


## HIERARCHY WITHOUT DOMINATION: DALIHAN NATOLU AS A RELATIONAL MODEL OF JUSTICE AND RELIGIOUS MODERATION AMONG THE BATAK

**Febri Kurnia Manoppo**   
Hoseo University Republic of Korea  
✉ febrimanoppo15@gmail.com

**Jenri Ambarita**   
Hoseo University Republic of Korea  
✉ jenriambarita7@gmail.com

**DOI:**  
<https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v39i1.1082>

**Corresponding Author:**

**Febri Kurnia Manoppo**   
Hoseo University, Republic of Korea  
✉ febrimanoppo15@gmail.com

**Dates:**

Received: April, 29<sup>th</sup> 2026  
Revised: April, 11<sup>th</sup> 2026  
Published: June, 30<sup>th</sup> 2026



This work is licensed under a  
Creative Commons Attribution-  
NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0  
International License.

**Abstract**

*This study examines the paradox of 'dalihan natolu', the Batak kinship system: how a hierarchy based on inherited roles produces egalitarian relationships whilst simultaneously underpinning religious moderation. This paradox is difficult to explain through John Rawls's liberal theory of justice, which is grounded in individualism and the equality of basic freedoms, and thus regards ascriptive hierarchies as the antithesis of justice. Building on Rawls, this study interprets the dalihan natolu through the paradigm of relational justice and the theory of reciprocal exchange, asking: through what mechanisms and within what limits can different roles produce fairness and equality? Data were collected qualitatively through in-depth interviews, participatory observation and audiovisual content analysis. The findings reveal asymmetrical equality: rotating reciprocal obligations counterbalance an advantage in one relationship with a subordinate position in another, preventing hierarchies from solidifying into permanent domination. This mechanism transcends religious divides, whilst leaving gender tensions and the burden of customary obligations unresolved. Dalihan natolu challenges the liberal assumption that ascriptive roles preclude justice, whilst simultaneously promoting inter-religious, kinship-based religious moderation.*

**Keywords:** dalihan natolu; asymmetrical equality; reciprocal justice; indigenous social capital; religious moderation

**Abstrak**

Penelitian ini mengkaji paradoks *dalihan natolu*, sistem kekerabatan Batak: bagaimana hierarki berbasis peran warisan menghasilkan relasi egaliter sekaligus menopang moderasi beragama. Paradoks ini sulit dijelaskan oleh teori keadilan liberal John Rawls, yang bertumpu pada individualisme dan kesetaraan kebebasan dasar sehingga memandang hierarki askriptif sebagai antitesis keadilan. Berpijak pada Rawls, penelitian ini membaca *dalihan natolu* melalui paradigma keadilan relasional dan teori pertukaran timbal balik, menjawab: melalui mekanisme dan batas apa peran yang berbeda dapat menghasilkan kewajaran dan kesetaraan? Data dihimpun secara kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan analisis konten audiovisual. Temuan menunjukkan kesetaraan asimetris: kewajiban timbal balik yang berputar mengimbangi keunggulan dalam satu relasi dengan posisi lebih rendah pada relasi lain, mencegah hierarki mengeras menjadi dominasi permanen. Mekanisme ini melampaui sekat agama, meski menyisakan ketegangan gender dan beban adat. *Dalihan natolu* menantang asumsi liberal bahwa peran askriptif meniadakan keadilan, sekaligus mendorong moderasi beragama berbasis kekerabatan lintas agama.

**Kata Kunci:** *dalihan natolu*; kesetaraan asimetris; keadilan resiprokal; modal sosial lokal; moderasi beragama

## INTRODUCTION

*Dalihan natolu* is a foundational kinship system in Batak society that organizes social relations through three interdependent groups—*hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*. Beyond structuring social hierarchy, it functions as a relational mechanism that sustains balance, reciprocity, cooperation, and social cohesion within the Batak community (Simatupang et al., 2020). Through these interconnected roles, *dalihan natolu* regulates social obligations and reinforces collective responsibility, enabling the maintenance of harmonious relationships across generations.

From an anthropological perspective, *dalihan natolu* may also be situated within broader discussions of kinship and alliance systems. Classical anthropological studies have noted that Batak social organization is structured through enduring reciprocal relationships among kinship groups, particularly between wife-givers and wife-takers (Vergouwen, 1964). In this respect, *dalihan natolu* shares certain structural similarities with Lévi-Strauss's theory of generalized exchange, in which social cohesion is sustained through cyclical patterns of reciprocity among interconnected groups (Strauss, 1969). However, *dalihan natolu* extends beyond marital alliances and exchange relations. Its principles govern broader aspects of social life, including conflict resolution, collective responsibility, moral obligation, and interreligious coexistence. It should therefore be understood not merely as a kinship structure, but as a comprehensive relational system that sustains social equality and communal harmony.

In Indonesia's plural society, *dalihan natolu* is closely associated with the concept of religious moderation, which emphasizes balance, tolerance, mutual respect, and peaceful coexistence amid diversity (Apriani & Aryani, 2022; Kementerian Agama RI, 2019; Steen-Johnsen, 2020). As a cultural institution, it facilitates interaction among individuals from different social and religious backgrounds, thereby contributing to the preservation of social harmony. Previous studies have highlighted its role in fostering religious tolerance, particularly during communal events such as weddings and funerals, where interfaith participation and cooperation are common features of social life (Martial & Asaad, 2016).

*Dalihan natolu* is important for more than just preserving cultural practices. Harahap contends that the method encourages interfaith discussion by encouraging continuous connection across religious groupings, making diversity an accepted and normalised feature of daily social relations (S. M. Harahap & Hamka, 2023). However, as modernisation progresses, the system's survival confronts increasing obstacles. Urbanisation, digital communication, and individualistic attitudes have steadily modified patterns of social interaction, producing tensions between collective responsibility and personal freedoms (Hanan, 2012). These developments raise an important question about *dalihan natolu*'s capacity to persist and adapt in increasingly individualistic, digitally mediated social environments.

