

Digital Registration and the Invisible Child: Protecting Children of Unregistered Migrant Marriages in Malaysia

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Abstract

The digitalisation of civil registration promises legal identity for all, yet children who never enter the database remain invisible to the state. This article examines that paradox through children born of unregistered (*siri*) marriages among undocumented Indonesian migrant workers in Kampung Bharu, Kuala Lumpur. It asks how such marriages are practised, how Indonesian and Malaysian law treat the children, and how accessible digital and consular protection of their rights to identity, nationality, education, and health actually is. Using empirical juridical research with statutory, conceptual, and case approaches, the study draws on interviews and observation at a community learning centre and an interview with a consular officer of the Indonesian Embassy, analysed qualitatively against Islamic law, Indonesian and Malaysian legislation, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Two children at the centre were reported to have been born of religiously solemnised but unregistered marriages between undocumented Indonesian parents. They remain Indonesian nationals by descent and are undocumented rather than stateless. Indonesia offers free consular birth registration and an online civil registration system for citizens abroad, but these channels are underused because registration requires data that families lack, because parents fear their data will reach immigration enforcement, and because of a digital divide in legal information. The article argues that digital registration protects children only when paired with a data firewall between civil registration and immigration enforcement, outreach that reaches offline communities, and evidentiary flexibility for children of unregistered marriages.



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INTRODUCTION

States are rapidly moving civil registration onto digital platforms. Sustainable Development Goal 16.9 commits states to provide legal identity for all, including birth registration, by 2030, and digital identity systems are widely presented as the fastest route to

that goal.¹ Yet a growing body of scholarship warns that digital identity can reproduce injustice: those who cannot meet a system's data requirements are not merely left without a card but become invisible to every service that relies on the database.² Indonesian scholarship has made similar observations: digital transformation driven by fragmented, reactive regulation can deepen existing inequalities,³ and e-government that lacks binding safeguards for accountability and data protection risks eroding public trust.⁴ This article examines that risk in one of its sharpest forms: children born abroad to undocumented Indonesian migrant workers whose marriages were never registered.

Every child is entitled to an identity, a nationality, education, health care, and legal protection without discrimination. For children born in Malaysia to undocumented Indonesian mothers in unregistered marriages, these entitlements are difficult to secure.⁵ Without a birth record, they face barriers to schooling, health services, and the protection of the courts.⁶ At a community learning centre in Kampung Bharu, Kuala Lumpur, two such children were identified during this research, and their situation forms the empirical core of the article.

In Islamic law, a child's legal status is tied to the validity of the parents' marriage. Where a marriage fulfils the pillars (*arkān*) and conditions (*shurūṭ*) of the *sharī'a*, the child's lineage (*nasab*) to the father is in principle established even if the state has not recorded the marriage, and lineage is the gateway to the child's rights to care, maintenance, and inheritance.⁷ Indonesian positive law draws a parallel distinction. Article 2(1) of Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, as amended by Law No. 16 of 2019, provides that a marriage is valid if conducted according to religious law, while Article 2(2) requires every marriage to be registered.⁸ Registration does not create religious validity; it supplies the authentic evidence on which every later administrative step, including the child's birth record, now depends. Remedies exist, such as marriage validation (*itsbat nikah*) and Constitutional Court Decision No. 46/PUU-VIII/2010, which allows a child born outside a registered marriage to establish a civil relationship with the biological father on the basis of scientific or other lawful evidence.⁹ In practice, however, missing registration continues to complicate the child's civil and

¹ United Nations General Assembly, *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, A/RES/70/1, October 21, 2015, Goal 16.9.

² Silvia Masiero and Savita Bailur, "Digital Identity for Development: The Quest for Justice and a Research Agenda," *Information Technology for Development* 27, no. 1 (2021): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02681102.2021.1859669>.

³ Bayu Dwi Anggono et al., "Interrogating the Legal Foundations of Digital Transformation: Balancing Economic Growth and Social Welfare in the Era of Disruption," *Volkgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi* 8, no. 1 (2025): 191–211, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volkgeist.v8i1.12211>.

⁴ Hananta Aldhanny Wibisono, Reza Octavia Kusumaningtyas, and Helmi Ayuradi Miharja, "E-Government and Artificial Intelligence in Electronic Administration: A Normative Legal Analysis of Modern Government Digitalization," *Journal of Law and Digital Civilization* 1, no. 1 (2026): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.66277/jldc.v1i1.20>.

⁵ Karto Manalu, *Hukum Keperdataan Anak di Luar Kawin* (Sumatra Barat: CV Azka Pustaka, 2021), 1.

⁶ Fitria Olivia, "Akibat Hukum terhadap Anak Hasil Perkawinan Siri Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi," *Lex Jurnalica* 11, no. 2 (August 2014): 42.

⁷ Wahbah al-Zuhayli, *Al-Fiqh al-Islāmī wa Adillatuhu*, vol. 7 (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 2008), 675–78.

⁸ Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, as amended by Law No. 16 of 2019, art. 2; Government Regulation No. 9 of 1975 on the Implementation of Law No. 1 of 1974, art. 2.

