



Scrambling for *Cuan*? Social Conflict in the Development of Batu Dinding Waterfall Ecotourism

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the dynamics of conflict that occurred in the Batu Dinding rural tourism development between the local community and Tanjung Belit Village. The conflict occurred since 2015, and it's was declared over in 2021. Therefore, what were the dynamics of the conflict during those six years? This research uses a qualitative-descriptive method with data collection through fieldwork. The data collection techniques used were a combination of limited participant observation techniques, informal and semi-structured interviews, and document studies. The results show that the conflict over the management of the Batu Dinding Waterfall tourism area in Tanjung Belit Village originated from agrarian conflicts related to land reoccupation. The motive is motivated by the development of tourism that has economic value and wants to monopolize it to get economic benefits (*cuan*). So the horizontal conflict between the Domo tribe and Tanjung Belit Village with the Tanjung tribe was resolved through legal channels and the police and the actors who committed acts of violence should also be imprisoned. In the end, the conflict was resolved through inter-tribal deliberation and the land was retained by Tanjung Belit Village.

Keywords: Ecotourism Development; Tourism Village; Agrarian Conflict.

1. Introduction

The study of agrarian and land conflicts among Local people is not a new issue. However, existing conflict studies have focused more attention on conflicts between Local people and migrant communities, companies, and the government (Booth, 2023; Deddy, 2006; Institute for

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Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2014; Karl, 1957; Larson et al., 2019; Lucas & Warren, 2003; Mutolib et al., 2017; Peters, 2013; Samsudin & Pirard, 2014; Susilowati, 2015). Meanwhile, agrarian conflicts among Local people themselves, if any, focus more on the impact of modernization and socio-cultural changes related to the fading of traditional values, the loosening of the role of local institutions and leadership (Kinseng, 2021; Lestario & Sentosa, 2022; Li, 2018; Maikarnila, 2019; Marta et al., 2019; Rigon, 2016; Suharto & Basar, 2019; Wehrmann, 2008). Yet agrarian and land conflicts can also occur within indigenous communities themselves, and in the spirit of maintaining customary rights amid rapid development and social change. This is the focus of our paper, which is on conflicts within indigenous communities themselves related to efforts to develop ecotourism in their villages around the Bukit Rimbang Baling Wildlife Reserve conservation area in Kampar Regency, Riau Province.

Ecotourism development in rural areas around conservation areas is often part of the development strategy (Febriandhika & Kurniawan, 2020). Ecotourism development is seen as one of the economic sector activities that are expected to reduce the pressure of extractive economic practices on nature, replacing it through non-extractive economic development from environmental services (Hardianto, 2018). In this case, ecotourism development is seen as part of a sustainable development strategy (Rahayu & Saragih, 2022).

However, efforts to develop tourism (ecotourism) in rural areas around conservation areas are not without obstacles. In organizing the management of the tourist area, conflicts sometimes occur in the form of conflicting interests between groups or parties (Ayuningtyas & Dharmawan, 2015). Especially considering that tourism development is inseparable from efforts to obtain economic benefits (cuan) (Suparman et al., 2023). Several years ago, a conflict over the management of the Batu Dinding Waterfall tourist area in Tanjung Belit Village arose from an agrarian conflict over the customary legal status of the land and tourist attraction area. The conflict involved internal village parties, including the village government, kind groups (tribes), and village communities. Not only that, the conflict also involves external parties such as capital accumulation business actors (investors), conservation program actors such as BBKSDA (Natural Resources Conservation Center), and NGOs, to law enforcement officials.

Although in 2021 the conflict was declared legally over, it is necessary to understand the history of the conflict, the roots of the conflict, the forms of conflict, and how to resolve the conflict. Because this conflict involves Local people (local communities/village communities) who need to be seen as the main beneficiaries of development. The insistence on attention to the position of Local people has become increasingly relevant with the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, which uses the word "Indigenous Peoples". The ILO defines Local people as those whose ancestors lived in the area prior to settlement or the establishment of modern state borders and who retain all or part of their social, economic, cultural, and political institutions.

