

SANDWICH GENERATION: SOCIOLOGICAL DYNAMICS IN THE TRADITIONS OF MADURA SOCIETY FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

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Abstrak

This research aims to photograph and explore in depth the sociological phenomenon of the sandwich generation in the traditions of the Madurese community in Jember Regency. Especially those related to the sociological construction of the sandwich generation and the motivation for their upbringing from an Islamic perspective. In the process, this research uses a qualitative with ethnographic approach. Data collection techniques were carried out using in-depth interviews and observation. The data analysis used is ethnographic thematic analysis. The research findings in this study are [1] Sandwich generation in the Madurese community tradition is a construction and socio-religious fact, namely a social phenomenon that arises from the community's religious understanding. [2] Parenting motivation in the sandwich generation is driven by moral compensation, affective and theological impulses. Based on these practices and dynamics, Islam provides guidance that devotion to parents in any community and generation must be carried out sincerely and with full respect.

KeyWords: *Sandwich Generation, Fenomena Sosial, Sosio-religius*

INTRODUCTION

Sandwich Generation is a sociological terminology that represents a person's condition in carrying out two poles of responsibility simultaneously, namely parents who are aging and children who are starting to need costs (Khalil & Santoso, 2022, p. 77). This term was first popularized by an American professor, Dorothy Miller, who published it in the journal *Social Work* in 1981 (Miller, 1981, p. 419). In Indonesia, the existence of this generation can be seen from BPS data on the population dependency ratio. In 2022 the population dependency ratio will be 44.67 percent. Simply put, 45 per 100 people of non-productive age will depend on those of productive age for their livelihoods. Data from the 2020 Population Census also provides further projections of the dependency ratio in 2025 at 47.2 percent. And it will fall in 2030 to 46.9 percent and will rise again to 47.3 percent in 2035 (BPS Provinsi Aceh, 2021). Other factual data regarding the existence of the sandwich generation in Indonesia is the results of the 2020 Jakpat survey, showing that 48 percent of the Indonesian population is the sandwich generation, where their age is between 20-29 years (JAKPAT, 2020).

Initial research on this phenomenon was carried out by Miller. He paid attention to a group of career women who experienced psychological and financial pressure (Miller, 1981, p. 419). With this, he explains that in the long term, caregivers are needed

to reduce stress levels in career women and public policy to ease the financial burden of elderly people in the family (DeRigne & Ferrante, 2012, p. 95). Another study relevant to this context was also conducted by Shanty Sudarji. In the results of his research he explained that this generation has two forms of vulnerability, namely emotional and cognitive. According to him, this dynamic can be resolved with three strategies, namely confrontational strategies, seeking sufficient information support and problem solving planning (Sudarji et al., 2022, p. 262). Islamic Parenting in the Sandwich Generation is a topic of further study conducted by Salamiah. This study focuses on Islamic parenting methods for the Sandwich generation. Socialization, habituation, learning, integrity and understanding of religion are provisions for this generation to get through difficult times (Dewi et al., 2022, p. 182). A descriptive study conducted by Aang Supriatna which focused on society's views on the Sandwich Generation phenomenon concluded that the responsibility that comes simultaneously between children and people socially is not a disgrace, but rather a form of devotion from children towards their parents (Supriatna et al., 2022, p. 101).

Several studies on the Sandwich Generation as described above provide a significant illustration of the scientific position in this study. Where, factually, the Sandwich Generation is part of a social phenomenon that is present in society (Kusumaningrum, 2018, p. 109). This generation has also been shown to have increased psychological and financial burdens. If this cannot be addressed properly, in the long run it will become an obstacle to achieving the golden generation in 2045. Another perspective that fills the scientific discourse on the Sandwich Generation is the Islamic view on Parenting for the Sandwich Generation. This study, which focuses on the rights and obligations of children in the family, found that bearing the burden of parents and children simultaneously is a religious impulse (Dewi et al., 2022, p. 191). Thus, the study approach carried out previously was still particular, starting from social, psychological approaches, financial and religious.

