

The Happiness of the Sandwich Generation in Bali: the Roles of Family, Social, and Balinese Culture

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Abstract

The sandwich generation in Bali, especially Gianyar, which is still thick with its culture, has a dual role in the family, as caregivers for children and parents, breadwinners, and is actively involved in community activities. This study aims to analyze the influence of cultural norms in moderating the effect of family roles and social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation. The samples were 203 generations of sandwiches obtained through accidental sampling techniques and analyzed using Moderated Regression Analysis (MRA). The results showed that cultural norms, social support, and family roles significantly influence the happiness of the sandwich generation. Meanwhile, cultural norms were not variables that moderate the effect of family roles and social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation. This study proposed two central policies to break the sandwich generation chain in Gianyar Regency: socializing the importance of financial literacy so that in the future, a person does not depend on his child for life and forming a parent empowerment group to reduce the burden of the sandwich generation.

Keywords:

cultural norms; family roles; happiness; social support

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INTRODUCTION

Subjective welfare, namely happiness, is one of the measurements of population welfare in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) or Sustainable Development Goals (TPB). Happiness is a measure of the overall feeling of well-being or subjective well-being. Happiness or life satisfaction measures how much a person assesses his quality of life well. Asia is currently undergoing demographic change due to the transition of the adult to the old age bracket, resulting in an aging population. This demographic transformation affects society and its socio-cultural norms. This condition also affects families who live in Asian countries, including Indonesia, since joint family arrangements are a common practice in almost all Asian countries, where the care of elderly parents is considered mandatory and becomes a responsibility of the child. The "Sandwich Generation" term was commonly used in the United States during 1981, defined as middle-aged people around 30-45 years old, living with parents and children who are elderly and responsible for caring for children and parents.

The sandwich generation is people (usually middle-aged) who have a dual role, namely being responsible for their children who still live together at home and also being responsible for their parents and in-laws. The position between two generations makes a person like a sandwich. PEW Research Center data shows that the sandwich generation feels happier daily than others, but the sandwich generation feels more rushed than others. This condition is because the sandwich generation has to care for its parents and children, which is very rushed. However, the current generation prefers to care for children and their parents without choosing one of them. If it is forced to choose, the current generation prefers to care for their children compared to their parents. In addition, the most significant generational choice is to take care of the children and their parents, causing the sandwich generation to occur.

The sandwich generation divides their resources between their children and their aging parents. In its development over the past few years, as the millennial generation has begun to be in a time to care for their aging parents, the dynamics of the definition of the "sandwich generation" has transitioned to become a "sandwich generation group" consisting of four generations of interdependent families. Ahmad et al. (2018) state that the sandwich generation faces conflict when family responsibilities and work demands must be completed simultaneously. Furthermore, the potential for this conflict is higher in groups of low-income individuals and affects the quality of life of the sandwich generation (Noor & Isa, 2020).

The sandwich generation is forced between the demands of children and parenting responsibilities. Simultaneously, they must deal with work-family conflict when family responsibilities and pressures collide with work and demands (Maon et al., 2016). Work and family conflicts always arise in low-income groups, affecting their work and family life satisfaction (Ahmad et al., 2016). Therefore, the sandwich generation fulfills a dual responsibility in the form of child support and care of elderly parents. The sandwich generation tends to be reluctant to withdraw from their filial obligations to their parents even though sometimes caring for the elderly becomes challenging due to various chronic

diseases of old age. According to Phua et al. (2016), the sandwich generation in Asian countries feels responsible for caring for elderly family members as a measure of the respect and duties expected of a son or daughter. In this regard, Phua et al. (2019) state that Asians have stronger feelings of guilt than Americans. Therefore, Asian people always try hard to do their best for the welfare of their families, including Indonesians (Ahmad et al., 2016). Financial problems sometimes make the sandwich generation feel stressed, so social support is needed to energize them.

