

Original Article

Resilience of Madurese Generation Z Migrants in Contemporary Turkey: The Internalization of the “Asapok Angin and Abhental Ombhe” Philosophies and Religiosity in Addressing Socio-Cultural Adaptation Challenges

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Abstract:

Generation Z has emerged as a digitally native cohort facing increasingly complex psychological and socio-cultural challenges, particularly in the context of contemporary international migration. This study aims to examine how Madurese Generation Z migrants in Turkey construct psychological resilience through the internalization of local cultural philosophies—*Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe*—and religiosity. Guided by an interpretive paradigm, this research employed a phenomenological approach to capture lived experiences of two Madurese Generation Z migrants who concurrently functioned as international students and part-time workers in Turkey. Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews and analyzed using systematic thematic analysis involving data condensation, categorization, and theme development. The findings demonstrate that resilience is constructed through three interrelated strategies: strong commitment to personal goals, spirituality-based religious coping, and social support within the Madurese migrant community. The philosophies of *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe* operate as internalized moral frameworks that reinforce perseverance, emotional regulation, and meaning-making in response to academic, economic, linguistic, and psychological pressures. This study concludes that local cultural values and religiosity function as critical psychological resources that strengthen the resilience of young migrants, underscoring the importance of culturally grounded approaches in understanding youth resilience within a globalized migration context.

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Introduction

Generation Z refers to a cohort born approximately between 1997 and 2012,

characterized by their upbringing in a digital environment and intensive engagement with technology and social media ([Pertiwi, Suminar, & Ardi, 2022](#)). Within the age range of 18–25 years, individuals from this generation commonly experience significant life transitions, including migration for higher education or employment opportunities, both domestically and internationally. While high levels of digital connectivity enable Generation Z to maintain social relationships across distances, existing studies indicate that extensive social media engagement may also intensify psychological vulnerability, including stress, loneliness, and depressive symptoms ([Pertiwi et al., 2022](#)). These dynamics highlight the increasing importance of psychological resilience as a critical capacity for young people navigating contemporary social and emotional pressures.

Resilience is widely conceptualized as an individual's ability to adapt positively when facing adversity, maintain psychological well-being under conditions of pressure, recover from setbacks, and identify constructive coping strategies without resorting to destructive behaviors ([Siebert, 2005](#)). Resilience is increasingly understood as a culturally and contextually embedded process rather than a universally uniform construct. Cross-cultural studies demonstrate that the formation, prioritization, and expression of resilience vary across social and cultural contexts, particularly among young people from collectivist and migrant backgrounds ([Ungar, 2008](#)).

However, contemporary resilience research emphasizes that resilience is not an exceptional or extraordinary trait possessed by only a few individuals. Instead, resilience is commonly generated through ordinary and normative adaptive processes that operate within fundamental human systems such as family, culture, religion, and social relationships ([Masten, 2001](#)). Recent developments in resilience science further highlight that resilience is constructed through the interaction of multiple systems, including family relationships, educational settings, cultural communities, and broader social contexts that function as protective resources throughout development ([Masten, 2025](#)).

Previous research emphasizes the role of internal psychological factors, such as self-esteem and emotional regulation, in sustaining adolescent well-being ([Pertiwi et al., 2022](#)). However, such individual-centered perspectives may be insufficient when applied to collectivist societies, where resilience is often embedded within cultural, social, and religious frameworks. In the Indonesian context, particularly among the Madurese ethnic group, resilience is not solely derived from personal psychological attributes but is deeply rooted in local cultural philosophies and religiosity.

Madurese cultural values emphasize perseverance, endurance, and steadfastness in confronting life's hardships. One of the most prominent expressions of this worldview is encapsulated in the philosophies of *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe*, which symbolically describe individuals who are “pillowed by waves and blanketed by wind,” reflecting unwavering determination and tireless effort in the face of adversity. [Triyuwono \(2009\)](#) explains that this philosophy represents the Madurese ethic of hard work and resilience, as exemplified by fishermen who courageously confront harsh natural conditions to sustain their livelihoods ([as cited in Fitriyah, 2020](#)). These philosophies function not merely as metaphors but as moral guidelines that shape attitudes toward struggle, responsibility, and endurance across generations.

Migration constitutes a central aspect of Madurese cultural identity and social practice, commonly referred to as *andun*. Madurese people have long been recognized for their strong work ethic, perseverance, and determination to improve their socio-economic conditions through migration ([Syamsuddin, 2007](#)). Migration is perceived not only as an economic strategy but also as a form of self-actualization, independence, and a source of familial and communal honor. During the migration process, Madurese migrants strongly uphold values of solidarity, kinship, and religiosity, particularly Islamic values that function as moral and spiritual foundations when confronting challenges in unfamiliar environments ([Syamsuddin, 2007](#)).

