



## DEVELOPMENT POLITICS OF *DALIHAN NA TOLU* IN THE SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE OF BATAK ANGKOLA PEOPLE

Suheri Harahap<sup>1</sup>, Muhammad Alfikri<sup>2</sup>

Faculty of Social Science, Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara<sup>12</sup>

[suheri.harahap13@gmail.com](mailto:suheri.harahap13@gmail.com)<sup>1</sup>, [muhammadalfikri@uinsu.ac.id](mailto:muhammadalfikri@uinsu.ac.id)<sup>2</sup>

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### Abstract

This study aims to describe the development politics of Dalihan Na Tolu in the social perspective of the Angkola Batak indigenous people. Humanist political philosophy in South Tapanuli is very basic to be used as motivation for the younger generation because the beginnings of politics stem from various views on the meaning of power and how life situations are in various countries, as well as the times. This study uses a descriptive qualitative research method. Data collection was carried out by literature study, observation, document analysis, and interviews. The results of the study show that South Tapanulis is an area where the Islamic religion and Angkola culture are very strong with the kinship system "dalihan na tolu". Dalihan Na Tolu's local cultural conception with the view of life of noble ancestors in the social order of living together, working together, shoulder to shoulder, rap tu ginjang (rising to the highest level/peak of success), rap tu toru (failure/falling together -sama), marsipature junglea be (to build their own hometown). Humanist political philosophy in South Tapanuli is very important to be used as motivation for the younger generation, because the beginnings of politics stem from various views on the meaning of power and how the situation of life is in various countries and so is the development of the times. Politics is the way the existing society sees itself in managing its life so that it is better. South Tapanulis is an area that has a very strong Islamic religion and Angkola cultural customs with a kinship system "dalihan na tolu". It is an undeniable fact that the political tradition that has often been practiced so far in seizing power is by relying on the power of capital (hepeng) or in the form of praxis by using the 'dawn attack' strategy (Money politic). It is this kind of democratic character that we will fight against. Can people who have strong religion and customs fight the power of capital? It is time for direct local elections to be able to change the paradigm of people's thinking from capital-oriented to cultural-oriented, towards a strong civilization. This spirit is a challenge for the sons and daughters of South Tapanuli who want to share their views with the conception of a culture of political resistance "marsialap ari" as a conception of local culture with the view of life of noble ancestors in a social order living together, working together, shoulder to shoulder, rap tu ginjang (rising to the highest level/peak of success), rap tu toru (failure/falling together), marsipature junglea be (building each other's hometown).

**Key words:** *Politics, Dalihan Na Tolu, Angkola, local wisdom*

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\*Corresponding author:  
[suheri.harahap13@gmail.com](mailto:suheri.harahap13@gmail.com)

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## INTRODUCTION

South Tapanuli as an area in the North Sumatra region that has the Angkola cultural identity, is considered to have a territorial area which should also have a strong cultural (local identity) area, however it is often called the area of this local identity which is very pragmatic so it is very easy to weaken with the power of money in battle politics (borrowing Gus Dur's term, defending those who pay) (Fikri & Hasudungan, 2022). So that political actors are very easy to control society that is instant. This is one of the common tasks to change the paradigm of thinking that must be hacked and strengthened again the spirit of collectivity based on positive primordial sentiments, not just a political tool to gain power.

Humanist political philosophy in South Tapanuli is very important to be used as motivation for the younger generation, because the beginnings of politics stem from various views on the meaning of power and how the situation of life is in various countries and so is the development of the times. Politics is the way the existing society sees itself in managing its life so that it is better. Albert Einstein called science without religion blind, religion without science is lame. In Islam knowledge is light, knowledge is a tool to rule the world, the Qur'an encourages the human spirit to use reason. You can study even in China. Mastering science (science and technology) is what must be the struggle of society. South Tapanuli must have community progress that is strong in religion (clean monotheism, money (objects) is not the purpose of life including politics. The people of South Tapanuli must be smart, love knowledge (with knowledge they change their lives including their natural resources).