From a theoretical standpoint, *dalihan natolu*'s adaptability opens up an intriguing discussion with John Rawls' justice theory. Rawls defines justice as fairness achieved via the equitable allocation of rights, opportunities, and social duties (Dylag, 2023). In contrast, *dalihan natolu* operates through differentiated, asymmetrical social roles, in which rights and obligations vary according to kinship position. At first glance, this hierarchical arrangement appears inconsistent with egalitarian principles. Nevertheless, the persistence of social harmony within Batak society suggests that equality may be achieved through relational reciprocity rather than through uniform treatment. This apparent paradox invites further examination of how a hierarchical social system can generate outcomes that align with principles of social equality and justice.

Beyond liberal ideas of justice, recent political philosophy has emphasised relationship-based approaches to equality. Relational egalitarianism contends that justice should be measured not only by the distribution of resources, but also by the quality of social connections and the lack of individual dominance (Anderson, 1999). Similarly, Walzer's concept of complex equality suggests that justice emerges when social goods are distributed according to the norms governing distinct social spheres rather than through a single universal principle (Martens, 2012). These viewpoints are especially important for comprehending *dalihan natolu* because they move the focus from abstract individual rights to reciprocal obligations, societal acknowledgement, and relational interdependence.

Thus, Rawls is used in this study not as the major theoretical underpinning, but as a contrasting liberal framework against which *dalihan natolu*'s relational logic can be critically scrutinised.

Despite growing scholarly interest in *dalihan natolu*, several important gaps remain. First, existing studies have not adequately integrated *dalihan natolu* with Rawlsian theories of justice. While Martial and Asaad examined its contribution to religious tolerance within traditional ceremonies, their analysis did not address how the system responds to modernization or shifting generational values (Martial & Asaad, 2016). Second, there remains limited analysis of its adaptive transformation in contemporary contexts. Harahap's study primarily presents *dalihan natolu* as a relatively stable cultural structure without examining its dynamic interaction with ongoing social change (A. S. Harahap et al., 2023). Third, empirical discussions of religious moderation have rarely explored the relationship between *dalihan natolu* and social equality within a Rawlsian framework. Although Fitri et al. examined its adaptation to social change, the study did not explicitly analyze how the system produces forms of relational equality that may contribute to religious moderation (Fitri et al., 2023).

This study addresses these gaps by examining *dalihan natolu* as a culturally grounded paradigm of relational justice rather than merely a vehicle for social harmony or religious tolerance. While previous research has explored its roles in conflict resolution, human rights, cultural preservation, and religious moderation, few studies have examined its implications for contemporary political philosophy. Its main contribution is the concept of asymmetrical equality, explaining how different social positions produce egalitarian outcomes through reciprocal obligations, moral accountability, and relational interdependence. The study thus contributes to debates on relational justice and offers an alternative to individual-centred liberal views of equality.

Studying *dalihan natolu* is important not only for understanding the Batak community but also for gaining broader insights into how traditional social institutions adapt to globalisation and social change. By viewing *dalihan natolu* as a dynamic system, this study highlights its continuing role in promoting social harmony, religious moderation, and communal values. It therefore examines how this hierarchical kinship system achieves social equality and religious moderation through relational mechanisms, and how these processes can be critically understood through a Rawlsian framework of justice.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a qualitative descriptive approach to investigate *dalihan natolu* as a framework for social equality and religious tolerance. The study, which ran from July to December 2024, sought to examine how the ideals and behaviours encoded in *dalihan natolu* operate in contemporary societal circumstances. A qualitative methodology was chosen because it allows for a thorough investigation of meanings, social relationships, and cultural practices that quantitative measurement cannot adequately represent.

Data were collected through three complementary methods: in-depth interviews, audiovisual content analysis, and participatory observation. In-depth interviews with traditional leaders, religious figures, and members of the Batak community yielded diverse perspectives on social balance, reciprocity, and interfaith relations. This approach facilitated a deeper understanding of how *dalihan natolu* is interpreted and practiced across different social and religious backgrounds.

Audiovisual recordings were analysed using Qualitative Content Analysis. A total of 12 YouTube films were purposefully chosen using three criteria: relevance to *dalihan natolu* activities, publishing in 2024, and the occurrence of intergroup or interfaith interactions. The analysis used three coding categories: (1) verbal displays of reciprocity, (2) nonverbal cultural gestures like *somba*, and (3) patterns of interfaith interaction. These categories allowed for a systematic analysis of both visual and linguistic representations of social relations in *dalihan natolu*.

To complement interview and audiovisual data, participant observation was conducted at Batak traditional wedding ceremonies. This enabled the researcher to observe the roles of *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*, as well as patterns of cooperation, reciprocity, and interfaith interaction.

These observations provided insight into how *dalihan natolu* functions as a living social institution rather than merely a cultural ideal.

All data were evaluated thematically to discover recurring patterns linked to social equilibrium, relational equality, inclusive engagement, and religious moderation. The analysis attempted to explain how *dalihan natolu* adapts to contemporary societal change while still serving as a mechanism for promoting social cohesiveness and interreligious harmony by combining interview findings, multimedia resources, and field observations.

## RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Meaning of *Dalihan natolu* in Social Equality

*Dalihan natolu* is a foundational principle of Batak society that regulates kinship relations through three interconnected groups: *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*. Rather than functioning solely as a customary symbol, it operates as a social mechanism that promotes balance, mutual respect, reciprocity, and collective responsibility. Although each group occupies a distinct position, these differences do not imply superiority or inferiority. As noted by N. Sianturi (interview on October 27, 2024):

“*Dalihan natolu* functions as a system that ensures balance among *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*. No group is inherently superior or inferior; each holds an essential role, is mutually dependent, and contributes to maintaining social harmony.”

This statement suggests that equality within *dalihan natolu* is expressed through reciprocal obligations and shared dignity rather than through identical social roles.

This principle is evident in decision-making during traditional rites and family affairs. Decisions are reached through discussion among *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*, with each group contributing before consensus is achieved. The researcher observed this at a Batak wedding in 2024, where all three groups participated without any one dominating. The findings show that equality is realised through inclusive participation and reciprocal recognition, despite differences in social roles.

From a theoretical perspective, this pattern differs from Rawls’ conception of equality, grounded in abstract impartiality and the veil of ignorance. In *dalihan natolu*, equality emerges through clearly defined social positions that generate reciprocal rights and obligations. Consequently, social harmony is maintained not by eliminating hierarchy but by ensuring that each role contributes to a balanced system of participation and responsibility.

