



***Manortor* as a Solidarity and Identity Building Media of Mandailing Ethnic Group in Rokan Hulu, Riau Province**

Elmi Novita^{1✉}, Santosa Soewarlan², I Nyoman Sukerna²

¹Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia Aceh, Indonesia

²Institut Seni Indonesia Surakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aimed to explore *manortors* as a medium for building solidarity and identity for the Mandailing community in Rokan Hulu Regency, Riau Province. The research method was carried out through observation of *manortor* performances in *Menaming*, *Bangun Purba*, and *Khaiti Villages* as Mandailing ethnic dominions in Rokan Hulu. The observation focused on the movement aspect of the *manortor*. In-depth interviews were conducted to reinforce the data obtained through the observation of the *manortor* and to explore how aspects of the movement in the *manortor* build solidarity and identity. The results showed that *manortor* is a dance that embodies kinship relationships with *dalihan na tolu*. The form of movement, standing position, and order of performance should be in line with the norms of kinship. The group members dance together with movements representing kinship relationships and strengthening kinship relationships, building solidarity and a strong self-identity. English translation.

Keywords: solidarity, dance, kinship, identity

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INTRODUCTION

Kinship refers to family relationships based on descent and marriage. Kinship as a cultural system includes the whole way of life that guides the attitude and behavior of ethnic groups. Each ethnic group has a different kinship system and determines who is classified as a relative in a different way, with the rights and obligations attached to relatives. Relationships among members of kinship groups are expressed through cultural symbols that are carried out together, such as traditional rituals, weddings, dancing, singing, and others. Of the various activities that are carried out together, dance has an impetus that

other activities tend not to have (Spencer, 1985, p. 15).

This research is based on the assumption that dance as a form of expression symbolizing kinship has an important role in building group solidarity. In China, kinship is an important foundation for the social order of traditional people's lives. Collective rites involving music and dance have a powerful effect, creating intense feelings of respect, love, and loyalty and, thus, are the basis for the Confucian social order (Rošker, 2020, p. 1). The Chinese philosopher Li Zehou believed that, at first, the symbolic activities of kinship grew out of genuine shamanistic ritual music and dance (Rošker, 2020, p. 5).

✉ Corresponding author:
E-mail: elminovita@isbiaceh.ac.id

In line with traditional Chinese ethnicity with the Confucian kinship system, the Mandailing ethnicity has a kinship system called *dalihan na tolu* or 'three furnaces. *Dalihan na tolu* refers to the three elements of kinship consisting of *mora* (wife's family), *anak boru* (husband's family), and *kahanggi* (family relatives). *Dalihan na tolu* as the highest source of law regulates the relationship between *mora*, *anak boru*, and *kahanggi*. The relationship between the relatives is realized through the *manortor*. *Manortor* is dancing to the accompaniment of a song called *onang-onang* which tells the family's history and group. Dancing without *onang-onang* is not called *manortor*. This is to distinguish it from other dances, such as *sabe-sabe* and *endeng-endeng*.

The Mandailing ethnicity come from North Sumatra Province and moved to Rokan Hulu Regency, Riau Province, accompanied by bringing with them their culture, including dance and music. According to historical records, since the end of the XVI century AD, there has been contact between Mandailing and Minangkabau in Rokan Hulu (Abdullah, 1990, p. 279). In the new life in Riau, as a result of interaction with other groups and adaptation to the environment, various changes occur in social, cultural, and religious life compared to the previous life. However, in these various changes, they maintain family and kinship relations. This is in line with Schneider's view that kinship solidarity is more intense, more widespread, and lasts longer. Solidarity also symbolizes special trust (Schneider, 1980, p. 116).

The persistence of kinship relations in the context of geographic mobility, as happened with the Mandailing ethnicity, is motivated by the fact that the family is a useful resource for immigrants (Crow & Maclean, 2003, p. 71). A relation is very important for the Mandailing ethnicity to build a new life in a new place, kinship. As a group of immigrants in Rokan Hulu, they provide mutual support to their families and fellow ethnicities (Vacca, Cañarte, & Vitale, 2021, p. 5). The similarity of culture in the land of origin certainly provides

a lot of convenience in facing various challenges in a new place.

