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Understanding Cooperation from The Experiences of Minang Migrant Women

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Abstract. *Cooperation in the matrilineal Minang ethnic group is considered an essential element of their kinship system, especially cooperation with kins from the mother's side. With the increasing number of Minang women migrating to get a better education, this study aims to understand how cooperation is carried out by Minang migrant women and the realized form of cooperation. In-depth interviews were conducted with five Minang migrant women in Yogyakarta, as part of exploratory qualitative research, attempting to describe the migrant experience's participants. We found that the values taught are more inclined towards positive interdependence and effective action through coding analysis. Based on these positive idealizations, cooperation was generally achieved by mutual help (tolong-menolong) through equality matching, where there was a reciprocal relationship to achieve balance, which tends to occur at the level of the inter-group relations. We also found that cooperation tends to happen within the mother's family, parallel to the ideal of the Minang kinship system.*

Keywords: *cooperation; migration; Minang; relation; women.*

INTRODUCTION

The Minangkabau or Minang ethnicity is one of the prominent ethnic groups with cultural and historical values in Indonesia. This ethnic group mostly inhabits West Sumatra, but in some areas, people also adhere to the Minangkabau culture, which covers half of the Riau mainland, northern Bengkulu, western Jambi, and southern North Sumatra (Malik, 2018). They also use the language and uphold Minangkabau culture. One of the Minang ethnic customs can be seen from the family system, which inherits lineage and family property through women (matrilineal).

In addition, the Minang ethnic is known to have a tradition of merantau (migration). This migration is carried out by leaving the homeland to the lowlands or watersheds or part of the coastal area (Naim, 1979). Migration areas, in general, are located outside the nagari (their tribal settlements). Initially, it was carried out in the coastal areas (along the west coast of Aceh to Bengkulu) or downstream (Jambi, Riau, to Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia) (Amalia et al., 2019). However, it has now become more common to migrate across provinces or countries.

Migration is mostly done by Minang men to deepen their religious or commercial knowledge (Kato, 2005 ; Chadwick, 1991). When the men migrate, the women are expected to stay in the na-

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gari house to manage the family property. This provision aligns with Minang tradition, emphasizing "*limpapeh rumah nan gadang*," meaning that women who live at home are respectable (Erianjoni, 2011). This provision is often considered unfair, and women expect a similar opportunity to see and live life outside the nagari. Women's obligation to stay at home has now begun to be ignored, along with the ease of mobility and migration or aspirations for emancipation.

Migration by Minang women is now deemed normal. Kato (1982) reported that Minang women migration has surged since the mid-20th century. Minang women also have various migration motives, such as the urge to study outside the nagari land, looking for work, to increasing financial levels (Oktavia et al., 2015). Several researchers have also reported that educational motives were the dominant reason among Minang women leaving their hometown (Chadwick, 1991); Kato, 2005; Naim, 1979; Reenen, 1996). This migration is recognized by Minang women as an effort to gain new insights and realize desires with a higher chance of being realized outside the nagari.

The involvement of women in migration patterns also influences changes in Minang traditions and customs regarding the role of women. The values that bind women to continue to carry out their functions and roles at home are considered to have faded (Wenhendri et al., 2019). Women are no longer limited to guarding the "*harto pusako*" (e.g., houses, rice fields, land), but they also participate in men's activities by leaving the nagari (e.g., studying, working). Changes are also felt in the kinship and family system which is slowly changing. The matrilineal kinship system, placing Minang women as "*bundo kanduang*" with the task of maintaining inheritance in the village as in the nature and concept of women in Minangkabau custom as housekeepers, is slowly fading and changing. Not only does it cause women not to carry out their main tasks by leaving their homes, but they can also even stay in their migration areas (Widihastuti et al., 2019). It causes them, who were initially close to the nuclear family, slowly changing, to have a closer kinship and family relations with people in their migration areas.

Furthermore, the effects of migration and changes in the kinship system make those who migrate adapt psychoculturally to adjust to the new environment. This is because interactions between different cultures have an impact on changes in the way of communication to lifestyle (Sufarni, 2019). As experienced by Minang women who migrated, they interacted with many people from various cultures. Psychoculture is one of the conceptual filters that can affect the communication process with other people, comprising stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and prejudice (Ananda & Sarwoprasodjo, 2017). Psychocultural adaptation is necessary to create effective communication with people from other cultures and make the lives of Minang women in the new environment in their migration area successful.

Humans as social beings cannot be separated from the influence of their social environment and interact with others. In carrying out daily activities and meeting needs, interaction is needed between one individual and another, as well as from one group to another. This social interaction is closely related to the human instinct to always live together with other people and want to unite with their social environment (Sumarni et al., 2016). One form of social interaction is cooperation, which is often done by the Minang community.

