



Minangkabau Gen Z in Conducting Mate Selection : The Study of Phenomenon of Change in Digital Society

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Abstract:

This study aims to discover the subjective meanings of Gen Z Minangkabaus in West Sumatra in finding a mate and what popular cultural narratives produce these subjective meanings in the digital era. The method used in this research is to use a qualitative approach with a case study type. The data collection techniques used are observation and in-depth interviews. The data will be analyzed using the Miles and Huberman analysis techniques with codification, data presentation, and conclusion. The research will be analyzed using late-modernity studies from Ulrich Beck as a representation of society in the digital era and religion as a sacred canopy from Peter L Berger. Studies show that Gen Z Minangkabaus in West Sumatra still have an attachment to the family in finding a partner, such as paying attention to the origin of the partner's family.

Keywords: Gen Z; Digital Society; Mate-Selection

A. INTRODUCTION

Modernization and digitalization have facilitated Gen Z's access to change mate selection phenomenon in Minangkabau. The selection of a life partner, or what is known as mate selection, develops with very diverse and complex methods, ranging from conventional approaches to support by contemporary Minangkabau. Even though it sounds simple, the question of the mate selection narrative is essential because the problem starts with choosing a partner, which will continue into family problems, divorce, remarriage, and gender inequality. Children's freedom in choosing a life partner was also marked by the collapse of the New Order regime and the birth of the reform era in 1998, which brought a more democratic period regarding shifting gender roles, marriage, and family. (Princess et al., 2020) coupled with the openness of people's aspirations in questioning aspects of religion in the public space after the reform era (Nilan & Mansfield, 2013).

There are indications of religious views and actions growing in line with the trend of increasing public piety in post-reform Indonesia. The public piety practiced by Minangkabau youths is also expressed by their attitudes toward courtship and

marriage (Hefner-Smith, 2005). One example of the matchmaking process popular among young muslim who are challenging courtship is ta'aruf, a term borrowed from Arabic (in simple terms, it can be interpreted here as getting acquainted before marriage).

Nevertheless, the transformation of the meaning of mate selection also changes between generations. The Millennial Generation or Y in the mid to late 2010s experienced the glorification of religion through waves of hijrah, young marriages, and mate-selection ta'aruf. The hijrah movement has also been widely popularized through social media such as Instagram with the hashtags #IndonesiaTanpaDating, #nikahyuk, and so on. The broader access to public space for women and the widespread use of ICT technology has brought Gen Z, namely the younger generation born in 1995-2010, as potential partners in a more diverse and complex marriage market (Nilan & Mansfield, 2013). The Indonesian Statistics Agency revealed that women with higher educational backgrounds account for 11.55 percent of the 64.19 total population of the young generation in Indonesia. (Jati, 2015).

Generation Z is *native* to technology in a digital society. Gen Z also spends its growth process in the fusion of space and time, one of which is influenced by the co-19 pandemic. Generation Z lives in an era of information overload, where knowledge is transformed into power. The lifestyle of Generation Z is romanticized a lot and supported by self-actualization through social media, so based on connectivity on social media is more valuable than interpersonal communication.

Muslim Gen Z internalize religious values no longer through conventional methods such as attending recitations with religious leaders. Religion is no longer learned through conventional texts but has been reduced through digital media information sources. Unlike previous generations who studied religion through rigid religious leaders or in places of worship such as mosques, if read through Luckman's theory of *invisible religion*, religious values can be obtained outside the church (house of worship) so that they are not bound to be significant through religious symbols (Luckman, 1967).

They use social media content to increase their devotion to God, namely to become influential followers on social media. Gen Z muslim no longer learn religion through text but are projected through content created in the digital era. GenZ's view of Islam as a religion is also heavily influenced by social movements through influencers with types *social movement by followership* like influencers on Instagram and Tiktok as the two most influential social media today.