Meanwhile, this study places and positions the Sandwich Generation as a sociological phenomenon that has implications for various aspects, especially psychological and financial. However, these scientific facts are often not considered a serious problem for some groups of society. This is due to the traditions, values and culture that they have accepted and believed in from generation to generation. Included in this context are traditions that occur in the Madurese community in Jember Regency. It has become a tradition among them that daughters and their families (husbands) must live with their parents. When parents have entered a non-productive age, it is the children who bear all their needs. In fact, at the same time the child has a new responsibility, namely caring for and paying for his baby. This portrait in modern social studies is called the Sandwich Generation.

This tradition assumes that the relationship pattern between children and parents is a reciprocal relationship that has been legitimized by religion. As a necessity, every parent or other vulnerable family has become the responsibility of their family or children. No matter how complicated and heavy the burden is, both psychologically and financially, the responsibility of fostering must still be carried out well. These facts are the focus of the study in this research, in particular: [1] Islamic views on the

relationship between children and parents in the sandwich generation which is a community tradition, [2] motivation for child care for parents in the Madurese community tradition from an Islamic perspective. More specifically, this study aims to reveal and explore the values, meanings held and motivations that underlie the social practices that occur. The final part intended in this study is to dialogue with the Islamic views contained in the Qur'an and hadith regarding this tradition.

METHOD

This study is qualitative research with an ethnographic approach. Ethnography is used in this research to explore traditions and describe cultural characteristics as part of the sociological domain, especially regarding the existence of the sandwich generation and the motivation for parenting carried out by the sandwich generation towards their parents. A more specific aim in using ethnography in research is to explore understanding and interpretation of each individual interaction in the Madurese community (Afifuddin & Sebani, 2012, p. 57).

This research was conducted in the Madurese Community in Gumuksari Village, Kalisat District, Jember Regency. The key informants who served as empirical references in this research consisted of the five Sandwich generations. From these informants, researchers explored the sociological construction of the sandwich generation, the basis that encouraged the birth of the sandwich generation and the parenting motivations of the sandwich generation. Meanwhile, the data mining process in this research used in-depth interview and observation techniques..

The data analysis technique used in this research is thematic ethnography, with the following stages: [1] mapping data based on the main focus categories from various informants, [2] providing an interpretation of each category, [3] reducing irrelevant data, [4] dialogue with Islamic views in the Qur'an and hadith. [5] compiled conclusions that were in accordance with the research focus (Creswell, 2014, p. 255). This entire series of analyzes is carried out before the display process and during the display process. This is done to ensure that no sarcastic data is entered when compiling research results.

DISCUSSION AND RESULT

Sociological dynamics is a change in behavior, order and traditions caused by individual interactions with other individuals, new knowledge and social systems (Midgley, 2005, p. 64). The interactions between individuals and communities that occur in a particular community will crystallize into a system of values and traditions that are firmly held. This pattern occurs in various groups, tribes and cultures in a region. Included in this context are facts about the Sandwich Generation in the Madurese community.

Sandwich Generation: Socio-Religious Facts

Historically, the Sandwich Generation occurred in a career woman who was struggling to provide for herself, her children and her parents. In its development, this discourse has expanded its dimensions among a group of middle-aged adults (Kubota et al., 2022, p. 25). Thus, this phenomenon does not only occur in women, but in anyone

who is struggling for multiple roles in their life. A son, a new family partner or a family partner from an extended family also has the same potential and opportunity to be part of this generation.

A group of Madurese people have a special tradition related to this phenomenon, namely that girls have a great opportunity to live with or close to their parents. The hope is that when their parents are old, the daughter will be the one to serve and fulfill her parents' living needs. Amin, is one of the families who from the start had high hopes for their child in the future when he grew up in a village and had a family.

