*Author for correspondence: Email:
pradytia.putri.pertiwi@ugm.ac.id

Parental Attachment in Generation Z Adolescents: Comparison in Matrilineal and Patrilineal Kinship Systems in Indonesia

Arifatus Sholekhah and Pradytia Putri Pertiwi*

Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

Abstract

Parental attachment has an immense influence on adolescent development, including in Generation Z. Some factors can affect attachment development, such as social environment and culture. This study aimed to compare attachment patterns between Generation Z adolescents from matrilineal and patrilineal backgrounds in Indonesia. The parental attachment was measured using the Indonesian version of the Inventory of Parent Peer Attachment-Revised (IPPA-R). Participants in this study were 206 adolescents, with Batak ($n= 69$) and Minangkabau ($n=134$) ethnic backgrounds. Data analyses used were Mann-Whitney U and Wilcoxon rank-sum test. This study showed no difference in parental attachment between the two groups, indicating that there is a shift in parental attachment levels in Indonesia. Trust, communication, and alienation could predict preferred attachment figures for the matrilineal group. Meanwhile, the preferred attachment figure in the patrilineal group was predicted by trust and communication. This research could help parents understand the importance of communication, trust, and alienation and their relations with parental attachment level, especially in Generation Z with Minangkabau and Batak cultural backgrounds.

Generation Z and the phenomena surrounding this generation has been widely discussed and researched in Indonesia (Bakti & Safitri, 2017). The theme began to develop widely, both in popular media and academic research, since 2020 (Christiani & Ikasari, 2020; Hastini et al., 2020; Pratama & Elistia, 2020). For example, discussions about Generation Z's vulnerability to mental health issues led to the emergence of the term "Strawberry Generation" (Prihatina, 2022). This term emerged because Generation Z is considered attractive from the outside but fragile on the inside. In the workplace, Generation Z has special characteristics, e.g., excessive use of smartphones that can cause misunderstandings between employees (Rachmawati, 2019), even though smartphone use in the workplace is often for work purposes or online communication.

There are varying views on who can be called Generation Z. Several research stated that Generation Z is a group of individuals born between 1993 and 2005 (Bencsik et al., 2016; Dolot, 2018; OECD, 2017; Turner, 2015). Some experts argued about the close relation between Generation Z and the use of the internet and social networks (Csobanka, 2016; Dolot, 2018). Several studies even referred to Generation Z as Generation D (digital) and Generation C (communication) because their consumption of technology has resulted in exposure and tolerance for various new cultures (Csobanka, 2016; Turner, 2015).

Due to its unique characteristics, Generation Z requires a changing environment in various aspects of life to accommodate their development appropriately. The Ministry of Education and Culture stated that understanding the characteristics of each generation is important in the education strategy (Rakhmah, 2021). Digitalization should be considered in the process of arranging curriculum to accommodate certain generation's needs. Additionally, in the work sector, Generation Z has shown a desire to work in a flexible environment and even work multiple jobs simultaneously (Rachmawati, 2019). These studies show the importance of understanding the stages of development and factors that influence the development of Generation Z so that we can better accommodate their needs.

According to Oerther and Oerther (2021), an important aspect in the development of Generation Z is the role of parents. In accordance with Bronfenbrenner (1977), individual development is influenced by several environmental systems, including family (Santrock, 2018). The role of the family, especially parents, is to provide direct interaction with adolescents and to be someone who helps adolescents build developmental settings.

However, technological developments encountered by Generation Z adolescents could shift some parental roles. Navarro and Tudge (2022) stated that technological developments could lead to the emergence of a virtual microsystem context, namely the possibility of Generation Z adolescents interacting through indirect networks, e.g., social media. According to this theory, technological innovation enables individuals to develop attachment with different parents (neo-ecological theory). This argument is supported by Cabrera et al. (2014) who found that interaction with family in the microsystem group could help maintain close relationships with caregivers, which is also related to the development of parent-child attachment. If the interaction is not developed properly, the attachment between the two will decline because the quality of the attachment is determined by the interaction between parents and children (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987).

Parental attachment does not spontaneously appear in individuals. Bowlby (as cited in Sroufe, 2005) speculated that attachment is influenced by the history of interactions between caregivers and children. Colin (1996) explained that caregiver figures, demographic factors, economic status, use of medication by caregivers, infant temperament, premature birth, and social support from caregivers are the main factors of attachment formation. Li et al. (2014) also conveyed the importance of differences in cultural values and family orientations toward the diversity of relationships between families and adolescents.

These studies emphasize the role of social context on attachment patterns developed by a person. One of the social contexts that can be found is the culture practiced by society (Ung, 2015). There are several studies that examined the phenomenon of attachment in different cultures. For example, Ainsworth attempted to find out the impact of strange situations in areas with African and American cultural backgrounds (Carlson & Harwood, 2003). The study of attachment patterns in Eastern and Western settings conducted by Li et al. (2014) in China, Italy, and Costa Rica also attempted to explore the role of culture on attachment patterns in parents-adolescents. The research found that the level of mother-adolescent attachment in Italy was higher than mother-adolescent attachment in the other two countries. Adolescents in China also displayed higher level of trust and communication with fathers than mothers.

The findings above show a relationship between culture and the formation of parent-adolescent attachment. Based on ecological theory, there is an indirect relationship between the nuclear family and the culture held. The role of the family is in the microsystem, namely the environment where the individual lives (Santrock, 2018).

On the other hand, cultural elements, e.g., values held and cultural practices by family members, are parts of the macrosystem (Santrock, 2018). Navarro and Tudge (2022) also stated that the increasingly massive digital development across the globe had given rise to new cultural values in the macrosystem. The two environments are indeed not directly connected but are separated by the ecosystem and mesosystem (Santrock, 2018). Even so, several studies have shown how cultural values held by a group influence parent-child attachment (Li et al., 2014). This evidence shows that culture, which is an element of the macrosystem, can indeed influence the microsystem, especially parent-child attachment.

In Indonesia, there are several studies in the field of adolescent attachment, but they did not specifically apply to Generation Z and compare patrilineal and matrilineal cultures. Topics that have been discussed include characteristics of attachment need fulfillment between parents and children in the Bengkulu culture (Maya & Zumkasri, 2017), the relationship between parental attachment and the level of autonomy in adolescents (Dewi & Valentina, 2013), and the influence parental attachment on self-esteem and self-control in adolescents in Bogor (Zakiyyah & Latifah, 2022). In addition, there are several studies that show the uniqueness of parenting style in various Indonesian ethnic groups. Javanese parents, for example, do not apply harsh punishments but tend to scare children (Satrianingrum & Setyawati, 2021). Meanwhile, Batak and Minangkabau ethnic groups tend to prioritize traditional and religious values. The Minangkabau ethnic group itself also has a distinctive characteristic, such as the role of *mamak* in protecting nephews (Natin, 2008). This study sought to confirm the pattern of parental attachment in Generation Z adolescents by looking at the comparison of two cultures, matrilineal and patrilineal kinship systems.

Concept of Parental Attachment in Generation Z

Attachment can be defined as an emotional relationship formed by an infant with their primary caregiver (Bowlby, 1969). Purwantiasning and Kurniawan (2017) stated that attachment is manifested in emotional bonds that are permanent. In their research on aspects of attachment formation, Armsden and Greenberg (1987) found that communication, trust, and alienation, were the three main aspects in the formation of attachment between parents and adolescents.

