"SIREGARIZATION" OF KAHINYANG-BOBBY: INTER-INDIGENOUS MARRIAGE, PATRILINEALIZATION OR FOR THE SAKE OF DALIHAN NA TOLU?

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ABSTRACT

This paper is the result of an analysis of the marriage event of two people that have different ethnicities, Javanese and Batak, and the kinship system, Parental and Patrilinieal. In the marriage process which was carried out according to the patrilineal kinship sistem followed by giving the clan title from Batak. The question, is such marriage an interadat, or patrilinealisation, dalihan na tolu? To answer it, socio-antro legal research was done by implementing the complementary approaches, adat law science and legal anthropology. The result, the marriage isn't named antaradat, the mentioned marriage has been legal according to the adat Batak in which the one party received one of the clans in the Batak ethnic so that the marriage is the endogamy marriage of the ethnic and the exogamy of the clan and keep on dalihan na tolu.

Keywords: marriage; kinship; adat; patrilinealisation;

PREFACE

BACKGROUND
In the second half of 2017, Indonesian people were treated to news by various conventional media and showed by other electronic media about the marriage ceremony of the daughter of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Kahiyang Ayu and Bobby Nasution. One of the interesting things to be discussed academically is that the marriage involved two large families and two different Indonesian with two different ethnic backgrounds, Kahiyang is Javanese and Bobby is Batak, also different from the family law but meeting in a marriage that will form different ethnic groups family. The marriage ceremony exhibits that the whole series of marriage ceremonies is fulfilled so that the wider community are able to know what should be done traditionally if the two people with ethnic groups difference and family system to get married.

To initiate a rather detailed discussion about the marriage of two people with different ethnic groups and their family, some of the people in the field are mixed the understanding of mixed marriages as stipulated in the Marriage Law, others call inter-cultural marriage. In relation with this matter, in this research, it is necessary to put forward two basic concepts that become the basis for understanding the theme in question. First is inter-cultural marriagee and second are family systems. Moreover, there is a mention of mixed marriages, in the past, when the Intergroup Law community learning the inter-group law, there was once given material on mixed marriages. The material in question has now become a history of the knowledge of marriage law, considering that in the Colonial Period, laws were applied to the
groups mapped according to the interests of colonialization, that are the European Group, the Foreign East Group (Chinese and Arabic), and the Indigenous Groups. At a glance, group mapping is positive considering they are enforced by their own laws. This means that legal diversity in accordance with the social conditions of the field has been observed, although it is also important to note the current intention behind the mapping of these groups.

In a colonial period, mixed marriages at that time meant marriage between different groups of people mentioned above. But now, after the Indonesian people agreed to form a nation, namely the Indonesian Nation declared August 17, 1945 and one day after that agreed to establish a country with the form of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia on the basis of the constitution of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, politically the groups is not beneficial for a State in the form of a unitary state so that the Intergroup Law shifts to Intercultural Law. Intercultural Law is very unlikely to be avoided considering that in addition to the existence and live it also has a sociological basis for the establishment of the Indonesian Nation which is non other but sociological units that are scattered throughout the archipelago. These sociological units are commonly called indigenous peoples and in indigenous communities it is the life of customary law, as is the adagium charge of *ubi societas*
ubi ius\(^{14}\) (where there is a community there is a law). In connection with that, if discussing mixed marriages means marriage between people from different ethnic groups and their customary law. In fact, even more sharpening is marriage between people of different family laws.

As mentioned at the beginning of the background, the marriage ceremony between the daughter of a President of the Republic of Indonesia, Kahiyang Ayu and Bobby which took place in two places, the marriage took place in Solo with the temporary Javanese traditional ceremony when the wedding ceremony by the big family of Bobby was taking place in Medan with Mandailing Batak custom events. One interesting thing, besides the couples different ethnicities and their family (Saptomo, 2003:?), One adhere to parental (Javanese), while the other patrilinieal (Batak), also presented the granting ceremony of the Siregar clan or "siregisasi" by Bobby’s uncle from his mother side, so it is interesting to be studied academically with the following questions.

**PROBLEM FORMULATION**

Based on the problem background, the problem is able to be formulated, which are: (1) Is Kahiyang-Bobby's marriage is a

\(^{14}\) *Ubi societas ubi ius* illustrates the diversity of the community and its existence before the State was established. This phrase was first introduced by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC), a philosopher, jurist, and political expert born in Rome.
marriage between custom, patrilinealization or Dalihan Na Tolu?; (2) Why should there be a gift of the Siregar clan and what are the implications of the customary law?

