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## ***Dalihan Na Tolu* as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts in North Sumatera: An Anthropological and Sociological Perspective**

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**Abstrak:** It is undeniable that there are various social conflicts in Indonesia which involve various groups of people such as the religious conflict in Poso (2001), in Sampit (2001), in Ambon (2002) and others. Most of them were caused by uncertain, unfair, and misused regulations on keeping people's religious tolerance. It was also caused by the lack of people's empowerment in keeping religious tolerance. This study aims to examine *dalihan na tolu* as a mechanism for resolving religious conflicts in the Mandailing community, North Sumatra. This research uses juridical empirical methods, consisting of anthropological and sociological law approaches. Data were collected by means of interviews and literature studies. The result of the research showed that *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition based-model of maintaining religious tolerance and resolving conflicts in religious believers was done by using the philosophy of *Dalihan na Tolu*, *Pastakpastakni Paradaton*, *Uhum dohot Patik* and *Tutur dohot Poda*. There are three types of negotiation system in resolving the conflicts: *Tahi Dalihan na Tolu*, *Tahi Godang Parsahutaon*, and *Tahi Godang Haruaya Mardomu Bulung* (big negotiation among the neighboring villages). Anthropologically and sociologically that the Mandailing community has proven successful in using adat as a resolution of religious conflicts, so as to create peace and order as a function of law in society.

**Keyword:** *Dalihan na tolu*, religious conflict resolution, tolerance, negotiation systems, anthropology and sociology law

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1943 **Abstrak:** Tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa terdapat berbagai konflik sosial di Indonesia yang melibatkan berbagai kelompok masyarakat seperti konflik agama di Poso (2001) di Sampit (2001), Ambon (2002) dan lain-lain. Sebagian besar disebabkan oleh peraturan yang tidak pasti, tidak adil, dan disalahgunakan untuk menjaga toleransi beragama masyarakat. Hal itu juga disebabkan oleh kurangnya pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam menjaga toleransi beragama. Kajian ini bertujuan mengkaji dalihan na tolu sebagai mekanisme resolusi konflik agama dalam masyarakat Mandailing, Sumatera Utara. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode empiris yuridis, terdiri dari pendekatan yuridis antropologis dan sosiologis. Data dikumpulkan dengan cara wawancara dan studi literatur. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Dalihan na Tolu berbasis tradisi model menjaga toleransi beragama dan menyelesaikan konflik pada pemeluk agama dilakukan dengan menggunakan falsafah Dalihan na Tolu, Pastak-pastakni Paradaton, Uhum dohot Patik dan Ujar dohot Poda. Ada tiga jenis sistem negosiasi dalam menyelesaikan konflik: Dalihan na Tolu, Godang Parsahutaon, dan Godang Haruaya Mardomu Bulung (negosiasi besar di antara desa-desa tetangga). Secara antropologis dan sosiologis bahwa masyarakat Mandailing terbukti berhasil menggunakan adat sebagai resolusi konflik agama, sehingga tercipta perdamaian dan keteraturan sebagai fungsi hukum dalam masyarakat.

**Kata Kunci:** Dalihan na tolu, penyelesaian konflik agama, toleransi, sistem negosiasi, antropologi dan sosiologi hukum

## Introduction

In reality, there are various social conflicts in Indonesia which involve one community with the other one, such as religious conflicts in Poso (1998-2001), Ambon (1999-2002), Sampit (2001), Sampang (2004), the complaint of the ulema forum and the Islamic mass organizations of Bogor about the construction of GKI Yasmin (2008).<sup>1</sup> The riot which involved the Muslims and the Christians in Aceh (2015), the destruction of 11 Buddhist temples and two Buddhist Institution

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Lukman Hakim, et.al., "A Paradox Between Religious Conviction and Recognizing the Freedom of Others on Measuring Religious (In) Tolerance Index in East Java, Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, No. 1 (2023). Muh Aditya Ibrahim, et.al., "Horizontal Conflict Resolution Related to Belief in Religious Tolerance in Multi-Cultural Society in Indonesia," *International Journal of Humanities Education and Social Sciences* 2, No. 6 (2023). Firdaus M. Yunus, "Konflik Agama di Indonesia Problem dan Solusi Pemecahannya," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin* 16, no. 2, (2014), p. 217-218.  
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buildings in Tanjung Balai caused by the protest against the loudness of *azan* (calling for prayers) from the mosque (2016), the conflict between the Muslims and the Church Associations in Jayapura Regency in 2018,<sup>2</sup> a number of the

Islamic mass organizations refused the Parish social activities of Santo Paulus Church, Bantul, in commemorating the 32 year-anniversary of the church (2018),<sup>3</sup> and others.

Most of these problems were caused by the lack of firmness, fairness, and benefits in legal materials in maintaining tolerance in religious believers and by the lack of empowering the *adat* people in maintaining religious tolerance and resolving religious conflicts, either formally or informally. It is undeniable that the people's religious lives in North Sumatera undergo obstacles and challenges such as bombing in the worship places, conflicts among the adolescents with different religion and tribes, and the other conflicts of the same types.

All these occurrences could be handled and solved through *Dalihan na Tolu tradition* because, according to this philosophy, all members of the community have consanguinity which is embodied in the *Dalihan na Tolu tradition-Mora* (all family members from the parents-in-law's side), *Anak Boru* (all family members from sons/daughters in-law's side), and *Kahanggi* (all family members in the same blood/clan).<sup>4</sup>

Besides that, *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition has some values used in maintaining religious tolerance: 1) the value of *Partuturon* is a value which organizes the procedure of calling and communicating with someone; it contains the values of courtesy and morals, 2) the values of unity and entity are the strong value of unity, tolerance, and helping each other so that a well-being society can exist, 3) The value of brotherhood is a value which can make people close to each other; these values cannot be separated from love and affection among the people, 4) the value of harmony is the value which is transparent, just, and prioritizes public interest rather than personal interest, and 5) the value of prosperity is the value which prioritizes the well-being of the whole people.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Samala Mahadi, "5 Konflik Agama Paling Panas di Indonesia. Bikin Geger!," Redaksi 99, <https://www.99.co/blog/indonesia/konflik-agama-indonesia>, Accessed, on 19 August, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Furqon Ulya Himawan, "Diusir dari desa karena agama, bagaimana mencegah intoleransi di tingkat warga?," BBC News Indonesia, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia47801818>, Accessed, on 19 August, 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Anwar Sadat Harahap and Ahmad Laut Hasibuan, "Model of Prevention of Social Conflict which Multi Dimensions Based on Local Wisdom of Community Adat *Dalihan Na Tolu*," *Brawijaya Law Journal* 5, No 2 (2018).