Cooperation refers to the activities of people or entities working together using mutually agreed methods and goals. Chen et al. (1998) identified three conceptualizations of cooperation: (1) individuals who work together to achieve a common goal, (2) agents engaged in social interactions with interdependent goals, and (3) individual actions that maximize collective benefit. Cooperation is also defined as an action that can generate benefits for the participants involved (Freeman & Herron, 2000). Thus, cooperation is not a simple behavior but a series of joint actions to achieve certain goals (Khamis et al., 2006).

One of the cooperation activities carried out is mutual help, especially in the agricultural sector, where Minang women work together, such as planting, mengiray (shaking), and mengangin (aerating), which is usually done after the rice harvest (Firman, 2018). It aligns with the Minang people's philosophy of life "bakato baiyo, bajalan bamolah" (deciding by negotiation and consensus), which illustrates the strong sense of mutual help in Minang society (Firman, 2018).

In migration conditions, the Minang people still adhere to their traditional values. Cooperation is still carried out, as Malik (2018) found, where the Minang community in Surakarta holds an agenda every month to help each other maintain their cooperation. Cooperation is also still carried out by the Minang community even though they are of different ethnicities and social environments. Based on Amalia et al. (2019) research, harmonious cooperation is found between the Minangkabau and Nias ethnic groups in Nagari Sungai Buluh Barat, consisting of socio-cultural, economic, and religious cooperation. From their research, cooperation can be realized as humans need to live with other people and unite with their social environment and as an effort to adapt in their migration area.

Cooperation is also a combination of two basic ideas between the type of interdependence that corresponds to the goals of the people involved in a particular situation and the types of actions performed by the people involved (Deutsch, 2012). This activity is not solely related to migration itself, but Minang women who migrate require interdependence and action to realize cooperation. In the lens of social interdependence theory, there are two types of interdependence: positive and negative interdependence (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). The combination of positive interdependence and this type of effective action has led to the realization of cooperation among Minang migrant women, affecting their three psychological processes. The first aspect is substitutability, namely the degree to which Minang migrant women are likely to act reciprocally with other people; the second is inducibility, i.e., their openness to influence and be influenced by others; the third is positive cathexis, where Minang migrant women invest positive psychological energy into objects that are not themselves (Johnson & Johnson, 1989).

As a form of social interaction, cooperation has various models. Based on the Relational Models Theory developed by Alan Fiske (1991; 1992), there are four basic cognitive models in terms of proposed social relationships: (1) communal sharing (relationships based on unity and solidarity by eliminating individual differences and identity), (2) authority ranking (relationships structured under the hierarchy), (3) equality matching (relationships with equal power and rights in related sections), and (4) market pricing (relationships based on proportions and ratios). It is also explained by Haslam & Fiske (1999) that culture has a role in the way they use and combine the four models, applying them to different social tasks in different combinations. This model can be used to see the form of cooperation in Minang migrant women in this study.

Previous research has focused more on the migration phenomenon of Minang men with a discussion of changes in the support for the matrilineal kinship system as a result of the migration incident (Widihastuti et al., 2019) and how these Minang men preserve and realize their cultural values at the place of migration through kinship ties carried out (Malik, 2018). In addition, a previous study on the migration of Minang women has focused on the background of Minangkabau women's migration and the migration process itself (Oktavia et al., 2015). Meanwhile, this study was conducted to explore how Minang migrant women carry out cooperation and how this form of cooperation is realized.

METHOD

This study used an exploratory qualitative research method to describe the participants' experience and meaning of migration experience. Research participants were involved through purposive sampling by setting inclusion criteria: 1) Minang women who had migrated, 2) aged 18-25 years, and 3) had migrated \geq a year. Five Minang women (\bar{x} age of 18.6) were voluntarily involved as participants in this study. All participants were students currently studying in Yogyakarta.

The data were collected by semi-structured interviews focusing on the meaning of migration and participant cooperation. Researchers compiled and adapted interview questions to research questions by limiting questions to migration experiences, friendships, problems that arose, and efforts to solve them. For example, "Please tell me, how did you decide to migrate in the first place?", "How did you solve the problems at the place of migration without family?" or "How did you make friends at the place of migration?" In addition, informed consent was provided verbally and in writing to each participant. Data collection was carried out by face-to-face interviews at the campus, boarding houses, or cafes, conducted in February-August 2019. During data collection, participants alternately used Indonesian, English, and Minang languages, depending on the nuances of the information they wanted to disclose.