Based on SPTK data for 2017 and 2021, the level of happiness in Bali has decreased by 1.04%. However, the older the Balinese, the higher the level of happiness, where the happiness of residents aged 41-64 years is higher than those aged less than 40 years. This condition is because sandwich generation residents have to pay for and take care of their children and parents. Gianyar is one of the areas in Bali that is still thick with its culture, so the sandwich generation has to be active in *mebraya* not to be ostracized by the surrounding community. The culture of caregivers for children and parents is also a culture that must be carried out in Gianyar. Balinese culture is indeed known to have uniqueness compared to other cultures. Being born with Balinese culture is required to face social reality in a culture that plays a role and is influential in life's order and customary rules. In Balinese culture, a married son must care for and support his children and parents. If a son is married, he will have one roof and one kitchen with his parents so that when they have children, they will have additional responsibilities, namely caring for and supporting their children. This fact shows that the Balinese culture obliged to remain with their parents after marriage still occurs today. One thing related to Balinese culture that a person must carry out after marriage is *mebanjar*. *Mebanjar* is defined as participation in events such as religious events that are related to culture and bond. Someone who does the *Banjar* must participate in mutual cooperation whenever there is a religious ceremony, maintain the environment, and help (*ayah-ayahan*) related to the continuity of religious ceremonies.

Banjar is known as a way of dividing administrative areas that only exists in Bali, which has a function as a legal unit with certain regional boundaries and is under the sub-district or village and has the same role as the pillars of the community (Baihaqi, 2022). *Banjar* in an *adat banjar* area is tasked with assisting (*ngayah*) in traditional villages in organizing religious and cultural activities in the local village. The sandwich generation in Bali is inseparable from the cultural norms in the *banjar* where they live. Apart from having responsibilities towards children and parents, cultural norms are also the responsibility of the sandwich generation as *krama banjar*. Every religious activity in Bali is always guided by the teachings of Tri Hita Karana so that in carrying out organizational activities, harmony among members is well established (Baihaqi, 2022).

Carrying out duties as a *Banjar* member must be kept from interactions with other members. As a Balinese cultured person who participates in *Banjar* activities, he is required to cooperate in various activities in the *Banjar* along with other members. In Bali, someone who is married, works, and is obliged to take care of their children and parents tends to be in a hurry when there are activities in the *Banjar* that require them

to participate before a religious ceremony takes place. If we rarely participate in activities in the *Banjar*, we will usually be subject to a fine in the form of money and a week of *Banjar* (excommunication). So, it is not uncommon for someone to pay someone else to represent their family in helping activities (*ngayah*) in the *Banjar* when it is busy. If someone is already active, it will be easy for him to get social support from other people around his residence who are still in the same hamlet. According to Wijesinghe et al. (2015), social support can make the sandwich generation feel calmer than others. In contrast, according to Schleider et al. (2015), the family's role is essential in the sandwich generation to avoid sinking into feeling stressed and tired. It can interfere with his subjective well-being, namely his happiness.

According to Kusumaningrum (2018), social support is the support received by those closest to the individual. Social support can be obtained from family, friends, and support from people around the residence who are still in the same hamlet. Social support is a form of comfort, attention, appreciation, or assistance that individuals receive from other people or a group. Social support can be in the form of emotional, appreciation, instrumental, information, and group support.

The sandwich generation, who gets good social support from friends, tends to be more able to control themselves so that their feelings are not too late in their enormous responsibility because the sandwich generation has a more significant number of family dependents when compared to the non-sandwich generation. The more significant number of family dependents causes the sandwich generation to have financial obligations that tend to be higher and a smaller proportion of free time than the non-sandwich generation. In Standard Economic Theory, individual happiness is derived from satisfaction, which is influenced by income and leisure. In addition, status as the sandwich generation also has a negative impact on marital conditions and health, causing stress, anxiety, and sadness. This condition indicates that the sandwich generation needs social support. In line with the results of this study, research by Hopps et al. (2017) in the United States found that groups of individuals who care for their parents feel more pressure when compared to those who do not have similar responsibilities.