⁹ Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, Decision No. 46/PUU-VIII/2010 on the Judicial Review of Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage against the 1945 Constitution.

administrative rights.¹⁰

The problem acquires a cross-border and digital dimension in Malaysia, the principal destination of Indonesian migrant workers. In January 2025 alone, 8,014 Indonesian workers were placed in Malaysia, 31.25 percent of all placements that month.¹¹ Official registers capture only part of this population. In June 2023, the Indonesian Directorate General of Immigration noted that Malaysia recorded about 450,000 registered Indonesian workers, while the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur estimated around 1.5 million.¹² The gap between these figures is itself a measure of how many people live outside the databases on which both states now rely. Within that population, marriages are often solemnised by community religious figures without registration in either country.¹³

Previous studies have examined parts of this problem. Ayu and Harisman found that rules protecting the children of Indonesian migrant workers in Kampung Pandan were weakened by differences between legal systems, limited access to legal services, and the socio-economic conditions of migrant families.¹⁴ Naswar and colleagues emphasised the state's obligation to secure the status of children of cross-border marriages,¹⁵ and Musaddad and colleagues compared how Indonesia and Malaysia enforce children's rights after divorce.¹⁶ Anshori and Lubis showed that Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection provides a sound normative basis for children of unregistered marriages in Selangor but faces jurisdictional limits abroad.¹⁷ Faizin, Alfitra, and Mansur focused on legalising unofficial marriages and its consequences for birth certificates and nationality,¹⁸ Hidayat and colleagues documented how a learning centre in Hulu Langat emerged to give undocumented children access to education,¹⁹ Hamzah and colleagues showed that overlapping migrant-worker and anti-trafficking laws leave Indonesian

¹⁰ Prihati Yuniarlin, "Kedudukan Anak yang Lahir dalam Perkawinan Siri setelah Perkawinan Orang Tuanya Dicatatkan di Kantor Urusan Agama," *Swara Justisia* 7, no. 3 (2023): 96, <https://doi.org/10.31933/ujs.v7i3.418>.

¹¹ Pusat Data dan Informasi Badan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia (BP2MI), *Laporan Bulanan Data Penempatan dan Pengaduan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Januari 2025* (Jakarta: BP2MI, 2025).

¹² Directorate General of Immigration of the Republic of Indonesia, "Dirjen Imigrasi Temui Ketua Pengarah Imigresen Malaysia Bahas Pekerja Migran Indonesia di Malaysia," press release, June 8, 2023, https://www.imigrasi.go.id/siaran_pers/2023/06/08/siaran-pers-dirjen-imigrasi-temui-ketua-pengarah-imigresen-malaysia.

¹³ Eva F. Nisa, "Unregistered Marriages of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia: Contrasting Positions of State Agents," *Sociology of Islam* 6, no. 3 (2018): 338–58, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22131418-00603005>.

¹⁴ Siti Nadira Ayu and Harisman, "Perlindungan Hukum terhadap Hak-Hak Anak dari Perkawinan Buruh Migran Indonesia di Kampung Pandan Malaysia," *Jurnal Hukum Progresif* 7, no. 6 (2024).

¹⁵ Naswar Naswar et al., "Status Anak dalam Perkawinan Campuran: Kewajiban Negara dan Perlindungan Hukum," *Litigasi* 25, no. 2 (2024): 101–29, <https://doi.org/10.23969/litigasi.v25i2.17914>.

¹⁶ Endad Musaddad et al., "Guaranteeing the Rights of Children and Women Post-Divorce: A Comparative Study Between Indonesia and Malaysia," *Volksgesist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi* 8, no. 1 (2025): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgesist.v8i1.12214>.

¹⁷ Qory Zakirah Anshori and Fauziah Lubis, "The Rights of Children from Illegal Marriages of Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI) in Selangor, Malaysia: A Review from the Perspective of Child Protection Law," *Jurnal Mahkamah: Kajian Ilmu Hukum dan Hukum Islam* 10, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.25217/jm.v10i1.5822>.

¹⁸ Afwan Faizin, Alfitra, and Ali Mansur, "Legalizing Unofficial Marriage for Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia," *Jurnal Cita Hukum* 7, no. 1 (2019): 85–100, <https://doi.org/10.15408/jch.v7i1.10341>.

¹⁹ Taufiq Hidayat et al., "Rights of Indonesian Migrant Workers' Children to Access Education at Sanggar Bimbingan Hulu Langat Malaysia," *Qalamuna: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Agama* 15, no. 2 (2023): 935–44, <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v15i2.3305>.

workers exposed to exploitation,²⁰ Meidina and colleagues traced how digital media are reshaping marriage and divorce practice in Islamic family law,²¹ and Allerton showed in Sabah that statelessness is closely bound up with irregular status and the politics of recognition.²²

Three gaps remain. First, existing studies treat registration as a paper procedure and do not ask how the shift to digital civil registration and digital identity changes the position of children whose parents cannot supply the required data. Second, they rarely address the data-protection question that drives migrant behaviour: whether information given to register a child may reach immigration enforcement. Third, they seldom separate the question of whether a child is *undocumented* from whether the child is *stateless*. This article addresses all three by combining field data from Kampung Bharu with an analysis of Islamic law, Indonesian and Malaysian law, data-protection law, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

The article asks three questions. How is unregistered marriage practised among undocumented Indonesian migrant families in Kampung Bharu? How do Indonesian and Malaysian law treat the children born of these marriages? And how accessible is the protection of their rights to identity, nationality, education, and health through digital and consular channels, and what obstacles stand in the way? It argues that the central problem is neither the absence of legal norms nor the absence of the state, but the gap between protection that increasingly runs through databases and families who cannot safely enter them.

The article contributes to the study of law in the digital era in two ways. Conceptually, it shows that the move from paper to database changes the legal meaning of non-registration: what was once a missing certificate becomes exclusion from every service linked to the population number. Normatively, it connects child rights, Islamic family law, and data-protection law into a single design question, namely what a registration system must look like if it is to reach children whose parents cannot safely disclose who they are.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study is field research using an empirical juridical approach, combined with statutory, conceptual, and case approaches.²³ The main site was Sanggar Bimbingan (SB) on Jalan Raja Alang, Kampung Bharu, Kuala Lumpur, a non-formal learning centre attended by about 50 children of Indonesian migrant workers (33 boys and 17 girls) at the time of data collection. Additional data were obtained from the consular section of the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia (KBRI) in Kuala Lumpur. Data were collected in two stages: preliminary face-to-face interviews on April 14, 2024, during the first author's community service programme in Kampung Bharu, and follow-up online interviews in June and July 2026 to

²⁰ Any Suryani Hamzah, Lalu Husni, and Arba Arba, "Harmonizing Labor and Anti-Trafficking Laws for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers: Toward Legal Certainty and Substantive Justice," *Volkgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi* 9, no. 2 (2026): 397–422, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volkgeist.v9i2.15939>.