Nilan (2018) explained the norms surrounding marriage and finding a mate that the younger generation is faced with negotiations and contradictions due to the changes in context they are experiencing. Tradition, religion, and family conservatism are re-interpreted through internalization obtained through various popular cultures to information disclosure in the digital era. The search for a life partner through sacred religious values is no longer articulated absolutely as a guideline for choosing a life partner, such as good religious narratives, pious/pious couples, memorizers of the Qur'an, and carriers of other religious symbols. Mate-selection text can be found easily by Gen Z as a native technology through social media. At the end of the 2020s, content creators on Instagram and Tik Tok as big media this decade brought the issue of self-awareness as the most discussed topic. The redefinition of mate selection is also caused by the high number of divorces by content owners who like to demonstrate young marriages 8 to 10 years ago, some of whom are Alvin and Larissa Chou to Dodi

and Auliya, who are famous for chanting the letter Ar-Rahman as their wedding dowry.

Kitley (2008) explains that Indonesia views morality as necessary, especially in the post-reform era. Kitley argues that freedom and democracy emerged after the fall of the Suharto government, which caused Minangkabau conservatives to fear freedom through Westernization and globalization (Sustainable, 2022). The media is also a factor responsible for framing moral panic. In Minangkabau, West Sumatra, the position of shari'ah and adat has played an essential role in society.

Beckman (2012) reveals that adat and Islam are abstract ideological levels with many layers of institutional frameworks that require deep philosophical understanding. The weight of the concept of religious and customary identity makes it a shield in running a moral panic. This strongly intersects with the views of the Minangkabau people in imagining a potential life partner seen from the religious symbols they carry. Parents will prefer their children to marry religious male figures as a view of happiness in the afterlife for a child.

Gen Z Minangkabau is a reflection of the social practices of Gen Z Muslims in Indonesia. Minangkabau is very full of religious values and makes religion a sacred canopy, making the study of Gen Z Minangkabau very interesting, especially from the perspective of contemporary Minangkabau society and the digital era. Communities in West Sumatra glorify religious values as a sacred canopy for finding a mate. The Minangkabau people also still manifest hegemonic masculinity in making a normative picture of the family where even though the mother has been given access to the public space, the domestic sector is still their responsibility. The characterization of the ideal male in Minangkabau is also driven by the attachment of men as *urang surau* (men who like to go to the mosque). West Sumatra has strong social ties in the nuances of binding traditions. At this stage, the piety of a Minangkabau no longer belongs to the individual but is shaped by the religious community, where religious ideology is no longer the main instrument. The embodiment of being a pious human being is prioritized and has a place in society (Sustainable, 2022).

The interesting thing is that Minangkabau Gen Z also redefined what they *domate-selection* when West Sumatra became the second highest area of moral panic in Indonesia after Aceh (Sustainable, 2022). Although the embodiment of godly human beings is a priority for the family, Gen Z turns out to articulate a partner not only through tradition and religion. Apart from the compulsion of moral panic, they agree that non-religious characteristics are essential in building domestic harmony in the future amid the many educational videos about pre-marital and parenting in the digital era. In the aspect of knowledge production, the critical reflection that is drawn through this research proposal is to represent the synthesis between the study of the reality of digital society, youth studies, and the sociology of religion as the scientific novelty of this research design.

B. METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study type. Informants were obtained using a purposive technique, namely by searching for information according to predetermined criteria. The primary data collection techniques are observation and in-depth interviews, but for the needs of data distribution. The data that has been collected will be analyzed using Miles and Huberman data analysis, namely by codification, data presentation, and verification. The first stage relates to the data provision stage. Researchers also enrich references as reference material to

add secondary data by conducting a literature review. The second stage is to collect data. The number of informants for this research was 10 people with the category of informants being generation Z who are of Minangkabau descent, whether domiciled or not in Minangkabau, and aged over 24 years. The last stage is the presentation of research results by reading the data using the theoretical perspective used.

C. STUDY LITERATURE

1. Generational Change

Mannheim, in 1952 revealed that there are generational differences caused by gaps between ideal values taught between generations that have socio-historical differences. Generation is a social construction in which there are a group of people who have the same age and the same historical experience. Individuals are part of a generation that has the same year of birth within a span of 20 years and is in the same social and historical dimension. Ryder (1965) states that a generation is an aggregate of a group of individuals experiencing the same events in the same period of time. In recent years the definition of generation has developed, one of which is Kopperschmidt's (2000) definition which states that a generation is a group of individuals who identify humans based on the similarity of years of birth, age, location, and events in the group's life that have a significant influence on the growth phase. The division of generations has been put forward by many other researchers with different labels, but in general, they have the same meaning. The generation comparison preferences that are most often used with the generation category from 1950 to 2000 consist of three generation groups, namely baby boomers, generation X, and generation Y (Millennials). The population composition of each generation changes with the addition of years and the reduction of the previous generation.