The role of dance as a medium to confirm identity and solidarity in a new place does not seem to have been replaced by other forms of cultural expression. In fact, although the dance itself undergoes changes in form, function, and structure, dance consistently creates group solidarity. Like the *Karen*, an ethnic group who immigrated from Burma to the United States, variations in some aspects of dance occur over time and space, but dance consistently creates a sense of unity, and togetherness, strengthening, and reaffirms their identity as *Karen*, both cultural and ethnic identity and sense of solidarity among *Karen* people around the world (Smith, 2018, p. 7).

This article analyzed the *manortor* as a medium for building solidarity and identity for the people of *Mandailing*. The *manortor* movement, as Harvina stated, has certain characteristics, meanings, and purposes. The *manortor* is performed by several people consisting of two rows, the front row is referred to as the *panortor* and the back row as the *pangayapi* (2008, pp. 3-4). Although mentioning the kinship system relationship of *dalihan na tolu* in the *manortor*, Harvina did not explain how the *manortor* built a sense of solidarity for the people of *Mandailing*. Meanwhile, Sannur D. F. Sinaga also stated that togetherness, or solidarity for the common interest, is a principle inherent with *tor-tor* in the Batak Toba culture. The four standard hand positions in *tor-tor* of the Batak Toba correspond to the dancer's position in the Batak Toba kinship system. It consists of *mane-anea* which means to ask for blessings (to bear the burden), *mamasu-masu* which means to give blessings, *mangido tua* which means to ask for and receive blessings, and *manomba* which means to worship and ask for blessings (Sinaga, 2012, p. 194). Similar to Harvina, Sinaga did not elaborate on how elements of the movement brought solidarity and identity in kinship to the Batak Toba community. Dance plays a significant role in building solidarity and identity in kinship groups through ana-

lysis between kinship norms, dance movements, solidarity, and identity. To that end, the research is expected to provide an understanding of how dance tied to the norms of kinship relations presents a sense of solidarity and identity for society. English translation.

METHOD

This research is qualitative. Qualitative research is defined as research that aims to explain cultural phenomena, especially values, opinions, and social contexts (Soewarlan, 2015, p. 94). Correspondingly, qualitative research is also directed at providing a comprehensive understanding and interpreting the meaning of the social world of the community under the study by exploring the social and material environment, experiences, perspectives, and history of a community group (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 3). The research data were obtained through observation of *manortor* performances in 3 villages, including Menaming, Bangun Purba, and Khaiti, which are the territory of the Mandailing ethnic group in Rokan Hulu.

The meaning of dance is determined socially, and so are the ways of moving (Desmond, 1997, p. 31); therefore, to understand the meaning of movement in the *manortor*, it is necessary to explore directly from the Mandailing community who understands and acknowledges the values contained in the dance. For this reason, the next step is an in-depth interview to explore the meanings of the *manortor*. Dolok Hasibuan, 76 years old, is a resident of Bangun Purba village. He is a *paronang-onang* or singer in the *manortor* performance and the main resource person in this study. Furthermore, interviews were also performed with Safrijon, the head of Menaming Village. He is highly concerned about the sustainability of the *manortor* performance as the identity of Mandailing. Nurhayati Nasution and Siti Duolom, who have experience in *manortor* performances are the following resource persons to explore how *manortor* presents a sense of solidarity and

identity more intensively.

The perspectives used in this study were emic and ethical. An ethical perspective or a scientist-oriented perspective (Kottak, 2005, p. 29) aims to look at the *manortor* from the researcher's perspective; moreover, the *manortor* is interpreted from the researcher's point of view. Meanwhile, the emic or native-oriented perspective (Kottak, 2005, p. 29) is the perspective of the people of Mandailing Riau, with more viewing of socio-cultural life, especially the *manortor* performance as a process as opposed to being a permanent element. *Manortor* as a cultural event representing the thoughts and behavior of the Mandailing ethnic is retold verbally.