<sup>5</sup> Indra Muda and Agung Suharyanto, "Analysis of life's inter-religious harmony based on the philosophy of *Dalihan Na Tolu* in Sipirok Sub-district, South Tapanuli Regency, North Sumatera Province," *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, (2020). Hermanto Naibaho, <http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

Harisan Boni Firmando points out that the existence of *Dalihan na Tolu* becomes the norms in the people where there is an inter-dependency interaction between religion and culture; it can be seen in a various serials of traditional ceremonies done by the people.<sup>6</sup>

Article 1, paragraph 2 of the Ministerial Joint Decree No. 9 and 8/2006 states that maintaining religious tolerance is the joint efforts of all religious believers and the government in services, regulations, and empowerment of religious believers. According to the Presidential Decree No. 7/2005 on the National Middle Term Development Plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional/RPJM*) in the period of 2004-2009, there were main directions of policy on religious affairs: concerning increasing service quality and understanding how to be religious and religious life and increasing internal tolerance among religious believers.<sup>7</sup>

Local tradition and wisdom which are still applicable in people can potentially encourage the willingness of living harmoniously and peacefully. It is because local traditional wisdom basically teaches people to live in peace, how to take care of environment, and to worship God.<sup>8</sup> Eko points out that local wisdom found in Buneng is designed to maintain tolerance among village members. The resolution of conflicts among ethnic groups is done through local wisdom and inter-cultural competence.<sup>9</sup>

Local wisdom as the system of belief, values, and culture and as the sublegal culture is the wealth and power (natural resources), used as the national frame of instrument in creating peace, togetherness, union, and the unity of the nation.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Sistem Kekerabatan (Partuturan) Marga Batak Toba Pada Komunitas Mahasiswa Batak Toba Di Pekanbaru.” *Jurnal JOM FISIP* 6, No. 2 (2019).

<sup>28</sup> Harisan Boni Firmando, “Kearifan Lokal Sistem Kekerabatan *Dalihan Na Tolu* dalam Merajut Harmoni Sosial di Kawasan Danau Toba,” *Aceh Anthropological Journal* 5, no. 1 (2021), p. 16-36.  
<sup>25</sup> Harisan Boni Firmando, “Kearifan Lokal Tenun Tradisional Ulos dalam Merajut Harmoni Sosial di Kawasan Danau Toba,” *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika Sosial* 7, No. 1 (2021).

<sup>7</sup> Presidential Decree No. 7/2005 on National Middle Term Development Plan (RPJM) in the period of 2004-2009. Ministerial Joint Decree No. 9 and 8/2006 Religious Harmony, Religious Harmony Empowerment Forum, and Establishing.

<sup>40</sup> Agus Sriyanto, “Penyelesaian Konflik Berbasis Budaya,” *Ibda: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Budaya* 5, no. 2 (2007), p. 291.

<sup>38</sup> Eko Bherta Sri and Hendar Putranto, “The Role of Intercultural Competence and Local Wisdom in Building Intercultural and Inter-religious Tolerance.” *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 48, no. 4 (2019).

<sup>10</sup> <sup>32</sup> Arif Hidayat and Laga Sugiarto, “Strategi Penangkalan & Penanggulangan Radikalisme Melalui Cultural Reinforcement Masyarakat Jawa Tengah.” *USM Law Review Journal* 3, no. 1 (2018), p. 135-154.

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Risakotta argued that the national law in Indonesia often has less authority than religious and traditional law.<sup>11</sup>

According to Jati,<sup>2</sup> there are five vital roles of local wisdom as the media of religious conflict resolution—1) local wisdom as the benchmark of a certain community's identity, 2) local wisdom provides cohesive aspects such as an adhesive element of inter-religion, inter-inhabitants, and belief,<sup>49</sup> 3) local wisdom is a part of alternative conflict resolution which leads to inviting people to negotiate by using emotional and cultural approaches, 4) local wisdom is

functioned to encourage the sense of togetherness, and 5) local wisdom will change the mindset and reciprocal relation of individuals and groups by putting it on the cultural grounds.<sup>12</sup>

Tolerance in religious believers is not a finished product which can instantly be used;<sup>2</sup> it is a social project which has to be developed and directed in order to create social harmony, mutual understanding, and respect other religious believers. Maintaining religious tolerance is the basic need which has to be fulfilled since Indonesia is a big nation that has diverse cultures. Every country has its own local wisdom in dealing with various problems, including wisdom in resolving conflicts.<sup>13</sup>

From the explanation above, some formulae of the problems could be taken as follows: 1) how was *Dalihan na Tolu* based-model of resolving religious conflicts and maintaining tolerance among religious believers in North Sumatera, 2) how was *Dalihan na Tolu* based-model of resolving religious conflicts in North Sumatera, 3) how was the *adat* leaders' strategy in maintaining tolerance in religious believers and in resolving religious conflicts, based on *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition.

The research used juridical empirical method because it is the research on law applicable in society and performed by its members. It also used juridical anthropological approach. Anthropology is a science which learns about dispute pattern and its resolution in a plain society and of the people in the development process and juridical sociological approach<sup>12</sup> or juridical empirical approach<sup>13</sup> to

<sup>11</sup> Bernard Adeney-Risakotta, "Traditional, Islamic and National Law in the Experience of Indonesian Muslim Women," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 27, no. 3 (2016), p. 303–318.

<sup>12</sup> Fithriatus Shalihah, *Sosiologi Hukum*, Depok: Rajawali Press, 2017, p. 2-3. Mursyid Djawas, et.al., "Creating Family Resilience in Indonesia: A Study of "Marriage Guidance" Program in Aceh and South Sumatera," *al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 17, No. 1

(2022). Sri Astuti A. Samad, "Kajian Hukum Keluarga Islam dalam Perspektif Sosiologis di Indonesia," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 4, No. 1 (2021).

<sup>13</sup> H. Ishaq, *Metode Penelitian Hukum dan Penulisan Skripsi, Tesis Serta Disertasi*, Bandung: Alfabeta. 2017, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> <http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

a social juridical reality by learning social phenomena in a society as a legal aspect.<sup>14</sup> The gathered qualitative data would be presented in the thesis in deep and focused description.<sup>15</sup> In this case, verification of qualitative data would be

<sup>12</sup>Wasisto Kaharjo Jati. "Kearifan Lokal Sebagai Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 21, no. 2 (2013), p. 393-416.

<sup>13</sup>Fajri M. Kasim and Abidin Nurdin, "Study of Sociological Law on Conflict Resolution Through Adat in Aceh Community According to Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam dan Hukum Islam* 4, No. 2 (2020). Mahdi Syahbandir, et.al., "Imeum Mukim Advocacy in Prevention of Environmental Pollution in Aceh Jaya According to Customary and Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 5, No. 2 (2021). Mukti Ali, et.al., "Contestation Behind Tolerance: Between Competition and Tolerance in The Discourse of Multiculturalism in Salatiga," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 20, No. 2 (2020).

done concerning the topic of the research. This descriptive presentation would be used maximally, supported by the gathered quantitative data. They were analyzed descriptively according to the theoretical framework.

## 1 **Dalihan na Tolu Based-Model of Resolving Religious Conflicts and Maintaining Tolerance in Religious Believers**

*Dalihan na Tolu* tradition actually has its own model in maintaining religious tolerance so that unity and union in one nation can be realized in order to achieve a welfare state. Some rules in the *Dalihan na Tolu* are as follows: First, the model of maintaining religious tolerance in the philosophy of *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition is <sup>16</sup> *Somba mar Mora, Elek mar Anak Boru, Manatmanat mar Kahanggi*". *Somba mar Mora* means that every *Anak Boru* (family members from sons/daughters-in-law's side) is required to adhere and pay homage to their *Mora*. When the *Mora* undergoes difficulties, *Anak Boru* has to help them immediately so that their dream will be achieved successfully. Usually, the family of *Anak Boru* has varied clans, depending on the clan of their sons-in-law or the persons who marry their sons to the other persons' daughters. *Anak Boru* sometimes follow different religion from their *Mora*<sup>17</sup> who have the highest position in the *Dalihan na Tolu* community. They are always respected; their utterance contains praying and advice for their *Anak Boru*. Their position is *pangidoan poda* (exemplary

<sup>17</sup>ainuddin Ali, *Sosiologi Hukum*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2006, p. 13-15.

