fishermen were generally successful. Currently, a single fishing trip brings in only about Rp50,000, which is further reduced by fuel and cigarette costs. In the past, fishermen and farmers could go out at night and earn Rp400,000–500,000 each day by morning. Since the establishment of JIPE, fishpond income has declined drastically. Previously, farmers did not need to feed milkfish or shrimp; everything grew naturally. Now they must purchase feed and fertilizer, yet the yields remain minimal." (FGD01, Head Village)

The environmental impact has also altered the natural balance of aquaculture, as noted by one of the fishermen:

"Usually, fish can be harvested for six months, but now even at seven months they are not ready. Then, because of land reclamation, there was much more dust. The pond water is no longer good—it looks like rice-washing water and is murky. That is why finding work has become increasingly difficult." (Interview, Fisherman 9)

With limited options, some families have adapted by pursuing small-scale livelihoods, such as drying shrimp or selling condiments. Nevertheless, opportunities at nearby factories remain largely inaccessible due to a persistent skills mismatch, even for those who have completed certified training programs.

From a theoretical standpoint, this situation illustrates Bronfenbrenner's exo-system, where macro-level structural forces, such as industrial policies and environmental degradation, shape micro-level family experiences (Kjørholt et al., 2023; Pasquali & Marucci, 2021). Families respond through organizational patterns of resilience (Walsh, 2016), reallocating roles as wives and children contribute to the economy. Nonetheless, these strategies remain reactive rather than transformative, representing short-term coping rather than sustained adaptation. Similar patterns have been observed in Peruvian and Chinese coastal communities, where industrial growth has forced livelihood reorganization but rarely translated into upward mobility (Hu et al., 2023; Kriegl

et al., 2022).

Thus, the Mengare case reinforces that family resilience under industrial pressure is bounded by structural exclusion: families show creativity and cooperation but lack the institutional pathways to transform adversity into opportunity. This theme extends Walsh's notion of organizational resilience by situating it within Indonesia's industrializing coastal exo-system, demonstrating how local endurance is maintained through family reorganization while constrained by limited access to external resources.

The second theme is parenting and family resilience process. Parenting practices in the coastal community of Mengare are shaped mainly by communal norms and religious routines rather than by explicit family rules or structured expectations. Parents tend to rely on harmony and advice rather than discipline or regulation. As one father remarked:

"There are no strict rules for children. They are free, as long as it does not cause problems"
(Interview, Fisherman 2)

This view reflects a permissive and non-confrontational approach that values peace over performance. Simultaneously, daily routines grounded in religious life are firmly maintained. Another parent explained,

"Yes. When it is time to rest, they rest; when it is time to study, they study... They must not skip [Qur'an lessons]" (Interview, Fisherman 1)

This statement shows how parental involvement focuses more on reinforcing shared community obligations, especially religious practices, than on fostering individual achievement or future-oriented ambition.

However, this seemingly permissive style coexists with subtle forms of control, rooted in economic scarcity. Parents often restrict children's behaviors not through rules but through cautionary comments linked to resource limitations. A religious leader described this dynamic as follows:

"Parents in Mengare are generally overprotective... 'Do not scribble on the wall, the paint is expensive.'" (FGD, Religious Leader).

Although not harsh, such messages can instill fear or hesitancy in children. Indeed, village officials noted the following concerning developmental outcomes:

"Children here often feel inferior... not brave enough to show themselves... they are scolded... children become fearful." (FGD, Village Official).

Inductively, these patterns reflect a permissive-indulgent parenting style, as characterized by Baumrind, but adapted to a communal rather than an individualistic context (Putri et al., 2024). Deductively, the data illustrate Walsh's communication and problem-solving domain: families maintain low-conflict interactions and emotional closeness but avoid setting high standards or promoting assertiveness (Walsh, 2016). Within Bronfenbrenner's microsystem, parenting is driven more by alignment with communal religious expectations than by the pursuit of personal competence or autonomy (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

These findings resonate with Antony's (2022) argument that resilience is cultivated in the microsystem through reciprocal relationships between children and caregivers. While parents in Mengare sustain warmth and cultural continuity, their practices contrast with evidence that

family resilience can be strengthened through secure attachments and structured, parent-focused interventions. Antony (2022) emphasized that such approaches buffer children from adversity and equip them with adaptive skills to navigate changing contexts.

