

UNIVERSITY
HAMBURG

Hamburg, 16-10-2013

Prof. Dr. Jan van der Putten sebagai organizing a seminar for students and profesor of Islamic sciences and law at the Asien-Afrika-Institut, confirm to Dr. Zainul Fuad bahwasannya mereka sangat menginginkan Dr. Muhammad Habibi Siregar untuk memberikan presentations of Islamic sciences on 14 november 2013 dengan judul paper Legal Aspects of Islam in Indonesia.

**Quasi Equality in Angkola-Batakese Community:
Challenging the Patriarchal Domination**

By Muhammad Habibi Siregar

Batak, a popular tribe in North Sumatra, is one of the largest ethnicities other than Javanese in Indonesia. In Batak culture, a family is not considered to have a child if it has only daughters but no son. The old Angkola Batak tradition consider women to possess a sub-ethnic identity, as daughters are not allowed to inherit from their parents. This tradition has lasted for centuries due to perception that sons contribute economically and respectably for family's honor. Meanwhile, in rural areas difficult duties are assigned to daughters, causing an unbearable strain such that they often move from their village to the big city. However, to increase their status, Angkola Batak female workers often send money to help their family to buy crop field, repair house, or fund children's school fee. This phenomena has gradually changed the patriarchal paradigm in Batak society. Eventually, Angkola Batak females who previously were never involved in traditional ceremonies now could be seen taking part in them. Also, Angkola Batak females now blatantly pursue legal status for property ownership under on their own names as they were the ones who contribute to the fund to buy the property. This increase in female status within Angkola Batak society causes harm to the hierarchy in Angkola Batak family. This phenomena has aroused the ire of the conservatives intent on defending the status quo. Thus in Batak society, be it those with dominant Muslim or Christian population, the elders often use religious reasons to prevent females from getting their rights. However, recently, a trend to review the biased norm has surfaced to redefine the concept of 'masculinity', whether it is due to gender or contribution to family.

Key Words: Patriarchal, Inheritance, Human Right, and Identity

Batak tribe has six branches thus in Dutch colonial era was well-known one of dynamic ethnic. The concentrated Batak tribe who live beyond the Bonapasogit in Java Island and other parts in Sumatra.¹ term of research about Batak tribe likely less about the Batak Angkola who are majority Muslim in southern of North Sumatra. The focus of research isn't about the demography but it's more stressed in female Batak Angkola's perspective toward Angkola Batak culture. Angkola Batak culture is still implemented by majority clan in Batak Angkola tribe.

Angkola Batak tribe has the unique because Batak Angkola majority are Muslim prevalent high spirit to keep the adat.² Impact of penetration state law and Islam for some areas within adat spark tense within Angkola Batak society, especially is related about heritage, marriage.³ The female's role in Angkola Batak took small portion within the culture even likely ignored in term of the right to own property or the important ceremony. Majority of Batak tribes are still proud the ethnic symbol (Marga) were attached with their name due as the clan's name that it can be used for many purposes. The symbol of the ethnic were very useful while you migrate beyond Bonapasogit because it can be as an interactive emotional to support each other. Even in Jakarta, it's very easy to see the domination of Batak ethnic in some professional areas, like lawyer, police, army, contactors. It's like unspoken emotional relation while you reside outside of Bonapasogit due as minority you need the clan's identity to attach with others who have the same perception. The advantage for Batak community who reside outside Bonapasogit, majority of Batak still use marga as the symbol clan.

Batak tribes are very proud the symbol of marga because there is the perception that the marga as the royal status, it's consequently every Batak community feel equal as royal society, it's very different with the common monarchy was established by separating social status among

¹ Kipp, R, *Dissociated Identities: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in Indonesia Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), look also Kusnick, G, *Parent-offspring conflict among the Karo of North Sumatra*, PhD dissertation, 2006, Anthropology, (Seattle: University of Washington, 2006), look also Singarimbun, M, *Kinship Decent and Alliance among the Karo Batak* (Barkeley: University of California, 1975)

² Susan Roger, *Print, Poetic, and Politics: a Sumatran Epic in colonial Indies and New Order Indonesia* (Leiden, 2005)