The data obtained through in-depth interviews, observations, and literature studies are then developed through data validity development techniques. Data validity used in this study was the principle of data triangulation. Data triangulation takes a different perspective in answering research questions. This perspective can be proven using several methods and/or perspective approaches (Flick, 2018, p. 788).

The resulting data provides insight into the perspective of the Mandailing ethnic who interprets their beliefs and behavior and, most essentially, an understanding of the meaning attached to the *manortor* performance as the epicenter in building Mandailing ethnic identity (Ritchie, 2003, p. 36). Data analysis is carried out with an interactive model that refers to Miles and Huberman, that there are three stages of analysis: data reduction, presenting data, and drawing conclusions or verification (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 12).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Dalihan na Tolu Kinship System

The Mandailing kinship system is called *dalihan na tolu*. The word *dalihan* has the meaning of 'furnace,' *na tolu* means 'the three'. Etymologically *dalihan na tolu* means three parallel and balanced furnaces. The three furnaces in question are three

relative elements consisting of 1) *Mora*, namely the family of the wife; 2) *Anak Boru*, the husband's family; 3) *Kahanggi*, family relatives taken from the father's lineage (patrilineal).

The term *tungku* refers to the stove used for cooking in traditional culture. For cooking, it takes three stoves that have the same size and are arranged in a balanced manner so that they can be used for cooking. If it only consists of one or two stoves, you cannot put cooking tools on the stove. Three stoves of the same size symbolize the relationship between *mora*, *anak boru*, and *kahanggi* who have the same high position and synergize with each other in building the life of the Mandailing community.

As a social system, every element in the *dalihan na tolu* kinship has the nature of being interconnected with one another (Homans, 1950, p. 90). The relationship between the three *dalihan na tolu* kinship structures is regulated through culture, ethics, morals, and law as part of the mechanism by which the Mandailing people maintain their cultural existence (Radcliffe-Brown, 1940, p. 8). The etiquette between the three elements of *dalihan na tolu* is expressed in the proverb "*manat-manat markahanggi, elek maranak boru, and omba marmora.*" It means to be careful with relatives in the same clan so that there are no disputes, wise in treating and repaying the kindness of *anak boru*; and polite attitude towards morality.

For relatives, moral rules and behavior are regulated in the Mandailing culture. Attitudes and ways of behaving among relatives in the Mandailing community are bridged through *holong* or affection. *Holong* is a rope that unites every kinship group and member of the Mandailing community in the *dalihan na tolu* social system. The nature of having a sense of compassion in the Mandailing community is illustrated in the proverb, which reads *holong do maroban domu, domu maroban parsaulian* (love brings intimacy, familiarity brings common good). *Holong*, is the highest and most abstract cultural value, which is the basis for functional relationships among

the three kinship groups (Nasution, 2007, p. 19).

In addition to rights and obligations, attitudes and ways of behaving in social relations between people who are bound by the *Dalihan Na Tolu* kinship system are socially regulated and approved by the Mandailing community (Radcliffe-Brown, 1941, p. 6). Even though each element has the same position, the *anak boru* and *kahanggi* have great respect for *mora*. *Mora* is the source or base for the realization of relatives and must always be respected (Pulungan 2018, 114). A form of respect for *mora* is to prioritize them in carrying out various tasks and jobs.

Embodiment of the *Dalihan na Tolu* System through the *Manortor*

Manortor is dancing together based on equal status in Mandailing kinship structure. If some people in other cultures have dances that are considered appropriate for a certain age and gender, different ages and different genders dance different dances (Royce, 1977, p. 80). In the Mandailing people, in every celebration, they dance the same dance, namely the *manortor*. From time to time, they dance *tor-tor* with the same movements, music, and rules. The difference is the status in kinship and song lyrics.

Based on historical records, the *manortor* is believed to have existed before pre-modern times, where forms of cultural expression were collective expressions. *Manortor* existed when the ancestors of the Mandailing ethnicity had not immigrated from Toba to the south or the border of West Sumatra and Rokan Hulu. As an art that has existed since pre-modern times, *manortor* performances until now are always associated with certain celebrations or events such as weddings, family celebrations, appointment of village heads and so on. The artwork is not displayed in pre-modern art without any celebration (Sumardjo, 2006, p. 95). The meaning of *manortor* is only known in the context of a celebration or traditional event.