The same principle is evident in cooperation during weddings, funerals, and other communal activities. Responsibilities are allocated according to customary roles, ensuring no group bears the social burden alone. Although *hula-hula* receives special respect, this status entails obligations towards *boru* and other kin groups, fostering reciprocity rather than domination. Field observations confirmed this arrangement: *boru* prepared ceremonial needs, *dongan tubu* managed logistics and communication, and *hula-hula* provided guidance and blessings. Together, these roles demonstrate a balanced distribution of social responsibilities.

Such findings support the argument that justice within *dalihan natolu* is relational rather than procedural. Fairness is achieved through structured interdependence, where each group fulfills complementary responsibilities while maintaining equal social dignity. In this sense, *dalihan natolu* presents an alternative model of social equality in which asymmetrical roles coexist with inclusive participation, mutual respect, and collective responsibility.

Despite increasing social change and urbanisation, *dalihan natolu* is still relevant in current Batak communities. Observations of Batak wedding rites show that role-sharing, debate, and cooperation continue to govern social interaction even in modern times. As a result, *dalihan natolu* should be regarded as a dynamic social philosophy that maintains social equality, coherence, and communal justice in Batak culture, rather than a cultural tradition.

## The Role of *Dalihan Natolu* in Religious Moderation

*Dalihan natolu* functions not only as a kinship system but also as a cultural framework that promotes religious moderation through balance, reciprocity, and mutual respect. The principles governing the relationships among *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru* encourage individuals to maintain harmonious interactions despite differences in religious affiliation. As explained by N. Sianturi (interview on October 27, 2024):

“*Dalihan natolu* teaches us to maintain balance in all aspects of life, including religious relations. We are taught to respect one another, both among Muslims and Christians.”

This perspective demonstrates that moderation within *dalihan natolu* is rooted in relational ethics, in which social harmony is achieved through reciprocal obligations rather than the suppression of differences.

Field observations further confirmed this principle. During the observed wedding ceremony, Muslim and Christian participants interacted naturally through shared responsibilities, including meal preparation, ritual participation, and event coordination. These interactions occurred without visible tension or exclusion, indicating that participation was shaped not by religious identity but by kinship roles within the *dalihan natolu* structure. This finding suggests that religious moderation is embedded in everyday social practice rather than existing solely as a normative ideal.

The same pattern emerged in interviews with religious leaders from different faith traditions. Silalahi, a Christian leader in North Sumatra, emphasized that *dalihan natolu* encourages communities to transcend religious boundaries in pursuit of peace and social solidarity (interview on November 5, 2024):

“*Dalihan natolu* is not merely a customary principle; it is a way of life that teaches us to respect differences. In our church activities, we often invite Muslim neighbors to participate in celebrations or joint prayers. Despite our differences, we strive to maintain harmony because we believe that every religion teaches love and peace.”

Similarly, Butar-butur, a Muslim religious leader, highlighted the importance of maintaining togetherness despite differences in belief (interview on November 5, 2024):

“*Dalihan natolu* teaches that harmony in society begins with mutual respect. We often engage in joint activities with Christians, both in customary ceremonies and social events. This is not only about working together but also about understanding that differences in belief should not hinder togetherness.”

Despite differing religious perspectives, both sources emphasised the same fundamental principle: kinship and shared societal duties lay the groundwork for interfaith collaboration and peaceful coexistence.

The values of tolerance and respect are further reinforced through customary principles such as *somba marhula-hula*, which emphasizes respect toward the wife’s family and, more broadly, encourages recognition of difference within extended family networks. As Efturi noted (interview on 2024):

“*Somba marhula-hula* means respecting the wife’s male relatives. This applies to all Batak traditions, where respect for the extended family of the wife must be maintained with a spirit of tolerance.”

Likewise, Hutahaean emphasized that *dalihan natolu* extends beyond kinship obligations and serves as a reminder that social harmony depends upon mutual respect across both familial and religious boundaries (Hutahaean, 2024). Observations during the ceremony supported this claim, as family members from different religious backgrounds maintained close communication and shared responsibilities while continuing to respect one another’s religious identities.

The role of family constitutes another important dimension of religious moderation within *dalihan natolu*. Efturi highlighted the significance of *elek marboru*, emphasizing that women contribute to maintaining peace, cooperation, and harmony within family and community life (Efturi, 2024). Pastor B.F expressed similar views. Sihombing and Ustadz M. Nasution (interview

on December 1, 2024 and December 2, 2024), both of whom stressed that respect for religious differences begins within the family and extends into wider social relations (Nasution, 2024; Sihombing, 2024).

“In Batak culture, we are taught to respect one another regardless of religious differences. *Dalihan natolu* is not merely a social system; it is a way of life that sustains family unity. Even in interfaith families, parents teach their children to appreciate and respect different religious practices. This respect begins within the family and extends to the broader community.”

“In Islam, we are taught to maintain good relationships with family and neighbors. In Batak tradition, this is reflected in *dalihan natolu*, where each family member plays a role in maintaining balance and harmony. Even when there are religious differences within the extended family, kinship ties are prioritized over differences in belief. This is how we ensure that harmony is preserved in our communities.”

These views suggest that religious moderation in Batak society is primarily fostered through family-based socialisation rather than religious institutions. Sihombing highlights *dalihan natolu* as a cultural framework that teaches respect for religious diversity in everyday life. His emphasis on interfaith families shows that tolerance is nurtured not only in public but also within the home through continual exposure to different religious practices and values. The family thus becomes the primary setting in which individuals learn to respect religious differences while maintaining strong kinship ties.

Nasution’s perspective reinforces this argument by illustrating how *dalihan natolu* prioritizes kinship obligations over religious distinctions. Rather than allowing differences in belief to become a source of social division, the system encourages family members to maintain cooperation, communication, and mutual support across religious boundaries. This relational orientation enables individuals to preserve their religious identities while simultaneously fulfilling broader familial responsibilities. Consequently, social harmony is sustained not by eliminating religious differences but by cultivating reciprocal obligations that transcend them.