South Tapanuli in the future (if now we have to pay for politics and then vote, it might be caused by the low development of knowledge in an area, look at countries with advanced science such as America, Germany, Iran, Malaysia and others, of course their civilization must be more advanced, surely their people (citizens) vote with the hope for the progress of their country and their economic awakening. Whereas in South Tapanuli, it is necessary to work hard to change the mindset, new ways of thinking of the young people. Political dynamics continue to develop, and expert discoveries about the

importance of knowledge are what make our politics in Tapanuli The South can change in the future. This is where we, as the younger generation, the owners of the region, the next generation, question the political process in a democratic local election which is only held once in 5 years.

What should we ask as the people of South Tapanuli, namely who will lead us? Are we a developed area, and why are there still poor people? What is the duty of the regional government (the entire apparatus of the state bureaucracy), then what are the rights and obligations of its citizens? Why do we claim our land? Is there any land seized by the company? Why do we need to live in harmony and peace and so on. This is a way of questioning the concept of political philosophy for the people of South Tapanuli so that they can rise up and leave behind the terms 'hepeng do na mangatur sude' (money rules everything), 'adong hepeng na ta choose' (we just choose where there is money). The term South Tapanuli 'never finished' must be removed.

Even though this local election is a momentum to determine answers to basic/essential/ philosophical/ fundamental/essential/ future essence questions for the people of South Tapanuli. The people are just, free and sovereign. If irregularities and inappropriate methods are found in the field by unscrupulous bureaucratic officials, state officials and election organizers, it is the community's job to rectify and fix them. Don't be pessimistic and the white group (abstentions).

Simultaneous elections The 2019 legislative and presidential elections seem to be spearheading Indonesia's new changes that are eagerly awaited as well as the 2020 simultaneous regional elections. Can we uphold ethics and local wisdom as the spirit of political struggle in the midst of the flow of information technology which causes drastic changes in social and political behavior, especially on campaigns on social media (campaigns against hoaxes and hate speech).

In political contestation, healthy and ethical competition is needed. Can our candidates maintain the noble values of Pancasila as a guideline? Enable the presidential candidate to provide national political education with the spirit of Pancasila ready to win and ready to lose. Can the

election organizers campaign against money politics and the politicization of SARA (Tribe, Religion, Race and Intergroup). Enable the people to become intelligent and sovereign voters. Enable our security forces to maintain a sense of security and the success of the democratic party.

We must be optimistic as a nation that is sovereign and has been tested in democracy and has gone through various crises and rejected all forms of violence. We must continue to promote Pancasila and the ideals of the proclamation as inspiration and guidance as well as internalizing religious values in political life. Rejecting all forms of Black Campaign and politics justifies any means. The people are waiting for a solution to inequality and leaders must be able to turn Indonesia into a developed country. Inflaming Pancasila is important for the millennial generation who are not uprooted from their historical roots as a nation and state. Differences in political views will be beautiful if they continue to be treated. This is my Indonesia, Don't Tear My Red and White!

Geertz, an anthropologist, revealed the theory of primordialism, namely the primordial bond that experiences a mix-up between political loyalty and primordial loyalty. It is this primordial bond that gives birth to primordial sentiments and primordial loyalty (Geertz in Shahabuddin, 2014)). This can be seen from the strength of ethnic groups who have a collective awareness of similar origins, languages and customs. Primordial sentiment becomes important to show a group identity. South Tapanuli has a group identity (ethnic Angkola) which is based on clans and clans are important for the birth of a village (*huta*). In the traditional leadership in South Tapanuli long before the formation of the Indonesian state until since the Dutch era, the traditional role (leader/king) was very strong as a political, social and economic force (Tanjung, Hardiyansyah, & Nababan, 2022).

The South Tapanuli Pilkada is not a political party battle that only carries track records, capacity and integrity as well as morality, but has shifted to the politics of power interests. Elite power struggle symbol. But it is necessary to build a new power that gives understanding to the people about the loss of group identity which is the legal owner of the territory. We need a new movement of identity politics that reflects sovereignty.

Sovereignty of the people is the highest sovereignty in producing leaders. Our identity has begun to disappear and will be eliminated.