This pattern is consistent with broader findings in rural contexts, where communal authority, especially religious and elder influences, often replaces direct parental control (Pusztai et al., 2024). While this sustains social cohesion and reduces overt conflict, it may constrain the development of adaptive skills, such as critical thinking, independence, and confidence—increasingly vital competencies in a post-industrial labor market (Indrašienė et al., 2023).

Overall, these patterns suggest that family resilience among the Mengare emphasizes emotional harmony over developmental challenges. This finding extends Walsh's framework by showing how cultural expectations of obedience and piety can sustain psychosocial stability while simultaneously limiting adaptive competence in the context of industrial change.

The third theme is education and skill gaps. Despite regular school attendance and strong religious discipline, children in Mengare exhibit limited academic progress and lack the soft skills necessary for integration into the industrial labor market. Most families reported that their children's academic performance stagnated or declined. Skills were heavily focused on religious practices, such as Qur'an memorization and prayer routines, while competencies in communication, empathy, initiative, and foreign language proficiency remained weak. Teachers continued to rely on conventional teaching methods, and the training programs available to students were often generic, failing to address the specific needs of industrial employers in the region.

This gap between educational output and labor market demand prompts some families to seek better alternatives outside the village. One teacher noted:

"But now, many children go to school outside Mengare, either by attending Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren) or commuting daily. Many children study in Bungah and some in the Manyar areas (both are district towns). The reason is so their children can have better opportunities to progress." (FGD, Teacher)

However, these efforts often emphasize religious instruction rather than broader skill development, continuing a pattern of spiritual competence without accompanying socioeconomic readiness.

The consequences of this skills gap are evident in the recruitment outcomes. A psychologist who had been part of the recruitment team at the JIPE industrial estate for several periods shared concerns that applicants from Mengare often lack situational awareness and personal initiative (personal communication, June 2025). These attributes are critical for working in high-risk environments such as Freeport JIPE, where adherence to safety protocols and proactive behavior are essential. This perspective highlights a deeper issue: while the children may be disciplined in a religious context, they are not adequately equipped to meet the behavioral demands of industrial work.

From a theoretical standpoint, these findings reveal a mesosystem disconnect within Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework, where interactions among the family, school, and economic system fail to reinforce one another. Families and schools sustain moral order but remain isolated from industrial realities, thereby limiting skill transfer. Similar disjunctions between education and employment have been documented in rural and developing contexts, where schooling often prioritizes conformity and faith over innovation and initiative (Occhipinti et al., 2023; Yu et al., 2024).

Interpreted through Walsh's resilience framework, the situation demonstrates that the community's resilience processes emphasize stability and moral coherence over adaptability and competence. The educational system does not provide the scaffolding needed to cultivate these adaptive capacities (Yu et al., 2024). In contrast, studies in China and South Asia show that linking vocational education with local industries fosters proactive coping and reduces youth vulnerability

(Hu et al., 2023; M. et al., 2021).

Overall, the Mengare case highlights how family and educational systems jointly sustain psychosocial continuity yet fail to produce developmental resilience. The strength of moral discipline ensures social cohesion, but without systemic alignment between school curricula and industrial demand, resilience remains inward-looking, anchored in obedience rather than innovation.