The time taken to look after and pay for children and parents, plus having to pray in *Banjar*, makes the generation of sandwiches rush, so the role of the family is very much needed. Families that support each other in matters of *ngayah* tend to make the sandwich generation feel helped because they are able to reduce the burden of obligations that must be carried out. In Bali, the role of a wife who can help her husband in terms of *ngayah* and participate in fulfilling the family's finances will significantly help her husband live his life as the sandwich generation. With the role of the family and the wife's support, the sandwich generation will feel they have space to manage life and design their own family's future and not feel burdened alone. Some sandwich generation who are classified as low-income admit that they can barely save, let alone invest because their income is used up to cover the basic needs of themselves, their families, and their parents. Therefore, they do not dare to dream of increasing their welfare, let alone having their own home.

According to previous research, individuals who can achieve their desires in the family or a social environment will feel happier (Purwaningsih, 2021). In addition, Zhang et al. (2018) analyze the living conditions of households in China, showing that the number of family members and the head of the family play an important role in household happiness. Meanwhile, research by Huang et al. (2017) states that women play an essential role in a happy household life. Happiness is usually influenced by how wealthy a person is and in terms of health and other factors (Tsegei, 2018). Previous research by Cheng et al. (2016) shows that the role of the head of the family in creating family happiness is enormous.

Previous research by Evans et al. (2016) examined the female sandwich generation and found its result that the female sandwich generation had six balanced strategies in carrying out the dual roles of caregivers for parents and children, namely: maintaining health and well-being, suppressing perfectionism, managing time and energy, relinquishing responsibility, maintaining social relationships and reciprocity. Rari et al. (2022) conclude that the variables that directly affect happiness are health and income, while the number of family dependents and free time do not have a direct effect. The results of their research also stated that parents in large families are not considered a burden for the sandwich generation.

Previous research by Hartini (2022) found results that the subjective well-being of the sandwich generation decreased because it has a dual role, namely caring for and providing financial support for parents and their children. The demanding sandwich generation needs to maintain their subjective well-being in good quality. This condition explains that if the level of caregiver burden increases, it will decrease the level of subjective well-being.

The difference between this study and previous research is in the research variables. Previous studies have focused on responsibility, health, well-being, perfectionism, free time, social relations, number of family members, health conditions, and monthly household income. In this study, the variables focused on cultural norms, family roles, and social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation. The novelty of this study lies in examining the influence of culture in moderating the role of the family on happiness. In previous research, this is the first time anyone has investigated cultural variables, especially culture in Gianyar Regency, Bali Province.

Noor & Isa (2020), highlighting the sandwich generation concept that focuses on the responsibility of caring for parents and children in Malaysia. Their research showed that finances, emotions, a bleak future, stress, lack of savings, and time management are the main problems facing the sandwich generation in Malaysia. The contribution of this research is expected to provide strategies for the sandwich generation in maintaining and increasing their happiness in their roles, namely as caregivers and participating in activities in the community.

METHODS

This research was conducted in Gianyar Regency, Bali Province. This locale was chosen because Gianyar Regency is one of the areas in the Province of Bali with forms of

cultural norms and local wisdom, one of which is strong Tri Hita Karana. Forms of local wisdom in society can be in the form of culture (values, norms, ethics, beliefs, customs, customary law, and special rules). This research focuses on studying the variables of cultural norms, social support, family roles, and the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency.

The variables used in this study are cultural norms (X1), which adopt the Tri Hita Karana culture in Hindu religious teachings according to Bhagawad-Gita (III.10), namely Parahyangan, Pawongan, and Palemahan. The social support variable (X2) is measured by indicators according to Kusumaningrum (2018): Family Support, Friend Support, and Support of other people around the residence. Family role variable (X3) as measured by indicators according to Fahrudin (2012) and Noor & Isa (2020), namely: husband's role, family openness, and frequency of conflicts in the family. The Happiness Variable (Y) measured according to Evans et al. (2016), namely: (1) Sleep, nutrition, meeting health needs, and exercise, (2) Time out, pampering leisure, and (3) Reward.