What happens in local election is very different between theory and practice. In ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle referred to politics as a tool to gain power and form a state. Politics was born as an art in fighting for the welfare of society. Politics is increasingly unenlightened by the behavior of power which uses all means to gain power. Added to this is the separation of powers, according to Montesquieu and the Trias Politica, whether it is the executive, legislative and judiciary, there must be a balanced distribution of powers (checks and balances). There is no longer the term happy executive, happy legislative and happy judiciary. Each power is difficult to separate so that interest groups emerge from community institutions, both NGOs, mass organizations, the press (media), OKP, and others.

The creation of a political situation in our country where power is obtained and obtained in ways that are full of power struggles in money politics (money politics). In seizing power, did the Presidential Election, the Governor Election, the Regent/Mayor Pilkada arise speculation in Pancasila democracy which we venerate as the domestic political ideology (Fanani, 2018), do we still believe in the normative idioms that are glorified by election organizers both the General Election Commission (KPU), the Election Supervisor (Bawaslu) regarding honest and fair (Jurdil) regional elections, democratic, rejecting money politics, rejecting the politicization of SARA (Hasudungan, 2020), peaceful regional elections and so on. We are also presented with a great political spirit from political parties, for example 'no dowry'. Political parties as pillars of democracy have enlightened the people in various campaign events, educated the people with sound political education and carried out various educational political competitions with the terms 'compete to side by side', 'work for the people' (Hariyanti, Darmawan, & Masyitoh, 2018). All domains of strategic issues are played for the sake of winning the hearts of the people towards a power.

The South Tapanuli region is known for its strong religion and customs (*hombar do agama dohot adat*), namely Islam and the cultural customs of *Dalihan Na Tolu (mora,*

*kahanggi*-brother from the father's line, *anak boru-sister on the father's line*) which are local wisdom that highly upholds kinship values (Hilda, 2016), maintains social life among clan groups, defend the truth, live in a harmonious atmosphere between all groups. Politics in a polite and civilized manner with the terms '*hita do namarkoum*' (we who are clansmen), '*on hutatta*' (this is our village)'. Why are political terms increasingly shifting in South Tapanuli? With the term '*adong hepeng na*' (there is money), '*sadia paid*' (how much is paid). Based on the explanation above (Aini & Akmal, 2022), the researcher aims to describe the Politics of Development of *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the social perspective of the Angkola Batak Indigenous people.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study uses descriptive qualitative research methods in describing the development politics of *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the social perspective of the Angkola Batak Indigenous people. According to Creswell & Creswell (2018) defines a qualitative research method as an approach or search to explore and understand a central phenomenon, in this context is the politics of development of *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the social perspective of the Angkola Batak people. To understand these symptoms, researchers interview research participants or participants by asking general and rather broad questions (Creswell, 2018). Information is then collected in the form of words or text. The collection of information is then analyzed, and the theoretical basis is used as a guide so that the research focus is in accordance with the facts on the ground. From the results of the analysis, the researcher then describes it with the studies of other scientists made before. The final results of qualitative research are set forth in the form of a written report. In addition, data collection was carried out by means of literature studies, observation and document analysis. This study also schematically analyzes the data using the interactive data analysis model of Miles and Huberman. According to Miles & Huberman (1994) the analysis consists of three streams of activities that occur simultaneously, namely: data reduction, data presentation, drawing conclusions/verification.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

Development, which should bring harmony and balance to human life, has in fact experienced anomalies and paradoxical conditions. Development actually produces injustice, inequality and disharmony. Why does this happen? The answer is probably because the development process that occurs is not based on ethical or moral principles. Development as an effort to humanize human beings is essentially also an endeavor that has ethical meaning, both in terms of the goals to be achieved and in the way the efforts are carried out to achieve the goals of development itself. Therefore, it is not only development goals that must be in accordance with ethical values, but also ways to achieve these development goals. If ethical values are not embedded in the development process, then in turn it will result in actions that are dehumanistic or damaging to humanity.