This study applied coding analysis by providing codes according to the questions (Saldaña, 2014). In the initial stage, the first researcher entered interview transcripts and research notes into a spreadsheet. The first researcher independently provided the codes according to the interview questions asked. The first researcher discussed with the second researcher the mapped codes and intensively discussed the categories in parallel. The data analysis was then continued by the first and third researchers by describing the experiences underwent by each participant and how they happened. In a panel, all researchers then narrowed down and gave names and definitions to the codes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Understanding of family

The family is a crucial component in the kinship of the Minang community, where social interaction in the form of cooperation can be carried out within the kinship. Thus, participants' understanding of the family becomes essential to understand their cooperation in their migration conditions. Participants' understanding of family can be seen from the figure they consider family and their closeness to the family. The figures considered family by the participants included: (1) all members of the father's and mother's family, (2) someone with strong emotional ties, and (3) close friends, i.e., those who had known the participants for a long time. In terms of closeness and interaction, each participant had a different experience. It was found that some participants were closer to the mother's family because of the close physical distance and having activities that they liked to do together. However, it did not limit the closeness to the father's family because of the closer distance of the residence. Nevertheless, one participant had close ties to both the father's and mother's families equally.

Table 1.
 Definition of family

Theme	Sub-theme	Participants
Individuals considered as family	All members of the father's and mother's family	<p>“Ibu, ayah, nenek, kakek, tante, oom, sepupu, ponakan.” (AP, 19 tahun)</p> <p>["Mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, aunt, uncle, cousin, niece." (AP, 19 years old)]</p> <p>“Mama, papa, abang R, paman, dan pokoknya yang sedarah sama R.” (RY, 18 tahun)</p> <p>["Mother, father, brother R, uncle, and basically the same blood as R." (RY, 18 years old)]</p>
	Individuals with strong emotional ties	<p>“Alhamdulillah, keluargaku masih lengkap dan aku menganggap keluarga inti aku ada ikatan emosional. Dan juga keluarga besar Alhamdulillah masih menjaga hubungan silaturahmi.” (NF, 18 tahun)</p> <p>[“Alhamdulillah, my family is still complete, and I consider my nuclear family to have emotional ties. And also, the big family, Alhamdulillah, still maintain the relations.” (NF, 18 years old)]</p>
Closeness and interaction with family	Close friends (who have known for a long time)	<p>“Keluarga itu ibu aku, ayah aku, ya keluarga aku gitu. Tapi kalau seandainya sahabat aku yang udah lama juga ku anggap keluarga. Yang dianggap keluarga pokoknya orang yang udah lama kenal.” (AS, 19 tahun)</p> <p>["Family is my mother, my father, yes my family. But, I also consider my longtime friends as family. Those who are considered family are basically people who have known for a long time.” (AS, 19 years old)]</p> <p>“Keluarga itu pasti mama, papa, kakak, tante-tante yang memang dekat banget sama Z. Temen-temen dulu Z juga punya, kan Z dulu anak pasus waktu SMA.” (Z, 19 tahun)</p> <p>["The family must be mother, father, sister, aunties who are really close to Z. Z's old friends are also there; Z used to be a special squad in high school." (Z, 19 years old)]</p>
	Close to the mother's family	<p>“Kalau keluarga ibu aku dekat banget. Soalnya sama-sama di Pekanbaru. Tapi kalau keluarga ayah, aku aja sampai sekarang ada yang gak tau, “ih ini oom aku”, tapi aku gak tau gak pernah ketemu soalnya ayah kan di Sumatera Barat. Jadi jarang gitu aku pulang kampung. Kalau keluarga ibu interaksi ya ngumpul-ngumpul, terus nongkrong-nongkrong. Pokoknya kan sekarang udah rada jauh gitu karena aku merantau, tapi aku masih menyambung tali silaturahmi lewat sosmed misalnya aku ngomen IG dia, terus kami juga ada group keluarga gitu.” (AS, 19 tahun)</p> <p>["If with my mother's family, I am very close because both are in Pekanbaru. However, when it comes to my father's family, until now, I still do not know some, "This is my uncle". But, I do</p>