At celebrations or traditional events,

family and relatives gather and dance together. Each area occupied by the Mandailing community has the names of different *manortor*. The *manortor* exhibited in Rokan Hulu Regency consisted of *manortor raja-raja*, *manortor suhut*, *manortor mora*, *manortor anak boru*, *manortor kahanggi*, *manortor naposo bulung*, and *manortor pengantin*. Naming is based on who is dancing, so the *manortor raja-raja* is the *raja-raja* or clan leaders. The *suhut manortor* is danced by the *suhut*, and others. From the types of *manortor* which family and relatives mostly perform, it is reflected that the Mandailing culture attaches great importance to relationships with family and relatives since dancers reflect the culture (Hanna, 2015, p. 28).

Manortor may not mix men with women. Therefore, for each type of *manortor*, there are at least two appearances, for example, the male host family (*suhut*), female *suhut*, and so on. There are exceptions for *manortor naposo bulung* and *manortor pengantin*. For the *manortor naposo bulung*, their purpose in dancing together is to find a partner, so they are combined into one performance. Even though they are combined, they are still without touch and eye contact. It is not allowed for men and women to join in one performance is a standard rule wherever the *manortor* is performed. In line with cultural expressions in Islamic culture in other parts of the world, some of which even separate the stage for women and men.

Dance makes a unique contribution to society and culture based on its form and expression. At the same time, it is bound by kinship (besides religion, social, political, and economic organization) (Royce, 1977). In line with this thought, the *manortor* is a dance that is tied to the kinship of *dalihan na tolu*. More specifically, the *manortor* represents the relationship between *mora*, *anak boru*, and *kahanggi* and elements of the Mandailing community which are regulated through the norms that apply in the *dalihan na tolu* kinship system. Who is dancing, standing position, form of movement, accessories used, and so on are

bound by the norms of *dalihan na tolu*.

The *manortor* is displayed in the yard or a large area around the family home holding a celebration or event. The area that will be used as a place to dance is covered with a carpet or mat. Spectators can watch the *manortor* from any angle they want. The absence of boundaries between dancers and audiences allows communication between dancers and audiences to be more intense. Although sometimes at the venue, there is also a stage used for modern music performances, the *manortor* is not performed on an existing stage.

The pattern of the *manortor* floor is in the form of parallel rows, whether carried out by traditional leaders, relatives of *dalihan na tolu*, or *naposo bulung*. Dances performed in a straight line like a *manortor* show a metaphor for engagement in a wider, dangerous, and unstable world (Hanna, 1979, p. 94). The straight-line floor pattern can be connected with the struggle of the Mandailing ethnic group to gain recognition for their existence in a new place. However, in the parallel-line floor pattern, the sense of solidarity is also very strongly felt.

At first, the dancers face the line of *raja-raja* as a form of respect for them. In their ideal form, *raja-raja*, community leaders, religious scholars, and the general public occupy different sides of the *manortor's* performance arena. However, currently, that provision is no longer valid. One could watch the *manortor* from any side and mingle with one another. When a musical phrase is finished, the direction of the face is rotated 90° to the right. Then, start dancing again to a new rhyme until the musical phrase ends, and turn your body 90° to the right again. When the musical phrase is finished, rotate the body back 90° to the right.

Moving left or right, backward or forward, and turning right or left are symbols of space that refer to spiritual rationality (Sumardjo, 2006, p. 94). At first, the change of direction facing the *manortor* was a myth. It is a tribute to the spirits that surround the performance area. But along

with the various changes, today, the change of facing direction as a symbol to respect the audience who came from every side of the stage in rotation. The four directions of facing the *manortor* can also be interpreted as respect for the four elements in the Mandailing community, which consist of clever people, religious scholars, village officials, and the general public (Dolok Hasibuan, interview on January 23, 2022).