The population in this study is the entire object that is the research target, namely the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency. Based on the generation theory in the literature review, the sandwich generation is a generation that enters the X and Y generations born in 1969-1988 and is currently 35-54 years old. Based on population data from the Central Bureau of Statistics for Gianyar Regency, the total population of Gianyar Regency who entered the sandwich generation category, aged 35-54 years, was 153,800. Sample (n) was obtained through a non-probability sampling technique, namely by accidental sampling. The sample was determined using an accidental sampling technique. It was determined by taking respondents who were available at a research location that was appropriate to the research context, namely the working sandwich generation who already have children and are supporting their parents. Sampling in this study is per district in Gianyar Regency (7 districts) with the same number of samples. This sampling is due to the unavailability of specific data regarding sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency, so that the proportion is the same and all sub-districts in Gianyar Regency are represented, sampling is carried out per sub-district with the same number of 29 sandwich generations. The number of sub-districts in Gianyar Regency is seven, where each sub-district is proportional to 29 sandwich generations, so a sample of 203 sandwich generations is obtained. The data collection method uses a questionnaire, namely structured interviews.

The first stage is carried out through literature study, by collecting data or literature from the research results to get a general overview and to plan the appropriate analysis to solve the problems. The research data were analyzed by moderating variable regression or Moderated Regression Analysis (MRA) using Smart PLS because MRA is a way that can be used to test the moderating effect by using a program by including the moderating variable then the multiplication between the independent variables and the moderating variables (Ghozali, 2021). This will usually lead to a non-linear relationship so that the measurement error of the estimated MRA coefficient when using latent variables becomes inconsistent and biased. So the solution that can be done is to use a structural equation

model where SEM can correct this measurement error by including the effect of interaction into the model using the Smart PLS program (Ghozali, 2021). The mathematical equation is described as follows:

$$Y_1 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_3 X_1 + \beta_5 X_3 X_2 \quad (1)$$

Where:

Y_1 = The happiness of the sandwich generation

X_1 = Cultural Norm

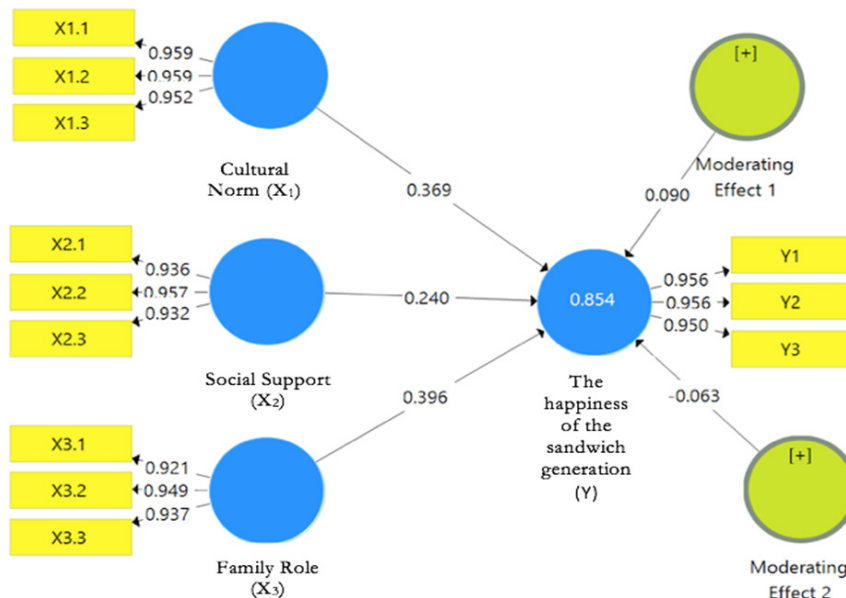
X_2 = Social support

X_3 = Family role

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of testing the validity and reliability of the instrument showed that the research instrument for all variables is valid and reliable. Likewise, the validity and reliability tests of construct indicators of latent variable cultural norms, social support, family roles, and happiness with reflexive indicators are valid and reliable. The value of the Goodness of Fit structural model in the PLS analysis is a predictive-relevance (Q2) value, obtained by 85.2%, meaning that the model can explain empirical phenomena about the variables that affect happiness by 85.2%. The rest is influenced by errors and other variables that still need to be included in the model.