Theme	Sub-theme	Participants
Closeness and interaction with family	Close to the mother's family	<p>not know, I have never met because my father is in West Sumatra. So, rarely do I go home. If I was with my mother's family, the interaction is getting together, then hanging out. Anyway, right now, it is a bit far because I am migrating. But, I still maintain my relationship through social media, for example, I comment on her IG, and we also have a family group like that.” (AS, 19 years old)]</p> <p>“Mungkin kalau jujur, aku lebih dekat ke keluarga dari pihak ibu. Karena ya mulai dari kecil itu juga lebih sering main ke rumah yang keluarga besar mama, walaupun lebih dekat ke keluarga papa. Tapi, itu mungkin karena kami, kalau lebih klik gitu rasanya ke keluarga ibu gitu. Kalau keluarga papa itu walaupun mau sering ketemu tapi entah kenapa kaya gak se-klik sama keluarga ibu gitu. Dan juga dari kecil kalau nginap selalu dirumah nenek yang dari pihak ibu, bukan dari pihak papa, gak pernah sama sekali gitu. Sama sepupu-sepupunya juga lebih deket sama yang ibu.” (NF, 18 tahun)</p> <p>[“Maybe, to be honest, I am closer to my mother’s family. It is because, since a young age, I also played more often at my mom's extended family's house, even though our house was closer to my dad's family. But, it is probably because we feel more connected to the mother's family. If I was with my father's family, even though I want to meet often, for some reasons, it is like not as connected as my mother's family. And also, since childhood, I always stay at my grandmother's house, from my mother's side, not from my father's side, never at all. Like my cousins, I am also closer to my mother's side.” (NF, 18 years old)]</p> <p>“Kalau lebih dekat karena jarak juga lebih ke mama, karena adik-adik mama tinggalnya di daerah R juga.” (RD, 18 tahun)</p> <p>[“If it is closer in distance, I am also more on mom's side because mom's younger siblings live in the R area too.” (RD, 18 years)]</p>
	Close to the father's family	<p>“Nah, kalau Z sendiri itu kan tinggalnya di daerah dimana itu deket sama tempat tinggal keluarga besar ayah. Jadi Z lebih sering bareng ayah. Kebetulan Z cucu paling kecil kalau dari keluarga ayah.” (Z, 19 tahun)</p> <p>[“Well, Z lives in an area close to where my father's extended family lives. So, Z is more often with father’s. By chance, Z is the youngest grandson from my father's family.” (Z, 19 years old)]</p>

Theme	Sub-theme	Participants
Closeness and interaction with family	Close to father's and mother's families	" <i>Kedekatan dengan keluarga ibu sangat dekat. Kedekatan dengan keluarga ayah sangat dekat.</i> " (AP, 19 tahun) ["The intimacy to the mother's family is very close. The intimacy to my father's family is also very close." (AP, 19 years old)]

Mutual help as a form of cooperation

It was found that the form of cooperation carried out by Minang women during migration was mutual help, which could be divided into two activities: getting help and giving help. For the participants, helping out is an activity their families have taught for a long time. "*Iya, karena Z emang kayak diajarin dari dulu gitu loh kak, Z tu dikirimin sama abang-abang sepupu Z karena dulu papa Z sering ngirimin juga ke sepupu Z pas lagi kuliah. Jadi kayak diajarin bantu-bantu, gitu seberapa aja yang penting ada gitu.*" (Z, 19 tahun) ["Yes, because Z is being taught from a long time ago. Z's were sent gifts by Z's cousins because, in the past, Z's father used to send them to Z's cousins when they were in college. So, it is like being taught to help out, no matter how much, the important thing is to do it." (Z, 19 years old)]

Helping had also become a habit for the participants, even before they migrated. As something that has been done for a long time, the activity of helping is an activity that they enjoy that they enjoy and not forced. "*Karena aku suka ngebantuin orang. Aku gak mau muji diri aku ya, tapi aku emang suka bantu orang.*" (AS, 19 tahun) ["Because I like helping people. I do not want to brag about myself, but I really like helping people." (AS, 19 years old)]

Mutual help as a form of cooperation in migration conditions can be divided into four themes: (1) priority in helping; (2) the help provided; (3) the help obtained; (4) hopes for help that arise in migration conditions.

Priority in helping

Each participant had different priorities in choosing the person prioritized for help. However, these priorities were still within the same scope, namely family, both nuclear family and extended family, as long as there are blood ties between them. Even though in a condition of migration and far from home, the main priority for mutual help still falls to the nuclear family, consisting of father, mother, and siblings. For large families that are also included in the priority of mutual help, the mother's family is usually prioritized for various reasons, i.e., due to the close physical distance and more intensity of interaction than the father's extended family. It is also in line with the matrilineal kinship system of the Minang ethnic group, where the priority of mutual help is usually focused on the mother's lineage. However, there was one participant who prioritized both extended families. According to her, both families had the same portion of mutual help.