GOALS AND USAGE

The purpose and usages of this study are: (1) to explore the knowledge behind Kahiyang-Bobby's marriage of different ethnicities and family. Such knowledge is able to be used to map the categorization of families, relatives and social units in Batak customs; (2) to explore the philosophical, juridical, and sociological level behind the giving of the Siregar clan to Kahiyang and the implications of the customary law. Such knowledge is able to be used to map the social system of the Batak community.

RESEARCH METHOD

Considering the concepts that being used is clear and the objectives are also clear, this research is directed to case studies currently underway. To determine the case study according to the above objectives, *purposive sampling* technique was used so that the object of research that was suitable at this time was the marriage between Kahiyang and Bobby with the reason that they have different identities, both ethnic groups and family systems. To obtain data, direct observations of marriages were carried out according to
Batak customs and supported by recording documents and books related to different marriages of ethnic groups.

For this reason, empirical research is conducted using a complementary approach, customary law and legal anthropology. The two approaches are carried out because the customary law approach does not reach the meanings of symbols that appear in marriage except positivistic rules that should be done so that society remains in order. While legal anthropology is carried out to explore the purpose of certain activities, such as the granting of clans name, the Dalihan Na Tolu social system in the Batak community.

The overall results of the analysis are described in the structure of the writing as follows, at a glance the marriage of Kahiyang-Bobby, especially the marriages which carried out according to Batak customs, considering that the bride and groom are from different customs, Javanese and Batak, it is necessary to unraveled the inter-cultural marriage, then sharpen it again considering the ideal marriage is not the marriage between tribes but marriages in one Batak tribe, so the interesting thing to explain further is the knowledge behind Patrilinealization-Siregarization.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Inter-ethnic Marriage
In the context of ethnicity and family, there are several possible marriage scenarios. First, the marriages which have the same ethnicity and from the same family system, for example the marriage between Javanese and Parental systems, between Minangkabau people and Matrilineal systems, between Sundanese and Parental systems, between Bataks and Patrilineal systems (Ahimsa-Putra, 1986: 29-67)

In this paper, there is an analytical critique of the structure of the symmetric marriage relationship between the Batak Karo people, in North Sumatra previously written by Needham and Singarimbun. In his analysis, it reinforces Needham's view that the Batak Karo as a society has an asymmetric prescriptive relationship (asymmetric prescriptive alliance). While the second scholar rejected Needham's point of view because in the Batak Karo community there were no corporate groups (non-cooperating groups).

Second, which are different ethnic groups, but the family principle is similar, for example marriage between Javanese and Sundanese with Parental. Third, marriage between two people who different ethnic groups and at the same time have different family principles, for example, marriage between Javanese with parental systems and Minangkabau people with matrilineal systems. In the literary perspective there are several novels whose contents allude to marriage between Minangkabau people and non-Minangkabau people. Among them is the marriage between Minangkabau women and Javanese porters in Medan as written by HAMKA in *Merantau Ke Deli*, a Minangkabau girl with a bachelor from Aceh as written by Nur
Sutan Iskandar in *Apa Dajaku Karena Aku Perempuan*, between a Minangkabau man and a Jakarta girl called Kedjora in *Karam Dalam Gelombang Pertjintaan*, a Minangkabau migrant with a Sundanese girl mentioned by Adinegoro in *Asrama Djaja* (Kato, 1982:?). These writings at least describe a meeting between two different worlds, as well as custom is not seen as something taken for granted, but needs to be tested and compared.

The last mentioned marriage phenomenon is interesting because marriage is not interpreted as an effort to build male sexual relations with women to produce progeny, but it is an effort to build two different family relations. The logical consequences of interpersonal marriage of people with different ethnicities and different family systems are the emerge of the differences in tracing someone as a family member of the smallest family unit. That is, in what family principle, one is able to be seen as a family unit. In the present reality, the phenomenon of interpersonal marriage of different ethnic groups is not only found in metropolitan cities, Jakarta for example, but it is also able to be found in an area of various ethnic groups whose existence was indeed created, such as at transmigration sites and other locations of government projects.