Figure 1. Full Structural Model



The factor loading value showed the weight of each dimension as a measure of each variable. Dimensions with extensive factor loading indicated that this dimension is the strongest (dominant) variable measurer. The cross-loading value in this study was obtained greater than 0.6, so it can be stated that the data in the study are valid. The

square root value of each AVE was obtained for (0.957; 0.942; 0.936; 0.954), which is greater than the correlation of each construct, so it can be said that the model is valid when viewed from discriminant validity. The value of Cronbach's alpha and Composite reliability for each variable is more significant than 0.70, so it can be stated that the data in the study are reliable. The results of hypothesis testing can be seen in Table 1 and Figure 2.

The results of the data analysis in Table 1 showed that cultural norms have a positive and significant effect on the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency, which is indicated by the coefficient value of 0.369. This result means that if cultural norms increase by 1 point from the respondent's answer, the happiness of the sandwich generation will increase by 0.369 points assuming other variables are constant. Social support showed a positive influence on the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency, which is indicated by the coefficient value of 0.240. This result means that if social support increases by 1 point from the respondent's answer, the happiness of the sandwich generation will increase by 0.240 points, assuming that other variables are constant.

Table 1. Statistical Path Coefficient Test Results

	Original Sample	Sample Mean	Standard Deviation	t-statistics	P Values
Cultural Norm (X_1) -> The happiness of the sandwich generation (Y)	0.369	0.347	0.096	3.882	0.000
Social support (X_2) -> The happiness of the sandwich generation (Y)	0.240	0.237	0.080	3.011	0.003
Family role (X_3) -> The happiness of the sandwich generation (Y)	0.396	0.403	0.083	4.747	0.000
Moderating Effect 1 -> The happiness of the sandwich generation (Y)	0.090	0.076	0.081	1.116	0.265
Moderating Effect 2 -> The happiness of the sandwich generation (Y)	-0.063	-0.062	0.081	0.784	0.433

Source: Data processing (2023)

The role of the family also showed a positive influence on the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency, which is indicated by a coefficient value of 0.396. The analysis of Table 1 on moderating effect 1 showed that cultural norms cannot moderate the effect of family roles on the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency, which is indicated by a significant level of 0.265. This result means that the size of cultural norms cannot influence the family's role in the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency.

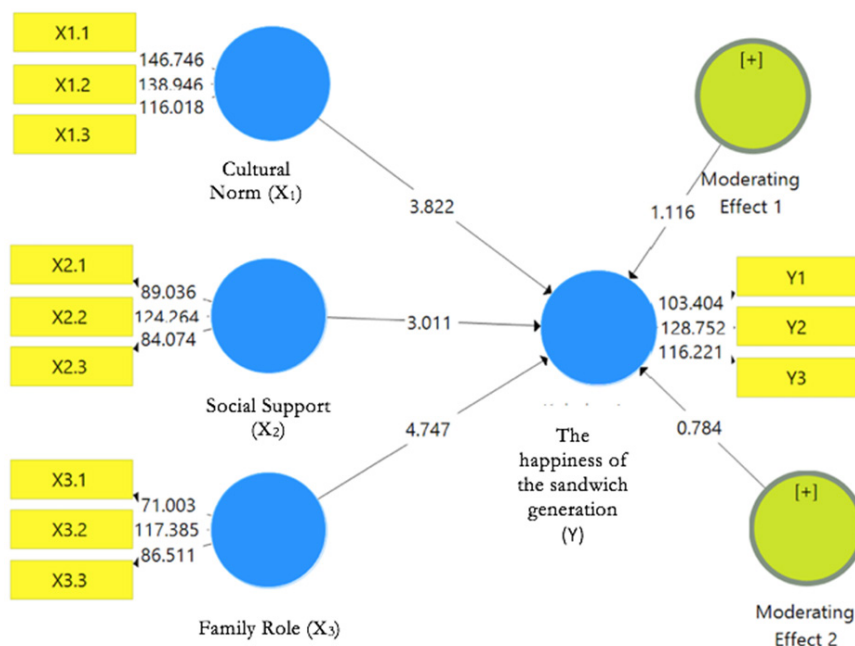
Cultural norms are also unable to moderate the effect of social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency, which is shown by a significant level of 0.433. This result means that the size of cultural norms cannot influence the family's role in the happiness of the sandwich generation in the Gianyar Regency. An