The fourth theme is spirituality as a coping and meaning-making resource. In the face of growing economic and social pressures, families in Mengare consistently turn to spirituality as their primary coping mechanism. Religious practices such as daily prayer, Qur'an recitation, and communal rituals like yasinan and tahlilan serve as essential sources of hope, moral guidance, and emotional stability. These practices are deeply embedded in everyday life and shape individual coping mechanisms and collective resilience. As one fisherman explained,

"Specific prayers—I always pray when I have many thoughts or feel sad." (Interview, Fisherman 3)

For many, prayer is a ritual and a profoundly personal way to navigate uncertainty and emotional distress during the pandemic. This spiritual orientation is strongly reinforced at the community level in the Philippines. A village religious leader noted the following:

"This is because the community here is deeply religious. In fact, the largest organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), is embraced by 100% of the population. That is what I often convey in forums and so on." (FGD, Religious Leader).

Near-universal adherence to religious norms promotes social cohesion and moral order, functioning as a cultural anchor amid the disruptions of industrialization. For children, spiritual routines define their daily structure. A village official observed:

"Children here have little time to play because they spend much of their time studying the Qur'an. They are afraid of being scolded if they skip, and this pattern continues as they grow up." (FGD, Village Officials)

This early internalization of religious discipline illustrates how faith-based practices contribute to emotional security and identity formation.

Theoretically, these findings exemplify Walsh's (2016) "belief systems" domain of family resilience, in which shared spirituality fosters meaning-making, hope, and coherence in the face of adversity. Spirituality provides families with an interpretive lens for hardship, transforming economic uncertainty into a test of patience and faith. This statement aligns with findings from Aceh and West Java, where Islamic values underpin communal endurance during crises (Abubakar et al., 2023; Efendi, 2023; Ummami, 2019). However, this form of vertical resilience, anchored in connection to God, does not necessarily cultivate the social and cognitive skills required to meet industrial demands.

Within Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem, religiosity acts as both a cultural buffer and a structural boundary. It sustains psychosocial stability but discourages behaviors perceived as secular or materialistic, inadvertently limiting engagement with industrial opportunities. Comparable patterns have been observed in other Southeast Asian coastal contexts, where strong religious adherence supports emotional well-being but constrains socioeconomic adaptability (Gur & Reich, 2023; Hu et al., 2023).

In other words, while faith empowers families to persevere, it may also reproduce dependence on spiritual coping rather than encouraging proactive engagement with external systems of change. Thus, spirituality in Mengare sustains communal harmony but does not yet foster the competencies

required for family resilience in an industrializing economy.

The fifth theme is social cohesion and community bonds. Despite ongoing economic and environmental challenges, the residents of Mengare continue to exhibit strong social cohesion at the neighborhood level. Families maintain close ties with their neighbors, and daily life remains socially connected, albeit less vibrant than in the past. One resident shared:

“Yes, it is still socially active with the neighbors, as long as there is no conflict.” (Interview, Fisherman 3).

This view reflects the community norm of maintaining harmony and mutual respect. However, some informal social gatherings, such as communal meals, evening chats, and collaborative events, have become less frequent. In contrast, others felt that they remained largely the same. However, the sense of belonging remains deeply rooted in the place. Most families strongly desire their children to remain in the village rather than seek opportunities elsewhere. As one parent remarked:

“Yes, the children will remain in Mengare—where else would they move?” (Interview, Fisherman 2).

From a theoretical perspective, these dynamics correspond to Walsh’s (2016) “organizational patterns” of resilience, where connectedness and shared resources extend beyond the nuclear family to the broader community. Social ties serve as both emotional and practical safety nets, buffering families against financial hardship and psychological stress. Similar patterns have been documented in other rural and coastal societies, where kinship networks and neighborhood cooperation mitigate the effects of poverty and ecological stress (Kriegl et al., 2022; Nath et al., 2021).

However, within Bronfenbrenner’s macrosystem, the cultural norm against migration limits women’s exposure to broader educational and economic opportunities. This paradox, stability through cohesion but reduced adaptability through limited bridging social capital, is common in rural communities and highlights how social cohesion can be both a strength and a barrier in an industrializing economy (Moustakas, 2023).

Critically, social cohesion in Mengare embodies both strength and limitation: it anchors families emotionally amid disruption but inadvertently reproduces isolation from industrial employment opportunities. For family resilience to be transformative, these strong local ties must evolve into bridging networks that connect households to education, employment, and external institutional support.