Local people who have lived within conservation areas for generations are directly affected and may be the biggest risk-takers from the implications of conservation development. Especially considering that the conservation practice is organized in the form of big conservation (Alcorn, 2010) whose management is based on global environmental management discourse (Adger et al., 2001). According to opinion Briyant and Bailey (1987) and Bryant (2001, 2002), the issue of biodiversity has been strengthened by Environmental NGOs that emerged in developed countries in the period 1960-1970s, then followed by the development and support of NGOs / NGOs in the Third World or Developing Countries, where then in the Third World and Developing Countries many biodiversity conservation projects were developed that could not be separated from the direction of cooperation and coordination with International Agencies and Developed Countries that donated them.

Therefore, the study of the position of Local people in the dynamics of tourism management conflicts around conservation areas is very relevant. Conservation development cannot be adequately explained based on scientific arguments that rely on disciplinary reviews of biology, ecology, and forestry or the dominance of economic, management and technical environmental approaches, without considering a more adequate understanding of human interactions with the environment (Pokja Kebijakan Konservasi, 2008). The phenomenon of conservation development is not only related to micro-local level issues, but conservation is also related to "outside actors", namely State (government) and non-State actors (NGO/NGO entities and the business/private/market world) to the global-international level (Novianti, 2013). Instead of making local people the subject of development benefits, conservation development is often dominated by interests that benefit outsiders (the others), namely project or program partner actors. It is not surprising that village communities (customary law communities) that have been dependent on land and forests for their livelihoods are still faced with poverty problems, and may even become poorer and more marginalized.

Tanjung Belit Village is one of the vocal areas of the conservation program in the Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling Wildlife Sanctuary and is located on the Subayang River. Rural research around conservation areas has generally been dominated by an anthropocentric perspective (Jordan, 1995) and conservationists (Witmer & Birner, 2005) which emphasizes the importance of conservation of flora and fauna and their habitats, and tends to position humans/communities as a "disturbing" factor. So that the position of the Tanjung Belit community sectorally has been considered a 'threat' to the sustainability of conservation. However, through ecotourism, trying to integrate the existence of nature and humans to be in harmony.

However, in the development of ecotourism, conflict is inevitable due to the re-claim of the tourist land. The conflict that occurs can be said to be a social conflict (Hijriati & Mardiana, 2014; Kurniati et al., 2021). Social conflict can take place in the sphere between spheres of power. There are three recognized spheres of power in a social system, namely the state, civil society or social collectivity, and the private sector (Cliffe & Luckman, 2000). Social conflict can take place within each space or involve agencies or structures between spaces of power. Based on the power-space perspective social conflict model of Luckham (2000) Social conflict between parties can take three forms. First, civil society or social collectivities face off against the state and vice versa. In this case, social conflict can occur in the form of protests or resistance from citizens against political policies taken by the state/government that are considered unfair and detrimental to society in general. Second, social conflicts that take place between citizens or social collectivities against the private sector (entrepreneurs) and vice versa. There are many examples of this, ranging from mere rejection through demonstrations, submitting petitions, to physical, and bloody feuds. Third, social conflicts that take place between the private sector against the state and vice versa. In such conflicts, sometimes the actions taken by the government/state in overseeing a policy can have unavoidable social costs.

The phenomenon in Tanjung Belit related to conflicts between communities in land tenure used as customary forests and ecotourism shows a different pattern. Where, conflicts occur between local communities and do not consist of powerful parties, entrepreneurs or the government. So interestingly, the conflicts that occur are resolved legally (courts) and customarily (customary law) and cause dynamics that make the community look for solutions (resolutions) of conflicts over land that are managed jointly under the authority of the Tanjung Belit village government. Therefore, this conflict can be referred to as a grassroots conflict that is resolved by two mechanisms, namely local communities and citizens, meaning litigation and non-litigation.