Changing the direction to face with the aim of respecting the audience from each side of the performance arena, on the other hand, is also a form of non-verbal communication between relatives who dance with the audience. Of course, in the end, it positively influences the broader sense of solidarity, not only for the family or relatives who dance but also for anyone who comes to see the show. This is certainly different if the show is facing one direction. Communication is more intense to the audience who is on one side only. The audience who are not in front of the dancers will receive a different message.

After facing the four cardinal directions, in the final part, the dancers form a circle, which consists of a large circle and a small circle. The dancers in the back row are in a big circle, while the dancers in the front row are in a big circle. *Manortor* with floor pattern parallel lines and circles basically do not have much difference from the form of movement. However, in the circular floor pattern, there is a slight variation where the dancers in the row perform up and down movements while the dancers in the outer row remain in their usual body position.

The embodiment of the relationship between *mora*, *anak boru*, and *kahanggi* in the *manortor* follows several culturally established rules. Cultural rules are similar sets of instructions for constructing behavioral elements (Spradley, 1972, p. 20). The rules are summarized through three aspects of behavior in the *manortor* consisting of (1) the movement form, (2) the *manortor* sequence, and (3) the standing position.

Movement Form

The movement form embodies mutual respect and care among relatives as regulated in the *dalihan na tolu* kinship system. Mutual respect and care are expressed through gestures as a form of non-verbal communication. *Manortor*, from the point of view of dance, is a form of non-verbal communication containing certain meanings depending on the social setting in which it appears (Pušnik, 2010, p. 5). What is communicated without words (non-verbal) is the most important thing about dance as a social activity (Blacking, 1982, p. 90). As a form of nonverbal communication, dancing relatives communicate various messages through motion symbols, spatial codes, and facial expressions that are in line with the norms of *dalihan na tolu*.

In contrast to dance in Western culture, the messages sent by people who dance in a social environment can be seen through the spatial code, touch, facial expressions, and eye contact. (Peick, 2005, p. 1). In the *manortor*, there is no touch and eye contact between dancers. This is closely related to the norms of Islamic teachings that apply in the Mandailing community. During the dance, each dancer's gaze focuses on the tips of their fingers. The focus of the gaze on the fingertips also applies to the *manortor naposo naposo bulung* and *manortor pengantin*.

The *manortor* is carried out in slow motion, and smooth, symbolizing the gentle and loving character of the Mandailing community (*holong*). The slow movement of the Mandailing *manortor* distinguishes it from the *manortor* found in the Toba Batak culture and distinguishes it, in general, from the dances of other social groups. It is because the movement style is a primary social text that has meaning and is constantly changing. Articulation signifies group affiliation and group distinction, whether consciously or not. Movements serve as markers for the production of gender, racial, ethnic, class, and national identities (Desmond, 1997, p. 31).

Before starting the dance, the dancers

form two parallel rows facing the same direction. The number of dancers in the front row in the back row must be the same. The dancers in the front row, known as the *panortor*, move like worshipers. Position both hands raised to shoulder level and palms facing down, then move to the beat of the music, and focus the movement on the wrist. All the dancers in the front row perform the same movement. Movement in the *manortor* has the meaning of paying respects. *Panortor* movement, as illustrated in Figure 1.



Figure 1. *Panortor* movement
Photo: Elmi Novita, February 02, 2022

The dancers in the second row, or *pangayapi*, move with their hands raised to shoulder level, palms facing up. At first glance, the movement in *mangayapi* is like the movement of a bird, moving left and right following the dancers in the front row. The *mangayapi* movement is interpreted as giving protection to the dancers who are in front of him. Similar to the *panortor*, the dancers in the *pangayapi* line perform the same movement. Some variations usually occur between dancers, both *manortor* and *mangayapi* due to the different body language of each person (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. Hand Potition in *mangayapi*
Photo: Elmi Novita, Februari 02, 2022.