<sup>18</sup>onaedi Efendi and Jhonny Ibrahim, *Metode Penelitian Hukum Normatif Dan Empiris*, Jakarta: Pustaka Media, 2018.

<sup>19</sup>Armaidly Armawi, "Kearifan Lokal Batak Toba *Dalihan Na Tolu* dan Good Governance dalam Birokrasi Publik," *Jurnal Filsafat* 18, no. 2 (2015), p. 157-166.

<sup>20</sup>Adison Adrian Sihombing, "Mengenal Budaya Batak Toba Melalui Falsafah "Dalihan Na Tolu" (Perspektif Kohesi dan Kerukunan)," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 16, no. 2 (2018), p. 347-371.

<sup>21</sup><http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

persons and advisers) for the success in the *adat* ceremonies. *Mora* has to be respected properly; if one does not respect them, it is as if he were looking at the sun so that he will be blind and will not know where to go. *Mora* is the person who can be asked for blessing and luck. They are the right persons who give blessings in a traditional ceremony.<sup>18</sup>

*Elek mar Anak Boru* means that every *Mora* is required to provide protection and security for their *Anak Boru*.<sup>19</sup> *Anak Boru* is the persons who have to provide help in every traditional work; they arrange the preparation for *siriaon* ceremony (traditional activity which deals with enjoyment) and *siluluton*

ceremony (traditional activity which deals with sorrow). They work hard and always try to do their job well so that the ceremony will run smoothly. *Manatmanat mar Kahanggi* means that every *Kahanggi* is required to consider their family members' feelings. Every *Kahanggi* should consider them as their own brothers or sisters because they have the same blood or the same clan.

Based on this implicit rule in the philosophy of *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition, it is indicated that all of the community members have a family relationship with one another, either a family relationship from the *Anak Boru*'s side or a family relationship from *Kahanggi*'s side. Therefore, there is no space for a person in the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community to hate, to be indifferent, to hurt, to torment, and even to kill other community members who have the family relationship based on the three lanes of consanguinity above. This is the "gate" for religious tolerance in Indonesia in general.

The philosophy of *Dalihan na Tolu* is the one that provides love affection and brotherhood among the community members. The result is that it causes the sense of rendering mutual assistance and the sense of respecting other people in the community. This philosophy teaches people not to hurt and slander other people. Hurting other people means hurting oneself. Therefore, this philosophy is the value system in maintaining religious tolerance in a society.

Every person in a community can hold a position as *Mora*, *Anak Boru*, and *Kahanggi*. A person can be a *Mora* when he is in his son-in-law's family; a person can be an *Anak Boru* when he is in his parents-in-law's family, and a person can be a *Kahanggi* when he is in a family that has the same blood or the same clan<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Elisabeth Nurhani Butarbutar, "Perlindungan Hukum terhadap Prinsip Dalihan na Tolu sebagai Hak Konstitusional Masyarakat Adat Batak Toba," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 16, no. 3 (2019), p. 488-509.

<sup>19</sup> Defri E. Simatupang, "Dalihan na Tolu, a Local Wisdom as Framing of Three Pillars for Sustainability Development at Toba Lake Area," *Kebudayaan* 12, no. 2 (2017), p. 95-96.

<sup>20</sup> Eric Evonsus Simbolon, et al., "Peranan Dalihan na Tolu Dalam Hukum Perkawinan Adat Batak Toba," *Pactum Law Journal* 1, no. 1 (2017), p. 44.  
<http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>



Therefore, the people in the *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition have a significant role in creating a favorable living atmosphere in which they appreciate and respect one to another even though they have different religion such as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Konghucu.

This philosophy of *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition creates legal materials which organize the procedures of how to act, to speak, and to behave in a social interaction and in daily activities among the three elements in the Batak community. The three elements of the *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition in the Batak community can be seen in the following Table:

**Table 1: Elements of *Dalihan na Tolu* Traditional Community and Moral/Ethical Values Contained in It**

Elements of <i>Dalihan na Tolu</i> Community	Position of Family Relationship	<i>Tutur</i> (Calling) Husband and Wife		Content of Moral and Ethical Values
		<i>Tutur</i> Husband	<i>Tutur</i> Wife	
<i>Mora</i> (Parents-inlaw's Family)	Bottom-Up Line of Descent	1. <i>Tulang/Nantulang</i> (father-in-law/mother-in-law); 2. <i>Oppung</i> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottomup line of descent	1. <i>Aya/Uma</i> (father/mother); 2. <i>Oppung</i> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up descendant.	1. To respect; 2. To obey; 3. To help.
	Up-bottom line of Descent	1. <i>Tunggune</i> (wife's brother); 2. <i>Pahoppu</i> (grandson/granddaughter); 3. The whole upbottom line of descent	1. <i>Abang/Angggi</i> (wife's brother); 2. <i>Pahoppu</i> (grandson/granddaughter); 3. The whole upbottom line of descent	

<i>Anak Boru</i> (son/daughter-in-law's family)	Bottom-Up Line of Descent	1. <i>Aya/Uma</i> (father/mother); 2. <i>Oppung</i> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottomup line of descent	1. <i>AmangBoru/Bo</i> <i>u</i> (father/motherin- law); 2. <i>Oppung</i> (grandpa/grand ma)); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent	1. To persuade <i>Anak Boru</i> to be diligent; 2. To praise her work; 3. To give reward to her.
	Up-Bottom Line of Descent	1. <i>Abang/Anggi</i> (husband's brother); 2. <i>Pahoppu</i> (grandchild); 3. The whole upbottom descent	1. <i>Halak Bayo</i> (wife's brotherin-law); 2. <i>Pahoppu</i> (grandson/grand daughter); 3. The whole upbottom line of descent	
<i>Kahanggi</i> (Family of the same blood/clan)	Directional Line of Descent	1. <i>Uda/Nanguda</i> (husband's uncle/aunt); 2. <i>Uak Halaklai/Uma</i> <i>Tobang</i> (father's brother/father's brother's wife);	1. <i>Amang</i> <i>Boru/Bou</i> (father/motherin- law); 2. <i>Oppung</i> (grandp a/grandma); 3. The whole	1. To keep <i>kahanggi</i> from being hurt; 2. To treat equal
		3. The whole directional line of descendant	directional line of descendant.	position; 3. To involve <i>Kahanggi</i> in all activities.

**Source:** *Result of Interview with Rokkkap Siregar, Angkola-Sipirok Adat Leader, August 24, 2022.*

This type of marriage causes the incidence of family ties with different religion: the family of *Mora* (parents-in-law's family) will probably have different religion from that of the family of *Anak Boru* (son/daughter-in-law's family). Therefore, the practice of moral and ethical values contained in the *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition will always be carried out well, regardless of religious, ethnic, and national background. This is one of the factors which becomes the bond of religious tolerance in the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community.