The sixth theme is future concerns and uncertainty. As industrial development reshapes Mengare’s physical and economic landscape, parents increasingly voice anxiety about their children’s futures. Concerns focus on whether youth will find secure employment and live in a healthy environment, with many perceiving that industrial expansion, particularly JIPE, has not provided equitable opportunities for them. One father stated:

“Yes, we are very worried. For ourselves, at this age, there is nothing more to expect than this. However, we do think about the future of children. If nearby companies do not provide opportunities, we will bear the impact. Our greatest concern for the children’s future is whether they can find jobs.” (Interview, Fisherman 9)

This forward-looking concern is not limited to employment; it also includes growing concerns about environmental degradation. As one petty trader put it:

“Worried about pollution since the establishment of JIPE.” (Interview, Petty Trader).

In addition to economic and health-related anxieties, parents grapple with shifting family dynamics and the erosion of traditional authority. One informant remarked:

“In the past, children obeyed their parents, but now they often resist.” (Interview, Petty Trader)

This statement suggests a perceived generational gap that complicates efforts to prepare children for the future. However, many parents remain hesitant to engage in structured parenting support or educational programs despite these tensions.

“No need for that (parenting assistance or family counseling). It is enough to handle it on our own.” (Interview, Fisherman 3).

Instead, families prefer training in areas more directly linked to survival, such as health, religion, or economic empowerment, rather than proactive guidance on child development or long-term planning.

These patterns reflect the chronosystem in Bronfenbrenner’s model: families recognize long-term risks but feel constrained in their responses to them. Rather than proactive meaning-making, resilience is narrowed to immediate concerns. This evidence aligns with findings from other rural communities, where systemic barriers discourage investment in soft skills, higher education, and mobility, pushing families toward short-term survival strategies (Lesperance et al., 2022; Yu et al., 2024). In Mengare, the result is a complex emotional landscape: parents care deeply about the next generation but lack the structural support and sense of power to transform those concerns into fundamental changes.

Overall, this theme extends Bronfenbrenner’s chronosystemic lens by showing how industrial transformation compresses families’ sense of future time. Concern for children’s welfare is a moral constant, but without enabling structures, it remains symbolically expressed rather than practically enacted. In this sense, resilience in Mengare reflects temporal endurance, a capacity to sustain care across uncertainty rather than structural empowerment to shape the future.

Synthesis Across Themes

The integrated findings reveal a nuanced portrait of family and community life in Mengare as they navigate the challenges posed by rapid industrialization. Drawing on Walsh’s family resilience framework, family resilience processes were evident. Families reorganize roles under economic hardship—wives contribute more to income, children assist at home, and spirituality provides emotional stability and moral order. At the community level, social cohesion persists, offering daily support.

Figure 1 and Table 3 map the six themes onto Bronfenbrenner’s ecological layers and Walsh’s domains. The figure highlights how themes such as economic strain, parenting, education, spirituality, social cohesion, and future concerns are nested within broader contexts of family resilience. The table specifies which resilience domains are activated or constrained, showing that family resilience processes and broader structural and cultural forces shape resilience.

However, Bronfenbrenner’s model also exposes the limitations of these processes. School–industry mismatches, restricted local employment, and cultural preferences for staying close to reduce families’ adaptive capacity. Spirituality sustains meaning but does not translate into the soft skills or technical competencies needed for labor markets, fostering vertical rather than horizontal resilience. Parenting styles emphasize harmony and low conflict over achievement or independence, maintaining closeness while limiting readiness for competitive environments.

Internal cohesion and spiritual depth sustain endurance but fall short of adaptive family resilience. Without systemic support across education, industry, and policy, family resilience in Mengare is more about survival than transformation.