The first aspect, trust, refers to the parents' understanding of the child and mutual trust. Armsden and Greenberg (1987) explained that trust in attachment consists of several indicators, namely parents' understanding of the child's needs and desires, parents' respect for the child's needs and desires, and mutual trust between parents and children.

The second aspect is the quality of communication between children and parents, labeled as the communication dimension. In parent-child relationships, communication has a crucial role. Communication with parents is a source of learning for children and also shape their social reality

and communication behavior in the future (Wang et al., 2018).

The last aspect, alienation, refers to the situation of alienation and feelings of isolation in adolescents. Alienation can be defined as a distance between one person and another, which results in the absence of close relationships between people in certain social groups, e.g., family, workplace, and communities (APA Dictionary of Psychology, 2018). The indicators of alienation according Armsden and Greenberg and then revised by Guarnieri et al. (2010) are the feelings of not being isolated from parents, the absence of anger and disappointment toward parents, and the level of attachment between parents and adolescents.

Parents play a crucial role in the development of Generation Z adolescents. This is evidenced by the role of mothers as the primary caregivers in the early college years of Generation Z (Arnett, 2013; Lewis, 2021). Kiyama and Harper (2018) research found that the attachment between Generation Z adolescents and their parents might increase due to the increased financial needs when adolescents enter college. Lewis (2021) also stated that the nuclear family provides support in the academic field, such as when deciding for a specific major and providing emotional support. In the early college years, Generation Z adolescents most often contact primary caregivers (Lewis, 2021). The same study also stated that communicating via telephone is the most common trend among Generation Z adolescents and their parents.

In addition, the intense technology use in Generation Z impacts the frequency and quality of social relationships with others. Technological developments enable Generation Z adolescents and their parents to communicate more frequently and conveniently through various platforms (Savage & Petree, 2013; Schon, 2014). However, the increasing social media use widens the gap between Generation Z teenagers and their parents' relationship, making them less close than the previous generations (Turner, 2015). The use of technology by parents at home also negatively affects the quality of parenting and parental attachment (McDaniel, 2019). These activities can reduce the time parents and children spend together at home (McDaniel, 2019). Punamäki et al. (2009) said that the increase in the use of video games, internet surfing, and intensive online messaging is related to poor relationships between parents and children.

Technological development has indeed created a strain in the relationship between parents and Generation Z teenagers (McDaniel, 2019). However, several studies have found that Generation Z teenagers still need their parents in several aspects of their lives. For first-year college students, family support is crucial (Lewis, 2021). In these conditions, Generation Z adolescents need direct academic, financial, and emotional support from their parents. During this period, they value their relationships with their families and parents (Seemiller & Grace, 2016, 2019). Occasionally, they also seek advice from their parents.

From a parenting perspective, Prihatina (2022) stated that parents tend to spoil Generation Z children. Exces-

sive worry and prohibitions make children grow up to be fearful individuals (Kasali, 2018). This type of parenting has the potential to generate a fragile generation, with Generation Z youth being commonly referred to as the Strawberry Generation (Fauzi & Tarigan, 2023). Fauzi and Tarigan (2023) research, involving Generation Z participants in Indonesia, showed that poor communication between parents and children affects the mental formation of the Strawberry Generation. This statement is supported by the rising cases of mental health disorders in the Strawberry Generation group, which includes Generation Z and millennials (Claretta1 et al., 2022). This fragile mental condition, likened to strawberries, is what gave rise to the term.

Parental Attachment in Matrilineal and Patrilineal Cultures

This study aimed to compare the attachment style between Generation Z adolescents and parents in matrilineal and patrilineal kinship groups in Indonesia. Batak was chosen to represent the patrilineal group, and Minangkabau represented the matrilineal group (Ariani, 2016; Sulfany & Jalesvevano, 2023). The kinship system is defined as a rule derived from customary law regarding an individual's role within the kinship, the relationship between children and parents, and the role of a child within their family. This relationship is based on blood relations (Biro Pengembangan Minat Bakat & Karir Mahasiswa, 2022). In Indonesian society, several kinship systems are often found, such as the patrilineal and matrilineal systems (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). The patrilineal kinship system can be found in tribes like the Batak and Dayak (Koentjaraningrat, 1984), while the matrilineal system is implemented by tribes like Minangkabau.

The difference in kinship systems significantly impacts family care in these groups. In the Batak tribe, boys are important as they become the successors of the family (Rahayu & Amanah, 2016). The role of mass media, communication, and the child's social environment in the Batak family determines the parenting style applied by the parents (Rahayu & Amanah, 2016). Studies have found that Batak mothers will breastfeed their children even when they are not hungry to prevent confrontation, fostering a strong emotional bond between mother and child (Aryanti, 2015; Kushnick, 2006).

The Batak community's patrilineal system gives fathers more power in family's decision-making process, including childcare (Sulfany & Jalesvevano, 2023)(Sulfany & Jalesvevano, 2023; Rahmayanty et al., 2023). In patrilineal families, such as those of the Balinese and Batak tribes, a more permissive maternal parenting style is observed, while fathers tend to be authoritarian (Riany et al., 2016).

Different from Batak, Minangkabau is defined by a kinship system that places family power in the maternal lineage (Natin, 2008). In this system, women hold a high social position, akin to the family's heirloom (Riany et al., 2016). This elevated role is positively interpreted by children, with daughters receiving support through inheri-

tance when if their parents separate or divorce (Hartati et al., 2021). The father's role in a matrilineal family is often likened to that of a guest, leading to a more marginalized position within the family (Monica, 2012). Research supports this notion, finding that fathers often cease financial support for their children post-divorce (Hartati et al., 2021).

In the Minangkabau Tribe, other figures, such as *mamak* (maternal uncle), play significant roles in parenting. The Minangkabau people entrust child-rearing to mothers and uncles, as reflected in the local proverb, "*anak dipangku, kamanakan dibimbiang*" (children are held in the lap, nephew and niece are guided), indicating the maternal uncle's responsibility as a social father (Ariani, 2016; Koentjaraningrat, 1984). However, recent studies indicate a decline in the role of uncles in Minangkabau society (Hartati & Yuniarti, 2020; Natin, 2008).

Based on the literature review, the researcher assumed that differences in values and beliefs in parenting patterns within the two kinship systems could result in varying levels and styles of attachment. The high use of technology among Generation Z, which impacts the role of attachment figures and the potential emergence of new attachment figures, must also be considered. Additionally, research on the relationship between parents and Generation Z teenagers is crucial in the quest of finding solutions to the psychological issues caused by rapid technological advancements. However, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, no specific research had addressed this phenomenon. Therefore, this study aimed to compare parent-Generation Z adolescent attachment styles in patrilineal and matrilineal societies in Indonesia. The researcher proposes four hypotheses in this study: (1) Parental attachment in generation Z adolescents coming from matrilineal and patrilineal families is still high; (2) There are differences in the attachment styles between parents and generation Z adolescents in matrilineal and patrilineal cultures; (3) In matrilineal culture, generation Z adolescents are more attached to mothers than fathers; and (4) In patrilineal culture, generation Z adolescents are more attached to fathers than mothers.