2. Literature Review

Social conflict can take place in the sphere between spheres of power. There are three recognized spheres of power in a social system, namely the state, civil society or social collectivity, and the

private sector (Arbeláez Ruiz, 2023). Social conflict can take place within each space or involve agencies or structures between spaces of power. Based on the power-space perspective social conflict model of Pruitt (2007), Social conflict between parties can take three forms. First, civil society or social collectivities face off against the state and vice versa. In this case, social conflict can occur in the form of protests or resistance from citizens against political policies taken by the state/government that are considered unfair and detrimental to society in general. Second, social conflicts that take place between citizens or social collectivities against the private sector (entrepreneurs) and vice versa. There are many examples of this, ranging from mere rejection through demonstrations, submitting petitions, to physical and bloody feuds. Third, social conflicts that take place between the private sector against the state and vice versa. In this kind of conflict, sometimes the actions taken by the government/state in overseeing the implementation of a policy can have unavoidable social costs.

With regard to the dynamic nature of conflict, there are also a number of theoretical perspectives that attempt to explain conflict dynamics. These theories can help us to understand the basic "why and what" factors that trigger disputes or conflicts. They also provide insights into the issues that need to be addressed as we seek to find resolutions. Each theoretical approach used will reveal assumptions about internal and external forces, behaviors that trigger and sustain interactions, or the impact of competing goals.. De Dreu (2010) states that conflicts that occur also involve disputes over values and demands for status, power, and resources, where the adversary's goal is to neutralize, injure, or eliminate the opponent usually have stages of the struggle spectrum that escalate and become more destructive starting from disagreements, quarrels, campaigns, litigation, to fights or wars.

Conflict is a clash of interests between different parties. When examining the causes of conflict, the focus of attention is on what factors create the conflict of interest. Yang et.al (2016) It is argued that conflict occurs because both parties believe that they have incompatible goals. Some factors that can encourage the incompatibility or incongruity of goals are: (a) groups or parties to the conflict have an awareness of collective identity or they feel different from other groups, (b) groups or parties to the conflict feel dissatisfaction with their position in relation to other groups, (c) groups or parties to the conflict assume that they can reduce dissatisfaction by making other groups suffer. Meanwhile Yang et.al (2013) mentions various factors that cause conflict which can be divided into several types, namely: (a) Triggers are events that trigger a conflict but are not necessary or sufficient to explain the conflict itself, (b) Pivotal factors or root causes, lie at the root of the conflict that need to be addressed so that the conflict can eventually find a resolution, (c) Mobilizing factors, are issues that mobilize groups to commit acts of violence, (d) Aggravating factors, are factors that add to the mobilizing factors and core factors, but are not sufficient to cause the conflict itself.

Meanwhile Yang (2012) states that conflict arises because of differences in perceptions of interest. Interest is defined as the perception of aspirations or of what they really want. These perceptions tend to be central to people's thoughts and actions, forming the core of many of their attitudes, goals and intentions. When interests become aspirations in which there are goals to be achieved where the disputants perceive that in order to achieve their aspirations, the aspirations of others cannot be channeled and there is no alternative to channeling these aspirations, then conflict occurs. If Pruitt and Rubin's argument is followed then to find out the cause of conflict between the parties involved we need to identify their conflicting aspirations.

Why do the aspirations of the conflicting parties conflict? Among many factors, there are two important ones that cause the aspirations of conflicting parties to conflict. The first is the absence of rules that can limit aspirations or the rules that exist are weak, making them ineffective in controlling aspirations. The second is comparison with others. People may raise their aspirations

as a result of seeing the achievements of others and this results in conflicting aspirations with the other party (Pruitt, 2007).