Besides practicing the moral and ethical values contained in the philosophy of *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition, religious tolerance is also caused by practicing some fundamental principles contained in the *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition done by the <http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

Batak traditional community. Some fundamental principles include.<sup>21</sup> 1) *Marsihaholongan* (loving each other), 2) *Marsipagodakkon* (raising each other), 3) *Marsihapadean* (doing something good), 4) *Marsibegean* (listening to each other about health, difficulty, and the existing problems), *Marsipatamaan* (providing the best opportunity for relatives and friends), 5) *Marsiliginan* (knowing each other about health, difficulty, and the existing problems), 6) *Marsipagabean* (making each other happy), 7) *Marsitolongan* (helping each other), *Marsilehenan* (giving each other), 8) *Marsihargaan* (appreciating each other), 9) *Marsipaingotan* (reminding each other), 10) *Marsipaturean* (improving oneself and other people), 11) *Marsiakkatan* (improving the family members and other people's standard of living), 12) *Marsiharoroan* (visiting each other), and 13) *Marsitoguan* (guiding each other to advance).

The thirteen fundamental principles above are the most effective devices in creating religious tolerance in a family, a community, and a nation. Moreover, various types of religious conflict can be curbed and resolved through moral messages contained in the *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition.

Secondly, the model of maintaining religious tolerance in the *Pastakpastak ni Paradaton*. It is the rules or regulations which are allowed or forbidden for a person to speak, to act, and to behave. They are categorized as *Pastakpastak ni Paradaton* rules.<sup>22</sup> Such as 1) “*Songon na Sabutuha do Halak na*

*Samarga*” which means a person who has the same clan will be considered as a sibling that was born from the same mother. This rule contains coercion in which a person has to respect another person who has the same clan as his as if he respected his own sibling even though they have different religion. 2) “*Hormati mora dohot Anak Borumu Sasudena*” which means that every person has to respect the families of his parents-in-law and his son/daughter-in-law as a whole wherever they are even though they have different religion and tribes. 3) *Lehen Hangoluan, Hapadeon dohot Hakoumon tu sandok jolma, tai obatkon paribadaton tu na saugamo* (give the opportunity to be alive, spread good things and draw the bonds of brotherhood among the people throughout the world regardless of their religion; let them pray according to their own beliefs).

The rule Number 3 above contains the meaning that each person has to respect other people's right to live and also maintain brotherhood among the same citizens; however, practicing one's belief is the right of him as a religious believer without involving other people, 4) *Mora, Anak Boru dohot Kahanggi do na Manjunjung parugamaon* (the whole element of the *adat* community, including

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Martua Soripada Lubis, Mandailing *Adat* Leader, December 9, 2021.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Mangaraja Tenggara Siregar, Sipirok Cultured Man, March 7, 2022.

*Mora* (parents-in-law, the family of *Anak Boru*, and *Kahanggi* (the family of the same blood/clan) has the same responsibility to maintain peace in administering their religious doctrines in society).

The rule on tolerance as it is regulated in the *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition is in accordance with the rule on tolerance regulated in the Islamic Law. In this case, Islam always pays homage to tolerance; in this case, tolerance is the case of interacting and doing good deeds with non-Muslims. On the other hand, if tolerance is concerned with faith, the principle which is used is “for you is your religion, and for me is my religion.”<sup>23</sup> In Islam, the concept of tolerance is internalized through the interpretation of the Qur’an and Hadith. Reading the two of them is not merely from their textual side but should also from the text and the social reality. By interpreting the texts, it can be concluded that the three fundamental principles of tolerance, according to Islam, are concerned with freedom to follow one’s religion (*al-hurriyyah al-dīniyyah*), humanity (*al-insāniyyah*), and moderation (*al-washatiyyah*).<sup>24</sup>

Thirdly, the model of maintaining religious tolerance in *Uhum dohot Patik*. *Uhum* means law and *Patik* means line of action or rule. *Uhum* means everything which has the value of rules in the Batak community. It is categorized as a binding customary law, followed by the *adat* sanction.

Meanwhile, *Patik* is a rule which is not followed by *adat* sanction even though

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the people should adhere to what is ordered and not do what is forbidden by *adat*. Both of them are binding rules for the people in doing various activities in the community. It was ruled in *Uhum* and *Patik* about various foundations of life which become the guidance for the traditional community in acting, speaking, behaving, and keeping security and order.<sup>25</sup>

Some examples of *Patik* and *Uhum* are 1) *Ulang ligin halak sian agama na, ligo do sian partuturon na* (Do not judge a person from his religion, judge him from his family ties such as his parents-in-law or his son/daughter-in-law or his family of the same blood/clan). If this rule is practiced, religious tolerance will exist because religion is considered as a belief which cannot remove the bond of brotherhood and friendship, 2) *Pature paribadaton mu, ulang pature paribadaton ni halak* (focus on improving the procedure of other people’s worship). This rule

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<sup>23</sup> Mursyid Djawas, et.al., “The Position of Non-Muslims in the Implementation of Islamic Law in Aceh, Indonesia,” *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 23, No. 1 (2023).  
<sup>24</sup> Salma Mursyid, “Konsep Toleransi (Al-Samahah) Antar Umat Beragama Perspektif Islam,” *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Pluralism* 1, No. 2 (2018), p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> Adeng Muchtar Ghazali, “Toleransi Beragama dan Kerukunan dalam Perspektif Islam.” *Religious: Jurnal Agama dan Lintas Budaya* 1, no. 1 (2016), p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Mangaraja Tenggara Siregar, Sipirok Cultured Man, March 7, 2022.  
<http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

contains the meaning that a person is not allowed to give comment or criticize other people's procedure of worship and religious doctrines because it will hurt them and cause religious conflict. One should always focus on practicing his worship according to his own religion. If he is busy taking care of his own religion, there will be no time for him to interfere with or insult other people's religion so that religious tolerance will be created sustainably in the society, 3) *Mora Haruaya Parsilaungan, Banir-banir Parkolipan* (the family of parents-in-law is compared to a banyan tree which protects the whole element of people under it regardless of their religion and tribes).

The examples of *Uhum* concerning the maintenance of religious tolerance are 1) *Ise na manyego-nyego paribadaton dohot paramalon, angkon dipaorot mai sian parhutaon* (Whoever damages houses of worship or shrines, a sanction will be imposed on him; he will be evicted from his village), 2) This *Uhum* contains the meaning that everyone is prohibited to damage houses for worship such as mosques, churches, temples, Buddhist monastery, etc. Whoever damages them will be imposed a sanction by evicting him from his village, 2) *Na adong inganan ni halak na mambulokoi dohot na manjuai* (there is no place for anyone who says bad thing about someone or insults them, including saying bad thing about other people's religion. If he does it, a sanction will be imposed on him by not letting him live in his village).