Methods

This research employed a quantitative survey method. This study involved Generation Z adolescents, born between 1997 and 2004, with an age range of 18-25 years at the time of the study. Participants lived in Indonesia and had a father and/or mother from the Batak or Minangkabau ethnic groups.

Participants were recruited using convenience sampling technique by distributing posters online through various social media platforms, such as Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp, and LINE. Prospective participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire containing demographic questions via a Google Form. At the beginning of the form, participants were provided with an explanation of the study and an informed consent sheet. After reading and agreeing to participate, they answered questions about their personal data (name, age, and ethnic background).

A total of 223 participants filled out the questionnaire and indicated their interest in participating in this study, but only 206 met the inclusion criteria. Seventeen participants were excluded for reasons, such as having parents from both tribes (Batak and Minangkabau), being outside the age range, or not having a parent from the related tribe. Of the 206 participants, 39% (n=79) had Batak background and 61% (n=127) had Minangkabau background. As mentioned, participants' ages varied from 18 to 25 years (M=21). The study was dominated by female participants, who made up 85% (n=174) of the sample. The researcher obtained research approval from the ethics committee of the Faculty of Psychology Universitas Gadjah Mada (No. 7395/UN1/FPSi.1.3/SD/PT.01.04/2022).

The variables measured in this study were adolescent attachment to parents and peers. The measuring instrument used was the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment-Revised (IPPA-R), originally developed by Armsden and Greenberg (1987) and revised by Guarnieri et al. (2010). The Indonesian version of the IPPA-R was developed by Rani and Adiyanti (2018). This instrument was tested on adolescent participants, specifically junior high and senior high school students in Yogyakarta. Validity testing was conducted using Aiken's V content validity with five raters. The reliability test results indicated that the adapted IPPA-R was reliable, with Cronbach's of 0.942 for the attachment to the mother section and 0.952 for the attachment to the father section. Permission to use the instrument was obtained through email correspondence with the original developers.

The IPPA-R consists of 35 items measuring attachment to the father and 35 items measuring attachment to the mother. Examples of items measuring paternal attachment include: "My father trusts my judgment," "My father helps me understand myself better," and "I don't receive much attention from my father." Examples of items measuring maternal attachment include: "I feel that my mother does her job as a mother well," "My mother never asks me how I feel, even in difficult situations," and "I feel comfortable being around my mother."

Data Analysis

This study aimed to compare the attachment patterns of adolescents and parents across different kinship systems in Indonesia. Hypothesis 1 was confirmed using descriptive data of participants' attachment scores. An independent t-test was initially used to address Hypothesis 2, which examined the differences in attachment patterns between patrilineal and matrilineal cultures. However, since the data distribution was not normal, the Mann-Whitney U test (Tallarida & Murray, 1986) was employed instead. For Hypotheses 3 and 4, which further explored the attachment patterns of adolescents to fathers and mothers within each kinship system, a paired t-test with the Wilcoxon W test (White, 1952) was applied. Both data analyses were conducted using SPSS version 25 (IBM Corporation, 2021).

Result

Parental Attachment Levels of Generation Z from Matrilineal and Patrilineal Families

From the research data obtained, researchers determined the distribution of parental attachment levels in adolescents across both groups. The highest parent-adolescent attachment score was 342, while the lowest was 100 ($M=$ 256, SD=45). Researchers used this data to categorize the attachment levels based on empirical scores. The majority of Generation Z adolescent attachment scores in both kinship groups fell into the moderate category.

In addition to overall parental attachment levels, the researchers categorized participant scores based on their attachment to mothers and fathers. The empirical data showed that the average attachment score to mothers was 135 ($SD = 24$), while the average attachment score to fathers was 121 ($SD = 29$). The categorization results indicated that the mother-adolescent attachment score was mostly in the high category (n=91, 44%), with only 4 participants in the very low group (n=4, 2%). Conversely, the father's attachment score was predominantly in the moderate category (n=74, 36%), with the lowest frequency in the very high group (n=7, 3%).

Differences in Parental Attachment in Patrilineal and Matrilineal Kinship Systems

In addition to the level of parental attachment, researchers also looked further into the differences in paternal attachment ($M_{\text{Patrilineal}}=$ 118.91, $SD_{\text{Patrilineal}}=$ 30.1; $M_{\text{Matrilineal}}=$ 121.8, $SD_{\text{Matrilineal}}=$ 28.9) and maternal attachment ($M_{\text{Patrilineal}}=$ 136.52, $SD_{\text{Patrilineal}}=$ 24.85; $M_{\text{Matrilineal}}=$ 134.31, $SD_{\text{Matrilineal}}=$ 23.89) in the two kinship systems in Indonesia. The data obtained showed no difference in paternal attachment in matrilineal and patrilineal groups (Z=-0.654, p=0.513). Similar results were also found for maternal attachment in both kinship groups (Z= -0.785 p= 0.432). Further explanation of the data can be found in Table 1.

Table 1

Comparison of Paternal and Maternal Attachment in Patrilineal and Matrilineal Groups

	Mann-Whitney U	Z-score	p
Paternal attachment	4744.5	−.654	.513
Maternal attachment	4690	−.785	.432

Furthermore, this study also looked at the level of parental attachment. Therefore, the researcher also presents data on the differences in the level of attachment in each kinship group based on its constituent aspects. There were three aspects measured, namely trust, communication, and alienation. From the results of the Mann-Whitney U test, researchers found no difference in the levels of communication, trust, and alienation in the two groups. A detailed explanation can be seen in Table 2.

Table 3 describes the maternal attachment scores in the two groups. The results showed no significant difference

in maternal attachment between the two kinship groups ($Z=$ −0.785, $p=$ 0.432). No differences were found in the constituent aspects of maternal attachment in either matrilineal or patrilineal kinship groups. ($Z_{\text{trust}}=$ −0.105, $p=$ 0.514; $Z_{\text{communication}}=$ −1.244, $p=$ 0.214; $Z_{\text{alienation}}=$ −0.469, $p=$ 0.639).

Parental Attachment Patterns in Each Kinship System

The attachment patterns referred to were the difference in a person's level of trust, communication, and alienation toward their father and mother. Researchers used Wilcoxon's paired t-test to see differences in people's attachment patterns. The difference test used was non-parametric because the research data had a statistically abnormal data distribution (Altman & Bland, 2009). An explanation of the attachment patterns in the patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems can be seen in Table 4.

It can be concluded that there were differences in father-mother attachment preferences in patrilineal kinship groups. The data show that individuals in the patrilineal group are closer to their mothers than their fathers ($z = -4.660$, $p= 0.000$). Samples from the patrilineal group also showed higher trust and communication with mothers ($Z_{\text{trust}}=$ −6.946, $p=$ 0.000; $Z_{\text{communication}}=$ −4.255, $p=$ 0.000). However, this tendency was not observed in the aspect of alienation. The results showed no significant difference in the aspect of alienation, either in fathers or mothers ($Z= -0.264$, $p= .792$).

Furthermore, data on the level of attachment in matrilineal groups showed a preference for attachment in matrilineal communities ($Z= -5.033$, $p= 0.000$). The matrilineal group also exhibited higher attachment to the mother in terms of trust, communication, and alienation.