²¹ Ahmad Rezy Meidina et al., "Online Marriage and Divorce Fatwas: Religious Authority and the Digital Transformation of Islamic Family Law," *Journal of Law and Digital Civilization* 1, no. 1 (2026): 19–38, <https://doi.org/10.66277/jldc.v1i1.5>.

²² Catherine Allerton, "Contested Statelessness in Sabah, Malaysia: Irregularity and the Politics of Recognition," *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 15, no. 3 (2017): 250–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2017.1283457>.

²³ Soerjono Soekanto, *Pengantar Penelitian Hukum* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1986), 10; Muhaimin, *Metode Penelitian Hukum* (Mataram: Mataram University Press, 2020), 80.

deepen, clarify, and update the data.

The unit of analysis consists of two family cases, the children with the initials MIA and AB, selected purposively because they match the focus of the research. Two key informants were interviewed using semi-structured guides: Informant A, the administrator of the learning centre, who has accompanied the learners' families for several years, and Informant B, a consular officer of KBRI Kuala Lumpur.²⁴ The parents of the two children were not interviewed directly; information about the families was obtained through Informant A and is treated as second-hand. This is a limitation, discussed below. Primary empirical data were complemented by observation at the centre and by documents that informants permitted the researchers to use.

Primary legal materials comprise the 1945 Constitution, the Marriage Law, the Citizenship Law, the Child Protection Law, the Population Administration Law and its implementing regulations, Law No. 27 of 2022 on Personal Data Protection, the Compilation of Islamic Law, Constitutional Court Decision No. 46/PUU-VIII/2010, relevant Malaysian statutes, and the CRC. Secondary materials include classical *fiqh* works, books, and journal articles. The data were analysed qualitatively using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña model of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification,²⁵ followed by legal analysis that identified the facts, the applicable norms, their interpretation, and the subsumption of the facts under those norms. Validity was strengthened through source and method triangulation and member checking with the informants.

Because the research concerns children and undocumented migrants, ethical safeguards were central. Informed consent was obtained from both informants. No child was interviewed. The identities of the children, their mothers, and the informants are anonymised, and no information that could locate a family or reveal its immigration status to any authority is reported. Data were used solely for academic purposes and stored securely.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Field Findings: Unregistered Marriage and Undocumented Children in Kampung Bharu

Sanggar Bimbingan functions as an alternative learning space for children of Indonesian migrant workers who cannot enter formal schools because of incomplete documents or their parents' immigration status. Of the roughly 50 learners, Informant A identified two children, MIA and AB, as born of unregistered marriages. Their mothers are Indonesian citizens working without valid immigration documents, one as a domestic worker and the other as a factory worker. According to the clarification provided in the follow-up interview, the fathers of both children are also Indonesian citizens.²⁶ Neither marriage was ever registered with a competent authority in Indonesia or Malaysia, which, according to the informant, has made proving the parent-child relationship and processing the children's documents considerably harder than for children of registered marriages.²⁷

²⁴ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2018), 224.

²⁵ Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2020), 7–10.

²⁶ Interview with Informant A (administrator of Sanggar Bimbingan Jalan Raja Alang), July 26, 2026.

²⁷ Interview with Informant A (administrator of Sanggar Bimbingan Jalan Raja Alang), via Google Meet, June 10, 2026.

Informant A explained that unregistered marriages among undocumented Indonesian workers are not confined to Kampung Bharu. They are generally solemnised according to Islamic law with the help of a *penghulu* or religious figure from the Indonesian community, often in rented rooms or boarding houses, without any registration procedure. Such marriages take place between Indonesian citizens and also between Indonesians and nationals of Malaysia, Pakistan, Singapore, and other countries.²⁸ No official data on the number of such marriages in Kampung Bharu were found, so this article confines itself to the two cases identified and does not claim that the practice is dominant in the area.

Several factors explain the practice. Informant A observed that many parents at the centre have limited formal education and little knowledge of registration procedures; this observation could not be verified against systematic data and is reported as the informant's assessment. Where legal knowledge is limited, religious and cultural norms tend to guide marriage decisions while the requirements of state law are neglected.²⁹ More decisively, an undocumented worker lacks the passport, work permit, or residence pass on which registration depends, and any contact with authorities carries the risk of arrest and deportation.³⁰ Unregistered marriage is therefore less a matter of preference than an adaptation to precarious legal status, which leaves migrants in the regulatory grey zone between two states that Nisa describes.³¹

Observation at the centre added two details. First, teaching relies on a small number of volunteers with limited facilities, and the centre cannot absorb every undocumented child in the neighbourhood. Second, many families move frequently between rented rooms in search of work or to avoid enforcement, so the centre's own records are incomplete and children may leave without notice. Mobility of this kind makes the families difficult to reach for any service, paper or digital, and helps explain why consular programmes rarely find them.³²

Informant B described the wider context. Indonesian workers in Malaysia fall into two groups of roughly equal size, an estimated 600,000 who migrated through official procedures and a similar number who are undocumented, concentrated in Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, and Perak.³³ This estimate of about 1.2 million differs from the 1.5 million cited in 2023; the difference reflects different sources and years and the inherent difficulty of counting an undocumented population, and both figures should be read as indicative. Both groups work in the same sectors, but the undocumented have no contractual or labour-law protection and are far more exposed to arrest, deportation, and exploitation. This vulnerability passes indirectly to their children, because the parents' status determines how easily the family can reach public services. Table 1 summarises Informant B's account. Because it rests on a single informant, each theme was cross-checked against Informant A's account and, for the legal implications, against the statutory provisions discussed below; no consular case files were made available to the researchers.

²⁸ Interview with Informant A, July 26, 2026.

²⁹ Mardani, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam di Dunia Islam Modern* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2016), 83.