The implication of Pruitt's theory for this research is that there are aspirations of a certain group or elite about the management of the Batu Dinding Waterfall tourist attraction and these aspirations conflict with other parties who also feel an interest in managing the tourist attraction. In this case there may also be no rules or existing rules are weak to limit the aspirations of one of the conflicting groups to manage the disputed tourist attraction. Using Dahrendorf's ideas, in a situation like this what happens is that there is a group of people who demand change and there is another group that wants the status quo (against change) (De Dreu, 2010).

Anthropologically, to understand the root causes of conflict, it is not only important to look at structural and cultural issues, but also to explore the psychological aspects. In social psychology, attention is paid to how individuals think about other people and about social situations. This fact is an effort to understand other people who play an important role in the behavior and mindset of society. The emphasis is on aspects of life as a mental framework centered on specific themes that help organize social information. Kyrrou & Rubinstein (2008) said that humans live in two cultures, namely the culture of war and the culture of peace. A culture of peace exists in every society, in the form of belief systems, cultural values, behavioral norms and institutional arrangements that support mutual care, appreciation of differences, and equal distribution of natural resources for common welfare.

3. Method

The research site is located in Tanjung Belit Village, Kampar Kiri Hulu District, Kampar Regency, Riau Province. This village is one of the villages located on the edge of the Subayang river, and is the main entrance to the Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling Wildlife Sanctuary conservation area. This research was conducted for three months in 2023.

This research uses qualitative-descriptive methods by relying on data collection through field work (Creswell, 2015). Qualitative research is an approach to exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups that are social or human problems. Descriptive research aims to solve problems systematically and factually regarding the facts and characteristics of the population. The author chose descriptive research because the author wanted to describe in detail and interpret the data or symptoms obtained during the research.

The interview technique applied a combination of informal and semi-structured interviews. The informants were first determined purposively based on criteria such as: who are the formal and informal village leaders, who are the managers of the tourism area, who are the local/village residents who live in the village and whose lives are related to the tourism area; who are the parties (actors) in conflict because they have an interest in the tourism area; who are the representatives of customary law communities and villages (traditional leaders such as caliphs and Ninik Mamak) (Afrizal, 2014). Informants in the study consisted of 15 tourism administrators, 2 Ninik Mamak of the Domo tribe and the Malay tribe, the Village Head, Homestay Managers and local communities.

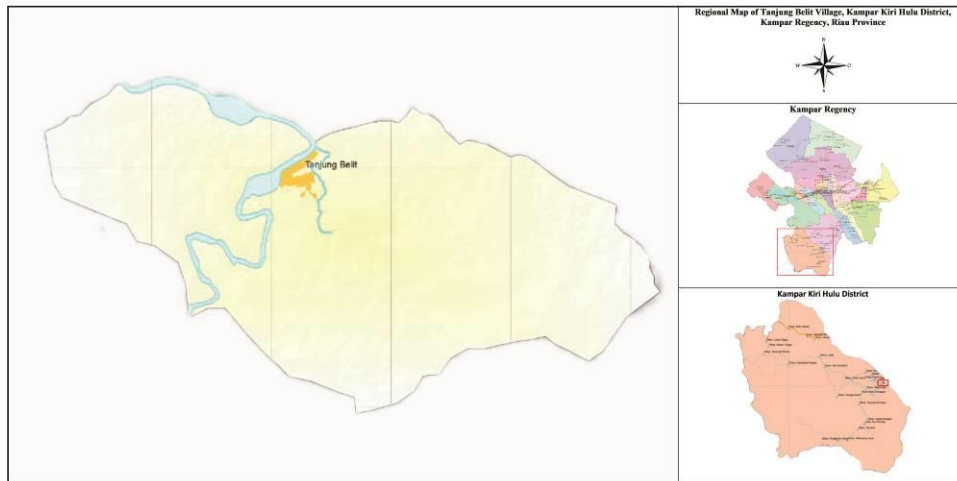
Data analysis uses a stepwise forward approach. Where, data collected from interviews and observations will be separated according to the topic of discussion. Then, analyse each data component and triangulate the data by comparing with the concepts used.