Table 2.
 Priority themes in mutual help

Sub-theme	Participants
Nuclear family	" <i>Ibu yang ngerawat aku dari kecil. Ibu kan single parent, ya gak akan ada juga yang nyelamatin ibu kecuali anak-anaknya.</i> " (AS, 19 tahun) ["My mother is taking care of me since I was little. Mother is a single parent; Yes, no one will save the mother, except her children." (AS, 19 years old)]

Sub-theme	Participants
Nuclear family	<p>“Kalau keluarga mungkin abang-abangku. Karena walaupun aku paling kecil, abangku dua, tapi aku merasa kaya ada semacam responsibility gitu buat membantu.” (NF, 18 tahun) [“For family, maybe my brothers. Because even though I am the youngest and I have two brothers, I feel like I have a responsibility to help.” (NF, 18 years old)]</p> <p>“Abang aku sih kak. Misalnya, kami punya kebiasaan, kami bertiga anak-anak ini kalau misalnya abang R gak ada duit, dia ke R dulu, “R ada duit ga?” gitu. Begitu juga dengan R ke abang.” (RY, 18 tahun) [“My brother, sis. For example, we, the three of us have a habit, for example, R's brother does not have money, he goes to R first, “R, do you have money?” Likewise, R to brother.” (RY, 18 years old)]</p> <p>“Memberi pertolongan, yang paling penting itu kakak Z sih.” (Z, 19 tahun) [“Giving help, the most important one is brother Z.” (Z, 19 years old)]</p>
Mother's extended family	<p>“Jadi pihak ibu, karena lebih dekatnya ke pihak ibu.” (NF, 18 tahun) [“So, it is the mother's side because it is closer to the mother's side.” (NF, 18 years old)]</p> <p>“Kayaknya lebih dekat ke pihak mama.” (RY, 18 tahun) [“It seems closer to mother's side.” (RY, 18 years old)]</p> <p>“Antara keluarga ayah atau ibu, lebih dekat ke ibu.” (AS, 19 tahun) [“Between father and mother's family, I am closer to mother.” (AS, 19 years old)]</p>
Father's and mother's extended family	<p>“Tidak ada yang diprioritaskan, kedua-duanya itu berada di posisi yang sama. Kalau in terms of bantuan atau meminta bantuan itu saya pasti akan membantu. Tidak ada yang diprioritaskan, itu porsinya sama.” (AP, 19 tahun) [“None takes priority; both are in the same position. In terms of giving or asking for help, I will definitely help. None is prioritized; both portions are equal.” (AP, 19 years old)]</p>

The help provided

The help provided by participants in mutual help activities varied. Usually, this form of help corresponds to the help being needed. However, other forms of help are provided, such as services performed by participants for the beneficiary and financial assistance.

Table 3.
Themes of help provided

Sub-theme	Participants
Corresponds to the help being needed	<p>“Macem-macem. Bisa dalam bentuk transportasi, sesuai kebutuhan mereka. Kalau mereka minta tolong dalam segi pendapat, finansial, atau transportasi itu ya kita tolong dengan sesuai apa yang mereka minta. Mungkin untuk yang simpel aja misalnya meminta bantuan seperti informasi atau ekonomi mungkin ya, atau mungkin kesehatan juga. Semua hal atau semua kategori bantuan ya akan dibantu.” (AP, 19 tahun) [“It varied; it can be in the form of transportation, according to their needs. If they ask for help regarding opinion, finance, or transportation, we will help according to what they ask for. Maybe, for something simple, for example, asking for help is like information or the economy, maybe yes, or maybe health too. All things or categories of help, yes I will help.” (AP, 19 years)]</p> <p>“Pernah juga suatu kejadian yang memang sakit, yang emang pingsan gitu. Ya emang bentuknya sebisanya gitu.” (RY, 18 tahun) [“There was also an incident that someone was sick, who really fainted. Yes, as small as I can.” (RY, 18 years old)]</p>

Sub-theme	Participants
Service	<p>"Ya dan aku udah berusaha, misalnya aku juga kadang yang jemput abang aku." (NF, 18 tahun)</p> <p>["Yes, and I have tried, for example, I also sometimes pick up my brother." (NF, 18 years old)]</p> <p>"Kalau sama tante-tante Z, itu Z juga sering bantuin sih. Misal kalau pulang kesana, terus nitip-nitip gitu." (Z,19 tahun)</p> <p>["If it is with Z's aunts, Z also often helps. For example, if I go back there, they will then leave me to buy things." (Z,19 years old)]</p>
Financial	<p>"Yang pasti dalam bentuk ekonomi. Pernah soalnya ibu kan single parent, dan sekarang ibu juga udah tua gitu, jadi ngerti kan? Gak ada yang nafkahn ibu gitu. Jadi ya itu kewajiban anak-anaknya." (AS, 19 tahun)</p> <p>["For sure, in the form of economy. Mother is a single parent and now she is also old; so you know, right? There is no one to provide for the mother. So, yes, it is the duty of the children." (AS, 19 years old)]</p> <p>"Ya paling kalau untuk kita bantu-bantu nitip gitu kan. Terus bantu-bantu apa sama anak kosan kaya minjem duit gitu kalau ada apa-apa." (RY, 18 tahun)</p> <p>["Yes, at least for us to help out, it is kind of like leaving something to buy. Then, I help out the kids in a boarding house, like borrowing money if something goes wrong." (RY, 18 years old)]</p>