³ Borgerhoff Mulder, M, *Hamilton's rule and Kin competition: Kipsigis' case, Evolution and Human Behavior* (Boston: Blackwell, 2007), 297-310

society. *Dalian natolu* as Batak life's philosophy moulds the unique character of community because the king's status mostly used traditional ceremony will be implemented as rotation according to the situation.⁴

For male the system of Angkola Batak culture more favored because of giving advantage not only in economy but also in social privilege, but it's reversible for female Batak who feel disappointed for some rules. Female in Batak Angkola tradition commonly face the transition while one side they are proud as Batak community meanwhile they are internally pressed and often complain some rules of Batak tradition ignore their existence. Angkola Batak female try to demand the some rules are changed because it's blatantly violence the universal moral code such as the right to get heritage's property from their parents. But the female's demand about the equal right for the property could dismantle significantly the established rule for centuries which form the Batak characters. In spite of Angkola Batak female demand the more equal right with male but they won't still demand totally equal like female in western countries.⁵ For Angkola Batak female's demands are more attraction so that their right to be paid attention by the community leaders who predominantly by male.

For Angkola Batak female's perspective who live in Bonapasogit must be different with the female who reside beyond it while they percieve Angkola Batak culture. Mostly the pride is feeling to come from Angkola Batak's clan more favored while they reside outside Bonapasogit. In densely population in city, marga can be used as the supported tools in relationship even many Bataknese female were born outside Bonapasogit still use marga for their advantage purpose, especially in bureaucracy. Meanwhile for Angkola Batak female have the different situation; they don't get advantage the useful of marga which is attached with theirs due to obtain pressure from the environment.

Meanwhile female in Angkola Batak culture face obstacle within their own community in Bonapasogit because the pressure for female in Bonapasogit higher than those who live in outside it. Obviously, the family attitude put priority toward male's member clan than female make uncomfortable for them. Almost all family's resources will be transferred to male

⁴ Dalian Natolu is the famous slogan in Angkola Batak which describes the harmony relation among the three equal positions in term of patriarchy, matriarchy, and the clan members. This position will be rotated according to the position you are in when adat ceremony occurred.

⁵ Low, Alison M, *Feminism and the New Democracy: Resitting the Political*, Journal of Woman's History 10.4, Winter, 1999

member's clan. The heritage is likely never considered for female because clan members thought that the property will be moved to the other patriarchal.

For Angkola Batak female who challenge the status quo will face the resistant from their own clan community amid destroy the community's rule.⁶ But the rapid information has hit almost whole over in this world make Angkola Batak female try to challenge the current situation for equality.⁷ The amount pressure of resistant from status quo force the female reformist to move from their home town. Off course, not all Batak Angkola female who migrate from Bonapasogit is caused the pressure from the conservative in the inner circle, some who migrate due to invest for the future like education, or professional reason. For Angkola Batak female the migration is the last choice, especially who decided to migrate abroad. For Batak Angkola community migrate abroad is a something shameful because a woman shouldn't go far from protection of their community.⁸ So it's like difficult to find data migrant worker from ethnic back ground in southern of north Sumatra, it's different like in java even the local government to endorse its people to be migrant worker due the remittance can give significant contribution.

Heritage is one of reasons for Angkola Batak female face discomfort and inimical until now, except for female who live in big city outside of Bonapasogit. For male within Angkola Batak that the system of Bonapasogit's rule is like to establish their permanent position. Even many of Angkola Batak male after serving many years outside Bonapasogit in retirement they will go home to Bonapasogit because they have still large land. The area usually can be used for profit orientation like in plantation or farming field. But it's never happen for female because they don't have any property's right from their parents. The tradition which is perceived woman as the pariah was Hinduism legacy within Batak community. For farming society is usually perceive woman as the weak who can't empower the farming field.⁹ Woman was seen as the

⁶ Steedly, Mary Margaret, The State of Culture Theory in the Anthropology in Southeast Asia, Annual Review of Anthropology, 28, 1999, 431-454

⁷ Cassanova, Pablo Gonzales, Globalism, Neoliberalism, and Democracy, Social Justice Journal, 23, 1-2, Spring, 1996, 36