A significant finding is that kinship identity often functions as a cross-cutting identity that transcends religious boundaries. In customary events, Muslim and Christian members frequently prioritise shared clan affiliation (*marga*) and familial obligations over theological differences. Social cohesion is thus sustained not only through tolerance or interfaith dialogue, but also through enduring kinship ties. *Dalihan natolu* accommodates religious diversity within a broader framework of shared identity and responsibility, helping to explain the persistence of interfaith cooperation despite potential religious divisions.

*Dalihan natolu* explains how local wisdom can serve as a solid foundation for religious moderation. Instead of pushing people to forsake their religious identities, the system establishes a relational framework that promotes cooperation, conversation, and mutual acknowledgement. This study reinforces earlier research that highlight the relevance of local wisdom in building societal cohesion and interfaith tolerance (Abdurrazak et al., 2022; Zaman et al., 2024). Consequently, *dalihan natolu* may be understood as a living cultural mechanism that sustains religious moderation through kinship, reciprocity, and collective responsibility within contemporary Batak society.

### **Application in Ceremonies and Traditions**

*Dalihan natolu* is most visibly expressed through Batak traditional ceremonies, particularly weddings and customary feasts, where the principles of *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru* are translated into concrete social practices. Each group performs distinct responsibilities that contribute to the successful implementation of the ceremony while reinforcing collective solidarity. As explained by Bapa Sopar Hutahaeon (interview on October 25, 2024):

“*Dalihan natolu* is implemented in customary ceremonies, especially in major events such as traditional feasts. Each role is clearly defined: *mardongan tubu*, *somba marhula-hula*, and *elek marboru* work together to ensure the smooth execution of the event”.

This statement demonstrates that social order within Batak ceremonies is maintained through structured cooperation and mutual responsibility rather than centralized authority. Although roles differ according to customary status, each group contributes to a shared objective, thereby balancing responsibility, participation, and collective accountability.

Field observations during a Batak wedding ritual confirmed this pattern. The *hula-hula* opened the ceremony with blessings and guidance, the *dongan tubu* managed activities and communication, and the *boru* handled practical and ritual preparations. These roles were performed collaboratively, showing that the ceremony relied on the contributions of all kinship groups rather than any single actor. This illustrates how *dalihan natolu* transforms distinct social roles into an interdependent system that promotes cooperation and collective responsibility.

The ceremony also provided an opportunity for interfaith interaction. Muslim and Christian family members participated without distinction based on religious affiliation, with involvement determined by kinship responsibilities within the *dalihan natolu* structure. Individuals from different religious backgrounds worked together in planning, ceremonial preparations, and ritual proceedings while respecting religious differences. These findings suggest that *dalihan natolu* functions as a practical mechanism for fostering interfaith cooperation in everyday social life.

The role of *dalihan natolu* in fostering inclusive participation is further reinforced by the perspective of Simanihuruk, Director of Christian Community Guidance Education (interview on December 3, 2024):

“*Dalihan natolu* is not merely a family principle but a philosophy of life that transcends religious boundaries. It promotes respect for diversity and fosters harmony between Christian and Muslim communities. These values are passed on to younger generations as a foundation for peaceful coexistence in both family and religious life.”

Simanihuruk's message highlights *dalihan natolu*'s broader social function beyond ceremonial participation. While field observations demonstrate interfaith cooperation in customary rituals, his perspective emphasises its role as a long-term cultural mechanism for transmitting respect, diversity, and peaceful coexistence across generations. *Dalihan natolu* thus functions not only as a kinship structure but also as a moral framework that shapes attitudes towards religious diversity and promotes interreligious understanding in Batak society.

From a theoretical perspective, these findings challenge the view that social equality requires the elimination of hierarchy. While Rawls defines justice in terms of impartiality and equal basic rights, *dalihan natolu* suggests that equality can also emerge through distinct yet complementary social responsibilities. Participation is based not on identical roles but on the recognition that each role contributes to the common good. Ceremonial rituals thus become expressions of relational equality, where fairness is achieved through reciprocity, cooperation, and mutual dependence rather than the absence of hierarchy.

Beyond their cultural significance, Batak traditional rites function as social institutions that transmit values of tolerance, inclusion, and communal responsibility across generations. By integrating customary obligations with everyday social interaction, *dalihan natolu* strengthens social cohesion and religious moderation in contemporary Batak society. The findings show that cultural traditions remain relevant not by resisting change, but by adapting while preserving the ethical values that sustain communal life.

### **Clan Identity as a Cross-Cutting Religious Bond**

This study's most noteworthy finding is that kinship identity typically serves as a cross-cutting social identity that crosses religious borders. Participants from both Muslim and Christian backgrounds emphasised that clan loyalty (*marga*) and kinship obligations are important even when religious beliefs diverge. Many customary practices include people interacting primarily as members of interwoven kinship networks rather than as representatives of specific religious communities.

This research implies that social cohesion is perpetuated not only via theological tolerance or formal interfaith discussion, but also through long-term relational relationships ingrained in the kinship system. *Dalihan natolu*'s social commitments provide several chances for cooperation,

mutual help, and interreligious engagement. As a result, religious distinctions are incorporated into a larger framework of shared identity and mutual responsibility.

From a broader analytical standpoint, clan identity serves as a cross-cutting social fracture, reducing the likelihood of rigid religious polarisation. Rather than removing religious distinctions, *dalihan natolu* offers a relational paradigm for accommodating those differences while preserving social cohesiveness. This mechanism contributes to the resilience of interfaith collaboration in many Batak communities in the face of growing religious diversity.

### **Adaptation of *Dalihan Natolu* Values in a Broader Social Context**

*Dalihan natolu*'s continued presence in modern society indicates its ability to adapt to changing social conditions while maintaining its core beliefs. Although the system emerged from a traditional kinship structure, its principles continue to influence social ties in increasingly diversified, urban, and multicultural settings. This adaptability is especially important in the context of modernisation, when individualism, social mobility, and new patterns of interaction frequently threaten traditional forms of social structure.

Several informants emphasized that the continued relevance of *dalihan natolu* lies not in preserving its external forms but in maintaining its underlying values. Siboro explained that contemporary social relationships are no longer determined exclusively by clan affiliation or lineage (interview on September 5, 2024):

“Historically, family position and clan duties dominated crucial decision-making. However, many people nowadays, particularly younger generations, prioritise personal qualities and interpersonal relationships over clan or genealogy. In a more diversified and complex social environment, individual positions and connections are no longer dictated only by clan or descent.”