Starting from the thesis that development will find its true meaning when ethical principles are presented in its implementation. In this way the idea of justice and welfare for the entire nation as the *raison d'etre* (reason for existence) of development becomes very logical. If development is interpreted as progress, as stated by Kruk et al. (2018), then in this development there must be continuous change and growth, so that in this way a better community life will be created. However, the reality speaks differently, development actually creates a paradoxical condition of the meaning and ideals of development itself. Development is indeed a dilemmatic issue, on the one hand we need development for change and progress towards a better life, but on the other hand it turns out that development actually produces poverty, inequality and social injustice.

The study of development issues begins with a basic question: what is successful and unsuccessful development? By examining development issues such as: population explosion, hunger, deforestation, environmental degradation, north-south and west-east relations, transfer of appropriate technology, economic and monetary crisis, debt crisis of third world countries.

In general, in Indonesia there are six development issues and morally this is a paradox, namely:

*First*, the issue of economic development, where unemployment and poverty are increasing, and people's income

inequality is increasing, increasing inequality in asset ownership and access to production resources. The decline in private sector investment activity. The decline in the ability of the banking sector to support real sector activities. The decline in the economic health of the company's competitiveness. Increasing unhealthy competition among economic actors, increasing penetration of foreign products, low global market access and weakening of the domestic industrial structure.

*Second*, development issues in Indonesia are social issues. These social issues include the low human capacity and quality of life of the community, the declining capacity of basic social services (education, health and nutrition, housing and clean water), the weakening of respect for human rights and community rights. The decline in the quality of people's lives that is currently happening in Indonesia has also received fantastic numbers. Increased horizontal and vertical conflicts and decreased community capacity to build cultural and social capital.

*Third*, the issue of infrastructure development which includes a decrease in the allocation of funds to meet the needs of infrastructure services, an increase in the variety of needs for infrastructure services in metro and large cities, an increase in the gap in transportation network services between Java and outside Java, a decrease in the capacity of electric power sources, limited government capacity in management.

*Fourth*, the issue of legal, political and governance development includes the weakening of the law enforcement of justice and respect for human rights. There is renewal of the political system that does not support economic efficiency and productivity. The emergence of negative excesses in the implementation of the system of political democracy and regional autonomy. In addition, there has been a renewal of the political democracy system and regional autonomy and an increase in disturbances to security and public peace.

*Fifth*, the issue of development of natural resources and the environment, which includes decreasing the productivity of land for food production in Java, increasing agricultural to non-agricultural conservation, weakening the ability to regulate the use of natural resources (marine, forestry and

mining), increasing destruction of protected areas, tropical forest areas and water catchments, increasing levels of environmental pollution, decreasing carrying capacity of the environment and land and low public awareness and participation in preserving natural resources and the environment.

Therefore, development discourse and practice are in a state of critical misalignment. The idea of development in its interventionist leanings has lost more and more reputation in the last decades. In the academic world, the idea of development has been demystified through the debates of several schools of thought. Ethics or morality often shows the reasons and ethical justification of certain actions. Then the ethics of economic development is interpreted as moral reasons from the state's efforts to improve people's welfare, namely the realization of a just society that is materially and spiritually prosperous. Ethics is also a moral guide for human action and a source of good and bad thoughts about that action.

Denotatively the word development has several positive meanings, including; socio-economic change, growth, progress, modernization. However, the term development is also often connoted as a jargon and motto used to promote, prosper and respond to all challenges of poverty and underdevelopment in developing countries. As for what is meant by economic development is the effective improvement of living conditions as measured by increasing per capita income and technological progress. The description of the meaning above indicates that economic development has an essential meaning that is noble and commendable. However, at the practical-empirical level, what is called the development paradox often occurs. Development actually creates something bad for human life (such as; social injustice, poverty, economic inequality), especially for those who mostly live in developing countries.

Referring to the opinion of de Haas (2021) who stated that development can actually be understood as a process of expanding essential freedoms that can be enjoyed by every individual in society. Development is not only measured by increasing GNP or national per capita income, or increasing industrialization, or a modern society. However, the success of development

can be more beneficial when measured by the parameter of freedom. As for what is meant by freedom here, namely; whether the development goals carried out really fulfill basic human needs, such as; food, education, health and safety. Does the community take an active role in the planning and implementation of the development or in other words how much the community is involved by the government in the development process.