⁸ SHutes, Isabel, The Employment of Migrant Worker in Long Term Care: Dynamic of Choice and Control, Journal of Social Policy, 41, January 2012, 43-59

⁹Portier, M K, and Slaats, H, *Woman and the Division of Parental Land in Karo Society (Ed)*, Cultures and Societies of North Sumatra (Berlin: Dietrich Reiner Verlag, 1987), 303-308

weak creature so they aren't deserved to receive the property right from their parents because the land would be assumed to be triviality.¹⁰

Most patriarchal society was commonly created from the agrarian community which needs the strong men to handle the land. But for once a time, women tried to involve the production in farming field so that they were considered to give contribution for family income. It's very different with other ethnic like Melayu in North Sumatra that the woman's role is not felt insubordinate because female Melayu don't have much cultural pressure in their clan. In many towns or cities in traditional market can be easily seeing Batak female's role as the majority of the Vendor traders there. The cultural pressure that didn't have access property right from their parent consequently forced Batak female more active in economy activities.

The cultural pressure for Angkola Batak female isn't only about the heritage but also the marriage manner. For general Batak society is a stain for widow female in Angkola Batak who remarried after the death of her husband. For those who decided to remarry must go out from her deceased husband's village. The widow who decided to remarry must leave her deceased husband's house because her action is considered as stain within their clan ethnic. Meanwhile Angkola Batak female who decided not to remarry after the death of her husband will be perceived as the loyal wife.

The perception above like was derived from Hinduism which let a wife to be burned if her husband died amid the existence of Hindu had been rooted in the region. This assumption is supported by the heritage of Hindu temples like in the famous one in Portibi. Meanwhile in Java where was the center of Hinduism the Javanese society likely face no objection if a widow remarries after the death of her husband. Whether this gesture assumed that the Hinduism more rooted in Batak Angkola than in java.

Subject and method

The role of Angkola Batak Female within society is inevitably but for some people that it's like duplicitous language, one side to admit the female's role has significant role the other side they are still treated as the second class within society. To measure the satisfaction of Angkola Batak female toward their own culture is minimized with the three areas; marriage, heritage, and marga. This research is likely difficult to get adequate data from official sources

¹⁰Hardy, S.,and Judge, D, Darwin and the Puzzle of Primogeniture: An Essay on Biases in Parental Investment After Death, Human Nature,4, 1993

because the stressing point in this research mainly to calculate the dissatisfaction Angkola Batak female toward their tradition in Bonapasogit and Medan as one of most populated Angkola Batak community beyond Bonapasogit area. The comparative survey between in Bonapasogit and Medan means to produce the fair research. This method also tries to dismiss the bias assumption

Table 1 the marriage section

Item number	Item	Affirmative responses					
		Bonapasogit			Medan		
		N	Y	Result	N	Y	Result
1	Did you remarry after the death of your husband	88	12	88%	60	40	60%
2	Do you worry that you may not be able to feed your children after the death of your husband	35	65	65%	55	45	55%
3	Do you wish to remarry if you found the proper husband for you and for your family	80	20	80%	25	75	75%
4	Do you feel the clan tradition fair enough for marriage rule	90	10	90%	40	60	60%
5	Have you ever been seeing woman remarried to stay in the Bonapasogit village	100	0	100%	100	0	100%
6	Do you think that widow has right to decide to remarry and stay in Bonapasogit	62	38	62%	90	10	90%
7	Do you think the marriage rule suitable with Islam value	67	37	67%	53	47	53%
8	Do you think the based religion court as the solution for widow who decide to remarry	55	45	55%	60	40	40%
9	Do you feel have any protection from your parent clan ethnic	87	13	87%	20	80	80%
10	Do you think migrate from Bonapasogit as the	0	100	100%	45	55	

	solution for widow who want to remarry	55%
--	--	-----

Table 2 for the heritage section

Item number	Item	Response					
		Bonapasogit		Medan			
		N	Y	N	Y		
		Result		Result			
1	Did you ever accept the heritage of property's right from your parent	90	10	90%	4	96	96%
2	Did you brother ever share the ownership of heritage of property's right	80	20	80%	3	97	97%
3	Do you think heritage of property's right should be divided equally	65	35	65%	55	45	45%
4	Do you agree with the Islamic heritage law which is favored to male	20	80	80%	56	44	56%
5	Do you still use your marga in public	45	55	55%	30	70	70%
6	Do you think whether it's fair while your husband get the heritage meanwhile his sister "not"	35	65	65%	80	20	80%