4. Results

4.1. Research Site

Tanjung Belit Village is one of the villages directly adjacent to the Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling area which will be developed into a community-based tourist attraction that focuses on ecotourism in the Kampar Kiri Hulu sub-district. Some of the attractions and activities include the Batu Dinding waterfall, several fishing spots, campgrounds, river tubing, and forest trekking.

Figure 1. Map of Tanjung Belit Village.



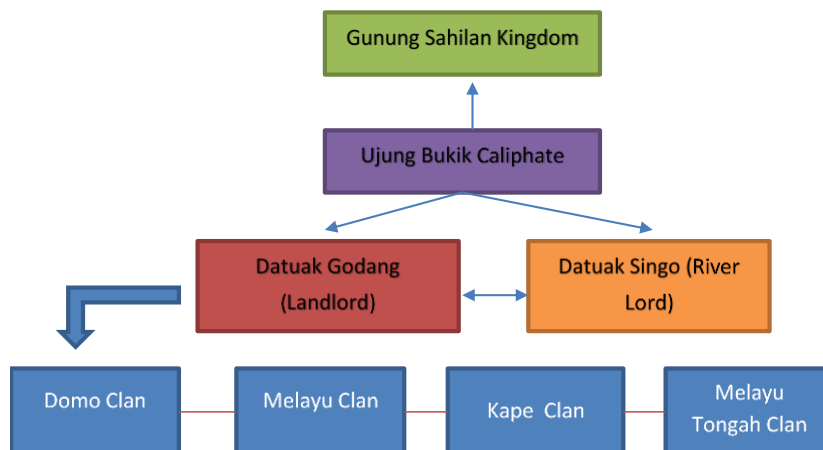
The village has a hilly geography and is located on the Subayang river. Based on the geography, the village name was taken because it is surrounded by the Subayang River. Administratively, the area of Tanjung Belit Village is 35 km² or about 4.12% of the area of the Kamper Hulu Kiri Sub-district which has the following geographical boundaries:

1. North bordering with Gema Village.
2. The south borders Kuantan Singingi Regency.
3. The West is bordered by Kota Lama Village and Tanjung Belit Selatan Village.
4. The East is bordered by Kuntu Village and Domo Village.

In general, the people of Tanjung Belit Village are of Minangkabau descent. according to its history in the book East Minangkabau (1970) says that the people who live along the Subayang river are people from Minangkabau during the Pagaruyung kingdom who moved along the river. So that the cultural system follows the Minangkabau cultural system. This can be seen in the formation of the village, where Tanjung Belit used to be a Desa, then after the entry of the regional autonomy law it became a village.

Similar to the Minangkabau cultural system, the community has a tribe and follows a matrilineal lineage. Where, in the establishment of a Desa, there must be at least 4 large tribes. Thus, Tanjung Belit village consists of 4 dominating tribes, including the Domo tribe, the Malayuu tribe, the Patopang Basa (Kape) tribe and the Tongah tribe. However, because they live in Malayu land, they are influenced by the Kuntu Malayu royal system. Where, the king has power over the region. Thus, Tanjung Belit Village was included in the power of the king of Gunung Sahilan and the caliphate of Ujung Bukik.

Figure 2. Social Structure of the Tanjung Belit Community.



Tanjung Belit village is located on the Subayang river. As the name implies, etymologically the word *tanjung* means land (tip) that extends to the sea, lake or river. The word *belit* can be interpreted as rotating or twisting and circling. Thus, the word Tanjung Belit means a land surrounded by a river channel. On this basis, toponomically, the name of the village is taken from the location where the community settlement is located. Community settlements in Tanjung Belit Village are more in a clustered pattern. This is due to the small size of the village. Community settlements utilize flat land, because settlements to the west are surrounded by streams and the direction to the north is more hilly. Actually, Tanjung Belit village is quite extensive, but after the expansion of Tanjung Belit South Village, the area is less than 100 km².