The tradition of migration (*andun*) has been transmitted across generations and constitutes an essential component of Madurese social and cultural life. This practice is not driven solely by economic motives but also embodies social and cultural meanings related to independence, personal maturation, and identity formation. For the Madurese, migration represents a form of local wisdom that cultivates courage, responsibility, and adaptability in unfamiliar environments ([Oetami & Ali, 2022](#)). This perspective highlights that migration is not merely a process of physical relocation but a cultural mechanism through which values such as hard work, solidarity, mutual assistance, and resilience are reproduced and sustained across generations. Through the migratory experience, Madurese individuals continuously learn to negotiate new socio-cultural contexts while maintaining their cultural identity ([Oetami & Ali, 2022](#)).

Contemporary Madurese Generation Z migrants experience migration under increasingly complex conditions. In addition to economic demands, they face academic pressure, cultural and lifestyle differences, linguistic barriers, and emotional challenges such as loneliness and identity negotiation. Puspawati et al.

(2023) note that while migration offers opportunities for education and improved well-being, it simultaneously exposes individuals to socio-cultural and psychological stressors that demand high levels of resilience. Studies by [Fitri Sholicha \(2018\)](#) further demonstrate that Madurese migrants maintain strong ethnic social identities, with group cohesion serving as an essential source of self-confidence and social support. [Puspawati et al. \(2023\)](#) also emphasize that resilience at both individual and community levels is grounded in cultural values, family strength, and religious dimensions.

Religiosity plays a particularly significant role within Madurese society, where Islamic values deeply influence daily life, work ethics, and social relations. The prevalence of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and the strong authority of religious leaders (*kiai* and *ulama*) reflect the centrality of religion as a moral compass ([Fitriyah, 2020](#)). [Rozaki and Izudin \(2025\)](#) explicitly demonstrate that pesantren contribute to social harmony by facilitating re-education processes, community empowerment initiatives, and interfaith dialogue among different ethnic groups in post-ethnic conflict settings. These roles strengthen social cohesion, solidarity (*handep*), and cooperative relationships while mitigating ethnic-based provocations and social tensions. In this context, religiosity is manifested through institutional religious practices that function as a foundation for peacebuilding and the reconstruction of social resilience within Madurese diaspora communities. Work is commonly perceived as an act of worship, reinforcing values such as sincerity, honesty, and trustworthiness. In this context, religiosity functions not only as a belief system but also as a psychological resource that provides meaning, inner peace, and emotional stability when confronting stress and adversity ([Pargament, 1997](#)).

Although existing studies have examined Madurese migration culture, social solidarity, and religiosity, research that specifically explores how Madurese Generation Z constructs resilience in migrant contexts through the internalization of *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe* remains limited. Previous research has largely focused on older generations or treated cultural values and resilience as separate domains. Moreover, few studies have integrated generational perspectives with local cultural philosophies and psychological resilience within the context of contemporary international migration. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap by examining how Madurese Generation Z migrants internalize cultural philosophies and religiosity as psychological resources for resilience while navigating socio-cultural adaptation challenges abroad.

Methods

This study employed an interpretive qualitative design to examine how

Madurese Generation Z migrants construct psychological resilience through the internalization of the *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe* philosophies and religiosity. The interpretive paradigm was chosen to capture participants' subjective meanings and lived experiences as they navigated socio-cultural adaptation in a migrant context.

A phenomenological approach was applied to explore participants' conscious experiences and personal interpretations of cultural and religious values in their everyday lives. This approach enabled an in-depth examination of how these values function as coping strategies when participants encounter academic pressure, work demands, cultural differences, and emotional challenges during migration.

The participants consisted of two Madurese Generation Z migrants residing in Turkey who simultaneously pursued higher education and worked part-time. Both participants originated from Madurese cultural backgrounds and had direct experience adapting to new social, academic, and occupational environments. Data were collected through semi-structured online interviews lasting approximately 40 minutes. The interviews were conducted via Zoom or WhatsApp (voice or video calls) based on participants' availability and accessibility.

Results

This chapter presents the findings derived from the analysis of field data obtained through in-depth interviews with two Madurese Generation Z participants living as migrants in Turkey. The data were analyzed through processes of data condensation, categorization, and the identification of key themes that represent the dynamics of migration experiences, resilience strategies, the role of cultural philosophies, and variations in patterns of psychological resilience. The presentation of findings in this chapter focuses on describing participants' subjective experiences without extensive theoretical elaboration, as the interpretive and analytical discussion will be addressed in the subsequent chapter.