³⁰ Interview with Informant A (administrator of Sanggar Bimbingan Jalan Raja Alang), Kampung Bharu, Kuala Lumpur, April 14, 2024.

³¹ Nisa, "Unregistered Marriages of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia."

³² Interview with Informant A, April 14, 2024.

³³ Interview with Informant B (consular officer, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Kuala Lumpur), via Google Meet, June 10, 2026.

Table 1: Summary of Informant B's Account (KBRI Kuala Lumpur)

No	Theme	Informant's Account	Legal Implication
1	Status of migrant workers	Workers are either documented or undocumented; status shapes access to protection	Unequal access to legal and administrative services
2	Marriage	Unregistered marriages occur between Indonesians and between Indonesians and Malaysians	Difficulty proving family relationships
3	Birth of children	Some children cannot obtain documents because their parents' documents are incomplete	The child's right to identity is obstructed
4	Fear of deportation	Some undocumented workers avoid official services for fear of immigration action	Registration is delayed or abandoned
5	KBRI services	Consular services and assistance are provided within the Embassy's authority	Form of state protection for citizens abroad

Source: Analysed from the primary source (interviews with Informant B, 2026).

The field data thus show a recurring sequence: a religiously solemnised but unregistered marriage, the birth of a child without a record in any state database, and reliance on non-formal services such as the learning centre. The sections that follow examine how the law characterises each link in this chain and why digital and consular channels have not closed it.

The Legal Status of Unregistered Marriages and the Children Born of Them

1. Islamic Law

In the Shāfiʿī school followed by most Indonesian and Malaysian Muslims, the pillars of marriage are the groom, the bride, the guardian (*walī*), two witnesses, and the formula of offer and acceptance (*ṣighat al-ijāb wa al-qabūl*); the dower (*mahr*) is an obligation arising from the contract rather than a condition of its validity.³⁴ A marriage that meets these requirements is religiously valid even if unrecorded. Before a ruling is applied to the families in Kampung Bharu, however, the facts must first be verified (*taḥqīq al-manāṭ*). Because the marriages studied cannot be proven through official documents, they cannot be declared invalid outright; the problem lies in proof and in its consequences for the children.

A child born of a valid marriage has *nasab* with both parents, and the protection of progeny (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*) is one of the essential objectives of the *sharīʿa*.³⁵ Two legal maxims apply.

³⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī, *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj ilā Maʿrifat Maʿānī Alfāẓ al-Minhāj*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1994), 207; al-Nawawī, *Al-Majmūʿ Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab*, vol. 17 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1997), 205.

³⁵ Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī Uṣūl al-Sharīʿah*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1997), 8–17.

The first, *al-ḍarar yuzāl* (harm must be removed), means that if non-registration causes a child to lose access to legal identity, education, and health care, that harm must be prevented or remedied. The second, *taṣarruf al-imām ‘alā al-ra‘iyyah manūṭ bi al-maṣlaḥah* (the ruler’s policy toward the people is bound by their welfare), shows that the state’s registration requirement does not negate religious validity but serves to protect women and children.³⁶ The same maxim also binds the design of registration systems: a digital procedure that, in practice, excludes the children it is meant to protect falls short of the *maṣlaḥah* that justifies it.³⁷

2, Indonesian Law

Under Indonesian law, an unregistered marriage is not the same as a religiously invalid one, but it lacks legal force before the state: Article 6(2) of the Compilation of Islamic Law states that a marriage conducted outside the supervision of a Marriage Registrar has no legal force.³⁸ Article 42 of the Marriage Law defines a legitimate child as one born in or as a result of a valid marriage, while Article 43(1) originally limited the civil relationship of a child born outside marriage to the mother; Decision No. 46/PUU-VIII/2010 extended that relationship to the biological father where it can be proven.³⁹

Nationality must be distinguished from documentation. Law No. 12 of 2006 on Citizenship adopts *ius sanguinis* and, in Article 4, recognises as Indonesian citizens children born of a legal marriage to Indonesian parents and children born outside a legal marriage to an Indonesian mother.⁴⁰ Since both parents in the cases studied are Indonesian, the children are Indonesian citizens by operation of law, whether or not the marriage is registered. Statelessness arises only when no state considers a person its national under its law; a child who merely lacks a birth record is not thereby stateless.⁴¹ The children of Kampung Bharu are therefore undocumented and at risk of statelessness: their nationality exists in law but cannot easily be proven. Law No. 35 of 2014 guarantees every child an identity and nationality status, and Law No. 18 of 2017 obliges the state to protect migrant workers and their families before, during, and after employment.⁴²

2. Malaysian Law

Muslim marriages in the Federal Territories are governed by the Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) Act 1984 (Act 303), which sets out permission and registration procedures under the Syariah Court and the Federal Territories Islamic Religious Department (JAWI). The Act separates validity from registration. A marriage is void only if it fails the conditions of *Hukum Syarak*; a marriage that contravenes the Act is not registrable, but one that

³⁶ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ashbāh wa al-Naẓā’ir fī Qawā’id wa Furū‘ Fiqh al-Shāfi‘iyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1990), 7, 83.

³⁷ Lukman Santoso and Dawam Abror, “Pola Pemenuhan Hak Asuh Anak pada Keluarga Buruh Migran Indonesia: Perspektif Maqashid Syariah,” *Al-Syakhsīyyah: Journal of Law and Family Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 56–73, <https://doi.org/10.21154/syakhsīyyah.v2i1.2160>.

³⁸ Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 1991 on the Compilation of Islamic Law, art. 6(2).

³⁹ Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, arts. 42–43(1); Constitutional Court, Decision No. 46/PUU-VIII/2010.

⁴⁰ Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 12 of 2006 on Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia, arts. 4–5.

⁴¹ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Handbook on Protection of Stateless Persons under the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2014), 5.