overview of the results of the Moderated Analysis Regression (MRA) analysis is shown in Figure 2.

The results of the analysis in the table 1 showed that the relationship between cultural norms (X1) on happiness (Y), social support (X2) on happiness (Y), and family role (X3) on happiness (Y), which has a positive and significant effect by comparing t values -count that is greater than the t-table which is 1.96 and by comparing the P-Values which is smaller than alpha 0.05. Meanwhile, cultural norms (X1) are not a variable that moderates the effect of family roles (X3) and social support (X2) on happiness (Y), with P-Values of 0.265 and 0.433, which are more significant than 0.05.

The results of the analysis showed that cultural norms have a positive effect on the happiness of the sandwich generation. This condition is indicated by the t-statistic value of 3.882. This result means that the greater the cultural norms, the greater the happiness of the sandwich generation. The cultural norms variable consists of three indicators, namely *Parahyangan* (harmonious relationship between humans and God which is manifested by *yadnya* in everyday life), *Pawongan* (harmonious relationship between humans and humans manifested by *pitra*, receipt, or *manusa yadnya*), and *Palembanghan*, namely the relationship between harmony between humans and their natural environment which is manifested by *tumpek wariga*).

Figure 2. Moderated Analysis Regression (MRA) Results Diagram



Cultural norms positively affect the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency because they apply cultural norms in their lives, such as praying every day, namely the process of calming themselves, in which praying will make the sandwich generation feel calmer than others. Activities carried out by the sandwich generation in

their neighborhood related to cultural norms, such as cooperation or *ngayah* at every religious ceremony, will also make the respondents in this study feel calmer and happier. The activities carried out in the environment where they live, which allow the respondent to interact with the people around them, will cause the respondent to forget for a moment fatigue as a sandwich generation. This result aligns with Baihaqi (2022) that every religious activity is, of course, always guided by Tri Hita Karana's teachings so that harmony among members is well established in activities.

Some of the problems faced by respondents in applying cultural norms were that respondents felt they were unable to do some of the things ordered when applying cultural norms, such as when directed to make *kelabang* (strengths from coconut leaves) for religious ceremonies but the respondent could not, so the respondent that is the sandwich generation will feel uncomfortable and often get ridiculed from the surrounding environment. Several strategies were used by respondents when they encountered problems like this, namely, respondents choosing to carry out other activities that they felt capable of doing.

Research results by Wilai et al. (2020) show that living together without problems is a core category of family happiness, which involves close relationships, mutual care, and security. Families need to balance these components when dealing with stress. Health professionals must focus on caring and communication within families to increase family happiness. Sulastri & Kusuma research (2022) shows that culture is closely related to happiness. Rahman & Wongkaren (2022) also show that cultural norms positively affect happiness. Previous research by Matsunaga et al. (2018) showed that cultural factors influence the importance assigned to subjective and contextual happiness dimensions. Different cultural backgrounds also influence Several aspects of happiness (Song et al., 2020). Previous research by Rajhans et al. (2016) and Liu et al. (2021) showed that cultural variation is the initial stage of the life cycle that a person feels in his life that affects happiness.