Qualitative data perception

The survey took place both Padang lawas Utara (North Padang Lawas) and Medan, the reason to choose the places were based on the fact the both as the most concentrated population live Angkola Batak community. Besides the both places were considered as the easy way for collecting the valid data are suitable the purpose of this research. This is research is to aim prove the assumption that phenomenally Angkola Batak female suffers for some of rules of the tradition within their ethnic clan.

The type of the question is classified based on the initiative to break the covered perception about the tradition. The factor from the inside clan ethnic who was born non-Bonapasogit make the people interviewee more comfort to share their objection toward the

tradition. The typical question is chasing the hidden concern for female both who live in Bonapasogit or in outside. The correspondent of this research were selected based on the ethnicity background so that it can get the aim of this research to prove the phenomena within Angkola Batak community. The correspondents were categorized as the part of Angkola Batak stake holders who are very competence to involve the tradition. It's very important to distract from the bias, the correspondents residence both in Bonapasogit and Medan were selected to find the logic measurement of the result. For correspondents who live in Bonapasogit amid not from specific village but they are still in the range of mostly in Northern South Tapanuli. Because it's very difficult to find the correspondents within certain area due the issues are categorized sensitively within Angkola Batak society.

The selection of the typical question to identify the following: 1. How female Batak perception for the tradition generally. 2. Whether female Batak Angkola's demand like the general feminists who demand the equal right with male position. Then some of the segment of the categorized will be put in the certain spot that it is expected easier to be analyzed

Analysis of data quantitative

Sometimes the perception of the progress of the equality in term of gender is different between male and female in Angkola Batak community. For male that tradition has been a lot of adapting the female's demand to be given the broader role within tradition. But the adapted role is not enough to elevate female's as the satisfaction level. According to wall street journal survey to men and women about the equality is different perception to see the progress in equality about the gender in the range of the past 20 years.¹¹ For most women didn't see any significant progress to lift the gap between men and women. Meanwhile men see the blatantly the significant role almost every sector of life was categorized equal in pay or opportunity.

The survey about the perception female Batak Angkola perception can be counted as the female demand to see the reality of their life within tradition. Here the data delay between reality and expectation between the two Angkola Batak female residents.

Discussion

The figure was in the survey that Angkola Batak female tried to stem the exuberance of male's dominance. In this case, sometime the objections of the researcher to determine between

¹¹ Richard Paul Eibach and Joyce Ehrlinger, Reference Points in Men's and Women's Judgements of Progress Toward Gender Equality, Published online 28 August 2010, Springer Science and Business Media, 1-13

the discovery and the justification. Because sometimes the theories were built by the famous theorists mostly affected the atmosphere in western cultures, meanwhile the social problems are being discussed very local case. To attach the certain theory toward this case is likely difficult. One of the obstacles to determine the right theory in the case amid the theorists in social science mostly westerners who made the social theories are based on the inner western atmosphere.¹² For this reason, a researcher must act subjective in term of focusing case. One of the difficulties to select the most favored theories was being discussed due to the most sophisticated methods coming from western scientist. They usually formulate the social theories were based on the event happened within their society.¹³ In this term, it's better emphasize ongoing phenomena before using the specific ones in the research.