⁴² Law No. 35 of 2014 amending Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection, arts. 5, 21, 27; Law No. 18 of 2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, arts. 6, 29.

is otherwise valid under *Hukum Syarak* may be registered by order of the Syariah Court; and a marriage is neither made valid nor invalid merely because it has or has not been registered. Solemnising or entering a marriage in contravention of the Act is, however, an offence punishable by a fine or imprisonment.⁴³ This structure mirrors the Indonesian distinction between religious validity and registration, but the penal sanction adds a further reason for undocumented couples to avoid the Syariah Court. Births must be registered with the National Registration Department (Jabatan Pendaftaran Negara, JPN) under the Births and Deaths Registration Act 1957 (Act 299).⁴⁴ The Child Act 2001 (Act 611) obliges the state to protect children in need of care and protection and empowers the Court for Children to act in their best interests,⁴⁵ while the Immigration Act 1959/63 (Act 155) requires every foreigner to hold valid documents and passes.⁴⁶ Malaysia also maintains reservations to several CRC provisions, including Article 2 on non-discrimination, Article 7 on birth registration and nationality, and Article 28(1)(a) on free and compulsory primary education.⁴⁷

Under the Federal Constitution, a child born in Malaysia acquires citizenship by operation of law only if at least one parent is a citizen or permanent resident, and for a child regarded as born outside a valid marriage, references to the father are read as references to the mother.⁴⁸ Because both parents in the cases studied are undocumented Indonesian citizens, the children have no claim to Malaysian citizenship and depend on Indonesian nationality. Protection therefore runs primarily through Indonesian registration systems, while Malaysian law governs the children's daily access to schools, clinics, and courts as foreigners in its territory.⁴⁹

Digital Civil Registration and the Invisible Child

Indonesia's registration of citizens abroad is now largely digital. Births are recorded in the Population Administration Information System (SIAM) and linked to a single population identification number (NIK), and the Population Administration Law requires births of Indonesian citizens abroad to be reported to the Indonesian mission for registration and later entry into the national database.⁵⁰ Since 2018, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has operated the Portal Peduli WNI, which provides one service standard and one database for Indonesians abroad, integrated with national data centres, and allows missions to issue NIKs and civil registry documents such as birth certificates, with applications made online or in person.⁵¹ Since 2022, Indonesia has also introduced a Digital Population Identity (*Identitas Kependudukan Digital*, IKD) that presents population data through a mobile application.⁵²

⁴³ Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) Act 1984 (Act 303), ss. 11, 12, 34, 40.

⁴⁴ Births and Deaths Registration Act 1957 (Act 299).

⁴⁵ Child Act 2001 (Act 611), ss. 17, 30.

⁴⁶ Immigration Act 1959/63 (Act 155), ss. 6, 15.

⁴⁷ Convention on the Rights of the Child, November 20, 1989, 1577 U.N.T.S. 3; United Nations Treaty Collection, "Convention on the Rights of the Child: Declarations and Reservations (Malaysia)."

⁴⁸ Federal Constitution of Malaysia, art. 14 and Second Schedule, Part II, s. 1(a), and Part III, s. 17.

⁴⁹ Faizin, Alfira, and Mansur, "Legalizing Unofficial Marriage for Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia."

⁵⁰ Law No. 23 of 2006 on Population Administration, as amended by Law No. 24 of 2013, art. 29; Presidential Regulation No. 96 of 2018 on Requirements and Procedures for Population Registration and Civil Registration, arts. 54–56.

⁵¹ Ministry of State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, "Presiden Luncurkan Portal Peduli WNI," September 12, 2018, https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/presiden_luncurkan_portal_peduli_wni.

⁵² Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 72 of 2022 on Standards and Specifications of Hardware, Software, and Blank Forms for the Electronic Identity Card and the Implementation of Digital Population Identity.

At the consular level, Informant B explained that KBRI Kuala Lumpur provides legal consultation, facilitates citizenship documents, and assists birth registration by issuing a Birth Registration Certificate (*Surat Bukti Pencatatan Kelahiran*, SBPK), coordinating with JPN where needed. The absence of a Family Card (*Kartu Keluarga*) does not automatically bar registration, because the main basis is proof of the mother's identity; where the father's identity can be proven, his name may be included. The requirements are a birth letter from a hospital or clinic, whatever identity documents are available, and two witnesses; if the birth has not been registered with JPN, the applicant first makes a statutory declaration before a Commissioner for Oaths. The service is free of charge, and cases involving undocumented children are handled almost daily.⁵³

These channels show that the Indonesian state is present and that its procedures already accommodate some of the documentary gaps left by unregistered marriage. Yet digitalisation changes the stakes of not registering. In a paper-based system, an unregistered child lacked one certificate. In a database-driven system, the NIK is the key to schooling, health insurance, and later identity documents, so a child who never enters SIAK becomes invisible to every service that queries it. This is the paradox the digital identity literature identifies: systems designed to include can deepen the exclusion of those who cannot meet their data requirements, such as a marriage record, a parent's valid passport, or a residential address.⁵⁴ For the children in Kampung Bharu, the gateway data are precisely what an unregistered marriage and undocumented parents cannot supply. Indonesian experience inside the country shows how rigid such gateways can be: Maskur and colleagues document a child in Tuban who could not obtain a birth certificate because the name chosen by the parents exceeded what the population registration system would accept, leaving the child undocumented and at risk of statelessness.⁵⁵ Automated administrative systems of this kind raise wider concerns of opacity and weak human oversight,⁵⁶ and the children studied here face a stricter gate still, since what they lack is not an acceptable name but the parental data on which the record is built.

The consequences of invisibility accumulate over a child's life. Without an NIK, a child cannot later obtain an electronic identity card, register in Indonesian schools or the national health insurance scheme on return, or easily apply for a passport. If the family is deported or decides to return, the child must first be issued a consular travel document on the basis of whatever evidence of identity and nationality can be assembled, often under time pressure. Each step depends on the record that should have been created at birth. Registration is therefore not a one-off formality but the foundation on which the child's later legal life is built, and its absence compounds with every year that passes.