1. Participant Profiles

The first participant (hereafter referred to as P1) is a young Madurese man who migrated to Turkey to pursue higher education following encouragement from a teacher at an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*). P1 comes from a lower-middle socioeconomic background; therefore, since 2022, he has committed to no longer requesting financial support from his parents and has independently covered his living and educational expenses through part-time employment. His *pesantren* educational background has fostered a strong attachment to religious teachings and the guidance of *kiai*, while also introducing him to life philosophies transmitted within the boarding school environment. During the interview, P1 explicitly mentioned and explained the philosophy of *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe*, linking it directly to how he interprets and confronts hardships in migrant life. This philosophy, which emphasizes simplicity and perseverance, serves as a guiding principle for P1 in navigating life far from his family and homeland. P1 stated:

"In my view, the meaning of the philosophy Asapo' Angin, Abhental Omba is that life as a migrant is never easy neither as easy as we imagine nor as easy as people think it is." (P1, 2023)

This excerpt illustrates how the philosophy functions as a motivational foundation and a source of inner strength for P1 in his migrant experience. Despite being far from his family and facing numerous difficulties, he believes that adhering to these principles enables him to endure. When confronted with exhaustion and the temptation to give up, P1 frequently reminds himself of the values embedded in this philosophy, which provide him with a renewed perspective and reinforce his determination to persist.

The second participant (P2) is a Madurese female student who also migrated to Turkey to pursue higher education. In addition to her studies, P2 works part-time as a Qur'an instructor for local children. She comes from a religious environment with a *pesantren* background and emphasized that the prayers and support of her parents and teachers constitute her primary source of strength when facing life pressures in the host country. Unlike P1, P2 does not consistently articulate the philosophy of *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe* verbally; however, she internalizes values aligned with the philosophy through narratives involving "waves," "wind," and "life trials" that must be endured gradually. P2 expressed:

"The analogy is that life is like that. Sometimes it feels as if we are suddenly struck by waves, but there will also be phases where the path has no waves at all." (P2, 2023)

Although P2 does not explicitly name the philosophy, the values embedded within it such as patience and endurance in facing adversity are strongly internalized. P2 interprets life through a lens of acceptance toward challenges and difficulties as they arise. She views migrant life as a process characterized by fluctuations that must be navigated with patience and steadfastness. Through the metaphors of waves and wind, P2 conveys that while migrant life is filled with challenges, there is always hope and the possibility of tranquility after the storm has passed.

Together, these participants represent Madurese Generation Z migrants who live within cultural, social, and academic environments that differ markedly from their place of origin, yet continue to carry strong cultural identities and religiosity as resources for coping with adversity. P1 embodies the philosophy explicitly in his worldview and actions, whereas P2 internalizes its values implicitly through spiritual practices that closely align with the core principles of Madurese life philosophy.

2. Background Dynamics and Motivations for Migration

The decision to migrate for both participants did not emerge spontaneously but resulted from reflection and discussions with significant figures, such as parents and *pesantren* teachers. P1 explained that his departure to Turkey was motivated by advice from a teacher at the Islamic boarding school, who recommended several potential destination countries for further study and encouraged students to seek knowledge abroad. This recommendation not only emphasized academic pursuit but also encouraged students to utilize migration opportunities to gain work experience, provided that such activities did not interfere with their primary educational goals. P1 stated:

"I went to Turkey based on my teacher's advice. At the boarding school, he actually recommended three or four destination countries." (P1, 2023)

According to P1, *pesantren* teachers played a crucial role in broadening students' perspectives on the importance of international experience, not only from an academic standpoint but also as a means of expanding life experience. For P1, this advice opened opportunities not only to pursue education but also to achieve financial independence and cultivate self-reliance outside familiar environments. During the interview, P1 emphasized that the motivation to survive and grow in an environment vastly different from his hometown reinforced his commitment to remain independent and not rely on parental support. This commitment was further manifested through part-time employment alongside his studies, particularly during summer and winter breaks when job opportunities were more abundant:

“Here, people who are willing to work are really in demand. Especially during holidays like summer or winter, I usually work full-time.” (P1, 2023)

For P2, the motivation to migrate centered on the pursuit of knowledge and self-development. P2 perceived migration as both a religious obligation to seek knowledge and an opportunity to step outside her comfort zone. Studying abroad was viewed as a means of self-validation and identity formation as an independent and capable individual. In addition to her academic pursuits, P2 expressed a sense of broader social responsibility through her part-time work as a Qur'an instructor for local children. She regarded this role as a source of blessing, as it not only supported her livelihood but also allowed her to contribute meaningfully to others. P2 explained:

“The main reason for migrating to Turkey was to study, because seeking knowledge is an obligation. Alhamdulillah, here I can also work part-time as a teacher.” (P2, 2023)

The integration of academic and spiritual motivations illustrates how P2 aligns the pursuit of knowledge with a commitment to making positive contributions to the surrounding community. For P2, migration extends beyond educational attainment to encompass personal growth and social meaningfulness. Overall, the background dynamics and motivations for migration among both participants reflect a convergence of academic, economic, spiritual, and identity-related factors. Migration is not merely understood as a geographical relocation but as a strategic life decision aimed at transformation and the expansion of experiential horizons. Strong motivations—whether to demonstrate financial independence (P1) or to contribute to society while developing personally (P2) shape their trajectories as Madurese Generation Z migrants.