Attachment Preference by Gender

In this section, the researcher explained the attachment preferences of male and female participants. The results indicate no differences in attachment preferences between male and female participants. This suggests that both male and female participants had the same level of attachment to their fathers and mothers. Further explanation can be seen in Table 5.

Discussion

This study aimed to confirm the parent-adolescent attachment pattern in cross-cultural families in Indonesia, especially in Generation Z adolescents who have been studied from various aspects and have special characteristics due to the influence of technological developments (Csobanka, 2016; Gu et al., 2013). In the next section, the researcher will discuss two themes: learning points about the parent-adolescent attachment pattern of Generation Z with a comparison of matrilineal and patrilineal cultures, namely the shift in parent-adolescent attachment pattern of Generation Z and the comparison of the level of parent-adolescent attachment of Generation Z in matrilineal and patrilineal cultures.

Table 2
Differences in Paternal Attachment Between Kinship Systems Based on Three Composing Aspects

	M	SD	Mann-Whitney U	Z-score	p
Paternal attachment	120.69	29.34	4744.5	−.654	.513
Trust	39.84	8.9	4745.4	−.652	.514
Communication	39.08	11.26	4994.5	−.053	.958
Alienation	41.81	10.29	4465.5	−.105	.185

Table 3
Differences in Maternal Attachment Between Kinship Systems Based on Three Composing Aspects

	Mean	SD	Mann-Whitney U	Z-score	p
Maternal attachment	135.15	24.23	4690	−.785	.432
Trust	49.6	8.26	4973	−.105	.514
Communication	44.51	10.9	4499.5	− 1.244	.214
Alienation	41	6.79	4821.5	−.469	.639

Table 4
Patterns of Parental Attachment in Patrilineal and Matrilineal Groups

Group	Aspects	Z-Score	p
Patrilineal	Attachment	− 4.660	.000**
	Trust	− 6.946	.000**
	Communication	− 4.255	.000**
	Alienation	−.264	.792
Matrilineal	Attachment	− 5.033	.000**
	Trust	− 7.902	.000**
	Communication	− 4.897	.000**
	Alienation	− 2.491	.013*

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

Table 5
Attachment Patterns of Male and Female Participants

	Mann-Whitney U	Z-score	p
Attachment	17,995	−.045	.964
Paternal attachment	17,998	−.035	.972
Maternal attachment	17,996	−.042	.967

Shift in Parent-Adolescent Attachment Pattern of Generation Z

The results of the study indicated that the parent-adolescent attachment pattern of Generation Z in the patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems is moderate on average, with almost the same proportion between the low and high-level groups. These results indicate that the level of attachment was no longer high, suggesting that the first null hypothesis (H0) of the study was accepted. This may indicate a shift in the attachment patterns between Generation Z compared to previous generations.

Previously, Kasalová et al. (2015) found that secure attachment was the most dominant type of attachment in Generation Y (millennial) adolescents. Secure attachment means that parents can form emotionally secure attachments with their children (Komariah et al., 2021). This study could not explore the reasons why the level of parental attachment in Generation Z from the Batak and Minangkabau ethnic backgrounds leaned toward moderate. However, based on previous research, there are several alternative explanations for why there is a shift in the level of parental attachment. First, Generation Z is a generation that cannot be separated from the digital world, such as smartphones (Palley, 2012) and other technological devices (Turner, 2015). This pattern finally gave rise to a new dimension in ecological theory originally formulated by Urie Bronfenbrenner, neo-ecological theory (Navarro & Tudge, 2022).

In the proposed theory, Navarro and Tudge (2022) discussed a virtual microsystem, caused by technological developments, that allow relationships to be built without face-to-face communication. Activities that showcase relationships in the virtual microsystem include playing online games with friends (Navarro & Tudge, 2022), communicating with idols or influencers through social media (Sokolova & Kefi, 2020), and establishing relationships through online applications (Mosley et al., 2022). This shows that Generation Z can build relationships without meeting in person. Additionally, Anderson and Jiang (2018) stated that parents of Generation Z who use smartphones are often distracted during verbal communication. This can reduce the quality of interaction between parents and Generation Z teenagers (Nicholas, 2020).

Generation Z, which is increasingly attached to technology, experiences broader communication in the microsystem. Coupled with the negative impact of smartphone use on the quality of parental care, this could lead to the emergence of other attachment figures in Generation Z adolescents. Furthermore, ecological theory shows the role of culture in the macrosystem. This scope is separated into two environments, namely the mesosystem and exosystem environments (Santrock, 2018). The mesosystem is defined as a connecting environment between direct interactions that occur in two or more environments (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). This system can be explained as a link between two microsystems. In the case of Generation Z adolescents, this system explains the relationship between the digital world, social media, and interpersonal relationships that are directly experienced by adolescents (Navarro & Tudge, 2022). The combination of social interactions and virtual activities poses a challenge to individuals regarding how to represent themselves in their social relationships.

The next layer that separates the microsystem from the macrosystem is the exosystem. Bronfenbrenner (as cited in Navarro and Tudge, 2022 defined the exosystem as a process and a link between two or more settings, one of which is not related to individual development but indirectly influences the development process. Navarro and Tudge (2022) stated that the exosystem is a parallel drive in the mesosystem, such as the drive that makes adolescents directly involved in the virtual microsystem. Parents, teachers, and practitioners are considered to have an influence in forming a positive exosystem.

The explanation above shows that there are many scopes before the macrosystem can influence the microsystem. The macrosystem environment itself is defined as an environment where culture can influence the micro-, meso-, and exosystem (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). The younger generation is considered to be better prepared to deal with more diverse cultures and subcultures where they live, play, and grow (Navarro & Tudge, 2022). The presence of digital technology and increasingly widespread internet access can impact the lives of adolescents.

The broad scope of the macrosystem may reduce the role of culture, namely culture in the matrilineal and patrilineal kinship systems (which were the focus of this study), in attachment formation between parents and Generation Z adolescents. Not only that, this study only described parental attachment in Generation Z adolescents, both from patrilineal and matrilineal groups, in certain contexts, e.g., in the financial context (Kiyama & Harper, 2018; Kiyama et al., 2015; Lewis, 2021), emotional support related to studies, and academic support (Lewis, 2021). The increase in college costs encourages adolescents to communicate intensively with their parents to meet their needs (Kiyama & Harper, 2018). Moving to a new place allows for increased long-distance communication, making communication between the two more intense.

A Comparison of Parent-Adolescent Attachment Levels of Generation Z in Matrilineal and Patrilineal Cultures

The researcher assumed that there were differences in values and beliefs applied in parenting styles in patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems, which could lead to differences in levels and patterns of attachment in both cultural groups. However, the findings of this study differed from the proposed H1, showing no difference in attachment between parents and Generation Z teenagers in the matrilineal and patrilineal kinship systems. Such conditions could occur because, in this era, there have been practical changes in cultural values in both groups. Both the Minangkabau and Batak people migrate to other places (Asnewastri, 2018; Bungo & Hussin, 2011; Pohan, 2018; Sasmita1 & Trisnaningsih, 2021; Silaban & Defrianti, 2021). Moving places can influence changes in the practice of native cultural values. This is in line with Tacoli (2012), who said that migration led to Generation Z growing up

in urban areas, which exposed them more to new cultures. It causes changes in cultural values in parenting in both groups, thus leading to no difference in parent-child attachments between the two kinship systems.