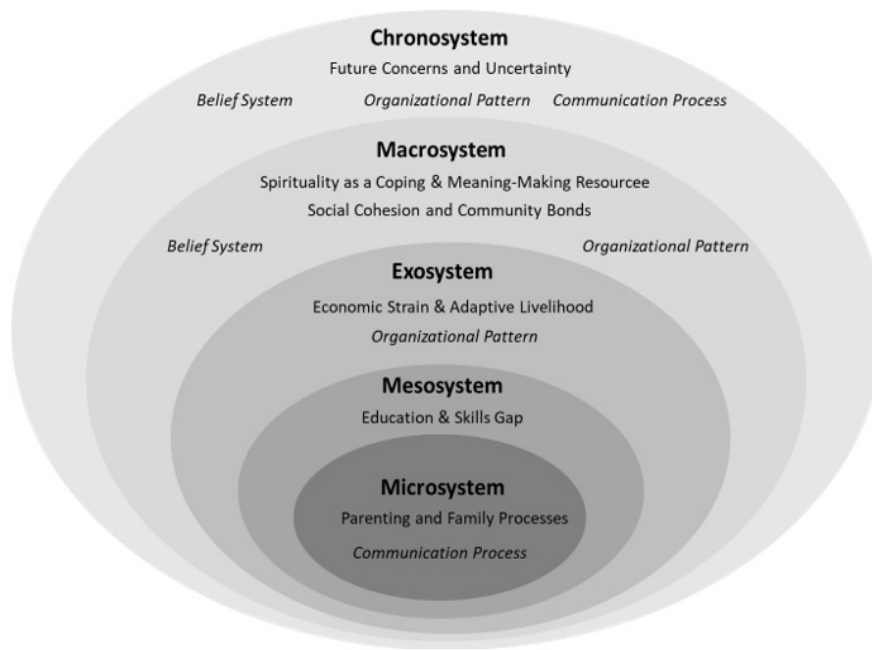


Figure 1
Mapped themes onto Bronfenbrenner's ecological layers and Walsh's domains

Table 3.
Mapping themes to Bronfenbrenner's ecological levels and Walsh's family resilience domains

Theme	Ecological Level (Bronfenbrenner)	Resilience Domain (Walsh)	Main Family Response	Key Constraints
Economic Strain & Adaptive Livelihoods	Exo-system	Organizational Patterns	Reorganizing roles (wives earn, children help)	Environmental decline; exclusion from industrial jobs
Parenting & Family Resilience Processes	Microsystem	Communication (secondary: Organizational Patterns)	Gentle advice, routines, and harmony maintenance	Low expectations; children's low confidence
Education & Skills Gap	Mesosystem	Not directly applicable (blocked outcome: competence/adaptability)	Moral and religious discipline	School-industry misalignment; lack of soft skills
Spirituality as Coping	Macrosystem	Belief Systems	Prayer, Qur'an study, rituals	Does not translate the socioeconomic adaptability
Social Cohesion & Community Bonds	Macrosystem	Belief Systems; Organizational Patterns	Neighbor support, preference for proximity	Cultural resistance to migration; limited bridging ties
Future Concerns & Uncertainty	Chronosystem	Belief Systems; Organizational Patterns; Communication	Concern for children's future; self-reliance	Industrial pollution; lack of proactive planning

Implications

Theoretically, the findings offer new insights into how industrial change intersects with the ecological and psychosocial mechanisms of family resilience. The results demonstrate that resilience in the Mengare operates across multiple ecological layers. At the microsystem level, parenting and relational strength sustain emotional security and moral continuity within the family. At the mesosystem level, resilience is constrained by weak linkages between households, schools, and industrial structures, limiting the development of adaptive competencies in youth. At the macrosystem level, spirituality and shared belief systems foster meaning-making and psychological endurance, functioning as vital coping resources that maintain communal coherence during structural stress. These findings illustrate how psychospiritual resilience enables families to endure adversity through faith, solidarity, and flexible role reorganization, yet remains bounded when broader ecological supports including education, industry, and institutional collaboration, do not reinforce these adaptive processes.