I really hope that my child will care about me when he grows up. Moreover, if she is married, hopefully her husband can also understand, because I only have one daughter. [Interview Data: Amin, 17 December 2022].

This fact proves that the existence of the sandwich generation has indeed been consciously shaped by parents. This fact is part of a tradition that is always inherent in Madurese families. In more extreme practice, the existence of the sandwich generation is a manifestation of mechanical solidarity, namely social empathy which has become an integral part of the social system and works automatically (Jannah et al., 2018). Sociologically, this practice reflects the maturity of interactions between individuals in a family. The complete unity that is built within it necessitates the birth of high empathy. Meanwhile, on the other hand, it tends to give rise to excessive dependence between children and parents. This case is reflected in a portrait of one of Budi Hartono's family, he explained:

Since the beginning of my daughter's marriage, I haven't allowed her to go with her husband, because I'm worried that when I get old, there will be no one to take care of her mother. Moreover, since he was little, he was not used to going with other people, he was never separated from his mother. So I'm very worried. This is different from his older brother, who is used to living with his distant family. [Interview: Budi Hartono, December 18 2022]

From a theological aspect, this phenomenon is a derivative consequence of the Qur'an encouragement of filial piety to parents, as in the Qur'an verse in surah al Isra' 23:

وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوا إِلَّا إِيَّاهُ وَبِالْوَالِدَيْنِ إِحْسَانًا إِمَّا يَبُلُغَنَّ عِنْدَكَ الْكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَا أَوْ كِلَاهُمَا فَلَا تَقُلْ لَهُمَا أُفٍّ وَلَا تَنْهَرْهُمَا وَقُلْ لَهُمَا قَوْلًا كَرِيمًا (23)

And your Lord has commanded you not to worship other than Him and to do good to your parents as best as possible. If one of them or both of them reaches old age in your care, then never say to both of them the word "ah" and do not shout at them and say to them noble words. [QS. Al Isra', 23]

The Madurese people's understanding and traditions in designing their dependence on their children in old age are actually inspired by the Qur'an explanation of the forms and forms of filial piety towards their parents. According to Ar Razi, the form of filial piety (Sandwich Generation) towards parents applies in a general form, whether related to physical, psychological, material or moral treatment (Fakhrudin Ar-Razi, 2012, p. 284). This totality also negates the Madurese tradition which only

emphasizes girls. In fact, in one of the Prophet's hadiths it is explained that older siblings also have the same rights as their parents.

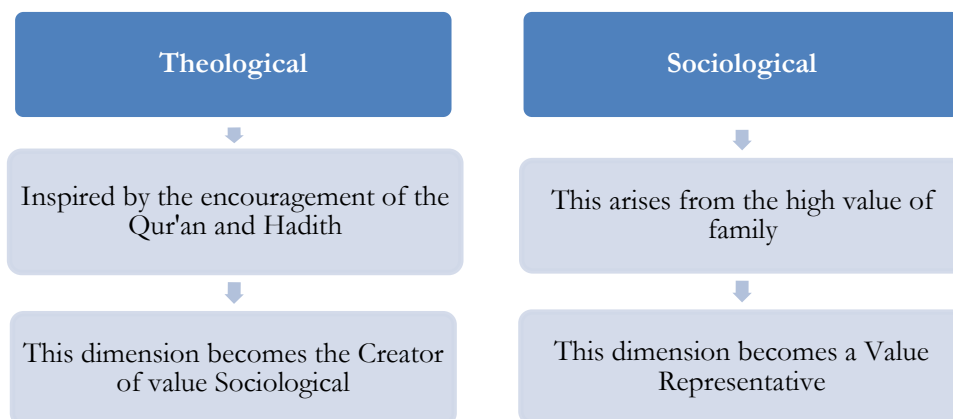
حَقُّ كَبِيرِ الْأَخْوَةِ عَلَى صَغِيرِهِمْ حَقُّ الْوَالِدِ عَلَى وَلَدِهِ