Patrilineal kinship groups generally apply a patriarchal system (Riany et al., 2016). In these families, fathers have the power to make family decisions, including in childcare (Mulder, 1994). The changing era also leads to the increasing role of fathers in matrilineal groups (Natin, 2008), making them have an equally large role as fathers in patrilineal groups. Changes and education regarding the openness of the role of each parental figure may have emerged because, in Generation Z, families are more flexible toward new cultures (Lewis, 2021). This similarity could be one factor in why there is no difference in attachment patterns in the two kinship systems.

If we look further, several aspects of attachment, namely trust, communication, and alienation, in both kinship systems are also not different. Communication in the Minangkabau and Batak communities both use stories or legends (Satrianingrum & Setyawati, 2021). The purpose of parents communicating folklore, both in the Minangkabau and Batak groups, is to shape the character of children. Research by Rahayu and Amanah (2016) showed that both tribes use mass media, such as the television, as a medium of communication with children, which can influence parent-child communication patterns. The two pieces of information above support the results of the study, which conveyed no difference in parent-adolescent communication in the two kinship systems, especially in Batak and Minangkabau cultures. Many Generation Z teenagers, both in the Minangkabau (Julianti & Novenda, 2017) and Batak (Halawa, 2020) tribes, use smartphones for communication. Their use of social media, games, and search engines (Halawa, 2020; Julianti & Novenda, 2017) shows communication similarities in both cultures. Generation Z students from the Minangkabau and Batak tribes (Tarigan, 2021) who migrate also use technology, such as short messages and video calls, to maintain communication with their parents. This also explains why the level of communication between parents and Generation Z teenagers in the group is equally high.

In addition to similarities in communication patterns, the similarity in the level of alienation between teenagers and parents in the Batak and Minangkabau cultures can be explained by the way parents raise children in an extended family environment. Generally, in the Minangkabau tribe, a child will live together with their parents and extended family in the same traditional house (Hartati et al., 2021; Muhdaliha, 2022). The same thing also happens in the Batak tribe. They will live with one extended family in the same house. Although the Minangkabau tribe has a *mamak* (maternal uncle) who can increase the alienation of children with their fathers, the results of the study did not show this. This could be due to the development of the times that erodes the role of *mamak* in child rearing in the Minangkabau tribe (Maretin as cited in Natin, 2008; Razif and Anjela, 2014.

Initially, *mamak* had a normative role to educate their

nieces or nephews, managing inheritances, and arranging their marriages (Razif & Anjela, 2014). In a matrilineal society, the increasing role of the father are prevalent (Razif & Anjela, 2014). *Mamak*, who was initially responsible for the inheritance and management of inheritances, education, and matchmaking of his nephews and nieces (Razif & Anjela, 2014), saw a decreasing role in the family due to migration (Natin, 2008). The openness to new value in Minangkabau people is the reason why these changes can occur (Lewis, 2021). The development of education in the Minangkabau community is also the reason why they do not simply accept maternal uncle's decisions (Razif & Anjela, 2014). Globalization and the use of technology, such as WhatsApp, also allow for changes in social values in the Minangkabau community (Jalinus et al., 2018). The strong role of the nuclear family and the lack of socialization for the *mamak* role in Minangkabau society also indicate a decline in the role of the *mamak* in society (Jalinus et al., 2018; Razif & Anjela, 2014).

In addition to the differences in attachment patterns in the two kinship groups, researchers also looked deeper into attachment preferences based on gender in the two groups. Generally, gender roles in the two kinship systems are different. In the matrilineal group, the role of girls becomes more significant because they will later play a role in the inheritance (Siregar & Amran, 2020). However, there are differences in the patrilineal kinship system. Boys have a more important role because they are the ones who play a role in the inheritance and passing down the family's name (Paramitha & Basaria, 2018). The differences in the roles of boys and girls in the two tribes did not have an impact on attachment preferences in adolescents. The equal treatment for boys and girls by the parents allows for this change (Bao & Xu, 2006; Li et al., 2014; Pace et al., 2011). The treatment of parents to boys and girls is the same, both in the Minangkabau Tribe (Rahayu & Amanah, 2016) and the Batak Tribe (Tjandra & Basaria, 2018). This explanation is in accordance with the meta-analysis study of Gorrese and Ruggieri (2012), which conveys inconsistent differences in attachment based on gender.

Although there was no difference in attachment between the two kinship groups, this study proved that there were differences in the preferences of attached figures in each kinship group. In the patrilineal kinship group, adolescents were more attached to the mother figure. The results of the study showed that the level of trust and communication of adolescents was higher with mothers than with fathers. This could arise because the role of mothers in patrilineal societies is significant early in life (Riany et al., 2016). Mothers in early life can create emotional relationships with children (Jalinus et al., 2018). This is in line with the results of Afrizal (2020), which studied the role of mothers in Batak families in the Medan area. Not only that, mothers' tendency to be more permissive (Riany et al., 2016) gives children the opportunity to communicate openly and make decisions freely (Sanvictores & Mendez, 2021). This is the reason why children's levels of trust and communication are higher toward mothers

than fathers. However, there was no visible difference in alienation in the patrilineal kinship group.

The level of maternal attachment in the matrilineal kinship group was also significantly higher than the level of paternal attachment. This could be because, in terms of the components of attachment, namely trust and communication, in the matrilineal kinship system, Generation Z adolescents are more attached to their mothers than their fathers. The vital role of mothers in the formation of adolescent attachment (Gorrese & Ruggieri, 2012) could be the reason for this. In addition, the role of the mother and maternal family child development, which is an important characteristic of the matrilineal kinship system, contributes to this result (Hartati et al., 2021; Razif & Anjela, 2014). The higher level of alienation from fathers than mothers in the matrilineal kinship group may occur due to the dominant role of the mother's family (Hartati et al., 2021). Not only that, the results of qualitative research by Hartati et al. (2021) on divorced Minangkabau families explained that children do indeed receive closer support from their mothers and maternal families than their biological fathers.

Conclusion

This study showed the level of attachment between parents and adolescents of Generation Z in the Indonesian context, using samples from the matrilineal kinship group (Minangkabau) and the patrilineal kinship group (Batak). The results indicated that the level of attachment between parents and adolescents in Generation Z in both matrilineal and patrilineal families was moderate, suggesting potential changes in the role of parents as attachment figures. However, in both kinship systems, the level of attachment to the mother was higher than to the father.

Furthermore, this study demonstrated that in the matrilineal group, there are differences in preferences for aspects of attachment formation. Adolescents in the matrilineal group were significantly more attached to their mothers than to their fathers, in terms of trust, communication, and alienation. The same trend was observed in the patrilineal kinship group, although there was no difference in preference for the aspect of alienation in this group. These results provide valuable information for parents of Generation Z teenagers, highlighting the importance of trust, communication, and alienation in parenting, as all three play a crucial role in the formation of attachment.

Recommendation

The conclusions of this study were derived from research data collected from two Indonesian ethnic groups, namely the Minangkabau and Batak. Future research should consider the diversity of tribes representing the patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems in Indonesia. This study was also limited in exploring the factors influencing the attachment patterns between parents and adolescents of Generation Z. Further research using qualitative methods is recommended to provide new perspectives on the dif-

ferences in attachment patterns in the two groups and to deepen the understanding of the role of the mesosystem and exosystem in the formation of culture-based attachment.