Discussion

Actually, the gender cases occurred not only in Batak (Indonesia) but also in other places in this planet. Amid the gender cases always happen in social life but the cause of the cases were triggered by different patterns. Sometimes in an area, it can be assumed as the gender issue but the other ones weren't categorized as the gender problem.¹⁴ From all the gender issue there is one that it can be bridging the whole gender issue due in demanding female participation in many fields. In western society, women challenge their environment to be given equality in all sectors. But in the other side, they ask also to be treated exclusive, especially for naturally inevitable as a female who gives birth or menstruate.¹⁵

The demand many women to be treated equally likely difficult to be realized due God had created both differently. The female workers who in pregnancy or menstruate give an impact, especially in economy. For some reasons, the gender issue sparks the dilemma because feminists demand that women are treated as equal as male. Meanwhile, this attitude likely ambivalence in same time they ask every ones to understand that God created women differently with men. The gender problem will be going in hot issue because the dissatisfaction always grows as the new demand will appear coincide with the dynamic of society. The steady value

¹² Richard Swedberg, *Theorizing in sociology and Social Science: Turning to the Context of Discovery*, published online 12 November 2011, Springer Media and Business Media, 5-15

¹³ Breslau, Danil, *Sociology after Humanism: A Lesson from Contemporary Science Studies*, Sociological Theory, ProQuest sociology, July 2000

¹⁴ Frost, Ashley E, *Exploring the Nature of Gender-Equitable attitudes among Ghanaian Men: a Mix Methods Study*, The Pennsylvania University, UMI Dissertations Publishing, ProQuest, 2009

¹⁵ Pu, Xiumei, *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives/Feminism Redux: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism/Gloria Anzaldua Reader*, NWSA Journal, Spring 2011, 281-287

will be challenge by the people who disadvantage with the status quo value. Actually, Angkola Batak Female's perception toward the tradition is to insist that Batak' stake holders within the community to give more space for women involve in their tradition. They want to show up their new identity who can contribute to society, for structuralist what's going on the tradition is one of the logical instruments to create the stable condition.¹⁶ The structural society is mostly creating the hierarchy structure within society that for some people is natural. Thus, in the social identity approach seems the structural theory didn't give the proportional role for marginal group. Sometimes, the marginal ones can be lead in the economy or politics in formal public service. Although the structural society created the hierarchy status within society but it's perceived to give the guaranty for social order. Absolutely, every community always form the hierarchy social structure that still give contribution for social order as long as the marginal not feel as the victim of the system. The problem become chronics while the individuals who are in the top hierarchy position were created are not based quality of social contest. Without the social contest must create the resistant from inner social community toward the social agreement. It's not surprised why Angkola Batak female challenge the tradition amid the hierarchy in the society just give artificial right within society. The phenomena show that female want to be considered as the ostensible identity not quasi identity.

Identity attached in a group always coincides with the perception within it. Identity of general Batak society is perceived as the masculine identity created the gap between female and male in term of the social and economy resources.¹⁷ The eldest son usually manipulates the economy share by increasing the quantity of the children. This way is designated to gain more property right from their parents.¹⁸ This action can be describe as the tactics to get their parents attention on behalf to defend the pride of family to empower the land likely better give the more portion the economy resources to the eldest son who brought the family's pride. Slightly, the economy motivation is the women's desire to demand the equality in Batak society, especially in Batak society. But for female who live in outside Bonapasogit the economy motivation is not as the tagline but mostly in the identity manner. The identity is one of the crucial issues within people live outside of the hometown. They feel their identity is in danger due the penetration

¹⁶ Vanderberghe, Fredric, *The Real is Relational: Epistemological analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's, Sociological Theory*, March 199, 32

¹⁷ Rummens, Joanna A, *Conceptualizing Identity and Diversity: Overlaps, Intersection, and Processes*, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 2003, 10-25

¹⁸ Clark, A, *Sex Ratio and Local Resource Competition in a prosimian primate*, Science, 201, 1978, 163-165

coming from many cultures likely want to crush their identity. They don't want to become Pariah live in far from Bonapasogit. So the strong identity as Batak community is considered effectively enough to shield the threat coming from penetrator. They don't want to be considered as the outsider even they were born outside Bonapasogit.