All of the rules embodied in *Uhum* and *Patik* above are the rules which are used in maintaining religious tolerance in the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community. Harahap points out that some rules embodied in *Uhum* and *Patik* become the bond of religious tolerance and, at the same time, prevent the incidence of religious conflicts among religious believers.<sup>26</sup> Harahap and Parinduri point out that religious pluralism requires people to allow them to

maintain favorable, secure, and peaceful condition for other people of different religion to carry out their service to God without being hampered and humiliated by anyone. Tolerance among the religious believers can be done when it is related to social relationship such as working together and community service in the neighborhood, religious activities in the community, and among the religious believers.<sup>27</sup>

Fourthly, the model of maintaining religious tolerance in *Tutur dohot Poda. Tutur*. It means an intimate call for another person according to the sense of consanguinity, nourished at the same breast, or bonds of matrimony. Meanwhile,

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Togu Mulia Harahap, Padang Lawas Utara *Adat* Leader, August 7, 2022.

<sup>27</sup> Shofiah Fitriani, "Keberagaman dan Toleransi Antar Umat Beragama," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 20, no. 2 (2020), p. 179–192.

<sup>8</sup> <http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

*Poda* means advice to direct people toward the right path and to avoid the wrong path.<sup>28</sup> Every utterance contains moral values, code of ethics, and morality which have high spiritual values so that by implementing every *Tutur*, people can maintain harmony, tolerance, and intimacy in a community.<sup>29</sup>

Sahrul and Daulay point out that *Dalihan na Tolu* as local wisdom plays an important role, viewed from religious, cultural, and social point of view, in maintaining religious tolerance among the religious followers because it applies religious cultural values, maintains kinship, *hamoraon* (wealth), *hasangapon* (honor), *uhum* (law), becomes the protector for the people, and manages conflicts.<sup>30</sup>

### ***Dalihan na Tolu* Based-Model of Negotiation in Resolving Religious Conflicts**

Even though the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community has possessed some rules in resolving religious conflicts, there are some community members who make errors or commit offenses which cause religious conflicts among them, such as insulting other people's religion, damaging other people's worship buildings, and so forth. Therefore, the Batak community has some models of negotiation in resolving religious conflicts. They, among others, are:

First, the model of resolving religious conflicts through *Tahi Dalihan na Tolu*. This kind of dispute resolution is done in the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community – the family from the parents-in-law's side (*Mora*), family from the son/daughter-in-law's side (*Anak Boru*), and family of the same blood or the same clan (*Kahanggi*). Usually, there is some advice given in this kind of conflict

resolution as follows:<sup>31</sup> 1) advice about prohibition to insult other people's religion: *Ise na mangiccaki ugamo ni halak, sarupo ma songon na mangiccaki ugamonia* (If you insult other people's religion, it means that you insult your own religion). This advice indicates that one is not allowed to insult another person's religion; he has to respect and be tolerant of all people's belief, 2) advice about prohibition to damage other people's worship buildings: *Ulang rompak paribadaton ni halak, sarupomai songon mangaroppak paribadaton mu* (If you

<sup>28</sup> Kosmawati Harahap and Mhd Bakhsan Parinduri, "The Pattern of Inheritance Utterance Addressing Angkola Mandailing Society Through Biola na Mabugang Reconstruction; Culture and Language Studies." *European-American Journals* 4, no. 2 (2017), p. 5-6.

<sup>29</sup> Kosliana Lubis, "Partuturon Dalam Masyarakat Angkola," *Logat: Jurnal Ilmiah dan Sastra* 11, no. 1 (2006), p. 26–27.

<sup>30</sup> Sahrul Sahrul and Afrahul Fadhila Daulai, "Kearifan Lokal Dalihan Na Tolu, Ninik Mamak Dan Kerapatan Adat Nagari Dalam Menjaga Kerukunan Antar umat Beragama di Sumatera Barat Dan Sumatera Utara," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman* 43, no. 2 (2019), p. 300–323.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Hasmaruddin Siregar, Sipirok Adat Leader, August 13, 2022. <http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

damage other people's worship buildings, it means that you damage your own worship building), 3) *Na tola pajongjokkon paribadaton di huta ni halak na so saugamo* (One is not allowed to build his worship building in the village of other people who have different religion).

Prohibition to insult other people's religion above is in accordance with the prohibition of Allah to insult other people's belief as it is said by Allah in Surah Al-An'am, verse 108 as follows: "And do not insult those they invoke other than Allah, lest they insult Allah in enmity without knowledge" (QS. Al-An'am: 108).

The Verse above indicates that one is not allowed to insult another person's religion; he has to have the sense of religious tolerance. Yudiana, et.al., point out that Islam teaches us how to establish close relationship with other religion harmoniously.<sup>32</sup> Mukzizatin points out that the Quran also suggests that in the social interaction, if there is no similarity, one should recognize the existence of other people, and he should not blame them. It is usually called, "kalimatunsawaa."<sup>33</sup> Religious tolerance also occurs in some countries with the majority of their inhabitants were Muslims such as Kuwait, Alabdulhadi argued a content analysis for religious-tolerance topics was conducted in the Islamic Education textbooks in Kuwaiti high schools; the results show that tolerance is mentioned much more often than intolerance, but there is still room for improvement.<sup>34</sup>

Secondly, the model of resolving religious conflicts through *Tahi Parsahutaon*. This kind of model is used when a religious conflict has not been settled yet through the first resolution. The resolution is done not only by *Mora*, *Anak Boru*, and *Kahanggi* but also by *Hatobangon* (one considered senior by *adat*) in a village.

The advice material in this model is the same as the one contained in the first model even though there is the additional advice:<sup>35</sup> 1) Advice about the similarity of status among the people with different religion: *Adat inda mangaligin ugamo ni halak, tai magaligin hajugukon nia di Dalihan na Tolu* (Adat does not consider one's religion, it only considers his own position as *Mora*, *Anak Boru*, or

<sup>32</sup> I Kadek Yudiana, et.al., "Analisis Kerukunan antar Umat Beragama pada Masyarakat Multikultur di Ujung Timur Pulau Jawa (Studi Kasus di Desa Patoman, Blimbingsari, Banyuwangi, Jawa Timur)," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora* 6, No. 2 (2017), p. 147.

<sup>33</sup> Siti Mukzizatin, "Kelasi Harmonis Antar Umat Beragama dalam Al-Qur'an," *Andragogi: Jurnal Diklat Teknis Pendidikan dan Keagamaan* 7, No. 1 (2019), p. 161–180.

<sup>34</sup> Maali Mohammed Jassim Alabdulhadi, "Religious Tolerance in Secondary Islamic Education Textbooks in Kuwait," *British Journal of Religious Education* 41, no. 4 (2019), p. 422–434.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Sutan Parlindungan Hatorkisan, Padang Bolak Adat Leader, August 19,

*Kahanggi*), 2) Advice about a belief that religion is not a prerequisite for the validity of traditional ceremony: *Jonjong ni paradaton, diligin sian haroro ni Mora, Anak Boru dohot Kahanggi* (The validity of traditional ceremony in enjoyment or sorrow is determined by the presence of the family from the parents-in-law's side, family from the son/daughter-in-law's side, and family of the same blood or clan, 3) Advice about how to behave well to other people: *Denggan ko tu sude jolma, anso denggan jolma tu iba* (If you behave well to other people, they will surely behave well to you)

Advice about behaving well to other people who have different religion from yours is in accordance with what Allah says in QS. Al-Mumtahanah: 8 as follows: "Allah does not forbid you from those who do not fight you because of religion and do not expel you from your homes. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly." This verse indicates that Muslims should behave well to the other Muslims and to other people with different religion provided that they are not indifferent to the Muslims.