Additionally, the use of non-parametric analysis in this study was necessitated by the non-normal distribution of research data. These limitations prevent the results from being generalized to the broader population. Therefore, researchers encourage expanding the research sample in future studies to increase the likelihood of normal data distribution, enabling the use of parametric analysis and allowing the results to be generalized and more representative of the population.

Orcid ID
Arifatus Sholekhah ⓘ https://orcid.org/0009-0009-5634-7912
Pradytia Putri Pertiwi ⓘ https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6896-0388

References

Afrizal, R. (2020). *Peran ibu keluarga Minangkabau dan Batak di kelurahan Tegal Sari III Medan Area [The role of mothers in Minangkabau and Batak families in Tegal Sari III Medan Area village]* (Thesis). Universitas Medan Area.

Altman, D. G., & Bland, J. M. (2009). Parametric v non-parametric methods for data analysis. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.a3167

Anderson, M., & Jiang, J. (2018). *Teens, social media and technology 2018* (tech. rep.).

APA Dictionary of Psychology. (2018). Alienation. https://dictionary.apa.org/alienation

Ariani, I. (2016). Nilai filosofis budaya matrilineal di Minangkabau (Relevansinya bagi pengembangan hak-hak perempuan di Indonesia) [Philosophical values of matrilineal culture in Minangkabau (its relevance for the development of women's rights in Indonesia)]. *Jurnal Filsafat*, *25*(1), 32–55. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.12585

Armsden, G. C., & Greenberg, M. T. (1987). The inventory of parent and peer attachment: Individual differences and their relationship to psychological well-being in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *16*(5), 427–454. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02202939

Arnett, J. J. (2013). *Adolescence and emerging adulthood* (5th ed.). Pearson.

Aryanti, Z. (2015). Kelekatan dalam perkembangan anak [Attachment in child development]. *Tarbawiyah : Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan*, *12*(2).

Asnewastri. (2018). Migrasi etnik Batak Toba ke Nagori Mariah Bandar Kecamatan Pematang Bandar, 1946-2011 [Toba Batak ethnic migration to Nagori Mariah Bandar, Pematang Bandar District, 1946-2011]. *Sejaran dan Budaya: Jurnal Sejarah, Budaya, dan Pengajarannya*, *12*(1), 8–18. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.17977/um020v12i12017p8

Bakti, C. P., & Safitri, N. E. (2017). Analisis motivasi kerja, kepemimpinan transformasional dan budaya organisasi terhadap kinerja karyawan dimediasi kepuasan kerja pada angkatan kerja generasi z [Analysis of work motivation, transformational leadership and organizational culture on employee performance mediated by job satisfaction in the generation z workforce]. *Jurnal Konseling*, *3*(1), 104–113. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24176/jkg.v3i1.1602

Bao, K. B., & Xu, M. Q. (2006). A comparison of attachment in adolescents of mainland China & Malaysia. *Chinese Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *114*, 172–174.

Bencsik, A., Juhász, T., & Horváth-Csikós, G. (2016). Y and z generations at workplaces. *Journal of Competitiveness*, *6*(3), 90–106. https://doi.org/10.7441/joc.2016.03.06

Biro Pengembangan Minat Bakat & Karir Mahasiswa. (2022). *Mengenal sistem kekerabatan adat: Bilateral, matrilineal dan patrilineal[Recognize customary kinship systems: Bilateral, matrilineal and patrilineal]*. https://bpmbkm.uma.ac.id/2022/02/22/mengenal-sistem-kekerabatan-adat-bilateral-matrilineal-dan-patrilineal/

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss: Vol 1. attachment* (2nd ed.). Basic Books.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development* (1st ed.). John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, *32*(7), 513–531. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.32.7.513

Bungo, N., & Hussin, N. (2011). Merantau ke Kuala Lumpur: Tradisi merantau dan berdagang masyarakat Minang [Migrating to Kuala Lumpur: Minang people's tradition of migrating and trading]. *Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, *7*, 116–131.

Cabrera, N. J., Fitzgerald, H. E., Bradley, R. H., & Roggman, L. (2014). The ecology of father-child relationships: An expanded model. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *6*(4), 336–354. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12054

Carlson, V. J., & Harwood, R. L. (2003). Attachment, culture, and the caregiving system: The cultural patterning of everyday experiences among anglo and puerto rican mother–infant pairs. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, *24*(1), 53–73. https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.10043

Christiani, L. C., & Ikasari, P. N. (2020). Generasi Z dan pemeliharaan relasi antar generasi dalam perspektif Jawa [Generation Z and maintaining intergenerational relations from a Javanese perspective]. *Jurnal Komunikasi dan Kajian Media*, *4*(2), 84–105. https://jurnal.untidar.ac.id/index.php/komunikasi/article/view/3326/1604

Claretta1, D., Rachmawati, F., & Sukaesih, A. (2022). Communication pattern family and adolescent mental health for strawberry generation. *International Journal of Science and Society*, *4*(3).

Colin, V. (1996). *Human attachment.* Mc Graw Hill.

Csobanka, Z. E. (2016). The z generation. *Acta Technologica Dubnicae*, *6*(2), 63–76. https://doi.org/10.1515/atd-2016-0012

Dewi, A. A. A., & Valentina, T. D. (2013). Hubungan kelekatan orangtua-remaja dengan kemandirian pada remaja di SMKN 1 Denpasar [The relationship between parent-adolescent attachment and independence in adolescents at SMKN 1 Denpasar]. *Jurnal Psikologi Udayana*, *1*(1). https://doi.org/10.24843/jpu.2013.v01.i01.p18

Dolot, A. (2018). The characteristics of generation z. *e-mentor*, (74), 44–50. https://doi.org/10.15219/em74.1351

Fauzi, F. I., & Tarigan, F. N. (2023). Strawberry generation: Keterampilan orangtua mendidik generasi z [Strawberry generation: Parenting skills for generation z]. *Jurnal Consulenza : Jurnal Bimbingan Konseling dan Psikologi*, *6*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.56013/jcbkp.v6i1.2047

Gorrese, A., & Ruggieri, R. (2012). Peer attachment: A meta-analytic review of gender and age differences and associations with parent attachment. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *41*(5), 650–672. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9759-6

Gu, X., Zhu, Y., & Guo, X. (2013). Meeting the "Digital Natives": Understanding the acceptance of technology in classrooms. *Journal of Educational Technology & Society*, *16*(1), 392–402. Retrieved October 11, 2024, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/jeductechsoci.16.1.392

Guarnieri, S., Ponti, L., & Tani, F. (2010). The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPS): A study on the validity of styles of adolescent attachment to parents and peers in an Italian sample. *TPM*, *17*(3), 103–130.

Halawa, R. M. (2020). *Hubungan pola asuh orang tua dengan perilaku penggunaan smartphone pada anak sekolah dasar Katolik asisi Medan* (Thesis). Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Kesehatan Santa Elisabeth.