It's time for us to awaken a strong sense of unity and brotherhood. We should not only be used in the name of democracy and election stability. This is not a politicization of SARA, but when power is still being used to defend the regime and the regime will survive if the people are still easy to buy with money. Let's build awareness of cultural identity for regional progress. Leaders must strengthen the social system of the Angkola Sipirok community. Awareness to strengthen HR from the Son of the Region will be reflected in the management of South Tapanuli's natural resources. Let's evaluate people's development as the subject and object of development. "The people are not stupid, the people are not hungry and the people have a future," said Datuk Sri Syamsul Arifin.

According to Stets & Burke (2000), power is all the relationships between a person or a group of people who can determine (Power is a relationship in which one person or group is able) is an action of a person or also another group towards a goal from the first party (to determine the action of another in the direction of the former's own ends). Politics as a way of gaining power has experienced ups and downs to date, there has been a change from the traditional system to a modern system, and the elimination of customary power. The government system in the current era has reduced or even abolished the power of the king in South Tapanuli. The era of regional autonomy and decentralization was considered a way out for solving problems during the New Order which used indoctrination, centralization and militarization (security approach). The political system (elections) that continues to adapt to the conditions of the times makes the power of cultural identity nothing more than a tool for power or ethnic politicization. The Pilkada concept (from representative election to direct election) has been tested so that the

consolidation of democracy is getting better and more democratic.

Our history as the Angkola tribe must be able to provide solutions in the social life of the community (Arifiah & Siregar, 2022). Character education (*adat*) is not included in the school curriculum in South Tapanuli, even though there used to be local language lessons (Lubis, Joebagio, & Pelu, 2019). Where are you going to take South Tapanuli? If you can only build roads but forget to build the character of the generation, our children will be left behind there. Then our people are farmers, how was it that before we were self-sufficient but now people are experiencing difficulty after difficulty with the condition of prices for salak fruit, rubber, palm sugar, candlenut, rice, coffee. They are farmers, many are poor and can no longer afford to make their children graduate.

South Tapanuli will return to glory if we want to remember the struggle of the late Alm. Marahalim Harahap and Alm. Raja Inal Siregar (*Marsipature Figure of Hutana Be*), God willing, traditional leaders can work together. Akkon songon salak salak sampagul do, rap tu ginjang, rap tutoru. Customary kings also supervise, maintain a conducive Kamtibmas situation. In addition, he added, education equity had not yet occurred, for example, SMKs had to be in every sub-district, he was very concerned that drugs were currently destroying young people who would be the nation's successors. So together with the Head of the South Tapanuli Police to eradicate it, if necessary, we will propose customary and village regulations to expel these drug users from the village. We consider that the government has not really served the basic needs of society, especially education and health. poverty and open unemployment really need to make a breakthrough by creating jobs in the industrial sector.

Community life that upholds cultural customs is very important to be passed on from generation to generation so that we do not lose identity like "*Poda Na Lima*" (five tips) as an umbrella for unwritten customary law to be carried out as social behavior between individuals, groups and between groups in South Tapanuli, *Bumi Dalihan Na Tolu* (Sibarani, Simanjuntak, & Sibarani, 2021). Still remember that many social conflicts were born in South Tapanuli such as Batang Toru, *Tolang Jae*, and so on which should not happen

again which left social and economic freedom for the residents of South Tapanuli. The government must maintain a safety valve for the emergence of vertical and horizontal conflicts.

But in fact, many people have forgotten what happened 10 or 20 years ago, they only need what we bring and they get today. Then a permissive, pragmatic and instant culture emerged, of course this condition is far from regional discourse and what potential should be advanced as 'branding' of South Tapanuli. Culture is the original product of society from the past which framed the pattern of life so that it lasted for centuries. But it is always said that the times have changed, this is the age of science and technology, information technology (cyber community), the birth of discoveries from the modern age about science. Science was born from the glory of the Western world which invaded developed countries into countries with the term underdeveloped countries (developing countries), imperialism, colonialism in the form of colonialism was born.