**The Law of Family**

The author observes social life on the surface of the earth, if it observed from the perspective of family law, it turns out that there is a
difference in mainstream life between western and eastern people. In family life, for example, western people, a child, starting more than 12 (twelve) years old, has been released to live independently, meanwhile for eastern people, especially Indonesia, a person's life is still in the hands of parents' families, even though they already have their own family, they are bound to the family of origin, which is bound to the family. This is exhibited in the law of family based on customary law in Indonesia. The family law is controlled by the rules that have become a reference to behave, act, and even say. This means that the family law is the norms, rules that regulate the relationship between citizens of indigenous people with one another.

In the concept of family, it is impossible to avoid everyday facts that show that since humans are born, they are in a family neighborhood. In the family neighborhood, he/she knows family members and what their rights and obligations are as family members. The family referred to is a unit consisting of father, mother and child where every family not only knows his family members, but other people who also have a brotherly relationship because of blood relations or of marriage, for example grandfather, grandmother, nephew/niece, uncle, aunt, father or mother-in-law, brother or sister-in-law, and kebisanan (The parents of the bride & groom relation). In other words, the notion of family law is a family relationship whose
order of relationship is influenced by the principles of normative relations according to the structure of each community.\textsuperscript{15} 

People who are able to be categorized as family groups between people (ethnic groups) and others are different principles. In general, there are 4 (four) family principles that bind a person in a certain family, that are: (1) People who have the principle of Unilineal Matrilineal family, in this principle people are considered as relatives are the ancestors who are adopted from the mother's side. Therefore, for every individual in the community, all maternal relatives enter into the boundaries of their family relationship, whereas all of their father's relatives are outside the limit (semenda); (2) People who have the principle of Unilineal Patrilineal family, in this principle the person considered to be a relative is an ancestor traced to the father's side. Therefore, individuals who in all their father's relatives are included within the limits of their family relationship, whereas all of the relatives from their mother are outside that limit; (3) People who have Bilineal family, in this principle the person who is considered a relative is a person traced according to the father's line only for certain rights and obligations, and through the mother only for a number of other rights and obligations. Therefore, for every individual in the community all of his father's relatives enter the boundaries of his family relationship, on the contrary, his mother's relatives are beyond

\textsuperscript{15} The principle of family is defined as a series of rules that govern the classification of people into a group that has a blood or marriage relationship with the ego. Ego itself is defined as a term that shows someone who is the center of attention in a series of relationships with someone or a number of other people.
that limit, and sometimes the opposite; (4) People who have a Parental relationship, in this principle people who are able to be seen as relatives are ancestors traced from the lines of the father and mother. Because of this, for individuals in society, all the relatives of mother and father enter into the boundaries of a family. In this last family principle, people who are able to be seen as relatives are noble people traced from the lines of father and mother. Therefore, for every individual in the community, the relatives of the father and mother are include into the boundaries of their family relationship.

Parental Relationship

Among the Indonesian ethnic groups who embraced Parental family are Javanese (Koentjaraningrat, 1982). In the context of the Javanese marriage, the marriage group that followed the marriage event was what was called the Batih family. As is typically in the Parental family, people who are considered as ancestors are traced from the descendants of fathers and mothers so that the structure and form of the first family group consists of the father, mother and unmarried children (sister's egobrother).

In the Batih family, it needed someone who was trusted as a leader. The leader who is adhered to is a family leader who is usually called the chief of the household. The chief of the household, in addition from coming from a man, is also a husband or father. In the event that a husband or father dies, it is also possible that the head of
the household is held by a mother. If a mother is no longer available, then a person who is appointed as the head of the household is from a son, it is prioritized for the oldest son and the approval of other children.

In addition to the kinship form in the form of a family, there is a family group usually called the name somah (extended family), which is a combination of a number of Batih families who live together in one house. Even though they live together, each of them embodies a family group and stands alone independently. Independence can be seen in both determining the household and kitchen budget (Pawon). Indeed, not all extended families have their own cooking place or pawon, so there are pawon used together.