The same paradox shapes how statelessness is produced. Allerton's work in Sabah shows

⁵³ Interview with Informant B (consular officer, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Kuala Lumpur), July 27, 2026.

⁵⁴ Masiero and Bailur, "Digital Identity for Development."

⁵⁵ Ali Maskur et al., "Optimizing Legal Protection: Addressing the Disparity of Sanctions Regarding Personal Names in Birth Certificates as Population Documents," *Volkgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi* 7, no. 1 (2024): 21–33, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volkgeist.v7i1.10521>.

⁵⁶ Firdaus Arifin, Harri Tri Ramdhan, and Mohammad Alvi Pratama, "Algorithmic Accountability and Administrative Decision-Making: Legal Implications of Automated Governance Systems," *Subsidiarity: Journal of Law and Technology Policy* 1, no. 1 (2026): 32–48.

that statelessness there is closely bound up with irregular status and with the politics of recognition, rather than arising only from gaps in nationality law.⁵⁷ The children studied here have a clear nationality in law, but every year without a record makes that nationality harder to prove. Digital registration therefore protects them only if it lowers the evidentiary threshold for entry: accepting the mother's identity, witness statements, and statutory declarations in place of a marriage record, as the SBPK procedure already does, and linking these consular records to SIAK so that the child obtains an NIK.

Islamic legal reasoning points in the same direction. Classical scholars justified the state's registration of marriages and births as *maṣlaḥa mursala*, a public interest not expressly addressed in the sources but serving the protection of lineage. If the purpose of registration is *ḥifẓ al-nasl*, then a registration system is judged by whether it actually secures the lineage and rights of children, not by the completeness of its forms. A digital procedure that requires a marriage record before it will recognise a child effectively turns a protective rule against the very children it was meant to serve. The principle of blocking the means to harm (*sadd al-dharāʾiʿ*) supports the same conclusion: where a procedural requirement predictably leads to a child being left without identity, the requirement should give way to alternative forms of proof.⁵⁸

Data Protection, Fear, and the Case for a Firewall

The obstacle most often described by both informants was fear. Many undocumented parents do not register their children because they fear that contact with officials will lead to detention or deportation.⁵⁹ In a digital system, this is at root a fear about data: that the information given to register a child, including the parents' names, addresses, and status, will travel from the registration system to immigration enforcement. Legal protection that depends on disclosure will not be used by people who reasonably expect disclosure to harm them.

Indonesian law offers a partial answer. Law No. 27 of 2022 on Personal Data Protection binds public bodies as well as private controllers and requires data to be processed lawfully, for a specific purpose, and with protection against unauthorised disclosure, although it allows exemptions for interests such as law enforcement.⁶⁰ Malaysian law offers less. The Personal Data Protection Act 2010 (Act 709) regulates personal data in commercial transactions and does not apply to the Federal and State Governments,⁶¹ so data held by public registration, health, or education bodies are not governed by its principles. Any assurance to migrants that their data will not reach immigration authorities therefore rests on administrative practice rather than enforceable law. Comparative work points to the same weakness on the Indonesian side: Indonesia's privacy regime still has gaps in institutional oversight of state data use,⁶² and across the Asia-Pacific the effectiveness of data protection depends more on institutional

⁵⁷ Allerton, "Contested Statelessness in Sabah, Malaysia."

⁵⁸ Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī Uṣūl al-Sharīʿah*, vol. 2, 8–17; al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazāʾir*, 83.

⁵⁹ Interview with Informant B, June 10, 2026.

⁶⁰ Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 27 of 2022 on Personal Data Protection, arts. 15–16, 35–39.

⁶¹ Personal Data Protection Act 2010 (Act 709), Malaysia, ss. 2–3.

⁶² Hajar Salamah Salsabila Hariz, Siti Kunarti, and Akhmad Roja Badrus Zaman, "Digital Surveillance and the Right to Privacy: A Comparative Study between Indonesia and the European Union," *Subsidiarity: Journal of Law and Technology Policy* 1, no. 1 (2026): 15–31.

capacity and enforcement than on the strictness of the statute.⁶³ For migrant families, the question is therefore not only what the law says but whether they can trust the institutions that hold their data.

International standards are clearer than the domestic law of either state. The CRC requires every child to be registered immediately after birth and to have the right to acquire a nationality, and requires states to preserve a child's identity without unlawful interference.⁶⁴ Indonesia is also a party to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which it ratified by Law No. 6 of 2012 and which guarantees every child of a migrant worker the right to a name, to registration of birth, and to a nationality.⁶⁵ The committees supervising both conventions have jointly called on states to ensure birth registration for all children regardless of their parents' migration status and to prevent the sharing of children's and parents' personal data with immigration authorities for enforcement purposes.⁶⁶ Malaysia is not a party to the Migrant Workers Convention and maintains reservations to the CRC, so these standards bind Indonesia more directly than Malaysia. That asymmetry strengthens the case for Indonesia to build data safeguards into its own consular and digital registration systems rather than waiting for host-state reform.

Migration scholarship has proposed a remedy: "firewall" protections, which separate the provision of basic services such as education, health care, and civil registration from immigration enforcement, so that irregular migrants can claim fundamental rights without fear that their information will be passed on.⁶⁷ Applied here, a firewall would mean three things. First, data collected by KBRI for SBPK and NIK issuance would be used only for civil registration and consular protection and would not be shared with host-state immigration authorities. Second, Indonesia and Malaysia would agree, through a bilateral arrangement, that birth registration and access to schooling and health care for children will not trigger immigration action against parents. Third, the confidentiality of these channels would be communicated clearly to migrant communities. Without such guarantees, digitalising registration may make families more cautious, not less, because a database feels more permanent and more shareable than a paper form.