Manortor Sequence

The order of types of *manortor* shown is based on respected groups in society. The respected group got the chance to dance early. The *manortor* show begins with the *manortor* of the *raja-raja*, followed by *suhut*, *mora*, *anak boru*, *kahanggi*, *naposo bulung*, and closed with the *Manortor* of the bride and groom. This shows that the *raja-raja* or clan leaders are the most respected parties by the Mandailing community who are outside the *dalihan na tolu* kinship element. The order of the *manortor* performances may vary between the *suhut* and the *Raja-raja* in some places which means that there are differences in respect for the *suhut* and the traditional leaders.

If conditions in an area are incomplete, the Mandailing community structure is incomplete, where there is no clan leader because they only consist of a few families and there are not many clans, then the *manortor* of *raja-raja* is abolished. The *manortor* starts from *suhut*, the next sequence is still guided by the structure of *dalihan na tolu*, namely *mora*, *anak boru*, and *kahanggi*, and continues with the *manortor naposo bulung* and the bride. *Manortor naposo bulung*, like the king *manortor*, can be held if the dancing youth is sufficient, but it is common in areas with a small population of Man-

dailing. This type of *manortor* is also not performed.

Apart from the absence of the king *manortor* of rajas and *naposo Bulung*, there are no other differences with the *manortor* in areas where the Mandailing ethnic group is slightly occupied. All aspects of dance must be guided by the norms of *dalihan na tolu*, both the form of movement, the sequence of performances, and the standing position. This shows that the norms of *dalihan na tolu* are very binding on the cultural expressions of the Mandailing people.

Standing Position

Just as the order of the show puts a respected member of the family dancing first, the standing position in the *manortor* also determines which family member is more respected or has a higher position. In the *manortor*, the dancers form two parallel lines (with the exception of the king-*manortor* which is only 1 line). The dancers in the front row are a group of relatives who are more respected and protected than the dancers in the front row.

For example, if the *mora* is in the front row, those in the back row are the *anak boru* or the *manortor naposo bulung*. The girls are in the front row, and the young men are in the back row. It is a form of respect for relatives who are in the front row. They are equipped with a *sadum* scarf. *Sadum* scarf is worn by slinging over the back with one end tied to the right thumb and the other end on the left thumb. The *sadum* scarf symbolizes a relationship based on *holong* (love).

Rules in a standing position, in one line, it is not allowed to mix between relatives of different status. *Mora* who must stand in the front is not allowed to stand behind to join the *anak boru*, as well as the *anak boru* is not allowed to join the *mora*. If there is a violation of this standing position, the person who violates the law will be given customary punishment. As narrated by Dolok Hasibuan, a flute player and *onang-onang* singer in Bangun Purba District, in his area, there was once a vio-

lation of standing position, and as a consequence, the person concerned was given the punishment of slaughtering a goat (Dolok Hasibuan, interview on January 23, 2022).

Punishment for a wrong standing position is rare, especially in areas where the Mandailing community structure is incomplete. Nowadays, even if something goes wrong, someone can give a direct reprimand, and the dancers change positions without stopping or interrupting the performance. In Khaiti, the dancers were not only family members, the host also brought a group of dancers in a package with music players. These dancers are joined by relatives, helping to direct the shape of the movement and the way it spins. However, the musical groups' dancers still follow the rules for separating men from women.

Building Solidarity and Group Identity through *Manortor*

The Mandailing ethnic group has several territories in Rokan Hulu. From an ethno-territorial perspective, they, as a cultural group, have patrimonial rights (property rights) over areas that are different from other groups (Dahlman & Williams, 2010, p. 414). Ownership of several territories in Rokan Hulu is not obtained for free or as a gift. It was forged through a very long process of interaction and struggle. The struggle to have their own territory has a special meaning for them as a group of immigrants and, at the same time, a minority in Rokan Hulu. In connection with this, Robert D. Sack, as quoted by Elden reveals that territorial ownership is a social construction (not a product) forged through interaction and struggle and thoroughly infused with social relations (2010, 802).