Based on 2019 statistical data, Tanjung Belit Village has a total population of 813 people. The livelihood of the Tanjung Belit community is farming and gardening. They utilize forest land to open rubber and oil palm plantations. In addition, they also raise buffaloes. In buffalo farming they release their buffaloes in settlements and vacant lands as well as in the middle of the cape on the Subayang river. Through its ecological potential, located on the Subayang river and bordering the Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling Wildlife Reserve forest, it has ecotourism and customary forest potential.

The awareness of the people of Tanjung Belit Village of massive deforestation in their area due to logging, land conversion to oil palm plantations and illegal logging, made them think of creating a forest that should not be destroyed. In February 2013, on the 21st of February, the communities bordering the Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling Wildlife Reserve formed the Batu Dinding Working Group (Pokja) for the development of customary forests and ecotourism. This working group consists of 15 people from Tanjung Belit village, Kampar Kiri Hulu sub-district (Herman, 2017). This working group was formed as a form of seriousness and community support in managing and maintaining the Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling Wildlife Reserve area, and also a form of community support for WWF's efforts in developing ecotourism.

The area that became a customary prohibition forest is located in Batu Dinding as one of the locations still within the administration of Tanjung Belit Village. The Batu Dinding area aims to protect the forest with the concept of customary forest. Then utilized with the potential in it as tourism. The tourist destination in it is a waterfall. Through the concept of ecotourism, the waterfall in the customary prohibition forest area is named Batu Dinding Waterfall. This tour was established in collaboration between the community, village government and NGO, namely WWF (World Wild Fund for nature).

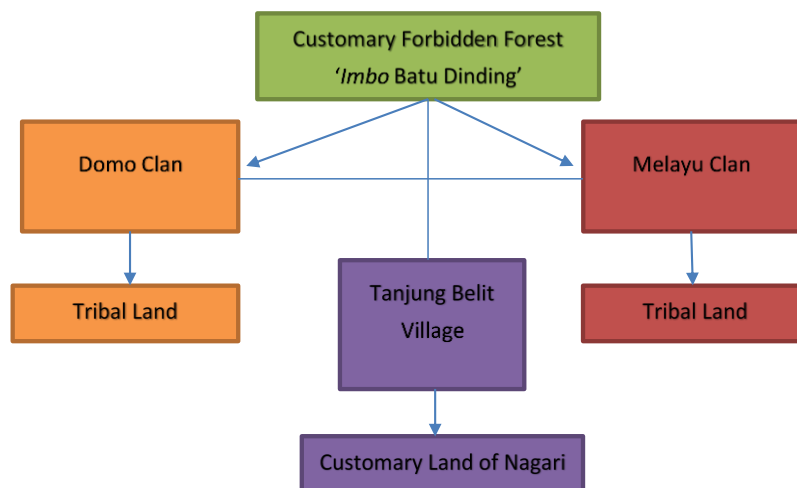
4.2. Imbo Batu Dinding: Indigenous Prohibition Forest

As an indigenous community, the people of Kenegerian (Village) Tanjung Belit have communal property, namely land. Land is the most important and most valuable asset for Indigenous Peoples. Each tribe (group of people) owns land as an heirloom property that is passed down from generation to generation and owned collectively. Ownership is based on shared knowledge and recognition of community life. There are no legal signs or proofs of ownership, but the boundaries and positions of all communities know about the land even though they are from different tribes. This is based on the history of ancestors who were told to children and grandchildren about customary land. Thus, this land exists and is maintained while there is still recognition from the successor (Zen et al., 2018).

Customary land is a local wisdom that has an origin. The origin of this customary land is based on the land cultivated by their ancestors. Thus, the land cultivated by the ancestors of a tribe will be claimed as the tribe's customary land. Therefore, in a village consisting of people who live communally (tribe) have their own customary land. Each tribe has the right to the land and its management. The communal land can be in the form of agricultural land, fields or wilderness (Riska, 2017).