3. Ekonomi Social, Academic, and Economic Adaptation Challenges

The findings indicate that the process of adaptation in Turkey presents complex and interrelated challenges encompassing economic, academic, linguistic, cultural, and psychological dimensions. In the economic domain, P1 experienced significant pressure due to his decision to independently meet his living expenses while abroad. He explained that after committing to no longer requesting financial support from his parents, he was required to work alongside his studies to cover daily living costs and part of his educational expenses. This burden compelled P1 to continuously manage his time between academic responsibilities and employment, to the extent that at one point he felt extremely exhausted and briefly considered taking an academic leave because he perceived himself as unable to sustain both roles simultaneously. P1 stated:

“The most difficult challenge at the beginning was my commitment not to ask my parents for pocket money. That was really hard, because my main status here is as a student.” (P1, 2023)

P2 also assumed a dual role as a student and part-time worker; however, the primary pressure she experienced was academic in nature. She described the university's education system as highly demanding, with assessments relying predominantly on midterm and final examinations, without additional grading from coursework. This system required intense concentration and effort, particularly as she was still adapting to a different language and learning methods compared to those in Indonesia. P2 explained:

“The biggest challenge is maintaining the commitment to continue what has already been started. The education system here is different, especially for someone like me who studies while also working part-time.” (P2, 2023)

Language barriers emerged as a major challenge for both participants. P1 acknowledged experiencing frustration during the initial phase of his stay due to difficulties in understanding the Turkish language used in academic settings and daily interactions. Similarly, P2 stated that her presence in Turkey had not been part

of her original plans, resulting in a sudden encounter with a new language and culture that demanded intensive adaptation. P2 noted:

"There are so many obstacles and challenges here, especially language issues, because honestly, being in Turkey was never something I had imagined before." (P2, 2023)

From a psychological perspective, these adaptation challenges contributed to emotional strain. P2, for instance, described experiencing what she referred to as a quarter-life crisis, marked by the realization that many of her peers in Indonesia had already graduated, while she was still struggling with several courses due to a less-than-smooth adaptation process. This social comparison generated feelings of lagging behind, anxiety, and a temporary decline in motivation to continue her studies. P2 expressed:

"When it comes to stress, I think I was in a quarter-life crisis phase—maybe because I was in my early twenties and felt confused about what would come next and where my direction should be." (P2, 2023)

These accounts illustrate that migrant life for Madurese Generation Z individuals is shaped not only by enthusiasm and new opportunities but also by substantial adaptation burdens that require strong psychological resilience.

4. Strategic Resilience Strategies of Madurese Generation Z Migrants

Amid these challenges, both participants demonstrated the capacity to endure and recover through a range of resilience strategies operating across personal, social, and emotional dimensions. At the personal level, P1 adhered strongly to a life principle he described through the metaphor of directional purpose. He explained that once an individual has determined a goal symbolized as "heading west" they should not deviate in other directions if they wish to reach their destination. This principle functions as an internal compass guiding his decisions and actions, particularly when confronted with fatigue, self-doubt, or the temptation to give up.

P2 exhibited a similar pattern, although articulated through different expressions. She emphasized that having initiated her academic journey in Turkey, she felt it was inappropriate to withdraw midway, especially as her family and community in Madura regarded her as a role model. The belief that she must "complete what has already been started" served as a crucial motivator to persist despite ongoing linguistic, academic, and social challenges.

At the social level, peer support played a central role in alleviating psychological pressure. P1 described his dormitory peers as a primary space for sharing experiences and grievances, which helped him feel less isolated when confronting difficulties. Likewise, P2 benefited from relationships with local peers in Turkey who assisted her in practicing the language and clarifying complex academic materials. These social connections not only facilitated practical adaptation but also reduced feelings of alienation and loneliness.

In terms of emotional regulation, P2 developed a distinctive and adaptive coping strategy. She allowed herself to experience sadness and even to cry when pressures became overwhelming, yet she did not permit herself to remain immersed in these emotions for an extended period. After acknowledging and expressing her sadness, she consciously refocused on her responsibilities and daily activities. P2 referred to this approach as "normalizing sadness," recognizing negative emotions as a natural part of life experiences while preventing them from obstructing ongoing efforts.

Overall, the resilience strategies employed by both participants illustrate that psychological resilience is constructed through an interplay of personal determination, social support, and flexible emotional regulation.

5. Religiosity as a Source of Psychological Resilience

Religiosity emerged as a central pillar within the resilience mechanisms of both

participants. Their *pesantren* backgrounds positioned religious practices, guidance from teachers, and parental prayers as inseparable components of how they coped with life pressures in migrant contexts. P1 explained that when he reached peak levels of stress or felt psychologically “stuck,” he tended to return to religious practices as a means of seeking inner calm. In such moments, he performed voluntary prayers (*salat sunnah*), performed ablution (*wudu*), and recited the Qur'an. Following these practices, he reported experiencing psychological relief, with burdens that had previously felt overwhelming becoming more manageable.