Older siblings have rights to their younger siblings as well as the rights of their parents.[HR. Imam Baihaki] (al Baihaki, 1989, p. 210)

The encouragement of empathy and family solidarity in Islam actually applies and targets all vulnerable humans, including one's own family. Starting from parents, siblings and other close relatives. Thus, apart from Madurese people having traditions or local wisdom regarding mechanical solidarity which can be established automatically between families, they also have religious foundations in Islam. The theological basis of the Madurese community tradition does not consider existing familial relationships and the consequences that arise from these relationships to be a problem. So, mental readiness and other social support have been prepared from an early age.

In this capacity as a socio-religious fact, the Sandwich generation in the Madurese community tradition has two dimensions, namely the theological and sociological dimensions. The theological dimension acts as a value creator while the sociological dimension functions as a value representative. Nevertheless, the sociological dimension has a more dominant role in controlling community traditions, this is proven by the fact that one Madurese family continues to force its married daughter to live in the extended family [Data: As previously described]. Even though she already has a more authoritative husband.

Figure 1: Dimensions of the Sandwich Generation in Madurese Society



Source: Researcher's Conceptual Formulation

The two dimensions that legitimize the growth and development of the sandwich generation even tend to ignore the psychological and material impacts they cause which are actually caused by a personal perspective. The reason is, for some people, the opportunity to take care of their needs and bear the dependence of their parents is a sacrifice. So, it is natural that this generation does not feel worried about the financial pressure that is occurring (Rari et al., 2021). They can still live it with full solemnity

and sincerity. The impact is, for those who sincerely do this, there will be no reward except ending with the blessing of life and happiness.

Sandwich Generation Parenting Motivation

Theoretically, the Sandwich generation is categorized into two types, namely *The Club Sandwich* and *The Open Faced Sandwich*. The Club Sandwich is an individual in a nuclear family who provides care for parents, children or elderly grandparents. This model of family relationship is also called *the Nuclear family* (Salamung et al., 2021, p. 2). Meanwhile, *The Open Faced Sandwich* is an individual or distant relative who is involved in the caregiving process for elderly relatives (Abramson, 2015, p. 251). Family relationships in this category are also called *Extended families*. In terms of age, the *Sandwich generation* ranges from 30-60 years.

As a relatively young generation, the sandwich generation has various tendencies and motivations in playing its role. This variety of motivation is determined by the family's upbringing since childhood, information support and personal awareness. This also happens in the Madurese community, where each Sandwich generation has different motivations and tendencies in carrying out their dual roles. The following are some of the sandwich generation's dual parenting motivations that researchers found:

1. Moral Compensation

One of the local wisdoms that is characteristic of the traditions of the Madurese people is strong kinship relations. Syamsuddin's research results explain that the kinship system in Madurese society reaches 4 previous generations (*ascending generations*) and 4 generations after (*descending generations*) (Syamsuddin, 2018). This model of kinship pattern is an indication of how a person should remember their ancestors and reciprocate favors. Remembering, telling stories and visiting each other is a real form of good relationships that exist in a family. Especially if the relationship occurs between children and parents. So it is something that is necessary if children are involved in parenting and are responsible for meeting the needs of parents and children simultaneously.

For the Sandwich generation in Madurese society, their involvement in meeting the material and psychological needs of their parents is due to moral encouragement. The reason is, parents have spent a lot of material, time, thoughts and energy on their family. Even in more concrete practice, there are parents who give a lot of inheritance to their children so that the Sandwich generation feels responsible to provide more compensation to their parents. This fact is based on an informant's statement:

I have 3 brothers. And I am one of the oldest in the family, younger brother number 2 goes with his wife, and the youngest brother goes with his husband. Because I was considered the child who had helped my parents the most since I was little, especially managing the prayer room and TPQ, I ended up living at home with my father. Now my father is starting to get old, so I manage all the assets and the prayer room. Including to fulfill needs generated from rice fields and gardens (Batutoh, Wawancara Pribadi, 2022).