Hartati, N., Minza, W. M., & Yuniarti, K. W. (2021). How children of divorce interpret the matrilineal kinship support in changing society? : A phenomenology study from Minangkabau, West Sumatra, Indonesia. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, *62*(4), 276–294. https://doi.org/10.1080/10502556.2021.1871836

Hartati, N., & Yuniarti, K. W. (2020). Apakah sistem kekerabatan matrilinieal di suku Minang masih membudaya? Analisis tematik pada makna pemberian dukungan sosial mamak kepada kemenakan [Is the matrilineal kinship system in the Minang tribe still a culture? Thematic analysis of the meaning of providing social support to nieces and nephews]. *Jurnal Psikologi Sosial*, *18*(3), 199–210. https://doi.org/10.7454/jps.2020.20

Hastini, L. Y., Fahmi, R., & Lukito, H. (2020). Apakah pembelajaran menggunakan teknologi dapat meningkatkan literasi manusia pada Generasi Z di Indonesia? [Can learning using technology improve human literacy in Generation Z in Indonesia?] *Jurnal Manajemen Informatika (JAMIKA)*, *10*(1), 12–28. https://doi.org/10.34010/jamika.v10i1.2678

IBM Corporation. (2021). Wilcoxon signed-rank test. https://www.ibm.com/docs/en/spss-statistics/beta?topic=tests-wilcoxon-signed-rank-test

Jalinus, N., Rizal, F., Helmi, N., & Abrian, Y. (2018). Peranan niniak mamak dalam melestarikan adat istiadat Minangkabau ditengah arus globalisasi: Studi kasus Di Nagari Parambahan dan Nagari Labuah [The role of niniak mamak in preserving Minangkabau customs amid globalization: A case study in Nagari Parambahan and Nagari Labuah]. *Center for Open Science*. https://doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/nmf2k

Julianti, R., & Novenda, V. I. (2017). Pemanfaatan smarthphone sebagai media pembelajaran bagi mahasiswa kebidanan tingkat ii di stikes ranah minang Padang tahun 2016 [Utilization of smarthphone as a learning media for midwifery students level ii at stikes ranah minang Padang in 2016]. *UNES Journal of Social And Economics Research*, *2*(1), 065. https://doi.org/10.31933/ujser.2.1.065-071.2017

Kasali, R. (2018). *Strawberry generation, mengubah generasi rapuh menjadi generasi tangguh [Strawberry generation, turning a fragile generation into a resilient generation]*. Mizan.

Kasalová, B., Seitlová, K., & Seitl, M. (2015). Work environment preferences of generation Y in relation to attachment Theory. https://www.proquest.com/conference-papers-proceedings/work-environment-preferences-generation-y/docview/1738817010/se-2

Kiyama, J. M., & Harper, C. E. (2018). Beyond hovering: A conceptual argument for an inclusive model of family engagement in higher education. *The Review of Higher Education*, *41*(3), 365–385. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2018.0012

Kiyama, J. M., Harper, C. E., Ramos, D., Aguayo, D., Page, L. A., & Riester, K. A. (2015). Parent and family engagement in higher education. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, *41*(6), 1–94. https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.20024

Koentjaraningrat. (1984). *Manusia dan kebudayaan di Indonesia[People and culture in Indonesia]*. Djambatan.

Komariah, N., Erliana, Y. D., & Rosandi, F. H. (2021). Kelekatan aman (secure attachment) terhadap ibu dan kemandirian pada anak di taman kanak-kanak ryaadhul jannah Sumbawa Besar [Secure attachment to mother and independence in children at ryaadhul jannah kindergarten Sumbawa Besar]. *Jurnal Psimawa*, *4*(1). https://doi.org/10.36761/jp.v4i1.1263

Kushnick, G. C. (2006). *Parent-offspring conflict among the Karo of North Sumatra* (Dissertation). University of Washington.

Lewis, M. L. (2021). *Family matters: An examination of family support, emerging adulthood characteristics, and college adaptation strategies of generation z students during the first year post-secondary transition* (Dissertation). University of Louisiana.

Li, J.-B., Delvecchio, E., Miconi, D., Salcuni, S., & Di Riso, D. (2014). Parental attachment among chinese, italian, and costa rican adolescents: A cross-cultural study. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *71*, 118–123. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2014.07.036

Maya, D. M., & Zumkasri, Z. (2017). Pemenuhan kebutuhan akan kelekatan pada anak dalam konteks budaya Bengkulu [Fulfilling the need for attachment to children in the Bengkulu cultural context]. *Jurnal Psikologi*, *16*(2), 155. https://doi.org/10.14710/jp.16.2.155-161

McDaniel, B. T. (2019). Parent distraction with phones, reasons for use, and impacts on parenting and child outcomes: A review of the emerging research. *Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies*, *1*(2), 72–80. https://doi.org/10.1002/hbe2.139

Mosley, M. A., Su, T., & Parker, M. L. (2022). Attached to technology: Exploring young adults' attachments to parents, partners, and phones. *Family Journal*, *30*(3). https://doi.org/10.1177/10664807211063193

Muhdaliha, B. (2022). Menilik masyarakat minangkabau melalui rumah gadang [A look at Minangkabau society through Rumah Gadang]. *KARTALA*, *2*(1). https://doi.org/10.36080/ka.v2i1.1879

Mulder, N. (1994). *Individual and society in java: A cultural analysis*. Gadjah Mada University Press.

Natin, S. (2008). Perubahan sosial kedudukan dan peran mamak terhadap anak dan kemenakan di ranah Minang [Social changes in the position and role of mamak towards children and kemenakan in the Minang domain]. *Jurnal Mimbar Hukum*, *20*(2), 333–350. https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.16306

Navarro, J. L., & Tudge, J. R. H. (2022). Technologizing bronfenbrenner: Neo-ecological theory. *Current Psychology*, *42*(22), 19338–19354. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-02738-3

Nicholas, A. J. (2020). Preferred learning methods of generation z. *Digital Commons @ Salve Regina Faculty*, *1*(1).

OECD. (2017). *Five-generation workplace, from baby boomers to generation z*. https://www.oecd-forum.org/posts/20444-five-generation-workplace-from-baby-boomers-to-generation-z

Oerther, S., & Oerther, D. B. (2021). Review of recent research about parenting generation z pre-teen children. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, *43*(11), 1073–1086. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193945920988782

Pace, C. S., Martini, P. S., & Zavattini, G. C. (2011). The factor structure of the inventory of parent and peer attachment (ippa): A survey of italian adolescents. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *51*(2), 83–88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2011.03.006

Palley, W. (2012). *Gen z: Digital in their dna*. Thompson. https://icabrasil.org/2016/files/557-corporateTwo/downloads/F_INTERNAL_Gen_Z_0418122.pdf

Pohan, M. (2018). Perkawinan semarga masyarakat Batak Mandailing Migran Di Yogyakarta [Marriage of the Mandal Batak Mandailing Migrant Marriage in Yogyakarta]. *8*(2). https://journal.stitpemalang.ac.id/index.php/madaniyah/article/view/112

Pratama, G., & Elistia. (2020). Analisis motivasi kerja, kepemimpinan transformasional dan budaya organisasi terhadap kinerja karyawan dimediasi kepuasan kerja pada angkatan kerja generasi z [Analysis of work motivation, transformational leadership and organizational culture on employee performance mediated by job satisfaction in the generation z workforce]. *11*(2). https://jeconomics.esaunggul.ac.id/index.php/JECO/article/view/5

Prihatina, R. (2022). *Generasi strawberry, generasi kreatif nan rapuh dan peran mereka di dunia kerja saat ini [The strawberry generation, fragile creatives and their role in today's workforce]*.