Siboro emphasised, however, that despite these changes, concepts such as cooperation, respect, and the preservation of family dignity continue to define social interaction. This shows that adaptation occurs not by discarding tradition, but by reinterpreting cultural values in new social situations. Efturi had a similar viewpoint, claiming that *dalihan natolu* has expanded beyond its basic function as a family system and now functions as a broader societal philosophy (interview on 2024):

“*Dalihan natolu* is not just a customary rule for the Batak family; it has become our way of living in the community. For instance, even in modernized large events like weddings, the principles of Somba Marhula-Hula and Mardongan Tubu are still observed. We honour our elders and give proper respect to the wife’s family. It is a form of adaptation that endures despite changes.”

This statement illustrates that *Dalihan natolu*'s adaptation does not eliminate customary obligations but extends their application beyond traditional family settings. Values such as respect, reciprocity, and collective responsibility remain influential even in increasingly heterogeneous social environments.

Field observations of Batak wedding ceremonies in metropolitan settings, particularly Jakarta and Surabaya, support this interpretation. Certain symbolic practices had changed; for example, traditional ulos exchanges were sometimes replaced by monetary gifts or household items. However, the core structure of *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru* remained intact, with each group continuing to perform its traditional role. These findings suggest that adaptation affects the form of cultural expression more than the underlying principles of the *dalihan natolu* system.

The same tendency appears in the experience shared by Simanjuntak (interview on November 2, 2024):

“When I got married, I still vividly remember that everyone attended in traditional attire, bringing *ulos* as part of the customary practice. Today, however, many of my peers tend to give money or household items instead. Despite these changes, we continue to uphold the values of *dalihan natolu*, albeit in a simpler form.”

Simanjuntak's reflection highlights an important distinction between cultural symbols and cultural principles. While ceremonial forms may change in response to practical considerations and contemporary lifestyles, the values of kinship, mutual respect, and social responsibility remain central to Batak social life. Consequently, modernization should not be understood as a process of cultural erosion but rather as one through which traditional values are reinterpreted and sustained under new social conditions.

From a broader analytical perspective, these findings show that *dalihan natolu* is a dynamic rather than static system. Its resilience lies in maintaining core normative values while allowing flexibility in practice. This adaptability enables it to promote social cohesion, religious moderation, and communal identity in increasingly pluralistic and modern societies. Rather than resisting change, *dalihan natolu* incorporates social transformation into its existing framework, preserving its relevance across generations.

### **Social Equality in *Dalihan Natolu***

The findings indicate that *dalihan natolu* promotes a form of social equality grounded in reciprocity, mutual obligation, and relational balance among *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*. Although these groups occupy different social positions, the system does not assign unequal human worth. Instead, it distributes rights, responsibilities, and moral obligations across interconnected kinship roles, creating a framework in which social harmony is maintained through structured interdependence rather than through uniform status.

When considered through the lens of John Rawls' theory of justice, this pattern raises significant theoretical concerns. Rawls conceptualises justice as fairness through principles formulated behind a "veil of ignorance," where individuals do not know their future social situations and hence adopt arrangements that ensure equal basic rights (Dylag, 2023). *Dalihan natolu* operates with a completely distinct logic. Social identities are not hidden or suspended; rather, they are explicitly recognised and integrated into the social system. *Hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*'s positions are clearly defined and publicly acknowledged, implying a type of hierarchy that appears to be incompatible with egalitarian values.

However, empirical studies show that hierarchy within *dalihan natolu* is not a mechanism of domination. Social status is accompanied by reciprocal obligations, preventing power from concentrating in any one group. This reflects asymmetrical equality, where positions differ but dignity, moral worth, and social participation are equally recognised. Although the *hula-hula* holds a respected status, it is bound by the principle of *elek marboru*, which requires care, protection, and responsibility towards the *boru*. Authority is therefore balanced by obligation, and rank constrained by ethical accountability (S. M. Harahap & Hamka, 2023).

The concept of asymmetrical equality proposed in this study differs from Walzer's notion of complex equality. Walzer argues that justice is maintained when different social goods are distributed according to the norms of distinct social spheres, preventing domination across spheres. By contrast, asymmetrical equality refers to equality produced within a single relational system through differentiated social roles. Equality emerges not because social positions are identical, but because reciprocal obligations continuously balance authority, responsibility, and social recognition among unequal positions. In this sense, *dalihan natolu* demonstrates how hierarchy can coexist with equality when power is constrained by mutual dependence and ethical accountability.

From a Rawlsian perspective, this arrangement partially converges with the Difference Principle, which permits inequality only when it benefits those in less advantageous positions. The privileged status of the *hula-hula* is socially legitimized because it carries obligations that provide support, guidance, and symbolic recognition to other members of the kinship network. In this respect, inequality is justified not by inherited privilege alone but by the expectation that authority serves collective well-being. Nevertheless, an important distinction remains. Whereas Rawls seeks justice through abstract impartiality, *dalihan natolu* achieves fairness through relational obligations embedded within socially recognized identities.

The findings suggest that *dalihan natolu* offers an alternative conception of social equality that complements, rather than simply replicates, liberal theories of justice. Equality is not achieved

through the elimination of hierarchy but through the maintenance of balanced relationships among differentiated social roles. This relational model demonstrates that fairness can emerge from reciprocal interdependence, where each group contributes to the collective good while retaining equal moral significance within the social order.

### **Beyond Idealization: Patriarchal Critique and Negotiated Agency**

While *dalihan natolu* is well-known for encouraging social harmony, reciprocity, and community responsibility, it should not be seen as a totally egalitarian or unproblematic system. A critical examination reveals that its hierarchical structure has historically been linked to patriarchal structures of authority, particularly in terms of gender roles within kinship and marital arrangements. Several academics suggest that women have frequently inhabited roles that are symbolically valued but institutionally confined, limiting their participation in decision-making processes and supporting male-centered authority within customary institutions (Djainudin, 2022; Güner & Sandal, 2022).