Then, we will enter a new round of the concept of cultural, economic and political 'colonization' by liberalists/bourgeois who rely on the power of capital (capital) as an instrument of struggle in the millennial era (Agnew, 2021). The battle of ideas and ideas will be defeated with capital. As an implication, culture (including customs) is then no longer considered as a solution, so it tends to be abandoned as initiated by Huntington. Now the concept of developmentalism continues to be encouraged so that the development concept of SDG'S (social development goals) is realized. When will we rise as a developed Indonesia in 2045? But as a nation that has the Pancasila philosophy, we are very strong with local cultural roots to maintain a harmonious life.

Local wisdom, one of which is the concept of gotong-royong in South Tapanuli, is called "*marsialap ari*" (taking each other's day) (Rohman & Umrina Lubis, 2020). Then the question is, when will South Tapanuli rise? Meanwhile, forests, land, water, human resources, natural resources, infrastructure, village funds, regional revenue and expenditure budget (APBD), state revenue and expenditure budget (APBN) still need to be seriously addressed by involving the

community in a participatory manner. Equitable development as a whole. The development of physical infrastructure (roads, bridges, irrigation and others) is important but must also be balanced with the development of socio-cultural infrastructure.

In the association between the community and the government, sharing is needed for the birth of policies and for realizing good and clean governance as well as for accelerating people's welfare such as the birth of regional regulations and regent regulations as well as other regulations that are carried out in earnest. Really. Rules in the village by the head of the village must be able to work with indigenous peoples to maintain a harmonious life, including protecting the environment, forests, entry and exit of residents so that legality (KTP), buying and selling land, gardens/land are not given easily. Forestry services, land agencies and OPD (regional government organizations) must be transparent as well as regionally owned enterprises (BUMD). It is no longer allowed to be in a protected forest area but there are developments that use Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD) funds.

The government's task, from the center to the regions, is to educate the community so that the people's basic needs (clothing/board) are met, the people are not hungry, poor, unemployed, school dropouts, empty pockets (when will they be filled if there is no work, how can you work if you have low education, you are already working) there is still not enough because the salary is low, graduates don't dare to go back to their hometown (village) because they are still being paid for by their parents, not to mention that their parents' land is getting narrower, not enough to fulfill their dream of sending them to school, plus prices that don't match.

The vision for the realization of "Prosperous South Tapanuli" is something that all residents of South Tapanuli deserve to dream of. Because the area is indeed very rich in natural resources, for example, South Tapanuli has a gold mine. CSR (corporate social responsibility) funds should be able to strengthen education and health as well as the socio-cultural life of indigenous peoples. Hopefully the community groups (civil society) religious leaders, clerics, Islamic boarding schools and the government of South Tapanuli (executive, legislative, judicial) and

their ranks as well as state apparatus (Indonesian National Army and Republic of Indonesia Police) and the institutions that were born by the reform of the KPU, the Oversight Committee (Panwas) Regency and its staff look after each other the importance of maintaining sovereign democracy, the people are the holders of the highest sovereign mandate.

The government must use a collaborative approach in addressing various social problems, including poverty and social ills (Amri, Chatur, & O'Campo, 2022). Of course it has to be proven, whether South Tapanuli is poor because of culture/mentality or precisely because of an impartial policy system. Likewise with the high circulation of drugs in the villages, prostitution, gambling and others, are a series of problems that are now wrapped around and threatening the people of South Tapanuli. Therefore in the future, by strengthening religious life (mosques, churches, schools/recitations.) together with the Poda Na 5 cultural doctrine which is internalized by policy, a South Tapanuli that has faith, character, culture will be realized.