The area occupied by the Mandailing community is a form of group symbol. The region as a symbol of the group explains how the Mandailing people claim ownership of the territory by using territorial markers that signify their presence as ethnic Mandailing in Rokan Hulu. The

claim of territorial ownership is mainly seen through the naming of the area which reflects the identity of Mandailing through the names of the areas in Mandailing language. The use of the Mandailing language in naming regions is a symbol that legitimizes, strengthens, and celebrates the Mandailing community's existence in Rokan Hulu (Martin, 1981, p. 37).

In addition to naming territories, group symbols are often abstract expressions of group solidarity that embody the actions of political, economic, and cultural institutions in the continuous reproduction and legitimacy of systems of practice that are characteristic of concern for territorial integrity (Paasi, 1991, p. 245). In line with Paasi's thinking, the abstract expression of the solidarity of the Mandailing community is manifested through the performance of the *manortor*, the *manortor* is a symbol of the solidarity of the Mandailing community. Solidarity is the bond that holds people together in society. People can be linked together in a number of ways that provide a common sense of identity, a common destiny, and a common commitment to defending the group (Fireman & Gamson, 1979, p. 22). Solidarity is the highest level of group awareness, where there is a balance between collective consciousness and individual autonomy (Scheff, 1997, p. 49).

That solidarity and unity are important features of village life and are expressed through social gatherings, religious activities, economic activities and the creation of art (Soewarlan, 2018, p. 12). For the Mandailing community, solidarity is expressed through social gatherings by presenting a *manortor* performance. One of them is seen in the celebration and welcoming of the new village head in Menaming on February 2, 2022. The *manortor* show starts at 21.00 WIB. Safrijon, the newly appointed village head, invites clan leaders, relatives and the Menaming community to dance together. Through performances, the *manortor* Safrijon invites his community to jointly develop their area. After dancing together, it is hoped that the Menaming

community will reunite, forgetting the differences of opinion that were previously caused by the competition in the village head election. The *manortor* show continued with the slaughter of cows, cooking together until the early morning hours and closing with a meal together the next day.

The solidarity that is built through the *manortor's* performance is formed by two elements, namely the presence of the family dancing together and the family story being retold through *onang-onang*. This was stated by Siti Duolom, a Mandailing resident who lives in Pasir Pangarayan, Rokan Hulu.

The Presence of the Family Dancing Together

The presence of relatives dancing together is the main element in building a sense of solidarity through the *manortor*. In dancing, the relatives perform the same movement, which then strengthens the sense of solidarity. Siti Duolom shared her experience that when she and her sister danced in the same line with the same movements, their sister-in-law, who was also a woman, danced in the back row. With the same movement, they feel a very strong togetherness and cohesiveness between families. Dancing in such a line, the family also realizes how strong the kinship relationship is, both among brothers, between brothers and sisters-in-law, and between in-laws and in-laws (*anak boru*).

Siti Duolom's statement about the similar movement between brothers and sisters-in-law that forms a sense of solidarity for the Mandailing community is in line with McNeil's view, which reveals that a sense of togetherness in dance arises as a reaction to movements carried out together in groups. McNeil coined the term muscular bonding, which refers to the human emotional response to moving rhythmically together through dance and exercise (1995, vi). Muscle movement rhythmically consolidates group solidarity by changing human feelings (McNeill, 1995, p. viii). McNeil's view reinforces Hanna's statement, which long before re-

vealed that moving together at one level depends on solidarity while creating solidarity (Hanna, 1979, p. 99). McNeil's opinion can be confronted with the opinion of the Mandailing community.

The togetherness formed through the movement then causes ecstasy to some relatives, dancing and just watching. Some of them wept in a collective movement supported by music, and on several occasions, relatives fell unconscious while the *manortor*. In connection with this event, losing oneself while dancing is due to being absorbed in a unified community; the dancer reaches a state of joy where he feels filled with energy or power beyond ordinary circumstances (Radcliffe-Brown, 1964, pp. 252-253). Crying or passing out, interpreted as relatives losing themselves during the *manortor* is not painful but exhilarating. Family members find themselves in complete and joyful harmony with all relatives present and experience a great feeling of attachment to the group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1964, p. 252).