Table 1. Generational Differences

No	Year of Birth	Generation Name
1	1925 - 1946	veteran generation
2	1946 - 1960	Baby boomers generation
3	1960 - 1980	X generations
4	1980 - 1995	Y generation
5	1995 - 2010	Z generations
6	2010+	Alpha generations

Source: Elmore, 2014

This generational group has different characteristics. Generation Z is the newest generation of youth to enter the workforce, known as *the i-Generation* or digital generation. Generation Z has similarities with Generation Y, but Gen Z can implement all activities at one time (multitasking), such as browsing the internet, playing social media, doing assignments, and listening to music using a headset. The differences in characteristics can be seen in the following table:

Table 2. Inter-generational differences

factor	Baby-boom	X generations	Y generation	Z generations
View	Communal, unified thinking	Self-centred and medium-term	Egotistical, short term	No sense of commitment, be happy with what you have and live for the present
Relationships	First and foremost personal	Personal and virtual networks	Principally virtual, network	Virtual and superficial
Aim	Solid existence	Multi-environment, secure position	Rivalry for leader position	Live for the present
Self realization	Conscious car carrier building	Rapid promotions	Immediate	Questions the need for it at all
IT	It is based on self-instruction and incomplete	Uses with confidence	Part of its everyday life	Intuitive
Values	Patience, soft skills, respect for traditions, EQ, hard work,	Hard work, openness, respect for diversity, curiosity, practicality	Flexibility, mobility, broad but superficial knowledge edge, success orientation, creativity, freedom of information takes priority	Live for the present, rapid reaction to everything, initiator, brave, rapid information access and content search

Source: Secondary Data, 2022

The study of generations has paid a lot of attention in terms of youth as an identity and culture. Every generation experience social changes that are very fast and massive. This condition does not only occur in young people in the Global North, but also in Indonesia (Nilan & Mansfield, 2013; Putri et al., 2020; Sutopo & Putri, 2021). Therefore it is crucial to see the connection with inter-generational relations, which aims to understand each role of youth which is the hallmark of that generation. Sutopo (2014). It is necessary to see the relationship between ages to understand each role of youth which is characteristic of that generation (Wyn and Woodman 2006). Questioning about generations means seeing changes not only happening to a group of people but changes from one generation to the next.

The contribution of the social generation perspective is the focus on the subjectivity aspect in which young people practice, contest, and respond to life in the context of the social, economic, cultural, and political changes they are experiencing in a new way. In the Indonesian context, generational change in Indonesia can be seen through various contexts of social and political change. One of the instruments that is an integral part of generational change is a change in educational patterns given the generational shift, especially towards the world of work and marriage. Increases

in participation and duration of time in the academic domain require youth to transition longer to other fields. Increasing gender equality in various development and community indicators, especially in education, has contributed to a shift in the marriage trend. Parents' demands and expectations also color young women's imagination and aspirations, especially in choosing the ideal partner for future marriage.

2. Youth Culture and Late-Modernity

In interpreting subjective mate selection, Gen Z is essential to learn and understand. There are various perspectives on understanding the youth phenomenon. It will appreciate this research plan from the post-subculture youth (youth culture) standpoint. This understanding is a perspective constructed by young people in articulating resistance and negotiations against mainstream and parent cultures. Social class is a crucial factor. In the scientific tradition of modern sociology, youth culture is often framed by deviant behavior (Merton, 1938). Nevertheless, young people do not authentically create youth culture but rather the result of the cultural construction of capitalism, industrialization, and media intervention.

One of the reasons for the debate between subcultures and post-subcultures of youth culture is the grand narrative of the shift in the era of first modernity towards late-modernity and postmodernity (Lyotard). Its development causes changes in the dynamics of young people to become producers, consumers, and producers of the culture itself. The concept of reflexivity was raised by theorists such as Ulrich Beck, Giddens, and Margaret Archer, who believed in social change toward advanced modernity. All three have the same concept in understanding reflexivity. As a result of internal contradictions, the context of social change does not mean that the role of the subject disappears. As a result of social change towards a risk society, the issue is increasingly reflexive to anticipate the risks it faces. This research plan uses Beck's view that focuses more on reflexivity as a side effect of social change, namely:

"In the context of reflexive modernization, the term side effects refer more to transforming social structures. The focus is more on the second-order side effects of social institutions (Beck, 1992).