This critique is especially important when considering social equality. If equality is defined purely in terms of reciprocal obligations among family groupings, significant problems remain about whether those obligations are dispersed equitably across gender lines. In traditional customs, women were frequently positioned as familial mediators and emblems of family honour. However, female ability to influence customary judgements has frequently been more limited than that of male actors. As a result, the idea of reciprocity does not ensure gender justice, and assertions of equality within *dalihan natolu* must be qualified.

Nonetheless, the outcomes of this study indicate that *dalihan natolu* should not be viewed as a static cultural structure. Contemporary societal developments have given women new opportunity to renegotiate their status within traditional frameworks. The concept of negotiated agency provides an excellent framework for comprehending this process. Rather than abandoning tradition entirely, women increasingly reinterpret traditional norms while engaging in education, professional work, and public life (Adlit & Martinez, 2023; Tagalog, 2023). Through these processes, they exercise agency from within the cultural system itself rather than solely in opposition to it.

This shift demonstrates that agency and tradition are not inherently opposed. As women get greater access to social, educational, and economic resources, they are more likely to participate in family discussions, influence decision-making processes, and contribute to the reinterpretation of traditional norms. Such developments indicate *dalihan natolu*'s internal adaptability, allowing traditional ideals to coexist with changing understandings of gender relations.

From a theoretical perspective, these findings challenge simplistic views of tradition and equality. They undermine idealised portrayals of *dalihan natolu* as wholly equitable while showing that cultural traditions are not inherently resistant to change. Instead, equality emerges through the ongoing negotiation between inherited social institutions and modern demands for inclusion and participation. The expanding role of women in *dalihan natolu* thus reflects a broader process of adaptation that preserves its relational foundations.

### **Modern Transformation: Techno-Pragmatic Adaptation**

One of the most important conclusions of this study is *Dalihan natolu*'s ability to adapt to modern social transformations while maintaining its essential principles. Rather than acting as a solid cultural structure, *dalihan natolu* is highly adaptable to changing economic conditions, urban lifestyles, and change social interaction patterns. This adaptive capacity explains why it remains relevant in modern Batak communities despite increased challenges from individuality, mobility, and globalisation.

The findings show that cultural continuity is maintained by preserving core values rather than every traditional practice in its original form. This techno-pragmatic adaptation allows cultural expressions to change with practical realities while retaining their symbolic and social significance. In modern urban settings, for example, traditional ulo exchanges may be supplemented or replaced by money or household goods, yet the underlying principles of reciprocity, mutual support, and social obligation remain intact.

This interpretation questions the notion that cultural change is synonymous with cultural decline. The substitution of symbolic items for more practical forms of interaction does not always undermine *dalihan natolu*. Instead, it enables people to continue engaging in traditional activities while operating within current economic and social limitations. Cultural adaptability becomes a tactic for inclusion rather than a sign of decline. Through such changes, the system maintains its relationship functions while supporting modern lifestyles.

A similar trend can be seen in Huda, Pasaribu, and Fitri's research into the *Naposo Nauli Bulung* tradition in South Tapanuli. Their findings show that local wedding traditions continue to foster social cohesion and perpetuate cultural values while experiencing problems connected with economic strain and social change (Huda et al., 2025). The authors argue that cultural preservation must be accompanied by adaptive reforms that reduce exclusion and ensure broader participation. This perspective supports the present findings by suggesting that the sustainability of local traditions depends upon their capacity to balance cultural continuity with socioeconomic realities.

The adaptive character of local traditions is also reflected in Faturahman and Berakon's analysis of the *Bettulak* ritual in Central Lombok. Their study shows that the revitalization of *Bettulak* after decades of dormancy became a means of reproducing collective identity while simultaneously creating space for negotiation between tradition and modernity (Faturahman & Izra Berakon, 2025). Similar dynamics can be observed in *dalihan natolu*, where adaptation does not signify the abandonment of tradition but rather its reinterpretation in response to changing social conditions.

Taken together, these findings suggest that *dalihan natolu's* resilience lies in its ability to distinguish between cultural form and cultural meaning. While external practices may evolve, the principles of reciprocity, mutual responsibility, and social solidarity continue to guide community life. Consequently, *dalihan natolu* should be understood not as a static inheritance from the past but as a dynamic cultural system capable of sustaining relevance through continuous adaptation. Its survival in contemporary society is therefore rooted not in resistance to change, but in its capacity to transform while preserving its relational foundations.

### **Toward a Global Framework of Relational Justice**

The preceding analysis suggests that *dalihan natolu* offers a conception of justice that differs from dominant liberal traditions. Rather than locating justice primarily in the distribution of rights, opportunities, or resources, *dalihan natolu* emphasizes the quality of relationships, reciprocal obligations, and collective well-being. Social order is maintained through interdependence among *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu*, and *boru*, while fairness emerges from the balanced fulfillment of social responsibilities. This perspective points toward a framework of *relational justice*, in which justice is realized through ethical relationships rather than through individual autonomy alone.

This interpretation extends the dialogue with Rawls beyond the question of equality. While Rawls provides a powerful model for evaluating distributive fairness, this study's findings indicate that justice may also be grounded in culturally embedded systems of reciprocity and mutual obligation. In this regard, *dalihan natolu* contributes an alternative perspective in which social cohesion and moral responsibility constitute essential dimensions of justice. Rather than replacing liberal theories, relational approaches broaden the analytical lens through which justice can be understood in diverse cultural contexts.

The relevance of this perspective becomes more apparent when *dalihan natolu* is viewed alongside other relational traditions worldwide. The Korean concept of *Jeong* emphasizes emotional bonds, empathy, and enduring interpersonal connections as the basis of social cohesion (Chung & Cho, 2006; Park, 2020). Similarly, *Hongik Ingan* promotes the ethical principle that human actions should contribute to the welfare of all members of society (Bae, 2021; Lim, 2022). In the Philippines, *Bayanihan* reflects a tradition of communal cooperation and shared responsibility, prioritizing collective action over individual interests (Adlit & Martinez, 2023; Soriano et al., 2021). Although these traditions emerge from distinct historical and cultural settings, they share a common emphasis on reciprocity, social interconnectedness, and collective well-being.