Beyond ritual practices, P1 was also strongly influenced by recurring messages from his *pesantren* teachers, who consistently reminded students not to abandon prayer and Qur'anic recitation despite migrating far from home. These messages functioned as moral and spiritual anchors that he continued to recall while living in Turkey, serving as reminders of his identity as a *santri* and as a religious Madurese individual. P2 demonstrated a comparable pattern of religious coping. She maintained a routine spiritual practice each morning, the absence of which made her feel unsettled and emotionally uneasy. She described that when negative emotions such as anger arose, she intentionally paused her ongoing activities and shifted toward spiritual practices, such as performing ablution and reciting the Qur'an, until the emotional intensity subsided.

Both participants also expressed a strong belief in the influence of their parents' and teachers' prayers in providing ease and emotional openness during their lives as migrants. This belief added a relational dimension to their religiosity, in which psychological resilience was not solely dependent on individual effort but was also grounded in the conviction that they were continuously supported spiritually by significant figures in their home communities.

6. Interpreting the Philosophy of *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe* in the Context of Migration

The philosophy of *Asapok Angin*, *Abhental Ombhe* was understood by the participants as a symbolic representation of the Madurese life ethos that emphasizes readiness to confront the harsh realities of life. P1 explained that this philosophy reflects the truth that life in migration is never easy nor as ideal as commonly imagined. According to him, the philosophy teaches individuals to persist and strive wholeheartedly, even when the outcomes do not yet meet expectations.

P1 also interpreted this philosophy as a call to live modestly and manage resources wisely. He viewed migration not as an opportunity for indulgence, but as a phase for saving and preparing provisions for an eventual return to his hometown. In moments of hardship, recalling this philosophy discouraged him from giving up and triggered reflective self-talk such as, “I am Madurese—how could I be this weak?”, illustrating how the philosophy functions both as an identity anchor and a motivational force to persevere.

Although P2 did not explicitly mention the philosophy by name, he articulated a parallel meaning through metaphors of waves and wind. He described life in migration as a journey marked at times by high waves and storms, and at other times by calm waters. For P2, this fluctuation represents a natural part of the process toward reaching a “harbor” or life goal. This interpretation indicates that the philosophy of *Asapok Angin*, *Abhental Ombhe* operates as a meaningful framework that enables participants to view difficulties not as signs to stop, but as integral elements of struggle that ultimately strengthen personal resilience.

7. Identity Formation and Life Learning as Madurese Gen Z Migrants

The experience of migrating to Turkey, with its complex dynamics and challenges, encouraged both participants to reflect deeply on their identities as Madurese members of Generation Z. P1 perceived the most valuable life lesson gained from migration as an increased awareness of not taking for granted the people who play

significant roles in one's life, particularly family members and teachers. He also emphasized the importance of *tawakkul* after exerting effort, believing that aspirations pursued abroad can be achieved when accompanied by religious grounding, knowledge, and sincere surrender to God.

P2 stated that migration helped him grow personally. He felt that he had become more independent, more capable of respecting differing opinions, and more realistic in viewing life. He realized that the world does not always align with personal desires; however, through this realization, he learned to be more accepting and less insistent on forcing circumstances to follow his plans.

Both participants agreed that Madurese individuals are commonly characterized as hardworking, persistent, and courageous in initiating new endeavors. P2 explicitly mentioned that Madurese people are "never afraid to start something new" and encouraged other Gen Z individuals who wish to migrate to continue pursuing their goals, as giving up prematurely may lead to the loss of unseen opportunities. These reflections indicate that the identity of Madurese Gen Z migrants is shaped through the interaction between adaptation experiences in new environments, the internalization of cultural and religious values, and ongoing reflections on the meanings of success, failure, and endurance under difficult conditions.

8. Differentiation of Resilience Patterns Between Participants with Explicit and Implicit Engagement with the Philosophy

Comparative analysis of the two participants reveals differences in resilience patterns related to the extent to which the philosophy of *Asapok Angin, Abhental Ombhe* is explicitly recognized and articulated. For P1, this philosophy functions as a clearly acknowledged reference point. He explicitly mentioned the philosophy, explained its meaning, and connected it directly to his identity as a Madurese individual. The philosophy served as a psychological "shield" that he recalled when facing difficulties, motivating him to persist and resist giving up. In this regard, P1's resilience appears to be grounded in a strong interplay between cultural identity awareness and religious commitment.

In contrast, P2 did not verbally reference the philosophy explicitly; however, the values embedded within it were evident in the way he interpreted his experiences. P2 more frequently referred to concepts such as life challenges as tests from God, the notion of increasing one's level of faith, and the importance of accepting the reality that life does not always unfold according to expectations. In this context, P2's resilience was primarily framed through religiosity and self-acceptance, with Madurese cultural values operating implicitly through a strong work ethic and the courage to migrate.