The help obtained

As with the help given, the form of help obtained by participants from the helper varied. There were also similarities between the forms of help given and obtained. It was done to fulfill the reciprocal relationship of mutual help. The help obtained included (1) the help corresponding to the help being needed; (2) financial assistance; (3) prayer assistance aimed at participants' needs; (4) required services; and (5) suggestions and advice if needed.

Table 4.
 Themes of help obtained

Sub-theme	Participants
Corresponds to the help being needed	<p>"Contohnya, pokoknya kalau seandainya aku susah. Kalau ibu aku, apapun yang kita minta tolong, pasti ibu aku langsung kerjain gitu. Kaya gimana pun iya gitu." (AS, 19 tahun)</p> <p>["For example, just in case I am in trouble. If it is my mother, whatever we ask for help, my mother will do it right away. Whatever it is, she agrees." (AS, 19 years old)]</p>
Prayer	<p>"Apa ya, doa-doa hehehe. Z takut banget sama cicak gitu kak, terus tiba-tiba malam-malam cuma telfon mama "ma doain gak ada cicak ma". Terus cicaknya pergi gitu." (Z, 19 tahun)</p> <p>["What, yeah, prayers, hehehe. Z is really afraid of lizards, sis, and suddenly at night, I just call my mother, "Ma, wish me not to see lizards." Then, the lizards left." (Z, 19 years old)]</p>
Service	<p>"Kalau misalnya dari mama papa gitu ya pasti transportasi. Kalau abang-abang aku juga sering. Kadang ngorbanin waktu padahal lagi main. Misalnya buat nganter aku, jemput aku gitu." (NF, 18 tahun)</p> <p>["For example, from mother and father, yes, it must be about transportation. If from my brothers, it is also often. Sometimes, they sacrifice their time when they are playing. For example, to drop me off or pick me up." (NF, 18 years old)]</p>

Sub-theme	Participants
Financial	<p>“Iya paman R, ngasih R uang. Trus dia kayak punya janji gitu “kalau misalnya R kayak gini, oncu kasih ini ya” gitu. Ya walaupun misalnya gak dikasih pun R gapapa karena dia ngomong gitu berarti tandanya dia seneng terus dia nyemangatin R. R tau bakal “ya ga mungkin jugalah gini”, tapi seneng aja dia ngerasa dia sayang sama R.” (RY, 18 tahun)</p> <p>[“Yes, R’s uncle gave R money. Then, he seemed to have a promise like, “for example, if R is like this, uncle will give you this.” Yes, even if, for example, R is not given anything, it is okay because he says that, it means that he is happy and encourages R. R knows it will be, “Yes, it is impossible to be like this”, but he is happy that he feels compassionate with R.” (RY, 18 years old)]</p> <p>“Iya ada sih kadang itu abang sepupu Z sering kalau dia lagi baru gajian gitu bantu. Tante-tante juga kadang bantuin”. (Z, 19 tahun)</p> <p>[“Yes, there is; sometimes, Z’s cousin when he is just getting paid, he often helps me. Aunts also sometimes help.” (Z, 19 years)]</p>
Suggestions and advice	<p>“Lebih seringnya sih nasehat. Sebenarnya sejauh ini yang banyak saya dapatkan itu bantuan berupa pendapat dan nasehat (bantuan lebih berupa ke lisan, bukan suatu barang)” (AP, 19 tahun)</p> <p>[“Most of the time, it is advice. Actually, so far, what I have gotten a lot is the help in the form of opinions and advice (mosly in the form of verbal help, not goods).” (AP, 19 years old)]</p> <p>“Kalau saran juga, apalagi abang-abang aku yang udah kuliah, ngasih tau kalau aku kuliah nanti gini gini gini. Mama juga, papa juga. Jadi banyak formnya gitu.” (NF, 18 tahun)</p> <p>[“Receiving suggestion too; especially, my older brothers who are already in college tell me that when I go to college later, it will be like this and that. Mother too, father too. So, there are many forms.” (NF, 18 years old)]</p>

Hopes for help that arise in migration conditions

With the priority of mutual help activities usually done with their families, participants also usually carried out mutual help activities. There is also hope that participants would get help from their families. However, it did not prevent participants from expecting help from other parties during migration conditions. In the migration area, participants tended to expect help from close friends because of the closer physical distance, making the interaction intensity more frequent, and by mentioning that they would do the same if someone needed their help.