A comparable orientation can also be found in African philosophy, particularly in *Ubuntu*, often expressed through the principle "I am because we are." Ubuntu conceptualizes personhood as

inseparable from community, emphasizing mutual care, solidarity, and moral interdependence (Abubakre et al., 2021; Mugumbate et al., 2024). Like *Dalihan natolu*, Ubuntu rejects purely individualistic understandings of social life and instead situates human flourishing within networks of relationships and shared responsibilities. The convergence of these traditions suggests that relational conceptions of justice are not isolated cultural phenomena but represent a broader intellectual pattern that appears across diverse societies.

Viewed from this perspective, *dalihan natolu* contributes to a growing global discourse that challenges the dominance of exclusively individual-centered theories of justice. Its emphasis on reciprocity, obligation, and collective responsibility demonstrates that social equality can be achieved through relational structures without requiring the elimination of social differentiation. Consequently, *dalihan natolu* should be understood not only as a local wisdom tradition but also as part of a wider conversation about how communities construct justice, solidarity, and social cohesion in culturally diverse contexts.

This comparative research emphasises the importance of incorporating indigenous knowledge systems into contemporary social theory. By putting *dalihan natolu* in conversation with Rawls, Ubuntu, Jeong, Hongik Ingan, and Bayanihan, the study reveals how local traditions can offer theoretical insights that improve global discussions on justice. As a result, it leads to a more heterogeneous and culturally inclusive conception of social order, one that acknowledges reciprocity, interdependence, and moral obligation as basic elements of human interaction.

### **Implications for Religious Moderation and Social Cohesion**

The findings show that *dalihan natolu* is more than just a kinship system; it is a culturally rooted mechanism that promotes religious tolerance and social cohesiveness in a pluralistic society. The system's emphasis on reciprocity, balance, and communal responsibility fosters social conditions that encourage collaboration across religious boundaries while limiting the possibility of exclusion and conflict. Rather of seeing religious differences as impediments to social contact, *dalihan natolu* integrates variety into a shared framework of responsibility and respect. This finding is consistent with earlier studies indicating that *dalihan natolu* has long acted as a cultural resource for fostering harmonious interreligious relations within Batak communities (S. M. Harahap & Hamka, 2023).

This is particularly evident in Indonesia, where religious moderation has become a key strategy for maintaining social cohesion amid increasing cultural and theological diversity. Empirical findings show that interfaith cooperation within Batak communities is largely practised through everyday social interactions rooted in kinship networks and customary traditions rather than formal institutions. Weddings, funerals, and other communal events enable people of different faiths to interact, cooperate, and reinforce shared commitments, making religious moderation a lived social reality rather than merely a normative ideal.

Other studies of Indonesian local traditions corroborate the finding's larger importance. Faturahman and Berakon's examination of the Suronan tradition in Ngawonggo Village shows that local rituals foster camaraderie, collective contemplation, spiritual awareness, and social cohesion (Faturahman & Izra Berakon, 2025). Similarly, research on the Al-Mandari community reveals that locally grounded religious practices integrate spiritual, cultural, and social dimensions in ways that reinforce communal harmony, moral education, and collective responsibility (Muhammad Ikhsan Saidung et al., 2025). These studies, together with the present findings, suggest that local wisdom traditions continue to play an important role in sustaining peaceful coexistence within diverse societies.

*Dalihan natolu's* theoretical work demonstrates how religious moderation can evolve through relational rather than solely institutional methods. Its structure promotes people to establish social contacts across denominational lines while retaining their own faith identities. This study supports prior ideas that local cultural systems can operate as effective vehicles for promoting tolerance, lowering social tensions, and fostering nonviolent cohabitation (Djainudin, 2022; Güner & Sandal, 2022). Rather than relying solely on formal dialogue programs or state-led initiatives, *dalihan natolu* cultivates moderation through everyday interaction, reciprocal obligations, and shared participation in communal life.

This study's consequences transcend beyond Batak society. *Dalihan natolu* explains how indigenous cultural frameworks can help to shape current discourses on social cohesiveness, conflict resolution, and interreligious coexistence. The system presents a locally grounded model of religious moderation that remains relevant in an increasingly linked and diverse world by incorporating ideals such as reciprocity, mutual respect, and communal responsibility into social practice. *Dalihan natolu* should be viewed not only as a cultural legacy, but also as a living social institution that continues to create practical resources for maintaining harmony in varied society.

## **CONCLUSION**

This study demonstrates that *dalihan natolu* functions as a relational cultural framework that reconciles hierarchical social structures with egalitarian social outcomes. Through reciprocal obligations, moral responsibilities, and relational ethics, the system embodies a form of asymmetrical equality in which differentiated social roles coexist with equal social dignity. While partially aligned with Rawls' Difference Principle, *dalihan natolu* departs from liberal notions of abstract individual equality by grounding justice in culturally embedded relationships and shared responsibilities.

The findings suggest that *dalihan natolu* continues to support peaceful coexistence within contemporary Batak communities, including contexts in which individuals of different religious traditions remain connected through enduring kinship networks and shared customary obligations. Its resilience lies in its adaptive capacity, enabling its core values of reciprocity, mutual respect, and collective responsibility to remain relevant despite modernization, urbanization, and changing social conditions.

These findings have important policy implications. The Ministry of Religious Affairs, local governments, and interfaith organisations should integrate local wisdom such as *dalihan natolu* into religious moderation programmes through community education, training for religious extension officers, and stronger interfaith forums involving customary and religious leaders. Educational institutions should also develop culturally relevant learning materials that promote relational ethics, tolerance, civic responsibility, and appreciation of diversity. Such measures can strengthen social resilience and support policies aimed at maintaining harmony in culturally and religiously diverse contexts.

This study is limited to selected Batak communities and relies primarily on qualitative data. Future research should explore urban–rural variations, women's negotiated agency, youth perspectives, and comparative analyses with other relational traditions such as Jeong, Bayanihan, and Ubuntu. Overall, *dalihan natolu* should be understood not merely as a kinship system but as a dynamic model of relational justice that offers both theoretical contributions to global debates on justice and practical resources for advancing social equality, religious moderation, and communal resilience in contemporary society.