The motivation to be totally devoted to parents in the Madurese community tradition is not only driven by a moral basis but is strengthened by material incentives and opportunities. Because, in fact, not all children have the same motivation in

carrying out their role as the sandwich generation. This motivation will be different if seen in relation to biological children from the sandwich generation, where their familial role is based on a motivation to invest in values, mentality, knowledge and time.

2. Affection Encouragement (Love)

Another aspect that drives or motivates the sandwich generation is love. This type of motivation is different from compensatory motivation. Affection drives place more responsibility or burdens as something enjoyable. For Madurese people, caring for children and taking care of parents are both manifestations of love (Firmansyah et al., 2022, p. 141). "Settong Dhere settong rasa" Meaning: (One blood, one taste) is a cultural adage that is inherent and upheld. They (the Madurese) will tend to do anything to protect and protect their relatives, especially their own family.

Another fact that researchers discovered is that the sandwich generation is not from their own family, but is the result of adoption (Madura: *Ngalak Anak*). Even though the adopted child has a blood family, the feeling of connection he experiences is still stronger towards the family that cares for him. This indicates that the motivation for parenting by the sandwich generation is very strongly related to affection. This fact was discovered by researchers through an interview with one of the informants:

Kule mulai kenik ampon dikalak anak bik pak aji. Oningnga kule pak aji nika reng seppo kule, mun pon pak aji sakek, engghi kule se ngurus. [Meaning: Since childhood, I have been adopted by Mr. Haji-Salim. With that, he knew from childhood that Mr. Haji Salim was his biological parent. Even now, I am the one who takes care of Mr. Haji Salim's needs] (Hasanah, Wawancara Pribadi, 2022).

The stretch of time spent together by the informant with his parents and children is a factor that shapes the emergence of feelings of affection. It is based on this feeling that the sandwich generation is willing to sacrifice their time, thoughts and materials for the sake of parenting. This phenomenon can also be found among social activists, especially those who devote themselves to orphanages, both for children and the elderly. The basis that drives them is human values and compassion. With this we can understand that becoming a sandwich generation is a choice that requires a high level of empathy and solidarity. So it is not surprising that in the traditions of the Madurese people, since childhood, children have been exposed to an attitude of service and love of friendship. The aims and objectives are nothing other than to foster solidarity and sensitivity towards the family. In an interview, Moh. Salim explained:

Especially for my family, I often don't say that family is the most important thing. I emphasize harmony with my children. I don't mean to be fanatical, but if something happens, the family will be in front. I often visit other families, nothing, just so my children know that they are related. Getting to know each other between families is important, so that the relationship is not broken (Salim, Wawancara Pribadi, 2022).

This explanation emphasizes that the intensity of communication and interaction between families determines the level of inner closeness. Inner closeness will give birth to empathy and solidarity between families (N. Funay, 2020, p. 107). The habit of gathering, eating together, worshiping together in one house is an important habit in

fostering a sense of affection between families. With this feeling, in time the Sandwich generation will be more mentally prepared to carry out its role. Financial factors which are many obstacles are not a problem for most Madurese people. The spirit of helping and being willing to sacrifice for the sake of the family is one of the keys and magnets of sustenance that they believe in.

3. Theological Motivation

Family discourse is one of the discussions that is mentioned relatively often in the Qur'an. The mention of this term is also very diverse. According to Umar Faruq Thohir, there are at least 4 terms used in the Qur'an to describe this context. [1] *al ahlu*, (home experts, residents, owners and families), repeated 113 times. [2] *al-dzurriyyah* (descendants) is repeated 32 times. [3] *al-rahth* (kin or community of relatives), repeated 3 times. [4] *al-qurbah* or *dzawil qurbah*, (extended family or nuclear family) is mentioned 15 times (Thohir, 2015, p. 4). The various mentions in the Qur'an about the family show the urgency and position of the family in Islam. This is quite logical, considering that the family is the place where every human being is raised and educated. The good and bad conditions of the family are a reflection of the life of the outside community (Tamam, 2018, p. 12).

