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

Anwar Sadat Harahap
Universitas Muslim Nusantara Al-Washliyah, Sumatera Utara
Hardi Mulyono
Universitas Muslim Nusantara Al-Washliyah, Sumatera Utara
A. Nuzul
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, Sulawesi Selatan
Milhan Milhan
Universitas Muslim Nusantara Al-Washliyah, Sumatera Utara
Taufik Siregar
Medan Area University, Sumatera Utara
Email: anwarsadathrp@umnaw.ac.id

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 tulo 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, Pastak-pastakni 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

**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 ulama forum and the Islamic mass organizations of Bogor about the construction of GKI Yasmin (2008). The riot which involved the Muslims and the Christians in Aceh (2015), the destruction of 11 Buddhist temples and two Buddhist Institution 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, 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), 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).

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.

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.

---


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 Midle Term Development Plan (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional/RPJMN) 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.7

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.8 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.9

Local wisdom as the system of belief, values, and culture and as the sub-legal 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.10 Risakotta argued that the national law in Indonesia often has less authority than religious and traditional law.11

According to Jati, 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, 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


http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
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.\(^\text{12}\)

Tolerance in religious believers is not a finished product which can instantly be used; 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.\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^\text{14}\) or juridical empirical approach\(^\text{15}\) to a social juridical reality by learning social phenomena in a society as a legal aspect.\(^\text{16}\) The gathered qualitative data would be presented in the thesis in deep and focused description.\(^\text{17}\) In this case, verification of qualitative data would be


\(^{17}\)Jonaedi Efendi and Jhonny Ibrahim, \emph{Metode Penelitian Hukum Normatif Dan Empiris}, Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2018.

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

**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\(^{18}\) "*Somba mar Mora, Elek mar Anak Boru, Manat-manat 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*\(^{19}\) 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 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.\(^{20}\)

*Elek mar Anak Boru* means that every *Mora* is required to provide protection and security for their *Anak Boru*.\(^{21}\) *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*.


\(^{21}\)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.

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

---


http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
Table 1: Elements of *Dalihan na Tolu* Traditional Community and Moral/Ethical Values Contained in It

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of <em>Dalihan na Tolu</em> Community</th>
<th>Position of Family Relationship</th>
<th><strong>Tutur (Calling) Husband and Wife</strong></th>
<th>Content of Moral and Ethical Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mora</strong> (Parents-in-law’s Family)</td>
<td>Bottom-Up Line of Descent</td>
<td><strong>Tutur Husband</strong></td>
<td>1. To respect; 2. To obey; 3. To help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Wife</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Tulang/Nantulang</em> (father-in-law/mother-in-law); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anak Boru</strong> (son/daughter-in-law’s family)</td>
<td>Up-bottom line of Descent</td>
<td><strong>Tutur Husband</strong></td>
<td>1. To persuade <em>Anak Boru</em> to be diligent; 2. To praise her work; 3. To give reward to her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Wife</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Tunggune</em> (wife’s brother); 2. <em>Pahoppu</em> (grandson/granddaughter); 3. The whole up-bottom line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. <em>Abang/Anggi</em> (wife’s brother); 2. <em>Pahoppu</em> (grandson/granddaughter); 3. The whole up-bottom line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kahanggi</strong> (Family of the same blood/clan)</td>
<td>Bottom-Up Line of Descent</td>
<td><strong>Tutur Husband</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Tulang/Nantulang</em> (father-in-law/mother-in-law); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Wife</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. <em>Abang/Anggi</em> (wife’s brother); 2. <em>Pahoppu</em> (grandson/granddaughter); 3. The whole up-bottom line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Husband</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Wife</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anak Boru</strong> (son/daughter-in-law’s family)</td>
<td>Bottom-Up Line of Descent</td>
<td><strong>Tutur Husband</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Wife</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kahanggi</strong> (Family of the same blood/clan)</td>
<td>Bottom-Up Line of Descent</td>
<td><strong>Tutur Husband</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Tulang/Nantulang</em> (father-in-law/mother-in-law); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Wife</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. <em>Abang/Anggi</em> (wife’s brother); 2. <em>Pahoppu</em> (grandson/granddaughter); 3. The whole up-bottom line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kahanggi</strong> (Family of the same blood/clan)</td>
<td>Bottom-Up Line of Descent</td>
<td><strong>Tutur Husband</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Tulang/Nantulang</em> (father-in-law/mother-in-law); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutur Wife</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Aya/Uma</em> (father/mother); 2. <em>Oppung</em> (grandpa/grandma); 3. The whole bottom-up line of descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. <em>Abang/Anggi</em> (wife’s brother); 2. <em>Pahoppu</em> (grandson/granddaughter); 3. The whole up-bottom line of descent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
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 Batak traditional community. Some fundamental principles include.\(^{23}\) 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) *Marsipagabeian* (making each other happy), 7) *Marsitolongan* (helping each other), *Marsilehenan* (giving each other), 8) *Marsihargaan* (appreciating each other), 9) *Marsiapangotan* (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) *Marsiitoguan* (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 *Pastak-pastak 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 *Pastak-pastak ni Paradaton* rules.\(^{24}\) Such as 1) “*Songon na Sabutuhada do Halak na

\(^{23}\)Interview with Martua Soripada Lubis, Mandailing *Adat* Leader, December 9, 2021.