## REFERENCES

- Abdurrazak, Azhari, S., Wanda, P., Ambakti, L. S., & Humamurrizqi. (2022). Religious Tolerance Based On Local Wisdom: Social Perspective Of Lombok Community. *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 20(1). <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v20i1.1027>
- Abubakre, M., Faik, I., & Mkansi, M. (2021). Digital entrepreneurship and indigenous value systems: An Ubuntu perspective. *Information Systems Journal*, 31(6). <https://doi.org/10.1111/isj.12343>
- Adlit, M. F., & Martinez, M. R. (2023). Reliving the Bayanihan Spirit: SPRCNHS Landayan Annex Narratives in the New Normal. *Puissant*, 4.
- Anderson, E. S. (1999). What is the point of equality? *Ethics*, 109(2). <https://doi.org/10.1086/233897>
- Apriani, N. W., & Aryani, N. K. (2022). Moderasi Beragama: Moderasi Beragama dalam Geguritan Dharma Sunyata. *Kalangwan Jurnal Pendidikan Agama, Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 12(1), 34–45.
- Bae, Y. K. (2021). Globalization of Hongik Ingan (Devotion to the Welfare of Mankind) Thought. *Korean Thought and Culture*, 104. <https://doi.org/10.31037/ktac.104.2>
- Chung, C. K., & Cho, S. J. (2006). Conceptualization of jeong and dynamics of hwabyung. In *Psychiatry Investigation* (Vol. 3, Issue 1).
- Djainudin, H. (2022). The conception of religious moderation in interfaith dialogue in Indonesia; Case study in Flores Nusa Tenggara Timur. *Humanika*, 22(2). <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v22i2.54304>
- Dylag, M. (2023). Theorizing Access to Civil Justice. *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*, 36(1). <https://doi.org/10.1017/cjlj.2022.29>
- Efturi. (2024). *Batak Cultural Social Media Activist, Live Interview, Interview, November 11*.
- Faturahman, M., & Izra Berakon. (2025). Local Indonesian Traditions And The Enhancement of Social Spirituality in Rural Communities. *Penamas*, 38(2). <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v38i2.997>
- Fitri, A., Isjoni, & Bunari. (2023). Penerapan Filosofi Adat *Dalihan natolu* dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Batak Toba di Kecamatan Pinggir Kabupaten Bengkalis. *JISHUM : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 1(3). <https://doi.org/10.57248/jishum.v1i3.110>
- Güner, S., & Sandal, N. A. (2022). The Role of Informational Asymmetry in Interfaith Communication During Conflict: A Game Theoretical Approach. *International Journal of Religion*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.33182/ijor.v3i1.1585>
- Hanan, H. (2012). Modernization and Cultural Transformation: The Expansion of Traditional Batak Toba House in Huta Siallagan. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 50. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.08.082>
- Harahap, A. S., Mulyono, H., Nuzul, Milhan, M., & Siregar, T. (2023). *Dalihan Na Tolu* as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts in North Sumatera: An Anthropological and Sociological Perspective. *Samarah*, 7(3). <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v7i3.13091>
- Harahap, S. M., & Hamka, H. (2023). Investigating the roles of philosophy, culture, language and Islam in Angkola's local wisdom of 'Dalihan Na Tolu.' *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 79(1). <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v79i1.8164>
- Huda, M. I., Pasaribu, I. L., & Fitri, A. (2025). Community Paradigm Toward the Naposo Nauli Bulung Tradition at Weddings: a Paradox Between Preserving Tradition and Economic Constraints. *Penamas*, 38(1). <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v38i1.892>
- Hutahaean, S. (2024). *Maranggap tradition in Batak funeral customs (Personal interview)*.
- Kementerian Agama RI. (2019). *Moderasi Beragama*. Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI.

- Lim, K. (2022). Exploring the Realization Direction of Korean Reunification Policy based on the Modern Application of Hongik-Ingan Ideas. *Barun Academy of History*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.55793/jkhc.2022.10.119>
- Martens, K. (2012). Justice in transport as justice in accessibility: Applying Walzer's "Spheres of Justice" to the transport sector. *Transportation*, 39(6). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11116-012-9388-7>
- Martial, T., & Asaad, M. (2016). The land and tree tenure-based *Dalihan natolu* customs for tree management in South Tapanuli, North Sumatra. *International Journal on Advanced Science, Engineering and Information Technology*, 6(2). <https://doi.org/10.18517/ijaseit.6.2.696>
- Mugumbate, J. R., Mupedziswa, R., Twikirize, J. M., Mthethwa, E., Desta, A. A., & Oyinlola, O. (2024). Understanding Ubuntu and its contribution to social work education in Africa and other regions of the world. *Social Work Education*, 43(4). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2023.2168638>
- Muhammad Ikhsan Saidung, Riza Muhammad, & Salsabila, F. (2025). Identity and Local Religious Tradition Of The Al-Mandari Community: A Study Of Tarekat The Annangguru Sayye' Daengna Ma'rufi Al-Mandari. *Penamas*, 38(2). <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v38i2.1008>
- Nasution. (2024). *Batak Muslim religious leader, Live Interview, Desember 2*.
- Park, S. K. (2020). Jeong: A practical theology of postcolonial interfaith relations. *Religions*, 11(10). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11100515>
- Sihombing. (2024). *Batak Christian religious leader, Live Interview, Interview Desember 1*.
- Simatupang, M. S., Peter, R., & Murniarti, E. (2020). The Kinship of "Dalihan Na Tolu" of Batak Culture in Indonesia. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, 17(4).
- Soriano, C. R., Cabalquinto, E. C., & Panaligan, J. H. (2021). Performing "digital labor bayanihan": strategies of influence and survival in the platform economy. *Sociologias*, 23(57). <https://doi.org/10.1590/15174522-113027>
- Steen-Johnsen, T. (2020). The rhetoric of love in religious peacebuilding. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 35(3). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2020.1810972>
- Strauss, C. L. (1969). *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (13th ed.). Beacon Press.
- Tagalog, B. (2023). Bayanihan. In *Beginning Tagalog*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.7994688.9>
- Vergouwen, J. C. (1964). The Social Organisation and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra. In *The Social Organisation and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-1035-6>
- Zaman, M. B., Mawardi, I., & Muna, M. Y. (2024). Local Wisdom For Peacebuilding In Java : An Analysis Of Religious Moderation In Shodiq Hamzah ' S Tafsir Al-Bayān. 22(2), 455–482.