In a more specific phenomenon, the success of a family can be seen from the roles played by each family member in protecting, educating and serving. Especially educational patterns and internalization of values that are in accordance with Islam. Making the Qur'an and Hadith a guide in life goals, motivation and interaction patterns. Madurese society is a social community that is very fanatical about religious values, so it is not surprising that all behavior, social activities and family interactions are always based on Islamic teachings. The following is one view from the Madurese community regarding this context:

We as Muslims strongly believe that filial piety to parents is a path of goodness that can bring happiness in life. Ridlo of parents is Ridlo of Allah. *Ca'en ghuru, bepak-bebhuk, ghuru Rato* (The word teacher: fathers, mothers, teachers and rulers) is an adage that is adhered to by us. I myself often have extraordinary experiences, perhaps as a reward for my devotion to my parents. Because when I was little I was never allowed by my parents to work far away, I even married someone far away. But *al-Hamdulillah*, economically I always have enough.

Even though this explanation seems a bit mystical (semi-scientific), devotion to parents which is based on the beliefs and commands of the Qur'an can be explained scientifically. Where, the inner attachment of a child and parents will always make a person's psychological condition dependent on permission from parents. So, whatever children do with a calm and focused state of mind will be more optimal and productive. This psychological condition can, in time, form optimism, and optimism will form enthusiasm, then enthusiasm will produce productivity. This is how this condition can be understood scientifically.

Table 1: Sandwich Generation Parenting Motivation

CHILDREN	SANDWICH GENERATION	PARENTS
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Moral Investment	Compensation	Moral Reciprocity
Forms of Love	Affection	Forms of Love
Religious Obligations	Theological	Religious Responsibilities

Source: Researcher's Formulation

The formulation of motivation for parenting by the sandwich generation for children and their parents at the same time is actually a pattern of family relations that has been ordered by Allah in the Qur'an. There are 3 verses in 3 surahs in the Qur'an that are very relevant to this context, namely: al-Ankabut: 29 verse 8, al-Ahqof: 46 verse 15, and Luqman: 31 verse 14. All of these verses give the same message about how children must be filial. to parents.

وَوَصَّيْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ بِوَالِدَيْهِ حَمَلَتْهُ أُمُّهُ وَهْنًا عَلَىٰ وَهْنٍ وَفِصَالُهُ فِي عَامَيْنِ أَنِ اشْكُرْ لِي
وَلِوَالِدَيْكَ إِلَيَّ الْمَصِيرُ (14) [لقمان: 14]

And We commanded person (to do good) to his two parents; his mother had conceived him in a state of increasing weakness, and weaned him in two years. Give thanks to Me and to your two parents, to Me alone is your return. [QS. Luqman: 14]

Even though this verse specifically explains filial piety towards mothers, the main intention of this verse is that it applies to mothers and fathers. Thus, ethically there is no difference between filial piety to mother and father. This explanation was emphasized by al Mawardi in his interpretation, where he explained that the encouragement to do good to both parents as intended by the verse applies to all humans and to all parents (Bashari, 2007, p. 335). Allah's command in this verse is emphasized in a hadith which explains specifically the importance of filial piety to parents in the elderly. A period when parents really need protection, attention and fulfillment of other material needs.

أبو هريرة - رضي الله عنه - قال : سمعتُ رسولَ الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - يقول: رَغِمَ أَنْفُهُ ، رَغِمَ أَنْفُهُ ، رَغِمَ أَنْفُهُ قِيلَ : مَنْ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ؟ قال : مَنْ أَدْرَكَ وَالِدَيْهِ عِنْدَ الْكِبَرِ : أَحَدُهُمَا أَوْ كِلَاهِمَا تَمَّ لَمْ يَدْخُلِ الْجَنَّةَ . هذه رواية مسلم.