Tanah Ulayat (communal land) is land that is jointly owned by the people, inherited from generation to generation from the ancestors and has never been divided and passed on to the next generation in its original state (Dewi, 2006; Hidayat, 2020; Jaya et al., 2021; Kunu, 2010; Sudiyono, 2015; Syafiq et al., 2015; Wardani, 2023). By this definition, the communal land in question is communal land in the form of uncultivated wilderness. This communal land is usually far from settlements so it cannot be managed as agricultural land or plantations. Or there are other things that cause this land not to be managed because of the location and difficult access, rocks and entering the forest area (rimbo). So, this forest is used for hunting, cutting wood for tribal needs and usually has a taboo on entering the forest carelessly.

Figure 3. Ownership Structure of the Indigenous Prohibition Forest.



However, after being granted to the village, the customary land changed its name to *Desa* (village) customary land controlled by the Tanjung Belit village government. So, to maximize it, both as a customary prohibition forest with the aim of conserving the forest and the biological wealth in it, it is also developed as tourism because it has streams, rock cliffs and waterfalls.

4.3. Batu Dinding Waterfall: Ecotourism Destination

Tanjung Belit Village is the buffer zone and entrance to the Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling Wildlife Reserve. Therefore, it cannot be separated from the conservation function. As a conservation area, it can be developed and utilized as a limited tourist area, namely ecotourism. Ecotourism is a concept that combines the interests of the tourism industry with environmentalists. This method was introduced by the President of the World Wild Fund for nature (WWF) at the 40th annual conference of the Asia Pacific Travel Association (PATA), as a way to overcome environmental problems (<https://www.wwf.id/>). Ecotourism is currently an important economic activity that provides opportunities for tourists to experience nature and culture to learn and understand how important nature conservation is.

According to research conducted Zen et al., (2017) the tourism potential owned by Tanjung Belit Village is in the form of natural tourism in the form of Batu Dinding Waterfall with a high tourist attraction element score of 1050 points. This is based on the fact that tourism opportunities are created in the form of family tourism because the accessibility is easy to reach. Based on other research results, Saputra (2021) said that Tanjung Belit Village was in a state of non-prosperity which was characterized by low community income in the ecotourism development area in Tanjung Belit Village. In general, the people of Tanjung Belit Village work in the agricultural and plantation sectors but the selling price of agricultural products is not in accordance with the efforts of the community in pursuing this work because of the uneven land conditions in Tanjung Belit Village on steep hills. The existence of the Bukit Rimbang Bukit

Baling ecotourism development area in Tanjung Belit Village has caused economic changes in the Tanjung Belit Village community.

Batu Dinding Tourism began to open to the public in 2016. At first, the Batu Dinding area was a location that was not touched by the local community. It can be said that the place is a haunted location and shrubs. However, when MAPALA (Nature Lovers Students) students from Riau State University conducted expedition activities, they began to open paths to access the Batu Dinding waterfall. Initially they were only looking for a location for rock climbing, but they also found several waterfalls. So the community responded and began to open the area.

In 2013, WWF and the community began to open and manage the area under the name Batu Dinding Waterfall. WWF assisted the community to manage with the approval of the village. So that the Batu Dinding Working Group was formed. Since then, the Batu Dinding area began to be visited by people from outside the village. After Batu Dinding waterfall was established as one of the ecotourism in Tanjung Belit Village. Many tourists come. Every tourist who comes pays retribution money which is managed by the village government through the Pokja. According to Mr. E (Head of Tanjung Belit Village) "*The results of the levy money go to the village government in the form of PAD (Village Original Income)*".

Figure 4. Pokdarwis Batu Dinding Tourism.



Source: Researcher Documentation, 2023.