Batak society who live outside of Bonapasogit likely more solid than they live in Bonapasogit. This thesis can be proved by the intense meeting internal Batak community more often than in Bonapasogit. Due the penetration from other cultures force them who reside out Bonapasogit more united among them. Meanwhile for people live in Bonapasogit the only threat coming from their own community because they didn't face the penetration from outsiders. Especially, for female Batak community that the threat is the patriarchal domination who standstill the tradition which isn't favored to female. The strong threat was postured by the patriarchal domination, so feminist need the ammunition to topple hegemony the old tradition. The ammunition means here the religion value or the formal state law. Religious value and formal state law are assumed to enable to challenge Batak tradition which wasn't pro for woman. It seems ostensible that Batak feminists try to put Batak tradition face to face with religion and formal state law, especially some elements in the tradition are perceived to break the human right code value such as the heritage of property from parent or right to remarried. Look at the data releases by religious court in Padang Sidempuan shows the personal law (perdata) increasing year by year the content of the cases mostly divorce, heritage among siblings within family.¹⁹ The divorce cases dominated that wives try to appeal the court to dismantle the marriage, it indicate that female Batak even in Bonapasogit have courage to challenge the patriarchy by using the state formal instrument.

In social conflict approach can inflict two sides like in coins, one side give negative impact and the other side makes the positive. The negative impact here means that conflict social approach can damage the social relation among the community but this conflict can spark new mutual understanding among the element within society which aren't accommodated in the current situation.²⁰ Pemangku adat as the crucial element to solve any problem within society

¹⁹ Data releases by court- Based Religion in Padang Sidempuan the capital of South Tapanuli, 2013

²⁰ Williem, Natalie E, Living with Conflict: The Effect of Community Organizations, Economy Assets, and Mass Media Consumption on Migration during Armed Conflict University of Michigan, UMI Dissertation Publishing, Proquest, 2009

likely not in trust group who can accommodate female's interest because Pemangku adat is categorized as the status quo who are disagree the amendment the tradition.²¹

The challenge the tradition within Angkola Batak community seriously because the tradition must face the religion and formal state law. Pemangku adat likely aware that the the convention of the tradition in dangerous level in term of the existence. they knew that it's impossible for them to win the battle vis a vis . the logical steps are taken to use religion and state formal law as the tools as justification to make the tradition to keep exist. Trick to make the tradition seem suitable with Islam by combining the adat tradition with chanting the religious value. Even the state formal law is interpreted bias such as heritage cases almost untouchable in Bonapasogit, the trend which not give access for female the parent's asset still easy to be found in rural area in Bonapasogit. By using the biased interpretation of religion and the state formal state is easy for Pemangku adat to twist into the scenario that can make the tradition steady.

Angkola Batak female maneuver to challenge the tradition seem unsuccessful that force them to look for the other tool to empower their struggle. They don't have any alternative to be used to topple the patriarlinage domination except inviting the outside power. The outside power mean here is to use the human right issue as the tagline to challenge the tradition. The tagline is expected to defeat the tradition because the human right issue is powerful enough to tackle the tradition. Feminist within Batak community try to make the negative stereotype whoever still don't want to accommodate the human right issue because of facing the human whole over this planet. This step likely successful enough to loose some rules in Angkola Batak tradition. In some areas, we can easily see a husband in Batak Angkola family acts his wife' stint even it's not show up blatantly in public. Counter attack toward the patriarchy domination with the human right tagline likely begin to get the sympathy from inner society.

The human right tagline seems very success also to demolish the social suppressive in the other world. The toppled apartheid in South Africa in 1990s, the demolished of Berlin wall in 1986, and the admittance for women to vote or become parliament member in many gulf countries in 2000s indicate the monstrous human right jargon topple the atrocities. But the human right tagline more felt in big cities outside Bonapasogit as educated people. Even the

²¹ Pemangku Adat means the elders within Angkola Community who have unspoken right to run the old tradition within clan ethnic

concept of the human right still blurs but it can force the conservative stakeholders within Angkola Batak community to accommodate the female's female. The realization of the pressure is significantly state servant a lot of family clan to care the future of female's career. The moderate solution is giving Angkola Batak female to get access sustainable income like to become the state servant.