\(^{24}\)Interview with Mangaraja Tenggar Siregar, Sipirok Cultured Man, March 7, 2022.
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 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.” 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-dîniyyah), humanity (al-insâniyyah), and moderation (al-washatiyyah).

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

---


http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
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.\(^{27}\)

Some examples of *Patik* and *Uhum* are 1) *Ulang ligin halak sian agama na, ligon 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 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 dipaarot 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.\(^{28}\) Harahap and Parinduri point out that religious pluralism requires people to allow them to

---

\(^{27}\) Interview with Mangaraja Tenggar Siregar, Sipirok Cultured Man, March 7, 2022.

\(^{28}\) Interview with Togu Mulia Harahap, Padang Lawas Utara *Adat* Leader, August 7, 2022.
Dalihan Na Tolu as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts

Anwar Sadat Harahap, et.al.
DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.13091

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.29

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, Poda means advice to direct people toward the right path and to avoid the wrong path.30 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.31

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), hasangaporn (honor), uhum (law), becomes the protector for the people, and manages conflicts.32

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-lae’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


http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
resolution as follows: 33 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 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 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. 34 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*.” 35 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. 36

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.

33Interview with Hasmaruddin Siregar, Sipirok Adat Leader, August 13, 2022.
The advice material in this model is the same as the one contained in the first model even though there is the additional advice:  

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 *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:  

1) Advice about the obligation to respect husband’s or wife’s family that has different religion: *Na tola hosom roha tu koum sisokot 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

---

37 Interview with Sutan Parlindungan Hatorkisan, Padang Bolak Adat Leader, August 19, 2022.  
38 Interview with Baginda Hatauton, Mandailing Adat Leader, August 27, 2022.

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

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


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Types of Religious Conflict</th>
<th>The Number of Conflicts Resolved in the Dalihan na Tolu Traditional Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflicts Reported</td>
<td>Conflicts Resolved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Insulting the Quran</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Throwing Mosque Glass Windows</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Throwing Garbage in the Church Yard</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 Interview with Mangaraja Tenggar Siregar, Sipirok Culture Man, March 7, 2022.

http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
### Dalihan Na Tolu as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts

Anwar Sadat Harahap, et.al.
DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.13091

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Forbidding the Sound of Azan to be in a Loud Voice</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Entering the Mosque by Wearing Shoes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Scratching the Church Walls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Building a Church without IMB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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. 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 child care. Through this peace model, kinship and fraternal ties and otherwise quarrels and conflicts can be avoided.

---


42 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

http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
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. So, it can be under the *pretext of na tolu* is local wisdom that can create social bonds, religion that can avoid conflict. 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. 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.

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 *Dalihan na Tolu* can function as the mediator in the negotiations.

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

---


45Interview with Askkolani, Mandailing Cultural Man and Historian, March 6, 2022)

46Interview with Tomson Parningotan Hutasoit, Batak Toba Cultural Man and Historian, March 7, 2022.