As a family group, in the Somah family there is someone who is able to be trusted to be a leader. This leader is usually referred to as the head of Somah, which is the former head of Somah. A broad family like the Somah is usually formed because of a marriage between a man and a woman, who they settled near their parents after marriage. In terms of that the head of the Somah dies, the head of Somah should be charged in by one of the second family members who participated in the settlement on the basis of consensus of other members. The role played by a Somah head in a broad family is to take care of household affairs, especially those related to internal affairs such as children's education. However, relating to matters relating to the family budget, as well as businesses seeking sources of life are in the hands of each family.
The forms of family groups are sanak sedulur. The members of this family group consist of relatives who are descendants of ancestors to the third degree (Kodiran, 1990:?). Then there are other family groups that are broader, it is called alur waris. The members of this family consist of all relatives starting from the first degree to the seventh degree as far as their residence is still known. The most important task of members of this family group is maintaining the ancestral graves. Usually one of the members of the alur waris whose home is the closest to the ancestral grave is appointed to contact other alur waris members who have been spread far away in various places to jointly take care or help the finance to pay for the care of the ancestral grave.

**Patrilineal Relationship**

This relationship is different from the outlook of the people who embrace the patrilineal formal family principle. The principle of patrilineal formal family affirms that membership in family groups is traced from the male side (father). If the group members are traced through patrilineal principles, then the people in the smallest family group are all children, fathers, and uncles. This understanding of family groups is able to be found in the Batak family because the Batak trace their family group based on the principle of patrilineal family traced by the father line.
The formal person in charge of this family unit is uncle, who in Batak community is usually called *Tulang*. Position of wife in this family unit is an outsider. As outsiders, formally, wives are not required to take responsibility for all the interests of children and husbands, but are responsible for their own nephews (sons of brothers).

In the past, all sons and daughters of one clan (Batak: semarga) were prohibited to make a marriage, abstaining from marriage. To show the membership of the same descendants, each member of the family uses the name of descendant as in the Batak community, for example Simatupang, Panggabean, Saragih, Damanik, Ginting, Tarigan, Nasution, Lubis. Those who still seems to maintain a prohibition on marriage in the same clan (Batak) is the Indigenous People of Batak, especially those who are Christians. Whereas other indigenous people, especially those who are Muslim, are no longer maintaining the prohibition on marriage in one clan (Hadikusuma, 1987: 35-36).

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

**Kahiyang-Bobby Marriage**

This paper displayed the case data of the mariage of *Horja Haroan Boru* the daughter of President Joko Widodo, Kahiyang Ayu, and Bobby Afif Nasution which took place in Medan, North Sumatra.
The wedding program was started on Sunday (11/19). The series of ceremonies was an effort of Bobby's family to introduce the traditional Mandailing tradition to the family of President Jokowi who had a Javanese tradition. The series of events began with the arrival of the bride and groom to Bobby's family’s home in the Bukit Hijau Regency Complex, Taman Setia Budi Indah, Medan, on Sunday. Before entering the house a variety of plants were provided, including banana trunks, which had to be stepped on by Kahiyang, which meant that Kahiyang's presence in his in-laws' house brought pleasant and peace. Then, the bride and groom were seated on amak lampisan, which is a custom matting consisting of three layers, as a form of king of a day, followed by a welcome speech from family from Solo and Medan family, followed by pasu-pasu or words of blessing from traditional elders.

On Tuesday (11/21), the Siregarization was held. In the event, Nasution's family asked Siregar's family to agree giving the Siregar clan to Kahiyang. Kahiyang got the Siregar clan, according to Bobby's mother's clan, at the residence of Uncle (Tulang), Bobby witnessed by the traditional kings who gathered at the house. The program continued with ritual on Friday (24/11), including Manalpokkon Lahan Ni Horja (cutting buffalo) at Bobby's parents' residence. The buffalo is provided to be slaughtered considering the inseparable animals in the Mandailing Customary celebration. The program continued with ringing the gondang and gordang sambilan (Traditional Mandailing drum) as a sign that there was a big event and
the establishment of traditional flags. The series of events continued with *Manortor* (dancing) which was a form of joy, harmony, togetherness and respect for the Creator and a series of customary congregations about the marriage.

President Jokowi and the First Lady, Mrs. Iriana were present on Saturday (25/11) at the height of the traditional ceremony and Sunday (11/26) at the reception. The President was welcomed by the family of the bridegroom with the *manortor mundur* traditional procession as a form of respect, followed by the giving of ulos to Jokowi and Iriana in the form of *Ulos Panggobak Ni Tondi*. *Ulos* is a symbol of respect for respected people. Jokowi and Iriana were also on the occasion. Mandailing Customary Marriage is intended not only to marry two people, but to marry two large families.