Thirdly, the model of resolving religious conflicts through *Tahi Haruaya Mardomu Bulung*. This third model of resolving religious conflict is used when it has not been settled with the second model. The resolution is done not only by *Mora, Anak Boru, and Kahanggi* but also by *Harajaon* (a person representing the King's descendant) and *Hatobangan* (a person considered senior in the *adat*) who comes from the neighboring villages.

The existence of *Harajaon* and *Hatobangan* from the neighboring villages is the last stage in resolving a religious conflict so that there will be no more conflict between the two conflicting parties. Their presence is very vital since they are honorable and respectable people who have wisdom in the traditional community. The conflicting parties will surely adhere to their decision.

The advice material represented in this model is the same as the one contained in the first and the second models; it only has additional advice:<sup>36</sup> 1) Advice about the obligation to respect husband's or wife's family that has different religion: *Na tola hosom roha tu koum sisolkot ni halak bagasmu na so saugamo* (One is forbidden to hate her husband's or his wife's family that has different religion from him/her). This advice contains the meaning that every husband or wife is required to his/her spouse's family or siblings even though

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they have different religion since they are part of his/her family, 2). Advice about the status of brotherhood which is determined by *Marga: Samudar do halak na Samarga* (All people who have the same clan are considered as the same family

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with Baginda Hatauton, Mandailing Adat Leader, August 27, 2022.  
<http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>



tree). This advice indicates that, according to tradition, the status of brotherhood is determined by the same clan, not merely by the same religion.

Advice about the status of brotherhood above is in accordance with what Allah says in the Qur'an, QS. Al-Hujarat: 13; "O mankind, indeed we have created you from male and female and made peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is the All-Knowing and the Acquainted."

The three models of resolving religious conflicts above are considered as the ones which bring justice, benefits, and legal certainty for any conflicting parties and for all people in general. They can be explained in the following Table:

**Table 2: Dalihan na Tolu Based-Model of Resolving Religious Conflicts in Batak Community**

Rules of Resolving Religious Conflict	Types of the Settled Conflict	Models of Conflict Resolution	Mediators	Party Authorized to Appoint Mediators
Dalihan na Tolu Tradition	All types of utterance and action causing religious conflicts	Tahi Dalihan na Tolu (negotiation attended by Mora, Anak Boru and Kahanggi)	Mora, Anak Boru and Kahnggi	Dalihan na Tolu Family
	All types of utterance and action causing religious conflicts which have not been settled in the 1 <sup>st</sup> stage	Tahi Parsahutaon (negotiation attended by Mora, Anak Boru, Kahanggi, also by Harajaon and Hatobangon)	Mora, Anak Boru and Kahanggi, also from Harajaon and Hatobangan from the neighboring villages	Harajaon (king's descendant) and Hatobangon (a person considered senior in adat from the neighboring villages)
	All types of utterance and action causing religious conflicts which have not been settled in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> stage	Tahi Haruaya Mardomu Bulung (negotiation attended by Mora, Anak Boru, Kahanggi, Harajaon and Hatobangon, also by Harajaon from the neighboring villages)	Mora, Anak Boru, Kahanggi, Harajaon and Hatobangon, also Harajaon from the neighboring villages	Harajaon (king's descendant) and Hatobangon (a person considered senior in adat from the neighboring villages)

**Source:** *Result of interview with Sutan Parlindungan Hatorkisan, Padang Bolak adat leader, August 19, 2022.*

The three models of resolving religious conflicts above are very effective to be used in settling various religious conflicts well, wisely, justly, and prudently. These models give the opportunity for the conflicting parties to reconcile openly. This condition can be caused by some factors as follows:<sup>37</sup> 1) the mediators are *Harajaon* and *Hatobangan* who are very charismatic and authoritative, 2) the families representing the conflicting parties get involved in deciding the case so that their decision will be most probably accepted, 3) the process of making decision is programmed and done in stages, 4) the process of the negotiation meeting of *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition is witnessed by the *adat* leaders, religious figures, and family members so that the feeling of shameful and regrettable will appear in both conflicting parties. In consequence, the meeting will be held smoothly and easily.

The three types of negotiation above have hierarchical characteristics which have to be done consecutively. When there is a conflict between two groups of people with different religion, it is resolved with negotiation of the first stage. When the conflict can be settled in this stage, it means that the next stage of negotiation will not be needed anymore. If, however, the first stage of negotiation fails, it has to be continued with the next stage, and so forth.

Some types of religious conflicts in religious believers which have occurred in the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community<sup>34</sup> can be seen in the following Table:

**Table 3. Data of the Number of Conflicts Resolved in the *Dalihan na Tolu* Traditional Council in the Period of 2020-2022**

No	Types of Religious Conflict	The Number of Conflicts Resolved in the <i>Dalihan na Tolu</i> Traditional Council					
		2020		2021		2022	
		Conflicts Reported	Conflicts Resolved	Conflicts Reported	Conflicts Resolved	Conflicts Resolved	Conflicts Resolved
1	Insulting the Quran	2	1	4	2	6	5
2	Throwing Mosque Glass Windows	1	1	4	2	1	1

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Mangaraja Tenggar Siregar, Sipirok Culture Man, March 7, 2022.  
<http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

3	Throwing Garbage in the Church Yard	5	4	2	-	2	-
4	Forbidding the Sound of Azan to be in a Loud Voice	1	1	3	2	2	2
5	Entering the Mosque by Wearing Shoes	0	0	1	1	0	0
6	Scratching the Church Walls	2	2	1	1	3	2
7	Building a Church without IMB	1	1	2	2	0	0

**Source:** *Primary Data are obtained from Dalihan na Tolu Traditional Council in Tapanuli Selatan Regency, 2022.*

The data in the Table above indicates that 7 (seven) types of religious conflict that were filed to and processed in the *Dalihan na Tolu* Traditional Council could be resolved well, fairly, and wisely. The majority of the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community believes that the Council is more dominant in resolving religious conflicts than that litigation in a court because the process of settling the conflicts is done by negotiation of some important figures of *Harajaon* (king’s descendant) and *Hatobangon* (seniors in the *adat*) so that they believe that the result of the decision will bring justice, benefit, and legal certainty.

In line with that, it can be affirmed that customs and traditions can be conflict resolution and able to create peace in society. Customary mechanisms through negotiation channels and cultural approaches that can be resolved well. Conflict resolution mechanisms are not only able to resolve individual, family conflicts but also community conflicts, so that the values of peace and harmonization are maintained.<sup>38</sup> In addition to Indonesia's China, South Africa's conflict resolution mechanism is also effective in creating peace and bonding social and household relations. For example, marriage, divorce, inheritance and

<sup>38</sup> Dedi Kurniawan and Abdul Syani, “Faktor Penyebab, Dampak dan Strategi Penyelesaian Konflik Antar Warga di Kecamatan Way Panji Kabupaten Lampung Selatan,” *Jurnal Sosiologi* 15, no. 1 (2014), p. 7. Izzatur Rusuli, et.al., “Peran Lembaga Kampong dalam Manajemen Konflik Keluarga di Kabupaten Aceh Tengah,” *Media Syari’ah: Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam dan Pranata Sosial* 19, No. 1 (2017).  
<http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

child care.<sup>39</sup> Through this peace model, kinship and fraternal ties and otherwise quarrels and conflicts can be avoided.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, Melissa Crouch argued three general considerations to the study of the dynamics of state regulation of religious affairs: situating modern state approaches to the regulation of religion in historical context; recognizing the framework within which state and religion is structured; and acknowledging the influence of legal norms other than state law.<sup>41</sup> So, it can be under the *pretext of na tolu* is local wisdom that can create social bonds, religion that can avoid conflict.<sup>42</sup> One concrete evidence that can be put forward is conflict resolution in communities in Tapanuli, North Sumatra.