The flow of industrialization is a process that no one can stop. The industrialization process that took place provided more than just progress. In every innovative progress, a regress accompanies it (Beck, 1992). Regression in every stream of industrialization has not been detected. It is a significant domain in the objectivity of industrial society, indicating the risks that must be faced in the era of late modernity. The production of social risks accompanies the systematic presentation of social welfare. Social problems such as scarcity in a society overlap with conflict arising from the display, definition, and distribution of the risk that is produced.

Modernization in late modernity can also be reflexive modernization. According to Giddens, reflexive modernization contains uncertainty worse than in the previous era (Suharko, 1997). The presence of technological developments not only increases the autonomy of new things but also triggers new concerns. In contrast to early modernity, where it was relatively easy for individuals to predict and plan for the future, in late modernity, individuals are confronted with the fact that society must be able to surf above risks. Beck (1992) states that the dangers humans face are not only natural hazards such as traffic jams, air pollution, floods, and other natural risks but also social risks such as individualization and issues of gender inequality.

Modernity in the early stages was felt to have 'finished' in constructing the conception of equality, welfare, power, and privileges possessed by women. However, when we move on to advanced modernity, there is a detraditionalization that becomes the 'end of nature' (Suharko, 1997). Problems of insecurity and hurt are often felt when women are faced with men in the daily realities of marriage and family. Early modern society thought the problem was only about sexuality and the economy. However, the difficulties experienced by advanced modern society are such as jobs, professions, and political inequality. Anyone who speaks in the realm of family will also continue discussing mobility and distribution gaps. Unfortunately, the problem of the dimensions of inequality was not finished in the era of early modernity. Discourse on equality and efforts to overcome it has become a frequently discussed debate. However, awareness of this only exists on paper. This paradoxical effect is that when equality increases, it continues inequality.

If contextualized in Beck's analysis in discussing the risk community, Minangkabau is one of the areas that cannot be avoided from the flow of industrialization in advanced modernity. Currently, the industrial sector has been developed both in infrastructure and digitally. Changes occur very quickly and cannot be avoided by society. The influence of this not only impacts indigenous peoples' economic and social activities but also damages the wisdom possessed by the Minangkabau themselves. In other words, Minangkabau is also on the verge of overcoming the risks produced in the context of an advanced stage of modernity (Beck, 1992).

Contemporary sociology of religion rejects its primary task, namely a changing society, not only as the basis of religion in modern society, but personal existence in a community is a question related to the social form of religion. Differences in objective and subjective dimensions play an essential role in religiosity that needs to be handled properly due to the robust institutionalization approach.

In the last decade, a paradox has emerged, equivalent to the significant setback of the sociology of religion theory. American sociological theory is dominated by the social evolutionary approach reflected in historical reductionism or under psychological reductionism (behaviorism) and positivism.

The sociology of religion generally examines houses of worship and holy books following the dominant sociological view. This kind of study fails to investigate the Minangkabau phenomenon without a mosque or every place a church as adhered to by Protestants (Luckman, 1967). This study will also find it challenging to understand the emergence of new religiosity in modern society to advanced modernity when the number of religious congregations has decreased.

3. Religion as a Sacred Canopy

In studying religion, Berger explains that faith is formed socially by humans, so its existence depends on social, historical, and cultural factors. Berger states that human projections are produced through externalization and social reality. Berger and Luckman said that contemporary sociological theory is based on the sociology of knowledge. According to him, reality is constructed socially, and reality and knowledge are two representations in interpreting it – Berger and Luckman separate understanding, reality, and knowledge. Reality is defined as a quality recognized for its existence and not dependent on individual desires. Whereas knowledge is defined as the certainty that reality is objective and has specific characteristics. The purpose of sociology is to explain the existence of a debate between human beings and their socio-

cultural world. Society is a product of humans, and humans are products of society. This individual dialectic gives birth to externalization, objectivation, and internalization.