Despite these different pathways of meaning-making, both participants demonstrated several important similarities, including a firm commitment to completing their studies, a willingness to work hard, and a shared belief that hardship is an integral part of personal maturation. This finding suggests that the values embedded in the philosophy of *Asapok Angin, Abhental Ombhe* continue to be lived and practiced, either through explicit cultural articulation or through more implicit religious and reflective frameworks. These findings provide a foundation for the subsequent chapter, which will further examine how life philosophies and religiosity interact in shaping the resilience of Madurese Gen Z migrants in overseas contexts.

Discussion

1. Resilience of Madurese Gen Z in Facing Migration Challenges

The findings indicate that both participants experienced multifaceted adaptive pressures encompassing economic, academic, linguistic, and emotional challenges. This

dynamic aligns with the findings of [Duanaeva et al., \(2023\)](#), which demonstrate that international students commonly experience adaptation stress resulting from the interaction of cultural, academic, and social factors. However, such stress can be mitigated through flexible coping strategies and relational support.

Generation Z is widely recognized as having higher emotional vulnerability, particularly due to digital environments that intensify social comparison ([Dwidienawati et al., 2025](#)). This phenomenon was evident in P2, who experienced psychological pressure upon observing peers in Indonesia graduating earlier. Nevertheless, both participants were able to reinterpret these pressures as integral to their maturation process. [Putra \(2024\)](#), emphasizes that the ability to interpret stress as a “challenge” rather than a “threat” constitutes a key indicator of resilience among Gen Z. Accordingly, the resilience of Madurese Gen Z in this study operates through a dynamic mechanism of adaptation → pressure → meaning-making → coping strategies, consistent with contemporary resilience models ([Ungar, 2021; Duanaeva et al., 2023](#)).

2. Resiliensi Migration Tradition and Madurese Cultural Ethos as Resilience Capital

Madurese cultural ethos has long been associated with toughness, courage, and a strong work ethic. [Rozaki and Izudin's \(2025\)](#) study on peacebuilding practices within Madurese pesantren communities in West Kalimantan highlights solidarity, risk-taking courage, and perseverance in adversity as core components of cultural resilience among the Madurese diaspora. These findings resonate with the narratives of both P1 and P2.

P1 explicitly articulated ethnic identity as a motivational force for perseverance (“How could a Madurese be this weak?”), illustrating the function of ethnic pride as an identity-based coping mechanism. Meanwhile, P2, despite not verbally referencing the philosophy, exhibited distinctive Madurese traits such as the courage to initiate new endeavors, disciplined work habits, and persistence in overcoming obstacles.

[Sugiyanto \(2025\)](#) further asserts that collectivist cultural backgrounds play a substantial role in shaping resilience orientation among Gen Z, particularly within strongly identity-based communities such as the Madurese. Thus, the tradition of migration among Madurese communities represents not merely a form of socio-economic mobility but also a mechanism for transmitting cultural values that reinforce resilience in younger generations.

3. Dynamics of Resilience Among Madurese Gen Z: Explicit and Implicit Engagement with the Philosophy

The findings reveal that the philosophy of *Asapok Angin, Abhental Ombhe* functions as a cultural script that structures how Madurese Gen Z interpret life difficulties. However, this script does not manifest uniformly across individuals. Among participants who explicitly recognize the philosophy, cultural values serve as conscious reference points in coping with adversity. Conversely, for those who do not verbally articulate the philosophy, similar values emerge through religious narratives and experiential metaphors.

For the participant who explicitly recognized the philosophy (P1), *Asapok Angin, Abhental Ombhe* was internalized as both identity and self-standard. P1 consciously linked his struggles abroad to the ethos of “resting on waves and sheltered by the wind,” which he interpreted as an obligation to remain hardworking, modest, and resilient despite being “buffeted” by difficulties. In daily life, this was evident when moments of exhaustion or thoughts of quitting arose; during such times, he recalled the philosophy and his Madurese identity, engaging in reflective self-talk such as “How could a Madurese be this weak?” This illustrates that the philosophy functioned not merely as cognitive knowledge but as an internal dialogue sustaining persistence and determination.

This pattern aligns with recent research on Gen Z psychological capital, which highlights that consciously internalized cultural values can strengthen optimism, hope, and perseverance in the face of adversity ([Nu'ma & Mangunsong, 2024; Putra, 2024](#)). For P1, the philosophy acted as psychological “fuel” sustaining motivation amid economic, academic, and social pressures. Nevertheless, such internalization may also generate additional pressure, as the internal standard of “not being weak” could inhibit acknowledgment of limitations or help-seeking behaviors.

In contrast, the participant who did not explicitly reference the philosophy (P2) demonstrated a similarly robust resilience pattern, though its meaning base was primarily grounded in religiosity and self-acceptance. P2 described migrant life using metaphors of waves and wind but rarely connected these experiences directly to Madurese philosophical terminology. He primarily interpreted hardship as a “test from God” aimed at elevating faith, and developed resilience strategies such as emotional normalization (allowing sadness before recovery), adopting a relaxed stance toward uncontrollable circumstances, and maintaining religious routines as emotional buffers.