⁶³ Heppy Endah Palupy, Ronald Nawing, and Susi Susantijo, "Personal Data Protection Governance in the Asia Pacific Region: A Review of the Scope, Effectiveness, and Legal Challenges," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi* 9, no. 1 (2026): 197–225, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v9i1.15362>.

⁶⁴ Convention on the Rights of the Child, arts. 7–8.

⁶⁵ International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, December 18, 1990, 2220 U.N.T.S. 3, art. 29; Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 6 of 2012 on the Ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families.

⁶⁶ Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and Committee on the Rights of the Child, Joint General Comment No. 3 (CMW) and No. 22 (CRC) and Joint General Comment No. 4 (CMW) and No. 23 (CRC), CMW/C/GC/3–CRC/C/GC/22 and CMW/C/GC/4–CRC/C/GC/23, November 16, 2017.

⁶⁷ François Crépeau and Bethany Hastie, "The Case for 'Firewall' Protections for Irregular Migrants: Safeguarding Fundamental Rights," *European Journal of Migration and Law* 17, no. 2–3 (2015): 157–83, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718166-12342076>.

Accessibility of Legal Protection and Its Obstacles

To assess accessibility, this article uses Hadjon's distinction between preventive legal protection, which enables a person to avoid the infringement of a right, and repressive protection, which resolves a dispute after an infringement.⁶⁸ It also draws on the rule-of-law principle that the state must guarantee rights equally to all under its law, entrenched in Articles 1(3) and 28B(2) of the 1945 Constitution.⁶⁹ Consular birth registration and the Portal Peduli WNI are forms of preventive protection, but the research did not obtain evidence that either family had applied for them, how any application proceeded, or whether it was refused. The article therefore assesses the accessibility of protection rather than its effectiveness in a completed case.

On that measure, the rights of the two children are available in law but only partly reachable in fact. Children of unregistered marriages can often be registered only with the mother's details, and many are not registered at all.⁷⁰ Formal schools in Malaysia require identity documents, so the children rely on the learning centre, whose curriculum, legal standing, and pathways to higher levels are limited; the authorities once reprimanded it for using school uniforms because it is not an official school.⁷¹ The research did not obtain official documents on whether the centre is linked to the Indonesian School of Kuala Lumpur (SIKL) or a Community Learning Centre (PKBM), so it does not conclude that its education is unrecognised, only that the children face obstacles to continuing formal education, as found in comparable centres.⁷² Indonesian law guarantees every citizen the right to education and to health services, but these guarantees are delivered through institutions inside Indonesia or through missions abroad.⁷³ Access to health care in Malaysia follows the same pattern: without documents, use of public facilities, including routine immunisation, is difficult.⁷⁴

Repressive protection is even harder to reach. Indonesian law allows Muslim couples to seek marriage validation (*itsbat nikah*) before a Religious Court, and the legalisation of unofficial marriages of migrant workers in Malaysia has been discussed as a way to secure their children's documents.⁷⁵ For undocumented parents, however, judicial proceedings require identity documents and personal appearance, and they create a formal record of the parents' presence abroad. The route that would most securely establish the child's *nasab* in state law is therefore the one these families are least able to use. Proof of paternity raises a further difficulty. Decision No. 46/PUU-VIII/2010 allows scientific evidence, but Abdillah and colleagues show that Indonesian law has no clear route for admitting privately obtained DNA reports in parentage disputes and that such evidence engages genetic privacy, a sensitive category of personal data. Digital court services do not remove these barriers either: e-court systems in both Indonesia and Malaysia still face gaps in infrastructure, regulation, and digital

⁶⁸ Philipus M. Hadjon, *Perlindungan Hukum bagi Rakyat Indonesia* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1987), 2.

⁶⁹ A. V. Dicey, *Lectures Introductory to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (London: Macmillan, 1885), 34; 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, arts. 1(3), 28B(2).

⁷⁰ Interview with Informant B, June 10, 2026.

⁷¹ Interview with Informant A, April 14, 2024.

⁷² Hidayat et al., "Rights of Indonesian Migrant Workers' Children."

⁷³ Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, art. 5; Law No. 17 of 2023 on Health, art. 4.

⁷⁴ Santoso and Abror, "Pola Pemenuhan Hak Asuh Anak."

⁷⁵ Faizin, Alfitra, and Mansur, "Legalizing Unofficial Marriage for Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia."

literacy,⁷⁶ which weigh most heavily on users such as undocumented migrants.

Measured against the four general principles of the CRC, the picture is uneven. The principle of non-discrimination is not fully met, because the children are treated differently on account of their parents' status. The best interests of the child tend to be subordinated to immigration enforcement. The right to life, survival, and development is constrained by limited access to schooling and health care, and the children have little opportunity to be heard in decisions that affect them.⁷⁷ Table 2 summarises the gap between these guarantees and the field conditions.

Table 2: Normative Guarantees and Field Obstacles for the Children Studied

No	Right	Normative Basis	Field Obstacle
1	Identity	CRC art. 7; Child Protection Law art. 27; Population Administration Law art. 29; Act 299	No marriage record; birth unregistered or registered with the mother only; no NIK
2	Nationality	Citizenship Law art. 4; Federal Constitution of Malaysia, Second Schedule	Indonesian nationality exists by descent but is hard to prove without records
3	Education	CRC art. 28; National Education System Law art. 5	Formal schools require documents; reliance on a non-formal centre
4	Health	CRC art. 24; Health Law art. 4; Child Act 2001	Limited access to public facilities and immunisation
5	Data privacy	Personal Data Protection Law; PDPA 2010 (not binding on government)	Fear that registration data will reach immigration enforcement

Source: Analysed from the primary source and legal materials.

Five interrelated obstacles explain why available protection does not reach the children:

1. *Data requirements that unregistered families cannot meet.* Registration, whether on paper or in SIAK, presupposes proof of the parents' identity and relationship, which undocumented parents in unregistered marriages often cannot supply.
2. *Fear of data sharing with immigration enforcement.* Parents avoid both Malaysian authorities and Indonesian missions because they fear that information given for registration will lead to arrest or deportation, and Malaysian data-protection law gives them no enforceable assurance.
3. *A digital divide in legal information.* Many families have little access to digital devices or the internet, so information on consular services published online or through social media does not reach them, and formal outreach rarely enters dense communities such as Kampung Bharu.