These findings suggest several implications for policy and practice. First, industrial development in coastal areas should be accompanied by skills training programs tailored to industry needs, ensuring that residents can meaningfully participate in emerging employment opportunities. Training in digital literacy, production techniques, equipment maintenance, and logistics can help bridge the gap between industrial demand and community capacity. Second, strengthening family resilience requires the younger generation's attention. Schools and community organizations could design initiatives to enhance soft skills, such as communication, teamwork, public speaking, and foreign language competence, which remain underdeveloped but are crucial for navigating industrialized labor markets.

Simultaneously, local educators require stronger institutional support. Developing an adaptive curriculum for teachers that addresses the realities of post-industrialization would allow pedagogy to move beyond traditional religious and rote learning, aligning classroom practices with the skills needed for future livelihoods. Finally, long-term family resilience depends on cooperation beyond the household and schools. Collaboration between industry, local communities, and the government is vital for creating accessible employment pathways for coastal youth. Industries in JIPE can implement local hiring quotas and apprenticeship programs to ensure that village youth gain practical skills. Local governments can co-design vocational curricula and scholarships with industry to align with real labor demands in logistics, machinery, and digital services. Through village leaders and religious figures, communities can mobilize participation and provide feedback on household barriers to vaccination. Practical initiatives include industry-school partnerships, where engineers mentor students, and community learning centers that offer out-of-school youth soft skills, language, and entrepreneurship training. Government regulations can further embed family resilience by mandating CSR projects focused on workforce development, such as funding training labs or supporting small-business incubation. Such coordinated strategies transform industrialization from an external disruption into a driver of opportunity and adaptive family resilience.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study had several limitations. First, the findings are based on a relatively small sample of parents and stakeholders from three villages in coastal Gresik, which limits the extent to which the results can be generalized to other coastal or industrializing communities in Indonesia. Although the purposive sampling strategy was designed to capture diverse perspectives, it may not have reflected the full range of family experiences, particularly those of youth. Second, the study relied on self-reported narratives from interviews and focus group discussions. While these accounts provide rich insights into lived experiences, they may be influenced by social desirability bias or selective recall. Third, the cross-sectional design captures family resilience processes at a single point in time. In contrast, resilience is dynamic and may change as industrialization progresses and families adapt in the long term.

Future research could address these limitations in several ways. Comparative studies across diverse coastal regions, both those undergoing industrialization and those relying primarily on traditional livelihoods, would help identify which family resilience processes are context-specific and which are more universal. Including the voices of children and adolescents would enrich our understanding of how parenting and resilience are perceived across generations. Longitudinal research could also track how resilience evolves as families experience industrial, ecological, and cultural transitions. Finally, intervention-based studies that test psychospiritual and skill-oriented programs, such as adaptive parenting workshops, soft skills training for youth, and industry–community partnerships, would provide practical evidence of how resilience can be strengthened in coastal industrial zones.

CONCLUSION

This study explored how family resilience in the coastal village of Mengare responds to the socioeconomic disruptions brought about by industrial expansion, particularly the development of JIPE. Through an ecological and resilience-oriented lens, the findings reveal a complex interplay between adaptive efforts and structural constraints. Families demonstrate resilience by reorganizing their roles, maintaining spiritual and communal bonds, and preserving emotional stability. However, these strategies are primarily reactive and are often constrained by limited access to industrial employment, inadequate educational alignment with labor-market needs, and cultural norms that discourage mobility.

Spirituality is vital in sustaining psychosocial well-being, but it does not equip families with the horizontal competencies needed for long-term adaptation. Similarly, parenting practices that emphasize harmony and low conflict contribute to stability but may hinder children's development of independence and problem-solving skills. The disconnect between the home, school, and industry within Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem further weakens the pathways toward upward mobility. Ultimately, while families in Mengare exhibit strong internal cohesion and resourcefulness, their resilience is bound by external forces beyond their control. For family resilience to become transformative rather than merely sustaining, targeted policy and programmatic support that bridges educational, economic, and cultural gaps is required to empower families to endure and benefit from industrial change.

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