This area is an area where the Islamic religion and Angkola culture are very strong with the "dalihan na tolu" kinship system (Dasopang, HJ Adam, & Nasution, 2022). It is an undeniable fact that the political tradition that has often been practiced so far in seizing power is relying on the power of capital (*hepeng*) or in a practical form using the 'dawn attack' strategy. It is this kind of democratic character that we will fight against. Can people who have strong religion and customs fight the power of capital? It is time for direct local elections to be able to change the paradigm of people's thinking from capital-oriented to cultural-oriented, towards a strong civilization. This spirit is a challenge for the sons and daughters of South Tapanuli who want to share their views with the conception of a culture of political resistance "*marsialap ari*" as a conception of local culture with the view of life of noble ancestors in a social order living together, working together, shoulder to shoulder, '*rap tu ginjang* (rising to the highest level/peak of success), *rap tu toru* (failure/falling together), *marsipature Hutana be* (building each other's hometown) (H. U. Harahap, Pagar, & Qorib, 2020).

This challenge is quite tough but noble,

the people must be educated, empowered in political and cultural education, *dalihan na tolu*. The people of South Tapanuli will become increasingly aware that their customary/ulayat lands have been confiscated by mines, plantations, hydroelectric power plants (PLTA), protected forests and so on. They began to realize that since the 1980s before South Tapanuli was divided, land, forests, timber had been destroyed. In the following 20 years many large areas became oil palm plantations whose owners and impacts were felt on the people, the explosion of indigenous people and migrants was increasingly threatening.

The indigenous people of South Tapanuli only get social, economic and cultural impacts plus many wealthy people from South Tapanuli and bring the results outside of South Tapanuli (A. M. Harahap, Siregar, & Daulay, 2017). When else will the people of South Tapanuli feel the greatest prosperity for their natural resources. It is still difficult for them to send their children to S1, S2 and S3 degrees. Parents should be able to aspire for the future of their children while still in their wombs. We should already have SMA Plus and international-class tertiary institutions, have the *Bagas Godang* traditional house which is a cultural tour that is of interest to tourists plus the greatness of nature and Sias Lake as well as heritage sites which have been restored as tourist destinations (Khamdevi, 2021).

There is no doubt that the presence of the government is urgently needed in fighting for the basic rights of the people. And the presence of the largest gold mine in Indonesia must provide progress throughout the South Tapanuli region towards taking sides with the conditions of the people due to increasing poverty and open unemployment, investors have not yet looked at skilled local workers, a decrease in the number of graduates in the village due to the problem of decreased agricultural productivity. Migration between villages has not yet adopted the concept of adoptive fathers in plantation areas. Expansion/addition of the area of gold mining areas will continue to occur, exploitation of nature in the name of renewable energy resources is an unstoppable state concept. Recognition of identity is increasingly needed through the strengthening of indigenous peoples' communities.



This is an opportunity for the people of South Tapanuli to fight against various destructive notions, such as permissivism, pragmatism, individualism and Machiavellianism which completely legalize all means (De Hoogh, Den Hartog, & Belschak, 2021). It is time for us to realize, the indigenous people and sons/daughters of South Tapanuli will be kept away from a sense of belonging to the area, it is difficult for customary kings to unite because they are still 'agents' (actors) acting on behalf of adat for the purpose of personal gain, low education and economic factors as causes of money politics are still difficult to eliminate.

## CONCLUSION

Humanist political philosophy in South Tapanuli is very important to be used as motivation for the younger generation, because the beginnings of politics stem from various views on the meaning of power and how the situation of life is in various countries and so is the development of the times. Politics is the way the existing society sees itself in managing its life so that it is better. South Tapanulis is an area that has a very strong Islamic religion and Angkola cultural customs with a kinship system "dalihan na tolu". It is an undeniable fact that the political tradition that has often been practiced so far in seizing power is by relying on the power of capital (*hepeng*) or in the form of praxis by using the 'dawn attack' strategy (Money politic). It is this kind of democratic character that we will fight against. Can people who have strong religion and customs fight the power of capital? It is time for direct local elections to be able to change the paradigm of people's thinking from capital-oriented to cultural-oriented, towards a strong civilization. This spirit is a challenge for the sons and daughters of South Tapanuli who want to share their views with the conception of a culture of political resistance "*marsialap ari*" as a conception of local culture with the view of life of noble ancestors in a social order living together, working together, shoulder to shoulder, *rap tu ginjang* (rising to the highest level/peak of success), *rap tu toru* (failure/falling together), *marsipature junglea be* (building each other's hometown).

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