Besides hoping to get help in the form of goods and services, this hope was also formed because, during migration, participants often needed a sense of belonging with friends in the migration area where they could feel welcome. Friends here are those with a close distance, such as college friends, friends in the same place of residence, and others. The conditions of being far from their hometowns also made participants need emotional support from friends to feel accepted by them.

Table 5.
Themes of hope for help in migration conditions

Sub-theme	Participants
Hope to get help from family	<p>“Tergantung situasi dan kondisi. Selagi keluarga saya atau saudara-saudara saya masih bisa membantu saya mungkin, saya cukup meminta tolong sama keluarga saya dan tidak harus menjangkau pihak lain diluar keluarga saya.” (AP, 19 tahun)</p> <p>[“Depending on the situation and conditions. As long as my family or my relatives can still help me, maybe, I can just ask my family for help and do not have to reach out to other parties outside my family.” (AP, 19 years old)]</p>

Sub-theme	Participants
Hope to get help from close friends	<p><i>“Dari sahabat aku, temen-temen aku yang diluar gitu. Tapi kalau seandainya saudara-saudara aku malah bisa dibilang bodo amat gitu. Jadi, dulu kalau bisa dibilang aku anaknya manja banget. Jadi pas aku merantau agak-agak terkejut aku sedikit. Tapi posisinya tu aku masih sangat-sangat gak mandiri. Jadi aku butuh orang. Aku sering ketemu sama orang, “kau ni seharusnya bisa mandiri. Kau dah besar, dah gede” gitu. Yaudah akhirnya seiring waktu aku bisa. Tapi bantuan dari orang lain, contohnya aku gak mau sendiri kemana-mana, aku minta bantuin sama orang “yuk lah temenin ke sini” gitu, atau pergi ke suatu tempat yang aku butuhkan, jadi aku butuh orang juga gitu.”</i> (AS, 19 tahun)</p> <p>[“Yes, from friends. As for friends, because in college, I am the only one from outside Java in my class, so emotional support is really necessary, and I feel accepted that way. Even though I was scared at first, those from there or from here already know each other, and I felt different. Even though my friends often make fun of my accent, I think support is needed, sis, because I think emotional support is more important.” (NF, 19 years old)]</p> <p><i>“Butuhlah, misalnya kayak temen-temen kuliah ini. Terus ya mungkin, apalagi R juga tinggal di asrama yang sederah gitu”</i> (RY, 18 tahun)</p> <p>[“I need it, for example, like my college friends. And, yes maybe; moreover, R also lives in a dormitory in the same area.” (RY, 18 years old)]</p> <p><i>“Hmm ada sih. Karena kalau buat sejauh ini Z merantau kak. Z juga merasa temanlah kalau yang paling dekat. Jadi Z berharap. Kalau menurut Z kalau bantuan itu, kebutuhan dari pihak lain itu teman sih kak. Kayak kita memang belonging itu kan penting gitu kan. Kalau di keluarga beda gitu loh rasanya.”</i> (Z,19 tahun)</p> <p>[“Hmm, it is. Because so far, Z has migrated. Z also feels that friends are the closest. So, Z hopes. According to Z, when it comes to helping, the other party's needs are friends. We think sense of belonging is important. If it is in the family, it feels different.” (Z,19 years old)]</p>

This study explored how cooperation was carried out by Minang migrant women and the forms of cooperation realized. Based on the interview results, it was uncovered that as in Minang custom, the value of cooperation was realized by Minang women in the form of mutual help, which has been taught since childhood and has become a habit for them. It denotes that mutual help as a form of cooperation in Minang customs is the key to their kinship system. Not only that, mutual help in migration areas also occurred because of the solidarity nature of the Minang community, where they felt the same fate and wanted to maintain their kinship so that mutual help activities were realized. This study resulted in a synthesis of four themes of mutual help carried out by Minang women who migrated: individuals prioritized for helping, the type of help provided, the type of help obtained, and the hopes of help that arise during migration. This synthesis can show how cooperation was realized in Minang migrant women.