Religion cannot be separated from sociological studies because religion is a reality that exists in society. According to Hamsah (2013), religion is the primary reference for human action manifested in actuating action with various symbolic articulations. All articulations of human activity have differences based on religious beliefs. Berger argues that what is called religion is also socially formed by humans. Humans project religion through externalization. Religion has functioned in keeping society from chaos and anomie. Religion legitimized social institutions by placing them as sacred and symbolic frameworks. Berger calls it the holy sky or sacred canopy. As explained in his book *The Sacred Canopy* (1990) and *A Rumor of Angels* (1970), Peter L. Berger tries to explain how religion is positioned in modern life. Both of Berger's early books viewed religion as a response to secularization. According to Berger, secularization led to the demonopolization of religious traditions and increased the role of ordinary people (Berger & Luckman, 1990). Various religious views mingle and compete with non-religious worldviews, so religious organizations must undergo rationalization and de-bureaucratization. Based on the assumption that secular society is more oriented towards the relationship between religion and culture in the context of the state and not in the area of the individuals.

Religion remains a reference for behavior at the individual level even though living in a society that makes teachings between religious life and state life (Susanto, 2011). For this reason, Peter L. Berger revealed that religion will remain a sacred canopy for society and will always be a reference for human action. Berger explained that human activity must refer to religion. Because religion provides an element of certainty that gives certainty of the promise of salvation, assurance of the coming of the Messiah, to confidence in the truth of faith itself.

Peter L. Berger argues that what is called religion is also socially formed by humans, so the existence of religion also depends on its social, historical, and cultural factors. Berger understands that religion is a form of human projection that results from externalization. So he tries to define religion not only as a "human product" made from humane materials but also as non-humane. Because of that, for Berger, religion is not just protective but also "sacred"

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Jo Urang Awak: Family Attachment in Mate-Selection

The Minangkabau people have long embraced endogamous marriages. This marriage is considered an ideal model for finding a mate as a goal to maintain the customary Marwah, traditions, and small tribes brought by the mother as a characteristic of matrilineal kinship. As a result, the extended family system maintains the value of exclusively endogamous marriages, making it difficult for Gen Z to break down the door of ethnicity in choosing a partner. The partner selection process is also narrow because, of course, it is limited by geography, environment, and social relations that surround the lives of Gen Z them.

Referring to the AB informant, he mentioned that his family tradition still adheres to the practice of balik ka bako, namely marrying a child from the father's own family to maintain the family status quo, especially if the individual has a job with social status. Hence, he fears having to be 'taken' by the authorities. Other. Some

of the informants who were interviewed have also accepted this norm in their families. The vulnerability of finding a partner whose family will not approve is more of a concern for Gen Z who work abroad because they will mingle with a pluralistic society. The small acceptances possessed by Gen Z migrants are by taking family advice not to have an affair with non-Minang people.

If we go back to the individual, there are some perfect things, like quite a vital religion. If the tribe is honest as gen-z, I don't understand, but Basically, you can't just marry one ethnic group. Going back to the individual, and if he looks at examples of people marrying the same tribe, there's nothing negative, which means it's not a problem. As far as I know, even for same-ethnic marriages, some traditions must be followed too if you want to get married. If you wish to marry within the same ethnic group, you must participate, but if you don't want to, we must avoid this from the start. Incidentally, the family is still very aware of the social status of the tribe like this, so whether we like it or not, we have to follow it, or we are just looking for people outside West Sumatra. (interview 30 May 2023).

The pattern of family attachment which still prioritizes endogamous marriage, has also begun to transform in various family structures in Minangkabau. Historically, this was also influenced by the collapse of the New Order regime, which brought democratization currents into shifts in norms, gender relations, and marriage and family. (Princess et al., 2020).

This transformation brought changes to the family structure in Minangkabau. Many families have also become permissive in response to defending endogamous marriages. This transformation is based, among other things, on the high level of higher education in families and Gen Z so that they can choose a life partner. Education and work are two qualified accesses to be able to negotiate to select a partner outside of ethnicity. This transformation is sometimes hampered because the decision-making process in Minangkabau marriage customs comes from more than just the nuclear family. The extended family plays a significant role in deciding whether or not the marriage is held. Although bound by matrilineal kinship. Instead of parents

In addition to the informal rules regarding endogamous marriage, Gen Z also lives by the norm that he cannot marry of the same ethnic group. Minangkabau, as a large ethnic group, has 62 minor tribes in Minangkabau and 23 familiar tribes. These tribes come from 4 main tribes in Minangkabau. Society considers that same-sex marriage is prohibited and brings a bad name to the family. Violating this rule will be socially sanctioned, namely being banished from adat, not considered as orang sumando, and other social sanctions.