**Intercultural Marriage**

With the intercultural marriage cases mentioned (Saptomo, 2010: 125), academically, the last marriage is more substantial compared to mixed marriages regulated by Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning on Marriage. In this law, mixed marriages are regulated starting from Articles 57-62. Article 57 states that what is meant by mixed marriages in this law is marriage between two people who in Indonesia are subject to different laws, because of differences in nationality and one of them is Indonesian citizens. If it is observed, the whole articles which regulate the mixed marriages are in
administrative matters so that they are able to be said in less detail because they are able to be the same as the ethnic marriages and their family practices so that they do not cause significant family problems except a few differences in traditions and daily habits.

A series of social interactions between two people or more different ethnic groups that take place in various places and opportunities exhibits that there is a social interaction that is bound to mutual interests for a moment (temporary interaction), as seen in cases of social interaction in general. Moreover, there is a social interaction that is bound to common interests for a long time (longtime interaction). In the latter case, this interest is able to be seen in the case of social interaction which ends in an official relationship between men and women, commonly referred to as marriage.

One example, inter-family marriage is inter-cultural marriage, Kahiyang marriage as Javanese and Bobby as Batak people. In that context, the ethnocentric reasons and views, which some Javanese and Bataks, gives impression that Javanese and Batak people have difficulty to have interpersonal marriage in different ethnic groups. The ethnocentric view referred to is actually a natural thing because there are indeed differences in customs between them, for example the origin, system of family, language, and other customs (Kodiran, 1990:?). Nevertheless, in reality, some of Javanese and Batak parents let their children choose social intercourse, and among them had married. This is able to be seen in interpersonal marriages of different
Interpersonal marriage between different ethnic groups at the level of social reality is tolerated. Although marriage between the Javanese and the Batak people might raise the issue of how the couple imagined their community when the marriage had moved the model of formal culture of the past of the ethnic group. It was said that because in the past, marriage between Batak people and not Batak was a marriage that was considered not ideal, especially marriage between Batak women and non-Batak men.

Marriage between women and non-Batak men in the view of marriage which will damage the social relations of the structure (dalihan na tolu) of Batak Custom because the child who is born from the marriage is seen as not a Batak tribe. In other words, marriage that was considered ideal in the past was ethnic endogamous marriage. Therefore, there is a subsequent view that the presence of a husband who is an outsider is seen as a burden for the whole family. Furthermore, it is possible for the woman to be considered or as if "a lost child" from her relatives because the man's intelligence in question was feared to be used to seduce his wife. On the contrary, marriage between Batak men and outside women is seen as not going to change the structure of the custom because by giving the clans so that the children born from the marriage remain the Batak ethnic group. In the context of Kahiyang-Bobby, it does not damage the structure because there are still opportunities to enter the Batak
Custom, namely the patrilineal system by being given the clan of one of the Batak.

This view might lead to the emergence of the next view, that the ideal marriage according to the Batak people is marriage among Batak people. That is, a husband, wife, and child born of marriage will remain a Batak tribe. The social implication is that the Kahiyang-Bobby household due to marriage between Javanese and Batak people is social construction of Javanese people not a social construction of Batak people. However, this also raises the ambiguity of Customary Law in tracing the members of relatives who will become legitimate heirs in the future because on one hand the parental and other principles are patrilineal.

In the context of social relations, the marriage between Javanese and Batak people is not only important because it is able to integrate between husband's relatives and wife's relatives. However, this is not the case in the context of cultural relations. When it is seen from the relationship of the social structure of the Batak people, marriage between the Batak and the non-Batak people will bring awkwardness to the child born from the marriage will still be seen as a member of his father's family or still as a Batak although not mentioned. Almost the same in the context of the Javanese and Minangkabau people, "his weakness" and so Navis, "only the relations between the uncles of the the two sides that related are not able to be carried out according to the custom (Navis, 1994:?).