http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
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.\textsuperscript{49} 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Strategies Applied</th>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Target Achievement</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Exemplary actions in implementing some principles of Dalihan na Tolu tradition.</td>
<td>1. Lecture 2. Discussion 3. Demonstration</td>
<td>Respect should be given by son/daughter to their parents, the young to the old, among the people with different religion, tribes, and citizenship</td>
<td>1. Mora (parents-in-law’s side); 2. Anak Boru (sons/daughter s-in-law’s family); 3. Kahanggi (family of the same blood/clan); 4. Naposo Nauli Bulung (the youth); 5. Daganak (children).</td>
<td>1. Sopo Godang (traditional house); 2. Bagas ni Raja (house of king’s descendant); 3. Place of adat ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Giving tasks to all groups of people in keeping security and order</td>
<td>Giving assignment method</td>
<td>Ability to maintain security and order in society</td>
<td>1. Mora (parents-in-law’s side); 2. Anak Boru (sons/daughter s-in-law’s family);</td>
<td>1. Sopo Godang (traditional house); 2. Bagas ni Raja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{49}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
<p>| 3 | Involving all groups of people in every <em>siriaon</em> (adat ceremony for enjoyment) and <em>siluluton</em> (adat ceremony for sorrow) | 1. Lecture method; 2. Demonstration method; | Participating actively in the whole <em>adat</em> activity | 1. <em>Mora</em> (parents-in-law’s side); 2. <em>Anak Boru</em> (sons/daughter s-in-law’s family); 3. <em>Kahanggi</em> (family of the same blood/clan); 4. <em>Naposo Nauli Bulung</em> (the youth); 5. <em>Daganak</em> (children). | (house of king’s descendant); 3. Place of <em>adat</em> ceremony. |
| 5 | Empowering all adolescents in conflict resolution | Giving tasks method | <em>Naposo Nauli Bulung</em> (the youth) | 1. <em>Sopo Godang</em> (traditional house); 2. <em>Bagas ni Raja</em> (house of king’s descendant). |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Most of the People Watch Actively All Traditional Activities</th>
<th>Place of Adat Ceremony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Advising children to watch all traditional activities in society.</td>
<td>1. Lecture method; 2. Giving examples method</td>
<td>Most of the children watch actively all traditional activities</td>
<td>1. Sopo Godang (traditional house); 2. Bagas ni Raja (house of king’s descendant); 3. Place of adat ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Advising about how to maintain unity and union in every traditional implementation</td>
<td>1. Lecture method; 2. Simulation method</td>
<td>Most of the people are active in maintaining unity</td>
<td>1. Mora (parents-in-law’s side); 2. Anak Boru (sons/daughter s-in-law’s family); 3. Kahanggi (family of the same blood/clan); 4. Naposo Nauli Bulung (the youth); 5. Daganak (children).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Providing training about practicing various customary rules in various aspects of life, especially in practicing how to respect Mora, Anak Boru, and Kahanggi, even though they have different religions and tribes.</td>
<td>1. Demonstration 2. Discussion; 3. Drama.</td>
<td>The majority of community members are able to understand and to practice it.</td>
<td>1. Mora (parents-in-law); 2. Anak Boru (son/daughter-in-law); 3. Kahanggi (family of the same blood/clan); 4. Naposo Nauli Bulung (the youth); 5. Daganak (children).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Giving appreciation to the youth (Naposo nauli Bulung) that has competency in practicing adat</td>
<td>Giving Appreciation</td>
<td>The majority of community members who have competency in practicing the adat embodied</td>
<td>1. Sopo Godang (adat house); 2. Bagas ni Raja (house of king’s descendant).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on the data in the Table above, it is found that there are 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.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advice</th>
<th>1. Giving orders to do something and warning/correction when there is violation and error made by the adat community.</th>
<th>1. Doing something ordered; 2. Stopping doing violation and prohibition which have been done</th>
<th>1. Mora (parents-in-law); 2. Anak Boru (son/daughter-in-law); 3. Kahanggi (family of the same blood/clan).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giving orders to do something and warning/correction</td>
<td>Advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing something ordered;</td>
<td>1. Giving orders to do something and warning/correction when there is violation and error made by the adat community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopping doing violation and prohibition which have been done</td>
<td>Advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mora (parents-in-law);</td>
<td>1. Giving orders to do something and warning/correction when there is violation and error made by the adat community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anak Boru (son/daughter-in-law);</td>
<td>1. Giving orders to do something and warning/correction when there is violation and error made by the adat community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahanggi (family of the same blood/clan).</td>
<td>1. Giving orders to do something and warning/correction when there is violation and error made by the adat community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
Dalihan Na Tolu as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts
Anwar Sadat Harahap, et.al.
DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.13091

Haasmaruddin Siregar points out that the strategies in fulfilling the primary mission and plan for the future is a) creating formal and non-formal establishers 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.50

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).51

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.52

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 inter-religion, 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, and 5) local wisdom will change mindset and reciprocal relationship of individuals and groups, by placing it on the cultural foundation.53

Thus, it can be affirmed that the customary values of dahilan 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.

50Interview with Hasmaruddin Siregar, Sipirok adat Leader, August 13, 2022.
52Arifuddin Ismail, “Refleksi Pola Kerukunan Umat Beragama, p. 185

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

References

Journals and Books


Bherta Sri, Eko and Hendar Putranto, “The Role of Intercultural Competence and Local Wisdom in Building Intercultural and Inter-religious Tolerance.”

http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
Dalihan Na Tolu as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts

Anwar Sadat Harahap, et.al.
DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.13091

DOI:10.1080/17475759.2019.1639535.


Harahap, Anwar Sadat and Ahmad Lau Hasibuan, “Model of Prevention of Social Conflict which Multi Dimensions Based on Local Wisdom of

http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah
Dalihan Na Tolu as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts

Anwar Sadat Harahap, et.al.
DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.13091


Simatupang, Defri E. “Dalihan na Tolu, a Local Wisdom as Framing of Three Pillars for Sustainability Development at Toba Lake Area,” Kebudayaan 12, no. 2 (2017).


**The Role of Laws**


**Internet Data**


**Interviews**

Interview with Askolani, Mandailing Cultural Man and Historian, March 6, 2022.
Interview with Baginda Hatauton, Mandailing Adat Leader, August 27, 2022.
Interview with Hasmaruddin Siregar, Sipirok Adat Leader, August 13, 2022.
Interview with Mangaraja Tenggar Siregar, Sipirok Culture Man, March 7, 2022.
Interview with Martua Soripada Lubis, Mandailing *Adat* Leader, December 9, 2021.
Interview with Rina Sari Sidabutar, Chairperson of Karang Taruna, Tarutung, Tapanuli Utara Regency, September 26, 2021.
Interview with Sutan Parlindungan Hatorkisan, Padang Bolak *Adat* Leader, August 19, 2022.
Interview with Togu Mulia Harahap, Padang Lawas Utara *Adat* Leader, August 7, 2022.
Interview with Tomson Parningotan Hutasoit, Batak Toba Cultural Man and Historian, March 7, 2022.

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