

## ABSTRAK

Tesis ini menggambarkan perjuangan komunitas Batak Toba di Jogja, dalam merepresentasikan (identitas) komunitasnya - dalam gagasan *liminal community* Victor Turner - ketika berhadapan dengan “harmonisasi” Yogya dalam arus globalisasi. Meskipun (perlu) menjadi *citizen of the world*, komunitas warga “yang lain” dari sesama “asli” Batak Toba maupun sesama warga Jawa Jogja, berdasar nasionalisme dan solidaritas mereka, selalu jeli bernegosiasi atau bahkan berkontestasi untuk nyaman dengan “harmonisasi” tersebut. Bagi komunitas Batak Toba Jogja, kejelian menyadur politik *Dalihan Na Tolu* (tungku berkaki tiga) adalah kejelian mengoperasionalkan simbol, mitos dan ritus dengan efektif tanpa. Kemampuan menyadur juga tidak lepas dari dinamika identitas terbayangkan dari jejak-langkah politik identitas di Jogja, bagi Indonesia saat ini.

Dalam kaitannya dengan konteks sejarah nasionalisme (Medan, Jakarta, Bandung, HKBP, PRRI, dll.), identitas merupakan sentimen dari rasa kepemilikan terhadap simbol-simbol, keyakinan, dan cara hidup serta keinginan untuk menentukan politik mereka sendiri. Rumusan masalah yang dikembangkan dalam penelitian ini yakni:

1. Bagaimana masa lalu komunitas Batak Toba mengonstruksi identitas Ke-Batak-an di tengah kewargaan budaya Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY) sampai masa kini. Konstruksi identitas bermula dari situasi Yogyakarta yang terus-menerus menarik dan menampung berbagai warga budaya. Poin ini akan dibahas dalam bab kedua.
2. Kedua, bagaimana komunitas Batak dengan tradisi dan “bahasa ibu”-nya mengekspresikan identitas ke-Batak-annya di dalam relasi sosialnya di masyarakat Jogja (bahasa ibu Jawa); membangun dan memperkembangkan relasi sosialis nasionalis. Perumusan ini akan didalami di bab ketiga
3. Ketiga, apa implikasi dan makna perubahan identitas budaya bagi Batak Toba di DIY ketika memanfaatkan *lingua franca*, “tidak saling mencerminkan dan ....tidak saling menyebabkan rasa rihuh” (Siegel 2009: 342) sebagai syarat dasar membangun “harmonisasi”. Poin ini akan dibahas pada bab keempat.

Penulis menggunakan kajian *Oral History* lewat metode wawancara dan pengamatan langsung di lapangan untuk menangkap kata-kata si/apa yang diucapkan/dicakapkan, gagasan si/apa dicita-citakan, dan kenyataan macam apa atau dari siapa yang sukses/gagal dihasilkan. *Oral history* lebih terbuka ruang dialog antara teks maupun konteks.

“Komunitas nasionalisme” terbayangkan membantu warga Batak Toba Jogja ikut bersolidaritas meskipun ....” tidak bakal tahu dan takkan kenal...tidak akan bertatap muka...bahkan mungkin tidak pula pernah mendengar tentang mereka” (Anderson 2008:8). Analisa, kajian ulang dan paparan data-data temuan dalam penelitian lapangan diolah dengan bantuan dari kerangka teori identitas kewargaan budaya Nick Stevenson. Kewargaan budaya merupakan terbentuknya masyarakat demokratis yang membuka ruang bagi munculnya warga yang beragam dengan kehidupan yang bermakna, menghormati pembentukan identitas-identitas hibrid yang kompleks dengan perlindungan dari negara secara sosial. Makna *hamajuon* memudahkan komunitas Batak Toba Yogya ikut memperkembangkan imajinasi harmonisasi yang inklusif dalam nasionalisme-kosmopolitan.

*Kata kunci: Batak Toba, Imagined Communities, Kewargaan Budaya, Identitas Nasional, Dalihan Na Tolu, Asosiasi Klan, adat, klan*

## ABSTRACT

This thesis describe the struggle of Batak Toba community in Jogja during this time, to represent (the identity) of their community -in the concept of Victor Tunner's liminal community- who are confronted with the "harmonization" of Jogja in globalization. Despite being citizen of the world, the other communities of original Batak Toba and also the citizens of Java Jogja, based on their nationalism and solidarity, always enthusiasm to negotiate or even to contribute to be comfortable with the harmonization. For Batak Toba community, the foresight in adapting politics of *Dalihan Na Tolu* (three-legged stove) is the foresight to operationalize the symbol, myths, and rites effectively. This thesis intends to explain how the Batak Toba communities adapt an imaginable identity according to the context of identity politics trace in Jogja, for Indonesia nowadays. In relation to the historical context of nationalism (Medan, Jakarta, Bandung, HKBP, PRRI, etc), the identity is a sentiment of belonging in a community whose the members are identified with the symbols, the confidence, and the way of life also there is a desire to determine their own politics.

There are three the formulations of problem which is developed in this research:

1. How the past of Batak Toba community constructed the identity of the Batak's in the middle of cultural civility of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY) nowadays. The constructions of this identity begin from the situation of Yogyakarta which constantly attract and accommodate many kinds of cultural citizens and follow the time. This point will be discussed in the second chapter.
2. Second, how the Batak community with the tradition and mother tongue of Batak express the identity of the Batak in their social relations in Jogja society (mother tongue of Java); build and develop nationalist socialist relations. This formulation will be explored in the third chapter.
3. Third, what is the implication and the meaning of the changing of the cultural identity to Batak Toba in DIY when need to utilize lingua franca as the basic requirement to build harmonization. The main requirement lingua franca is "not reflect ...not causing the awkwardness" (Siegel 2009:342). This point will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

In this research, the writer in the certain meaning use Oral History study where the interview method and direct observation in the field able to capture the words who/what is spoken/conversed, the concept of who/what aspired, and what kind of reality between text or context.

The idea of Ben Anderson about the nationalist community to help Batak Toba Jogja society to join solidarity with others, even though...they would not know and wouldn't know...would not meet face to face-might not never have heard about them (Anderson 2008:8). But in every minds of the members lives an image of togetherness. The analysis of review and exposure of finding the data in the field research has processed by the assistance of the theory of cultural citizenship of Nick Stevenson. The cultural citizenship is the formation of a democratic society which opens the space for the emergence of diverse citizens with the meaningful lives, respecting the formation of the complex hybrid identities with the protection of the state socially.

With the development of information technology today, imaginable nasionalism that has built and promoted – according to *hamajuon* – by the Batak Toba community in Yogyakarta, enabling them to participate in developing non-exclusive harmonization in the concept of nationalism – cosmopolitan.