Abu Hurairah ra, said that he heard the Rasulallah saw., 'Woe to someone, woe and woe.' Then the Companions asked, 'Who is, Rasulallah?' Then the Rasulallah answered, 'he who finds both his parents old (elderly) either one or both, then he does not enter heaven,'" (HR Muslim) (Atsir, n.d., p. 400)

In another hadith, the virtue of khidmah and devotion to parents is of the same value as worship compared to physical jihad. Jihad that risks one's life turns out to be equated with serving elderly parents. The similarity between the two lies in the intention and motivation that must be instilled, namely the intention to worship Allah.

جَاءَ رَجُلٌ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَاسْتَأْذَنَهُ فِي الْجِهَادِ فَقَالَ أَحْيِي وَالِدَاكَ قَالَ نَعَمْ قَالَ فَفِيهِمَا فَجَاهِدْ

A friend came to Rasulullah SAW and asked for permission to join the jihad. Then the Rasulullah SAW asked, 'Are your parents still alive?' he answered "Still". Then Rasulullah saw said, 'On (the care of) both of them, strive for jihad,'" (HR Muslim, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi, An-Nasa'i, and Ibnu Majah) (bin Hambal, n.d., p. 445).

The emphasis in this hadith is that caring for parents is part of jihad. In jihad there are several important elements, namely: Sincere intention to uphold the Religion of Allah, capital, wealth and energy, then sufficient knowledge about war. When compared to the context of caring for parents, the sandwich generation must have sincere intentions and motivation in devotion, sacrifice of wealth, time and thoughts, as well as a pattern of approach to parenting. This emphasis on parenting patterns is also emphasized by Allah in the Qur'an surah al Isra' verse 23 regarding good (gentle) communication patterns. The reason is, elderly parents tend to be weak, miscommunication occurs easily, so a level of patience, patience and special techniques are needed in caring for them.

Meanwhile, regarding parenting patterns for children, the Prophet Muhammad stated that every person who is devoted to his parents, in the future his children will also be devoted to him. In a hadith it is said as follows:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: بَرُّوا آبَاءَكُمْ تَبَرَّكُمْ أَبْنَاؤُكُمْ

The Prophet Muhammad SAW said: do good to your parents, and your children will do good to you. [HR. Al Hakim] (Annaisaburi, n.d., p. 154)

The explanation of the verses and hadith above provides several important notes about the patterns and dynamics of generational sandwiches that occur in the traditions of Madurese society. *First*, that doing kindness or devotion to parents is not just monopolized by one child, but applies to all children and close relatives. *Second*, solidarity for the family is not only carried out with the nuclear family, but must occur with all families, both close and distant families. *Third*, parenting patterns for children and parents that occur simultaneously are not optional, but must be carried out according to their respective portions.

CONCLUSION

In accordance with the focus of the study conducted by the researchers, several findings were obtained on this topic, namely: that the sandwich generation in Madurese society is part of a traditional or sociological construct. This tradition continues to this day due to people's religious views that the sandwich generation phenomenon is not a problem. It can even be considered an opportunity to show devotion to parents. Thus it can be said that the sandwich generation in the Madurese tradition is a socio-religious reality. It is a tradition built on people's religious awareness.

Meanwhile, the motivation to simultaneously care for parents and children in this generation is based on three types of encouragement, namely moral encouragement, affective encouragement and theological encouragement. Morally, a child should and should play multiple roles when his parents are old. From an affective aspect, a child

must have an inner bond with their parents, so that they have a sense of duty to take care of their elderly parents. The final motivation in the parenting pattern of the sandwich generation is the theological encouragement, that children's devotion to their parents will result in compensation in the afterlife, happiness and blessings in life. This encouragement is the basis for the dual role played by the sandwich generation in Madurese society.

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