### Legal Argumentation of the Muslim Batak Community in South Tapanuli

Partahian Daulay points out that maintaining religious tolerance is closely related to tradition and custom. Therefore, the resolution of the conflicts has to refer to the local tradition by involving *adat* leaders and religious figures.<sup>43</sup> Sotar Muda Nasution points out that the *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional community has its own rules in implementing religious tolerance, including resolving various religious conflicts so that the bond of brotherhood can be maintained through *adat* negotiation.<sup>44</sup>

Sotar Muda Nasution out that the implementation of religious tolerance in the Batak community is done by always being guided by the philosophical values of *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition which respects the whole element of the *adat* community regardless of religion and tribes. The *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition has its procedure of preventing most of the religious conflicts in the society through family negotiations, *adat* meetings, or even villagers' meetings. The elements of

<sup>30</sup> Mirsultan Aysima, "Divorce settlement among the Uyghurs during the Republican era in Xinjiang." *Central Asian Survey* 39, no. 4 (2020), p. 578-595. Kirsty Button, et.al., "South Africa's System of Dispute Resolution Forums: The Role of the Family and the State in Customary Marriage Dissolution," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 2 (2016), p. 299-316.

<sup>40</sup> Fransiska Widyawati, "Being a Muslim in a Catholic Family and Vice Versa: Religious Education in Mixed-Faith Families in Flores, Eastern Indonesia," *Ulumuna: Jurnal of Islamic*

<sup>41</sup> Melissa Crouch, "Shifting Conceptions of State Regulation of Religion: The Indonesian Draft Law on Inter-Religious Harmony," *Formerly Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change* 25, no. 3 (2013), p. 265-282.

<sup>42</sup> Indra Muda and Agung Suharyanto, "Analysis of Life's Inter-Religious Harmony Based on The Philosophy of Dalihan Na Tolu, p. 533-540. Teuku Zulkhairi and Ibnu Hajar, "How Jawi Script Influences Religious Attitudes: An Evidence from Aceh," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, No. 2 (2023).

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Askkolani, Mandailing Cultural Man and Historian, March 6, 2022)

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Tomson Parningotan Hutasoit, Batak Toba Cultural Man and Historian, March 7, 2022.

*Dalihan na Tolu* can function as the mediator in the negotiations.<sup>45</sup>

That *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition has become the line of action principle in the people from the ancient time until the modern time today. They have firmly guarded off their tradition and attempted to preserve it for the next generation.<sup>46</sup>

Rina Sari Sidabutar points out that the majority of *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional

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*Studies* 26, No. 2 (2022). Usep Saepullah, "The Inter-Religious Marriage in Islamic and Indonesian Law Perspective," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 7, No. 1 (2019), p. 43-58.

community favor the resolution of religious conflicts through the *Adat* Council because the persons who become the judges are the *adat* leaders who are very respected so that they believe that the decision made by the *Adat* Council will bring justice and legal certainty for them.<sup>47</sup> Besides that, the mediators who resolve the religious conflicts also come from *Mora*, *Anak Boru*, *Kahanggi*, *Harajaon* (king's descendant), and *Hatobangon* (*adat* leaders). All of them are respectable people who have family relationship with the conflicting parties.

### **Strategies in *Dalihan na Tolu* Based-Maintaining Tolerance in Religious Believers**

The existence of tolerance among religious believers in the Batak community is influenced not only by the rules of maintenance contained in the *Dalihan na Tolu* tradition but also by the *adat* leaders' strategies in creating people's religious tolerance in society. Some of their strategies are seen in the following table:

**Table 4: Strategies Applied by *Adat* Leaders in Implementing the Maintenance of Religious Tolerance in *Dalihan na Tolu* traditional Community**

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<sup>45</sup> I Wayan Kontiarta and Redi Panuju, "Strategi Komunikasi FKUB Dalam Memelihara Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Provinsi Bali," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 12, No. 1 (2018), p. 99.

<sup>46</sup> Arifuddin Ismail, "Refleksi Pola Kerukunan Umat Beragama (Fenomena Keagamaan di Jawa Tengah, Bali dan Kalimantan Barat)," *Jurnal Analisa*, 17, no. 2 (2010), p. 185.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Rina Sari Sidabutar, Chairperson of Karang Taruna, Tarutung, Tapanuli Utara Regency, September 26, 2021.

<http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

No	Strategies Applied	Methods	Target Achievement	Goals	Location
1	Exemplary <i>Dalihan na Tolu</i> as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts in Selayang Anwar Sidiq Hidayat, et al. DOI: 10.22375/jr.v1i3.13091 some principles of <i>Dalihan na Tolu</i> tradition.	1. Lecture 2. Demonstration	Respect should be shown by son/daughter to their parents, the young to the old, among the people with different religion, tribes, and citizenship	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law's side); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (sons/daughter s-in-law's family); 3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the same blood/clan); 4. <i>Naposo Nauli Bulung</i> (the youth); 5. <i>Daganak</i> (children).	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (traditional house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of king's descendant) 3. Place of <i>adat</i> ceremony.
2	Giving tasks to all groups of people in keeping security and order	Giving assignment method	Ability to maintain security and order in society	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law's side); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (sons/daughter s-in-law's family);	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (traditional house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i>

				3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the same blood/clan); 4. <i>Naposo Nauli Bulung</i> (the youth); 5. <i>Daganak</i> (children).	(house of king's descendant ); 3. Place of <i>adat</i> ceremony.
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3	Involving all groups of people in every <i>siriaon</i> ( <i>adat</i> ceremony for enjoyment) and <i>siluluton</i> ( <i>adat</i> ceremony for sorrow)	1. Lecture method; 2. Demonstration method;	Participating actively in the whole <i>adat</i> activity	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law's side); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (sons/daughter s-in-law's family); 3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the same blood/clan); 4. <i>Naposo Nauli Bulung</i> (the youth); 5. <i>Daganak</i> (children).	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (traditional house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of king's descendant); 3. Place of <i>adat</i> ceremony
4	Implementing the philosophy of <i>somba mar mora</i> , <i>elek mar Anak Boru</i> , <i>manatmanat mar kahanggi</i>	Lecture Method	Ability to implement the philosophy of <i>Dalihan na Tolu tradition</i>	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law's side); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (sons/daughter s-in-law's family); 3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the same blood/clan); 4. <i>Naposo Nauli Bulung</i> (the youth); 5. <i>Daganak</i> (children).	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (traditional house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of king's descendant); 3. Place of <i>adat</i> ceremony
5	Empowering all adolescents in conflict resolution	Giving tasks method		<i>Naposo Nauli Bulung</i> (the youth)	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (traditional house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of king's descendant).