⁷⁶ Wahyu Aida Nahar et al., "Digital Transformation of Civil Justice in Indonesia and Malaysia: A Comparative Study on the Effectiveness of E-Court Services," *Journal of Law and Digital Civilization* 1, no. 1 (2026): 55–69, <https://doi.org/10.66277/jldc.v1i1.114>.

⁷⁷ Convention on the Rights of the Child, arts. 2, 3, 6, 12, 24, 28.

4. *The limits of consular jurisdiction.* KBRI can register births and issue documents for Indonesian citizens, but school admission, health access, and immigration status in Malaysia lie beyond its authority.
5. *Complex cross-border coordination.* Effective protection requires KBRI, JPN, JAWI, and education and health agencies to coordinate across two legal systems and two data systems.

These findings refine earlier studies. Like Anshori and Lubis, this study finds that Indonesian law offers a sufficient normative basis but faces jurisdictional limits abroad.⁷⁸ Faizin, Alfitra, and Mansur located the solution in legalising the parents' marriage; this study shows that the child's registration need not wait for that step, because consular procedures can already rely on the mother's identity and alternative evidence.⁷⁹ Hidayat and colleagues documented learning centres as a response to exclusion from schooling; this study treats such centres as potential intermediaries that could connect families to registration.⁸⁰ Allerton's account of Sabah links statelessness to irregular status; this study shows how the same link operates through data systems even where nationality law is clear.⁸¹ Beyond these, it adds two points. First, the Indonesian state does provide concrete, free, and increasingly digital mechanisms; the weakness lies in the last mile between the service and the family. Second, that last mile is now shaped by data: what a system requires families to provide, and what it might do with that information. Protection that should be universal has become conditional on data that undocumented migrants cannot supply or fear to disclose.⁸² The coordination problem also mirrors a domestic pattern in which public-service regulation fragments, consolidates, and fragments again, weakening service quality, accountability, and digital governance.⁸³ Closing this gap calls for regular in-person consular outreach at learning centres, referral mechanisms between learning centres, SIKL, and KBRI, evidentiary flexibility for children of unregistered marriages, and an explicit data firewall between civil registration and immigration enforcement.

Two design choices would reduce the digital divide without abandoning digital registration. The first is assisted registration: consular staff or trained community intermediaries, such as learning-centre administrators, could complete Portal Peduli WNI and SBPK applications with families on site, so that the database is brought to families rather than families being expected to find the database. The second is offline-first outreach: periodic consular service days at learning centres and community sites, announced through community networks rather than only through social media, as Informant A's account of families who never received online information suggests.⁸⁴ Both measures fit within KBRI's existing authority and require no change to Malaysian law, which makes them the most immediately achievable steps

⁷⁸ Anshori and Lubis, "The Rights of Children from Illegal Marriages."

⁷⁹ Faizin, Alfitra, and Mansur, "Legalizing Unofficial Marriage for Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia."

⁸⁰ Hidayat et al., "Rights of Indonesian Migrant Workers' Children."

⁸¹ Allerton, "Contested Statelessness in Sabah, Malaysia."

⁸² Anita Yulastini and Yuko Fitriani, "Kesesuaian Hukum Indonesia dan Malaysia dengan Standar Internasional dalam Perlindungan Pekerja Migran," *Jurnal Hukum Lex Generalis* 6, no. 5 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.56370/jhlg.v6i5.992>.

⁸³ Hariyanto Hariyanto et al., "Toward Welfare-Driven Regional Autonomy: Strengthening Public Services in Indonesia," *Litigasi* 27, no. 1 (2026): 71–99, <https://doi.org/10.23969/litigasi.v27i1.39515>.

⁸⁴ Interview with Informant A, June 10, 2026.

toward making digital protection reachable.

This study has limitations. It rests on two cases and on the accounts of two informants, and the parents were not interviewed directly, so the findings are illustrative rather than representative. Further research should involve parents, JPN, JAWI, SIKL, and Malaysian child protection agencies, examine each family's documents, and measure how many children of migrant workers have been registered through SBPK and the Portal Peduli WNI.

CONCLUSION

This study finds that the two children identified at Sanggar Bimbingan Jalan Raja Alang, Kampung Bharu, were reported to have been born of religiously solemnised but unregistered marriages between undocumented Indonesian parents, a practice that adapts to precarious immigration status. Under Islamic law and Indonesian law, non-registration does not by itself nullify a marriage that fulfils its pillars and conditions, nor does it deprive the children of *nasab* or of Indonesian nationality by descent; they are undocumented and at risk, not stateless. Normative protection for their rights to identity, nationality, education, and health exists under Indonesian law, Malaysian law, and the CRC, and Indonesia provides free consular birth registration and an online civil registration system for citizens abroad. These protections remain only partly accessible because registration requires data that unregistered families lack, because parents fear that their data will reach immigration enforcement, and because of a digital divide in legal information, compounded by the limits of consular jurisdiction and cross-border coordination. The digitalisation of civil registration thus raises the cost of remaining outside the database while doing little, on its own, to bring these children in. Digital registration will protect them only when paired with evidentiary flexibility for children of unregistered marriages, an enforceable data firewall between civil registration and immigration enforcement agreed between Indonesia and Malaysia, and in-person outreach that reaches communities the online channels do not.

DECLARATION OF GENERATIVE AI AND AI-ASSISTED TECHNOLOGIES IN THE WRITING PROCESS

During the preparation of this work, the authors used Claude to translate, summarize, and rephrase text, as well as to improve language quality and readability. Following the use of this tool, the authors reviewed and edited the content as appropriate and take full responsibility for the contents of this publication.

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