BC informant (23) also explained that his family has several regional red lines where it is forbidden to marry, as explained below:

Every family or region must have different standards. There is a standard that if a candidate for a Minang person's spouse is a region, it's "where do you come from?" That's why it's important why the ogik family themselves have "paniruik an" the language has guards, so it's susceptible to certain areas. Solok people are Solok, Surian, so some areas are taboo That's how it is. Religion is just as important as having faith, and there are no demands that you have to be pious or wear a headscarf and so on because everyone has a different process; as long as you already share faith, it's safe,

then if you are ethnicity you definitely can't be your ethnic group. (Interview 4 June 2023).

BC chose to follow his family's advice to avoid several areas because he believed that taboos related to the supernatural had to be maintained. The BC family was more exclusive in choosing a partner who not only asked him to enter into but also had to comply with certain taboos that were not allowed to be carried out. During the research, it was also suspected that BC came from families with low education and living in rural areas; the transformation of family democratization was not well received.

2. Gen Z and dating: Searching for The Future Partner

Gen Z, in looking for a partner, no longer depends on narratives only on heredity, economy, and religion as recommended by their families. They live in conditions where the three criteria are also unable to prevent many people from maintaining their families and choosing to divorce, as expressed by informant AB (24):

To be honest, personally, it happened that the father and mother were parents who had an arranged marriage, but it didn't go well until the divorce. Maybe I think it's because my parents used to have just to follow family orders, so I couldn't do anything even though it didn't suit me. (Interview 30 May 2023).

Informants chose not to follow the criteria derived from family suggestions because they had experienced parental divorce, where the source of mate selection came from parents. AB said selecting a partner is autonomous because restraint will make some family systems ineffective.

Meanwhile, CD and EF informants said that family choices are the best choices parents give because families can't want to plunge their children into bad marriages. Indigenous experiences also underlie this argument, such as CDs originating from Surian, Solok Regency, which are still strong with supernatural powers and will be passed on to their children later.

The trend of arranged marriages through parents has also been replaced by courtship as a method of selecting partners. Even though it is not recommended in Islamic religious values and norms, Gen Z Minangkabaus still use this method because it is considered suitable to be used as the right way to choose a partner.

The trend of choosing a partner has also developed in the flow of digital media information. Gen Z knows a lot of new terms and alternative methods for getting to know a partner, among which we hear a lot about the terms Relationship Without Status (HTS), Friend With Benefits (FWB), commitment, and so on. This popular cultural narrative has developed massively in social media and is commonly used by teenagers. Getting to know a partner no longer requires them to be bound into a definite relationship. The forged relationship can be transformed into a situation as long as it has the same consensus.

3. The Criteria for Partners for Gen Z

Massive technological innovations also give Gen Z a lot of access to get-to-know partners, one of which is through social media or dating applications. Currently, online dating has entered since 2012 through the first application used, Tinder. Long before that, the struggle to find a partner in public space had existed since 1690,

published in print media by listing several criteria according to the requests of matchmakers. As of 2019, dating apps in the United States have reached 1 billion in industry value and will continue to grow for many years. More than 30 million people use dating apps in the world. This application is a third party that functions as a matchmaker or matchmaker's slang term to match two people based on personal preferences displayed in text and visual form through geosocial and spatial networks. Projecting online dating experiences onto physical encounters is easy because the algorithm is also based on location proximity.

This narrative of mate selection was also inherited by people who lived in the classical era, where the descendants of the nobility *edited* the wife is seen whether she came from the lineage of the king. For those who do not have this bloodline, they will be used as royal concubines. At the same time, conventional dating at the beginning of modernization can also occur if individuals are already interested in macro narratives approved by family institutions such as heredity, economy, education, and social status.

Interestingly, online dating has shifted individual preferences in finding a partner. According to Brown (2020), 12% of American adults report that they have married someone they met online. Personal digital devices owned by individuals have made it easy to get a partner with just a one-time *swipe* in the app. The application algorithm will automate the compatibility of the two parties through the visualization displayed through photos and personal descriptions provided. Although the app is used for various reasons, seeking love has been reported as the primary motive. It can be seen from Tinder users, for example, that the application has a lot of misuse, such as its use for sexual commercialization. This condition also triggers the birth of several other unique applications, such as Bumble, which is considered a feminist application by breaking male domination and power.