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Patrilinealization-Siregarization

The series of marriage ceremonies of Horja Haroan Boru, the daughter of President Joko Widodo, Kahiyang Ayu (Java), with Bobby Afif Nasution (Batak), are legal marriages according to Customary Law. In the Batak community, marriages between tribes, customs, and religion is able to apply by including a husband or wife who is not a Batak citizen to become a Batak commonly called "marsileban" (Hadikusuma, 1987: 21). In the patrilineal family system, members of family are calculated from the line of male lines (father), therefore Bobby is a member of his father's family. The family of his father, who surnamed Nasution, when his members were married, had to be from another clan or different clan. In this context, clan exogamous and cultural endogamous marriages is applied so that in Bobby's family who have the surname Nasution has the right to ask the family of Bobby’s mother surnamed Siregar to give the clan to Kahiyang. The gift of this clan is able to also be made by Bobby's family, which is to raise a family line above Bobby's uncle.

This granting of clan is a strategic step to legitimize that marriage is legal according to Batak Customary Law; of course previously it has been carried out by people who will marry the Batak ethnic group, in this case Kahiyang witnessed by Batak traditional elders. The submission was marked by the willingness to give the clan and the giving of the clan after the request was made from the clan Nasution, to the clan of Bobby's mother, which was then given by the clan of Bobby’s uncle (Tulang) from the mother, Siregar.
The giving and receiving of the Siregar clan by Kahiyang, it is able to be interpreted that from that moment on, there was a change in the ethnicity status of Kahiyang from Java to Batak with the Siregar clan. By accepting the gift of the Siregar clan by custom and even more witnessed by traditional kings gathered in the event, Kahiyang Ayu is able to add her full name to Kahiyang Ayu Siregar, a clan according to the Bobby's mother family clan. Thus, the Batak social system is maintained and social relations are in appropriate with their customary norms. This is to clarify Kahiyang's position in the Mandailing Dalihan Na Tolu social relations (three supports). The social relation mentioned is a system of social relations that regulates relationships between families or between people in traditional ceremonies or daily life. The Siregar clan was given according to the patrilineal family system, the uncle clan (Tulang) of Bobby (Bobby's mother's brother), which is Siregar family.

The three components in the system are Mora, Anak Boru, and Kahanggi. Mora is the wife's family or the bride, in this case the Jokowi family. For this reason, Jokowi's family plays Mora with Siregar's family. Meanwhile Anak Boru is a family that accepts the wife or family of the bridegroom, the Nasution family. And, Kahanggi is Bobby’s relatives, those with the Nasution surname. The relationship between these three parties is based on an attitude of respect, love, care, and cautious. Anak Boru should respect Mora. Mora is expected to protect Anak Boru and accepting the advantages of Anak Boru.
The marriage illustrates that the patrilineal family system called the main family is Bobby’s son, Bobby’s father, and uncle. Inter-family marriages are intended to protect the social system in order to preserve and to keep the clan from appearing to dominate other clans, and to maintain an integrative condition of social relations of interfamily. By borrowing terminology in anthropology, in the social system the Batak people open marriages outside the clan but are still in one Batak ethnic group. Such marriages are commonly called exogamous and endogamous marriages. Thus, Kahiyang should be given the surname first by being given the clan siregar or "siregarization" to become relatives of siregar, in other words giving the clan Siregar means that there has been patrilinealization.

In the formal level, if the marriage had not given a surname to Kahiyang, then at least the marriage could be considered imperfect or had a defect in customary law so that the position of Kahiyang and the child who was born would have difficulties if demanding customary rights considering that they were not included in Batak family. Furthermore, the social system that describes the relationship between family is disturbed given the presence of Kahiyang does not get a social position because she is outside the system in the concept of Dalihan Na Tolu. This means that Kahiyang Ayu Siregar's marriage with Bobby Afif Nasution is a perfect marriage in custom and customary law so that it is attractive to not only domestic custom stakeholders but observers from advanced countries. (Saptomo, 2017).
CLOSING

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis and discussions, it can be concluded:

1. The marriage of two children with different ethnic groups, Javanese and Batak, and the family carried out according to the patrilineal family system, there should be the giving of clans/surname;

2. The giving of the clan/surname is a customary obligation so that marriage becomes ideal to maintain the Dalihan Na Tolu social system as well as to maintain exogamous and endogamous marriages, and legitimate according to Batak Customary Law.

SUGGESTIONS

This study suggests as follows:

1. With understanding as described, those who will hold intercultural marriages should understand the philosophical values of each community structure of potential partners;

2. By understanding in depth, if there is a sharp difference in building a household, it is able to be anticipated a new cultural solutions, considering the household is to live forever.
REFERENCE LIST


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THE WRITER’S BIODATA

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