This dynamic suggests that although P2 did not verbally articulate the cultural philosophy, its core values patience, endurance, and steadfastness remained actively embodied in daily practices. This pattern is consistent with [Amir et al. \(2022\)](#) and recent studies on culture-spirituality-based resilience, which emphasize that local values often operate implicitly through emotional dispositions and religious frameworks rather than through explicit cultural slogans.

Comparative analysis highlights several differences in emphasis. P1 anchored resilience in the integration of ethnic identity and consciously internalized cultural philosophy, while P2 grounded resilience primarily in religiosity and acceptance. P1 frequently employed narratives of “having to be strong because I am Madurese,” whereas P2 more often articulated acceptance-oriented narratives such as “life does not always take sides, but it must be lived step by step.” Despite these differences, both participants shared fundamental similarities: a strong work ethic, commitment to completing their studies, and the interpretation of hardship as an essential component of personal maturation.

Thus, the resilience dynamics of Madurese Gen Z whether explicitly or implicitly engaging with the philosophy should not be framed as a comparison of strength, but rather as two distinct meaning-making pathways. The explicit pathway emphasizes cultural ethos and ethnic pride as motivational drivers, while the implicit pathway emphasizes religiosity and acceptance as primary buffers. Both pathways demonstrate that the philosophy of *Asapok Angin, Abhental Ombhe* and its underlying values continue to play a significant role in shaping the resilience of Madurese Gen Z migrants, whether explicitly articulated or lived through practice and worldview beyond naming.

4. Religiosity as the Primary Pillar of Resilience

Religiosity emerged as the most consistent component in the resilience strategies of both participants. This finding aligns with [Dwidienawati et al. \(2025\)](#), who identified religious coping as one of the most stable predictors of mental well-being among Generation Z. In this study, religiosity manifested in three main forms:

a. Emotional Regulation through Religious Practices

Both P1 and P2 engaged in *salat sunnah*, ablution (*wudu*), and Qur'an recitation when experiencing stress. These practices functioned as mechanisms for emotional regulation and psychological calming. This finding is consistent with [Putra \(2024\)](#), who emphasized that religious practices can effectively reduce stress and stabilize emotions among Gen Z university students.

b. Guidance from Pesantren Teachers

Research on the Madurese diaspora ([Rozaki & Izudin, 2025](#)) highlights that emotional closeness to *kiai* or *ustaz* often serves as a psychological anchor for Madurese migrants. This pattern was evident in P1, who consistently referred to the moral guidance and advice of his pesantren teacher as a foundational

reference in navigating challenges abroad.

c. Parental Prayers as Relational Support

Both participants strongly believed that their parents' prayers contributed to the ease and smoothness of their lives in the host country. This perception reflects the relational dimension of religiosity and is consistent with studies on family-based religiosity among Gen Z, which emphasize parental spiritual support as a protective factor for mental well-being ([Dwidienawati et al., 2025](#)).

Overall, religiosity in this study functioned not merely as ritual practice, but as a meaning system that guided experience interpretation, provided direction, and stabilized emotional states amid adversity.

5. Madurese Gen Z Identity: Integration of Cultural, Digital, and Spiritual Dimensions

Generation Z lives within a digital ecosystem that intensifies exposure to social comparison and achievement-related pressure. This condition was clearly reflected in P2's feelings of being left behind when comparing himself to peers in Indonesia.

However, strong Madurese cultural values and religiosity enabled both participants to interpret these experiences more constructively. [Dwidienawati et al. \(2025\)](#) argue that Gen Z well-being improves when personal, spiritual, and cultural identities are harmoniously integrated. This phenomenon was evident in the present study through three identity dimensions:

- a. Cultural identity: strong work ethic and courage to start from scratch
- b. Spiritual identity: belief that life is a form of divine testing
- c. Digital identity: awareness of social comparison without allowing it to dominate self-worth

Thus, the identity of Madurese Gen Z migrants can be understood as a hybrid identity digital, spiritual, and cultural where all three dimensions contribute to the formation of resilience.

6. Synergy between Cultural Values and Religiosity as a Resilience Mechanism

The findings demonstrate that Madurese cultural values and religiosity do not operate independently, but rather reinforce one another. In recent studies on spiritual-cultural resilience, [Amir et al. \(2022\)](#) describes Madurese society as one in which cultural and religious values are deeply intertwined and mutually supportive. This synergy was evident in both participants:

- a. P1 integrated ethnic identity ("a Madurese does not give up") with religious conviction (engaging in *salat sunnah* as a coping strategy).
- b. P2 employed cultural metaphors (waves and wind) while framing his experiences primarily within a spiritual narrative (life as a divine test).

This interaction between cultural ethos and religiosity produced a more robust resilience pattern than would likely emerge if either value system operated in isolation.