The results of the analysis showed that social support has a positive effect on the happiness of the sandwich generation. Social support in this study is information and feedback from other people, which shows that a person is loved and cared for, valued and respected, and is involved in a network of communication and reciprocal obligations. The social support variable consists of three indicators: family support (support from family such as relatives), friend support (support from peers), and support from other people around the place where they live in one hamlet. Social support positively affects sandwich generation happiness in Gianyar Regency because the support obtained by respondents in this study, namely sandwich generation, causes respondents to feel they have a place to express their feelings and thoughts. Relatives or friends of the respondent who are the interaction partner and exchange of thoughts from the respondent will generally calm the respondent when a problem occurs. Respondents with a place and support from relatives or friends around their residence will feel happier because this sandwich generation does not feel alone but has received support from those around them. Social support can make individuals feel calm, cared for, and loved and develop self-confidence and competence.

Some of the problems the sandwich generation faces in the surrounding environment, namely jealousy in the environment around where they live, make them uncomfortable. Respondents felt that if their family looked harmonious and could meet their needs, it would cause some people around them to show jealousy, which was shown by spreading rumors that were not true about their household. Some respondents were ignorant of their neighbor's jealousy, which caused the respondent to be more awake and happy.

Previous research conducted by Delle et al. (2016) and Cabanas & Gonzalez-Lamas (2022) states that happiness is achieved by a person when he achieves satisfaction with life. Their research combines subjective, psychological, and broader social, relational, or contextual dimensions to support happiness. Other socially related aspects of happiness have been identified by Doh & Chung (2020), the dimensions of social support which are considered to reflect "inner harmony" and "social harmony" which can create happiness. Regulating positive emotions and good social behavior is the key for someone to feel happy in their surroundings (Reyes-Garcia et al., 2021). Shapouri (2022) showed that social support positively affects happiness. To achieve this happiness, working women need social support from the people around them, including family, colleagues, husbands, and children. Social support positively affects happiness (Guo et al., 2018; Su et al., 2022).

There are several possible mechanisms linking social capital and happiness. Individuals with solid relationships with family, friends, neighbors, and the community have better physical health and can indirectly improve their subjective well-being. Rahman & Wongkaren (2022) state that social capital positively and significantly affects happiness. Good relationships with friends, family, and society make a person avoid loneliness so that they will feel happier. This result means that in Gianyar Regency, children, and their parents are only sometimes a burden for the head of the household or their partner.

The results of the analysis showed that the role of the family has a positive effect on the happiness of the sandwich generation. The role of the family has a positive effect on the happiness of the sandwich generation, which means that the more significant the role of the family, the greater the happiness of the sandwich generation. The support obtained by the respondents in this study, namely the sandwich generation, especially from their partner, greatly influenced their happiness. The sandwich generation, who gets support from their partners in caring for children and parents, will feel happier because they do not feel alone carrying out their obligations. Openness from partners also greatly affects the happiness of the sandwich generation. With openness, the respondents feel more valued, which will minimize conflicts in the household.

Some of the respondents in this study hoped to create happiness for their children and their parents, to repay their parents who had given birth and cared for them. Hence, the respondents, the sandwich generation, wanted to make their parents happy. However, in doing so, there were still some respondents who encountered a problem, namely, when the respondent was working, the parents felt tired because they were taking care of children from the sandwich generation, and it was not uncommon for their parents to complain because they were never given rewards, such as being invited to go on walks. Parents who feel tired will be more easily offended in the family, causing irritable feelings

that can trigger problems in the family, which will undoubtedly disrupt the happiness of the sandwich generation.