6	Advising children to watch all traditional activities in society.	1. Lecture method; 2. Giving examples method	Most of the children watch actively all traditional activities	<i>Daganak</i> (children).	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (traditional house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of king's descendant); 3. Place of <i>adat</i> ceremony.
7	Advising about how to maintain unity and union in every traditional implementation	1. Lecture method; 2. Simulation method	Most of the people are active in maintaining unity	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law's side); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (sons/daughters-in-law's family); 3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the same blood/clan); 4. <i>Naposo Nauli Bulung</i> (the youth); 5. <i>Daganak</i> (children).	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (traditional house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of king's descendant); 3. Place of <i>adat</i> ceremony.
8	Providing training about practicing various customary rules in various aspects of life, especially in practicing how to respect <i>Mora</i> , <i>Anak Boru</i> , and <i>Kahanggi</i> , even though they have different religions and tribes.	1. Demonstration 2. Discussion; 3. Drama.	The majority of community members are able to understand and to practice it.	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (son/daughter-in-law); 3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the same blood/clan); 4. <i>Naposo Nauli Bulung</i> (the youth); 5. <i>Daganak</i> (children).	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (adat house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (home of king's descendant).



9	Giving appreciation to the youth ( <i>Naposo nauli Bulung</i> ) that has competency in practicing adat	Giving Appreciation	The majority of community members who have competency in practicing the adat embodied	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (son/daughter-in-law); 3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (adat house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of
	rules embodied in <i>Dalihan na Tolu tradition</i> . The appreciation is given in the form of praise and opportunity to present in the adat ceremonies.		in <i>Dalihan na Tolu</i> tradition. rules	same blood/clan).	king's descendant)
10	Giving orders to do something and warning/correction when there is violation and error made by the adat community	Advice	1. Doing something ordered; 2. Stopping doing violation and prohibition which have been done	1. <i>Mora</i> (parents-in-law); 2. <i>Anak Boru</i> (son/daughter-in-law); 3. <i>Kahanggi</i> (family of the same blood/clan).	1. <i>Sopo Godang</i> (adat house); 2. <i>Bagas ni Raja</i> (house of king's descendant)

**1** Based on the data in the Table above, it is found that there are **2** 7 (seven) strategies applied by *Dalihan na Tolu tradition* community in maintaining religious tolerance and resolving religious conflicts. The aim is that all community members, from teenagers to the elderly can live harmoniously and peacefully even though they have different beliefs or religion. Even though the rule of *Dalihan na Tolu tradition* is a *jus non scriptum* or *non-statuir* (not in a written form), its content is implicitly about maintaining religious tolerance.

The strategies of maintaining religious tolerance are also possessed by the government of the Republic of Indonesia. Some of the strategies used for realizing tolerance in religious believers are as follows:

- a. Strengthening basic internal religious tolerance of and between religious believers and the government;
- b. Developing social harmony and national unity;
- c. Creating favorable atmosphere in people's religious life;
- d. Doing broad exploration about the importance of human values from the whole human plural beliefs which function is used as the mutual guidance in

- implementing political principles and social interaction with one another by showing exemplary attitude;
- e. Deepening spiritual values for religious followers;
  - f. Instilling love and affection in religious believers;
  - g. Realizing that disparity is a reality, but one cannot be indifferent to other people.
  - h. Organizing and issuing legal provisions on religious tolerance.

Haasmaruddin Siregar points out that the strategies in fulfilling the primary mission and plan for the future is a) creating formal and non-formal establishments as important components in establishing religious tolerance, b) increasing their mental attitude and understanding their religious doctrine and their level of thinking maturity in order to avoid primordial attitude, c) simplifying and socializing every regulation and law continuously on the life of religious believers so that they will understand and familiarize with it, and institutions or any means of negotiations should be developed for bridging people's religious tolerance and the forum of religious tolerance should also be empowered.<sup>48</sup>

Kontiarta and Panuju point out that the strategy in maintaining religious tolerance is not by spreading negative information and rumors which discredit one another. Communication strategy of FKUB (People's Religious Tolerance Forum) of Bali Province, in determining the lane or media for maintaining religious tolerance, is as follows: 1) direct face-to-face meeting and the lane of group communication, 2) using conventional mass media such as television, radio, and printing media such as brochures, calendar, posters, and stickers, and 3) social media (new media).<sup>49</sup>

Arifuddin Ismail points out that tolerance in religious believers will probably grow when religion is given a space for a dialog, a cultural space without any coercion from other parties. By dialog, religious tolerance will surely be realized by increasing understanding religious doctrines for each religious believer.<sup>50</sup>

According to Jati, there are five vital roles of local wisdom in religious conflict media: 1) local wisdom as the benchmark of community's identity, 2) local wisdom itself provides cohesive aspect such as adhesive elements in interreligion, inter-inhabitants, and belief, 3) local wisdom as part of alternative conflict resolution which encourages people to negotiate by using emotional and cultural approaches, 4) local wisdom is functioned to develop the sense of togetherness,

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Hasmaruddin Siregar, Sipirok *adat* Leader, August 13, 2022.

<sup>49</sup> I Wayan Kontiarta and Redi Panuju, "Strategi Komunikasi FKUB, p. 99.

<sup>50</sup> Arifuddin Ismail, "Refleksi Pola Kerukunan Umat Beragama, p. 185

and 5) local wisdom will change mindset and reciprocal relationship of individuals and groups, by placing it on the cultural foundation.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, it can be affirmed that the customary values of *dalihan na tolu* can be used as a basis for the resolution of religious conflicts in society. As proof that in the Tapanuli community, North Sumatra as also strengthened by other communities in Indonesia is able to create peace and harmony.

## Conclusion

*Dalihan na Tolu* based-model of resolving religious conflicts and maintaining tolerance in religious believers is done by using various rules embodied in a) the philosophy of *Dalihan na Tolu tradition*, b) *Pastak-pastak ni Paradaton*, c) *Uhum dohot Patik*, and d) *Tutur dohot Poda*, so that the condition of tolerance in religious believers can be maintained properly, justly, and wisely. There are three negotiation systems in resolving religious conflicts in religious believers, based on *Dalihan na Tolu tradition*: a) *Tahi Ungut-ungut* (family negotiation), b) *Tahi Dalihan na Tolu* (negotiation is carried out by *Mora*, *Kahanggi*, and *Anak Boru*), c) *Tahi Godang Parsahutaon* (big negotiation in a village), d) *Tahi Godang Haruaya Mardomu Bulung* (big negotiation among the neighboring villages). *Adat* leaders' strategies in maintaining religious tolerance and resolving conflicts in religious believers are done as follows a) giving exemplary actions in implementing some principles of *Dalihan na Tolu tradition*, b) giving tasks to all groups of people in keeping security and order, c) involving all groups of people in every *siriaon* and *silulutan* ceremony, d) implementing the philosophy of *somba mar mora*, *elek mar Anak Boru*, *manat-manat mar kahanggi*, e) empowering all adolescents in every conflict resolution, f) suggesting that children see and watch every traditional activity, and g) always giving advice about keeping unity and union in every traditional event.

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