While at home, Minang women do mutual help, which is generally done with the family, especially the mother's family according to the matrilineal kinship system adopted by the Minang ethnic group. Mutual help can also be realized through various activities they often do together. It is the same as the Minang people, who often cooperate in the form of mutual help in agriculture as a joint activity (Firman, 2018). In places of migration, cooperation priority was more on the nuclear family, consisting of father, mother, and siblings. It then extended to the mother's extended family and the father's extended family. In addition, the help provided by Minang women included assistance in the form of services, financial assistance, or assistance corresponding to their needs. Those were also the help obtained by Minang women, but with additional help in the form of prayers, suggestions, and advice needed.

Minang women in migration places have contributed to various changes regarding their needs. Due to the condition of being far away from their family, the hope of mutual help in the migration area emerges among the Minang women. Although Minang women continued to do mutual help in the migration area with their families in their hometowns, most Minang women also hoped to get help from friends in the migration area, even though they were of different ethnicities. This is because the physical distance was closer so that the intensity of the interaction became more frequent. Minang women were also willing to do the same if anyone needed their help.

One of the reasons for the hope of mutual help from friends is because they often needed a feeling of belonging to their friends in the migration area. The condition of being far from hometown also caused the need for emotional support from friends in the migration area. In addition to meeting needs, mutual help with other parties was carried out as a form of the psychocultural adaptation process to create effective communication with people from different cultures (Ananda & Sarwoprasodjo, 2017). This mutual help is also expected to make Minang women who migrated become more independent. Meanwhile, the expectation of mutual help with other parties in Minang women in migration conditions is consistent with Amalia et al., (2019) findings, where the Minang people carry out harmonious cooperation even though they are of different ethnicities and in different social environments.

The cooperation carried out by Minang women in migration conditions showed the existence of positive interdependence and effective action in accordance with the theory of cooperation and competition (Dudija, 2015). This theory also explains that the realization of cooperation can affect three individual psychological processes, namely substitutability, cathexis, and inducibility (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). The existence of mutual help as a form of cooperation manifested between Minang women and their families during migration is a form of positive substitutability, namely the possibility of Minang women taking reciprocal actions with other people. However, the hope of Minang women to realize mutual help with parties other than the family when migrating caused the substitutability process for Minang women to change, which used to only receive assistance from the family to a tendency for reciprocal actions with friends to meet the necessary needs. The expectations of the Minang migrant women are a manifestation of positive cathexis. It can be seen from how they invested positive psychological energy in the form of the hope of helping friends at the migration site when they needed help to meet their needs. This expectation can also be a manifestation of positive inducibility, which is a form of their openness to influence and be influenced by others (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). For example, by cooperating with other individuals in Yogyakarta, Minang women could certainly influence or be influenced by the culture or customs of other ethnic groups.

Furthermore, the Minang women's cooperation manifested in migration conditions is related to the Relational Models Theory (A. Fiske, 1992). From the four existing models, Equality Matching (EM), which explains that one will act cautiously in an attempt to balance things, can be seen in Minang migrant women's cooperation. When Minang women received help and wanted to take reciprocal actions to achieve balance, they also tried to help again in the same way. It is the same when at the migration site, when Minang women helped, they also hoped to be helped back. Cooperation has become the most common example of EM that usually occurs at the level of interpersonal relationships (Dalğar, 2012). However, this study found that the EM in cooperation by Minang migrant women was not only at the interpersonal level but also occurs at the level of relationships with groups, focusing on family groups. An example can be seen from Minang women, who often did mutual help with their mother's extended family or father's extended family.

This study has several drawbacks; among others, the participants' demographics tended to be homogeneous, such as the area of origin, age, and activity at the same migration place (students), and data collection was carried out in one-round interviews. This research also did not involve other parties involved in the cooperation activities of Minang migrant women, such as family or friends who encouraged mutual help. Thus, future research is suggested to pay attention to the participants' heterogeneity and perform data collection by involving other parties as complementary data sources.

CONCLUSION

This study found that Minang migrant women in Yogyakarta hold the cooperation value that has been taught as a vital element in Minang ethnic relations and is a crucial key in maintaining their kinship system. The value of this cooperation was manifested in the form of mutual help, arising from solidarity manifested in actions, namely to help each other and strive to achieve common goals. The cooperation was carried out involving nuclear family, extended family, and close friends. In a migration location, the priority of mutual help tended to be placed on family and friends in the area. The forms of mutual help carried out also varied, such as providing help in the form of services, financial assistance, or help corresponding to the needs. This research can be used as a reference for understanding cooperation activities carried out by Minang migrant women and the realization of cooperation actions.

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