For Hanna Arendt the real human right is the local value enables to make the all of elements within society comfort.²² It's not to force the jargon of universal human right must be implemented in a community. Tagline of human right contains the totalirism mission due the founding countries which proclaim human right declaration is the winner of the Second World War. But here means the human right can bring the hope for the marginal group to be accommodated within the society. Surely, the right of owning property is every one's or chooses the spouse can be categorized as part of basic of human need. But the inescapably tied the local value is inevitably.

In term of identity approach can be felt the sense of internalized perception, the many things are attached in the person or group is identified the identity within itself. Job, heritage, or other skills can be assumed as the identity within society. In political identity likely occurred the social value changing in most favored from heredity identity to job which guarantee the sustainable income. One of the life values in Batak generally is to pursuit *Harajaon*. It means to linkage the glory of clan of community. It's usually related to become stake holders in government. For centuries *Harajaon* concept is one of Batak's orientations in their life. Whoever has the big role within government will get the privilege in Batak community.²³ It's not surprised to see even Batak community is the small ethnic in Indonesia but the role of Batak people in government categorized big than Batak ethnic quantity. After Indonesia independence, *Harajaon* concept in Angkola Batak society begin to change. Unspoken respect will be given to any ones who works in government institution as a state servant, police, army. For a girl who has official state status will have bigger bargaining position, especially in looking for her husband candidate. The sustainable income from state servant status will be considered the privilege within community. The changing orientation from the agricultural society to modern shift the paradigm in the tradition, even right now the comparative in quantity in term of state servant among three

²² Crishtoph, Menke, The "Aporias of Human Rights" and the One Human Right Regarding the Coherence of Hannah arendt's argument, Social Research, fall 2007

²³ Harajaon is in semantic meaning to show the big pride mostly related with the social status within community



Universität Hamburg
DER FORSCHUNG | DER LEHRE | DER BILDUNG

UHH · Asien-Afrika-Institut · Abt. SOA - Austronesistik
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Ost · D-20146 Hamburg

Asien-Afrika-Institut
Abteilung für Sprachen und Kulturen
Südostasiens



Schwerpunkt Austronesistik

Prof. Dr. Jan van der Putten

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that

Muhammad Habibi Siregar M.A.

has participated as paper presenter in the international seminar

LEGAL ASPECTS OF ISLAM IN INDONESIA

Organized by the Department of Southeast Asian Languages and Cultures of
the University of Hamburg on 14 November 2013.

Hamburg, 14 November 2013

Convenor

Prof. Dr. Jan van der Putten

Dept of Southeast Asian Languages and Cultures

Asien-Afrika-Institut

Universität Hamburg

Universität Hamburg · Asien-Afrika-Institut
Abteilung für Sprachen und Kulturen Südostasiens
Arbeitsbereich Austronesistik
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 · Flügel Ost
D - 20146 Hambt

Universität Hamburg · Asien-Afrika-Institut · Abt. f. Sprachen und Kulturen Südostasiens · Austronesistik

Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Ost · 20146 Hamburg · www.aai.uni-hamburg.de



Universität Hamburg
DER FORSCHUNG | DER LEHRE | DER BILDUNG

UHH · Asien-Afrika-Institut · Abt. SOA - Austronesistik
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Ost · D-20146 Hamburg

Asien-Afrika-Institut
Abteilung für Sprachen und Kulturen
Südostasiens



Schwerpunkt Austronesistik

Prof. Dr. Jan van der Putten

Dr. Zainul Fuad
Project Director
IAIN Medan

Hamburg, 16.10.2013

Dear Dr Zainul Fuad,

With this letter I would like to confirm our earlier invitation to three of your staff members to present their work at our university. We are organizing a seminar for students and professors of Islamic sciences and law at the Asien-Afrik-Institut. For this seminar on 14 November 2013 we would like to invite the following staff members to present their findings:

1. Dr Ansari, MA.
2. Habibi Siregar, MA
3. Prof. Dr. Ahmad Qorib, MA

We hope very much that these staff members can join us for this seminar and are looking forward to hear their presentations.

Sincerely yours,

Prof. Dr. Jan van der Putten

Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 (Flügel Ost), D-20146 Hamburg
Tel.: +49/40/42838- 4885
Fax: +49/40/42838- 6417
E-Mail: Jan.van.der.Putten@uni-hamburg.de