7. A Model of Madurese Gen Z Resilience in Migration Contexts

Based on the integration of empirical findings and contemporary literature, the resilience of Madurese Gen Z migrants can be conceptualized through the following sequential process:

- a. Migration-related adaptive pressures
- b. Meaning-seeking processes
- c. Internalization of cultural values
- d. Reinforcement through religiosity

- e. Deployment of personal and social strategies
- f. Formation of stable resilience outcomes → growth, perseverance, and emotional regulation

This model illustrates that resilience among Madurese Gen Z migrants is not a static trait, but a dynamic and integrative process shaped by cultural, spiritual, and contextual resources.

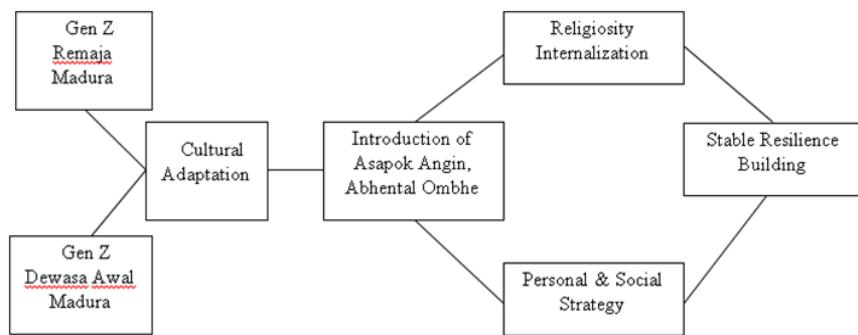


Figure 1 Cultural Adaptation Pathway and Internalization of the *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe* Values among Madurese Generation Z in the Formation of Resilience

The schematic in Figure X illustrates the cultural adaptation process experienced by Madurese Generation Z, encompassing both adolescent and early adult groups, in forming resilience through the internalization of local values. Although these two developmental groups face different social and psychological challenges, they operate within the same cultural context, resulting in overlapping adaptive dynamics. At the initial stage, Madurese Gen Z undergoes a process of cultural adaptation as they interact with broader social environments, modernization, and shifting generational values. These adaptive pressures create a need for stable value-based foundations.

Through this cultural adaptation process, individuals are introduced to the local philosophies of *Asapok Angin* and *Abhental Ombhe*, two forms of Madurese wisdom that emphasize inner endurance, self-awareness, and the acceptance of reality without surrender. These philosophies function as interpretive frameworks that help Gen Z understand life challenges in a more structured and meaningful way, while simultaneously serving as mechanisms for intergenerational transmission of cultural identity. The internalization of these cultural values subsequently gives rise to two interconnected internal processes:

- a. Religiosity Internalization, referring to the strengthening of spiritual values and religious beliefs that are traditionally embedded within Madurese culture; and
- b. Personal and Social Strategies, involving the development of individual and social coping mechanisms, including emotional regulation, the pursuit of social support, and adaptive capacities within changing environments.

These two pathways operate in parallel and reinforce one another. Religious internalization strengthens meaning-making processes and life orientation, while personal-social strategies contribute to practical coping capacities in everyday challenges. Ultimately, the interaction between cultural adaptation, the internalization of local philosophy, and the integration of religious values with personal-social strategies leads to Stable Resilience Building, characterized by a form of resilience that is robust, sustainable, and culturally congruent with Madurese Gen

Z identity. This model demonstrates that resilience is not merely a psychological response, but a product of dynamic interactions among culture, religiosity, and lived adaptive strategies.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that Madurese Generation Z migrants in Turkey encounter multidimensional challenges related to economic pressure, academic demands, socio-cultural adaptation, and psychological stress. The findings reveal that resilience is constructed through the interaction of personal goal commitment, social support, religiosity, and the internalization of the Madurese cultural philosophy *Asapok Angin-Abhental Ombhe*. These elements function as psychological and moral resources that enable migrants to endure uncertainty and maintain well-being in migration contexts.

Rather than being an individual trait, resilience among Madurese Generation Z emerges as a socio-cultural process shaped by migration experiences and communal relationships. This study highlights the importance of local cultural values and religiosity in understanding youth resilience within contemporary migration. Future research is recommended to involve a larger number of participants, comparative migrant groups, or different destination countries to further explore how cultural philosophies contribute to resilience across diverse migration settings.

Suggestion

1. For educational institutions and diaspora communities, it is essential to strengthen psychosocial support programs and provide communicative spaces that facilitate experience-sharing among migrant students, in order to reduce emotional distress and enhance psychological resilience.
2. For young migrants, maintaining strong goal commitment and actively utilizing social support networks as well as religious practices are crucial as positive coping strategies in navigating adaptation challenges.
3. For local governments and Madurese cultural organizations, sustained efforts are needed to preserve and promote cultural values such as the philosophy of *Asapok Angin and Abhental Ombhe* as social capital that supports the psychological resilience of future generations.
4. For future research, it is recommended to involve a larger number of participants and to conduct comparative studies on the resilience of Madurese migrants across different countries or generations, in order to deepen the cultural understanding within resilience studies.

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