The *Manortor* lasts for quite a long time, depending on how many or a few family members dance. The show starts around 21.00 (after Isha prayer) and ends early in the morning. The length of the *manortor's* performance positively affects togetherness and solidarity among group members. Consistent with the view that dance's distinctive ability to increase group solidarity is dependent on keeping time together for extended periods of time, thus translating individual release from anxiety into collective catharsis (McNeill, 1995, p. 17). For the Mandailing community, dancing together with their family makes their minds more open. Thus, they can eliminate anxiety. This was expressed by Nurhayati Nasution. Furthermore, Nurhayati Nasution said that when dancing, there are no more problems between families since, before the performance, the family *manortor* must gather together to conduct deliberation. If there are problems, they are resolved in deliberation (interview on March 7, 2022). Thus, going through a family *manortor* is no longer repairing a

strained relationship.

Being in a group for hours or even days, maybe for some people, it can't be done in ordinary life due to their respective activities and busyness. Therefore, through the *manortor*, they were able to stay in the group for a long time. This is one of the interesting aspects of the *manortor*, which provides a unique experience that is not obtained in everyday life by the Mandailing community. Thus, they are always enthusiastic about being involved in the *manortor*, experiencing a different experience from everyday life.

Family and Group Stories Retold

The family is the basic element in the formation of society. The real social unit is the family (Comte, 2009, p. 153). Each family member has a different story; family stories in addition to group stories, are told through song lyrics or *onang-onang*. The stories of families and groups that are retold have an important role in shaping the collective memory of the Mandailing people. Collective memory is a representation of the past that exists in the minds of Mandailing community members, contributing to their sense of identity (Manier & Hirst, 2008, p. 253). There are various stories in *onang-onang*, since each family member has a different life experience. In addition to the stories of family members, the story of the struggle of the Mandailing ethnicity coming to Rokan Hulu and how they adapt to the environment is also a story in the *onang-onang*. With the variety of stories in *onang-onang*, the Mandailing people share life experiences, creating positive sentiments towards the group. Positive sentiment towards the group strengthens the sense of identity, as the Mandailing ethnicity.

The stories told in *onang-onang* are sad stories that relate to the struggles of family and group life, the loss of a parent or other family member, and how they face difficult times together. In the view of the Mandailing people, *onang-onang* evokes sadness and longing not only for family members whose life experiences are told

by the *paronang-onang* (bearers of *onang-onang* poetry) but also evokes sadness for anyone who listens to *onang-onang*. People who listen to *onang-onang* will remember his family and the life journey he has taken. As stated by Samsumar Nasution, when listening to people, what you feel is sadness. You spontaneously think of your parents who have passed away and how they raised and educated you from a young age. Samsumar Nasution said that he did not fully listen to the family life story conveyed, but focused more on the sadness and longing for his parents. In expressing his experience, Samsumar Nasution's eyes were filled with tears.

The sadness caused by the *onang-onang* that is felt not only by the family who has the event but also by other community members who witness the *manortor*, is a form of sharing emotions. People share emotions with each other since they are both present in the midst of the group. They feel strong emotions together in the *manortor*. Although their stories are different, they share sadness and emotion. Sharing emotions is a key element in solidarity (Heise, 1998).

CONCLUSION

As Schneider reveals, kinship is a relationship that is more intense, diffused, and lasts longer. The solidarity that symbolizes special beliefs is very relevant to the lives of the *Mandailing* people in *Rokan Hulu*, Riau, nowadays. As a minority and immigrant group, they maintain forms of kinship. *Manortor* is a form of cultural expression that symbolizes the strong kinship for the *Mandailing* people even though they have moved from their native areas. Dancing together in groups strengthens the solidarity of a sense of self-identity of the ethnic *Mandailings* who come from North Sumatra. There is a reciprocal relationship between *manortors* as a cultural expression of strengthening kinship by building solidarity and identity within the group. Over time the mixing of the *Mandailing* ethnicity with the Riau Malays and

Minangkabau will become a new challenge in the ways how this group maintains kinship ties. How dance is used as a medium to encounter these challenges should be used as research material in the future.

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