In contrast to conventional dating, which has an initial interest in social interactions and activities, in the online dating environment, this can be indicated by users positively evaluating other people's profiles. When two online daters "hit" (both considered the other person's dating profile), further communication became available to each other via chat. It allows for initial preference and attraction between users to grow or wane.

In the narratives of young women we meet in the field, career women negotiate more with husbands ready to share domestic obligations. This woman needs a man who empowers her, so partnering in married life is the most suitable method. Women of this type prefer men who work adaptively so that they can still support women's careers. As for Gen Z males, knowledge, education, and family openness to provide choices for children are three essential elements for men in choosing a partner. Men who fulfill these three elements will be more permissive in selecting a partner and are no longer bound by heredity, family, and religion.

Women who come from traditional families and are not oriented towards work prefer husbands for financial security. The family hopes their future son will be a man who works hard for the family and becomes the head of the family so that the wife can care for her husband's needs at home. This type of woman prefers men with conventional jobs such as being in the TNI/POLRI, civil servants, office workers, and so on. The economic security of a partner with a stable income and a straightforward job will guarantee their life after marriage, even though materialistic women are still at risk of being stigmatized.

Whereas for Gen Z, who come from families that place more importance on morality and religious values, having a partner who is 'righteous' and 'righteous' is still the primary component that must be met as stated by EF, namely as follows:

It's easy if you have the same religion, but sometimes even though you have the same faith, there are still differences in sects. I've been in a relationship with people from different streams, and it turns out that it's tough to reconcile the differences. He is NU iky Muhammadiyah; there are traditions or worship that he lives while we don't, and that can be a source of problems in relationships. So even though we already live in an area where the majority of Minangkabaus are, we also have to look for people with the same beliefs and sects because, in my opinion, we want to get married; it's worship, don't let the order of our worship be different. So from the start, it is better to adjust and find out about religion and how to worship. (Interview 4 June 2023)

EF believes that the unification of religious sects is also essential to avoid tension in the household. EF worries that religious sects will make minor conflicts possible in the home, such as differences in how to pray, celebrating religious holidays, etc. This condition can also be reflected as a retraditionalization of marriage if given a depiction of righteousness alone in finding a partner.

According to Hefner (2019), Gen Z still accepts the restrictions their parents desire because they have a social responsibility to their parents, who have raised, loved, and financed their needs, including education. This condition also causes children to be automatically considered as a social investment in the family.

Nilan, in his findings (2008), revealed that having partner criteria that had come out of the giant narrative and paid full attention to the partner's personality, such as being patient, straightforward, honest, loyal, responsible, and able to understand ideal and balanced partner discourse was a reflective strategy to minimize risk – divorce or incompatibility after marriage.

The narratives that have developed in popular culture, especially Tiktok, also discuss self-development as the most popular topic, discussing how women's issues break into private spaces and enter into public spaces. The narrative that develops in Tiktok's popular culture is how high-value women, often known as alpha-female, prefer men with personality matches and are aware of gender equality over men who perceive women as the second sex.

Gen Z makes many life decisions not based on existing choices, but these choices are based on tradition, obligations as religious people, and economic needs. The more Gen Z access to get out of the trap of choice, the more options. But this condition is also a debate when he lives in an authoritarian family; the higher the level of education and economic stability, the more stringent the parents will be in choosing a mate for their child.

E. CONCLUSIONS

To Find a partner, Gen Z Minangkabaus in West Sumatra have their uniqueness, including in the pattern of family attachment; the Minang family allows endogamous marriage, but not the same ethnic group. Minang families also in certain areas in West Sumatra have a prohibition against marrying candidates from certain areas who are considered to have supernatural powers. West Sumatra, which is considered to have relatively high religious fanaticism, no longer practices values in finding a partner based on conventional texts in the scriptures or religious dogmas, but instead reinterprets religious texts in looking for a partner. Gen Z makes many

life decisions not based on existing choices, but these choices are based on tradition, obligations as religious people, and economic needs. Gen Z Minangkabaus are also looking for partners using dating apps.

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