Punamäki, R.-L., Wallenius, M., Hölttö, H., Nygård, C.-H., & Rimpelä, A. (2009). The associations between information and communication technology (ict) and peer and parent relations in early adolescence. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *33*(6), 556–564. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025409343828

Purwantiasning, A. W., & Kurniawan, K. R. (2017). Kota pusaka dan pemikiran kembali tentang historical attachment dalam persepsi masyarakat studi kasus: Parakan, Temanggung [Heritage towns and rethinking historical attachment in community perceptions case study: Parakan, Temanggung]. *Seminar Ikatan Peneliti Lingkungan Binaan Indonesia*, C137–C144. https://doi.org/10.32315/sem.1.c137

Rachmawati, D. (2019). Welcoming gen z in job world [Selamat datang generasi z di dunia kerja]. *1*(1). https://e-journals.unmul.ac.id/index.php/ICCN/article/view/2721

Rahayu, M. D., & Amanah, S. (2016). Faktor-faktor yang berhubungan dengan pola asuh anak pada keluarga Etnis Minang, Jawa dan Batak (Factors Associated With Family Parenting Children In Ethnic Minang, Javanese and Batak). *Jurnal Penyuluhan*, *6*(2). https://doi.org/10.25015/penyuluhan.v6i2.11449

Rakhmah, D. N. (2021). *Gen Z dominan, apa maknanya bagi pendidikan kita?. [Gen Z is dominant, what does it mean for our education?]* https://pskp.kemdikbud.go.id/gagasan/detail/gen-z-dominan-apa-maknanya-bagi-pendidikan-kita

Rani, E. S., & Adiyanti, M. G. (2018). *Peran kelekatan aman dengan orangtua terhadap kecerdasan emosional pada remaja awal [The role of secure attachment with parents on emotional intelligence in early adolescence]* (Thesis). Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Razif, M., & Anjela, M. (2014). Pergeseran peran mamak terhadap kemenakan dalam adat Minangkabau di Kanagarian Simalanggang (Kecamatan Payakumbuh Kabupaten 50 Kota) [The shift in the role of mamak towards nieces and nephews in Minangkabau customs in Kanagarian Simalanggang (Payakumbuh District, 50 City Regency)]. *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Riau*, *1*(2).

Riany, Y. E., Meredith, P., & Cuskelly, M. (2016). Understanding the influence of traditional cultural values on indonesian parenting. *Marriage & Family Review*, *53*(3), 207–226. https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2016.1157561

Santrock, J. W. (2018). *Life-span development* (13th ed.). McGraw Hill Education.

Sanvictores, T., & Mendez, M. D. (2021). *Types of parenting styles and effects on children*. StatPearls.

Sasmita1, S., & Trisnaningsih, Y. (2021). Migrasi suku Minangkabau ke Lampung Tengah. *Jurnal Penelitian Geografi*, *9*(1), 23–31.

Satrianingrum, A. P., & Setyawati, F. A. (2021). Perbedaan pola pengasuhan orang tua pada anak usia dini ditinjau dari berbagai suku di Indonesia: Kajian literatur [Differences in parenting patterns in early childhood in terms of ethnicity in Indonesia: A literature review]. *JIV-Jurnal Ilmiah Visi*, *16*(1), 25–34. https://doi.org/10.21009/jiv.1601.3

Savage, M., & Petree, C. (2013). *National survey of college and university parent programs: Survey conducted spring 2013* (tech. rep.). University of Minnesota.

Schon, J. (2014). "Dad doesn't text" examining how parents' use of information communication technologies influences satisfaction among emerging adult children. *Emerging Adulthood*, *2*(4), 304–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696814551786

Seemiller, C., & Grace, M. (2016). *Generation z goes to college*. Jossey-Bass.

Seemiller, C., & Grace, M. (2019). *Generation z. a century in the making*. Routledge.

Silaban, D. E., & Defrianti, D. (2021). Migrasi Suku Batak Toba ke Kota Jambi 1961-2018. *Jurnal Siginjai*, *1*(1), 1–13. https://online-journal.unja.ac.id/siginjai/article/view/11885

Siregar, E. Z., & Amran, A. (2020). Gender dan sistem kekerabatan matrilinial. *Jurnal Kajian Gender dan Anak*, *2*(2), 133–146. https://doi.org/10.24952/gender.v2i2.2173

Sokolova, K., & Kefi, H. (2020). Instagram and YouTube bloggers promote it, why should I buy? How credibility and parasocial interaction influence purchase intentions. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, *53*, 101742. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2019.01.011

Sroufe, L. A. (2005). Attachment and development: A prospective, longitudinal study from birth to adulthood. *Attachment & Human Development*, *7*(4), 349–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616730500365928

Sulfany, A., & Jalesvevano, F. A. (2023). Analisis hukum terkait sistem waris patrilineal adat batak di Indonesia [Legal analysis of the Batak customary patrilineal inheritance system in Indonesia]. *Indonesian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, *3*(2), 12–19. https://journal.publication-center.com/index.php/ijssh/article/view/1564

Tacoli, C. (2012). Urbanization, gender and urban poverty: Paid work and unpaid care work in the city. https://www.iied.org/10614iied

Tallarida, R. J., & Murray, R. B. (1986). *Manual of pharmacologic calculations*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4612-4974-0

Tarigan, V. R. (2021). *Hubungan self efficacy dengan penyesuaian diri pada siswa kelas x disekolah SMA Negeri 1 Berastagi[The relationship between self-efficacy and self-adjustment in class x students at SMA Negeri 1 school Berastagi]* (Thesis). Universitas Medan Area.

Tjandra, K. P., & Basaria, D. (2018). Pola asuh ayah terhadap anak perempuan dan anak laki-laki keluarga patrilineal [Father's parenting of daughters and sons in patrilineal families]. *Jurnal Muara Ilmu Sosial, Humaniora, dan Seni*, *2*(1), 127. https://doi.org/10.24912/jmishumsen.v2i1.1749

Turner, A. (2015). Generation z: Technology and social interest. *The Journal of Individual Psychology*, *71*(2), 103–113. https://doi.org/10.1353/jip.2015.0021

Ung, S. (2015). *Integrating culture into psychological research*.

Wang, N., Roaché, D. J., & Pusateri, K. B. (2018). Associations between parents' and young adults' face-to-face and technologically mediated communication competence: The role of family communication patterns. *Communication Research*, *46*(8), 1171–1196. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650217750972

White, C. (1952). The use of ranks in a test of significance for comparing two treatments. *Biometrics*, *8*(1), 33. https://doi.org/10.2307/3001523

Zakiyyah, A., & Latifah, M. (2022). Pengaruh kelekatan remaja-orangtua, harga diri, dan kontrol diri terhadap penggunaan internet bermasalah pada remaja [The influence of adolescent-parent attachment, self-esteem, and self-control on problematic internet use in adolescents]. *Jurnal Ilmu Keluarga dan Konsumen*, *15*(3), 264–275. https://doi.org/10.24156/jikk.2022.15.3.264