Subsequent studies have shown that decreasing mental health status due to various household problems affects happiness (Shevlin et al., 2021). Improvements in life satisfaction and happiness have been studied and influenced by family roles (Greyling et al., 2021) and (Gutierrez-Cobo et al., 2022). A study by Henseke et al. (2022) states that the size of the role of the family influences happiness. Previous research has also stated that individuals valued more by those around them will feel happier (Bimonte et al., 2022; Paz et al., 2022). Parents who live with the sandwich generation can help the sandwich generation carry out their duties and responsibilities at home, such as taking care of their children. Zhahira & Utami (2017) showed that the role of the family has a positive and significant effect on happiness. Indraswari (2019) also showed that the role of the family has a positive and significant effect on happiness.

Cultural norms cannot moderate the influence of family roles on the happiness of the sandwich generation. This result means that the size of the cultural norms does not affect the family's role in the sandwich generation's happiness. Sandwich generation happiness is a state or feeling of being calm and happy. The happiness variable in this study is measured by three indicators: sleep, nutrition, meeting health needs and exercise, time out, pampering leisure, and reward. The study results indicate that some respondents feel happy because they have received support from their surroundings and families and because of applying cultural norms in their lives. Cultural norms are said to be unable to moderate the effect of family roles on sandwich generation happiness in Gianyar Regency because respondents feel cultural norms are not a determinant in supporting their partners.

The dominant application of cultural norms in the household is carried out by the parents of the sandwich generation (mothers) because the respondents and their spouses are more busy working in their daily lives, so when there are mutual cooperation activities such as mebraya or ngayah it is more often done by their parents. In addition, cultural norms do not moderate the effect of family roles on the happiness of the sandwich generation because cultural norms such as ngayah or mutual cooperation can be represented by other people who are then given monetary rewards. This condition shows that cultural norms are not a variable that strengthens or weakens the support of the respondent's spouse, namely the sandwich generation.

Research by Sudarji et al. (2022) states that the Sandwich Generation in this study interprets multigenerational parenting because it is an obligation to care for parents or in-laws and their children. This obligation is often stressful and can lead to intergenerational conflicts. On the other hand, living with or close to parents or in-laws is also beneficial because parents or in-laws can help watch over their children or help with other household chores. Research by Daniels (2019) showed that culture is the root of tradition influencing happiness. The dimensions of happiness appear to be uniform across cultures so that cultures can shape ways of pursuing happiness. PFuchsman (2016) states that cultural changes influence happiness.

Cultural norms cannot moderate the effect of social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation. This condition means that the size of cultural norms does not affect social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation. The analysis results in this study also showed that cultural norms cannot moderate the effect of social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency. The study results indicated that some respondents feel happy because they have received support from their surroundings and families and because of applying cultural norms in their lives.

Cultural norms are said to be unable to moderate the effect of social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency because respondents feel that cultural norms do not guarantee a good relationship with the surrounding environment. Even though when carrying out joint activities such as *ngayah* and mutual cooperation, respondents can communicate with their surroundings, this does not guarantee that they can reduce the burden experienced by the sandwich generation because they feel that some people around them are jealous of their family. In addition, cultural norms related to social support are related to hiring someone to represent themselves in Banjar activities, where the respondent must pay the amount of wages for the services of the person who represents him. This condition is why social norms cannot moderate the effect of social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation. The primary source of stress for the Sandwich Generation is when all the demands come together. The stress that arises has more impact on the participants' emotional aspects, such as feelings of sadness, guilt, and unstable emotions. The sandwich generation needs social support to carry out its dual roles well and to help deal with pressure (Dewi & Wiksuana, 2022).

CONCLUSION

The study's results show that cultural norms, social support, and family roles positively affect the sandwich generation's happiness in Gianyar Regency. Cultural norms cannot moderate the effect of family roles and social support on the happiness of the sandwich generation in the Gianyar Regency. This condition shows the importance of cultural norms, social support, and the role of the family in supporting the sandwich generation in carrying out their role as caregivers and breadwinners and remaining active in activities around their homes.

There are two main policy recommendations from this research to break the chain of sandwich generation in Gianyar Regency. First, socializing the importance of financial literacy so that a person does not depend on his child for life in the future. Second, forming a parent empowerment group to reduce the burden of the sandwich generation.

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