After a few years, the management of Batu Dinding tourism was taken over by the village. So that the village manages and opens road access from the village center to the area. Thus, the beneficiaries of the tour went to PAD (Village Original Income). However, in 2018, there was an agreement with the community to establish a Pokdarwis with the assistance of YAPEKA and INDECON as foundations (NGOs) in the SM area. Bukit Rimbang Bukit Baling which is engaged in ecotourism through the IMBAU program. So the Batu Dinding Tourism Awareness Group (POKDARWIS) was formed. Thus, it has an organization that specifically manages the Batu Dinding area.

With maximum management, Batu Dinding tourism has economic potential for the Tanjung Belit Village community. Residents who are involved will get added value in income. In addition, the village has income from tourism and is used to build facilities for the needs of the Tanjung Belit village community. The Batu Dinding tourism area consists of two attractions, namely Batu Dinding Waterfall and Lalalan River Lubuk. Thus, Pokdarwis consisting of 15 people manages it. The entrance fee to Batu Dinding is IDR. 10.000/person and the vehicle parking fee is IDR 2.000 for motorcycles and IDR 5.000 for cars. The tourists before entering report to the guard and get an entrance ticket. Every tourist who enters will be recorded and becomes the basis for reporting to the village every 3 months. According to Mrs. Y (Pokdarwis), recording tourists who

come so that financial reports are clear and clean, besides that, it is also to identify them if something happens while visiting.

Figure 5. Batu Dinding Waterfall Attraction.



Source: Researcher Documentation, 2023.

Visiting hours are open every day. Visitors are allowed to enter from 08.00 am to 06.00 pm. Every day, quite a lot of visitors come especially from Pekanbaru, Kampar, Bangkinang, Teluk Kuantan, Siak and even from outside Riau province. The average income per week is IDR 6.000.000 and the peak days are on Saturdays and Sundays. But on holidays, visitors will be crowded every day. In addition, a camping area is now open on the banks of the Subayang River. This adds to the attractiveness of tourists to visit.

Table 1. Business Sector After the Establishment of Batu Dinding Ecotourism.

Type of Business	Manager	Number of People
Homestay	Public	6
Small Stall	Public	10
Boat Taxi (piyau/jonson)	Public	15
Tour Guide	Pokdarwis	15

Source: Researcher Identification, 2023.

Since Batu Dinding tourism was opened, it has had a positive impact on the community. Tourism provides opportunities for economic improvement through homestay services for visiting tourists. In addition, engine boat services (*piyau*) are also an attraction for visitors when they want to visit the Batu Dinding area and provide a different sensation. Therefore, existing tourism activities provide considerable economic opportunities for the community. But behind it all, the latent function of tourism also has a negative impact, namely causing conflict. The conflict over land claims in the Batu Dinding area is a dynamic in the management of tourism in Tanjung Belit Village.

5. Discussion

5.1. Fighting over Cuan¹: Conflict Dynamics of Batu Dinding Tourism Development

The Tanjung Belit Village community consists of several tribes including the Domo tribe, Tonga tribe, Malayu tribe, and Kape tribe. Of the four tribes, the Domo tribe is the most dominant tribe

¹ Cuan in the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) is synonymous with profit or profit. The word *cuan* itself comes from the Chinese language which was absorbed into the Indonesian language (<https://kbbi.web.id/>). This pronoun is used to emphasize the phenomenon of actors fighting over profits in the Batu Dinding tourism sector. In the struggle, it creates horizontal conflicts that lead to social sanctions, customary and criminal law. At the same time, ecotourism can provide generating income for conservation activities and economic benefits to communities living around ecotourism sites.

in the village. Because the Domo tribe has four different tribal chiefs while the other tribes only have one tribal chief in each tribe. The Domo tribe has four Ninik Mamak titles within this tribe, namely Datuk Singo, Datuk Majo, Datuk Majo Tanso, Datuk Balahan Putih. The title of Datuk Singo is held by Ujang, the title of Datuk Majo is held by Amrin, the title of Datuk Majo Tanso is held by Ali Wahab, the title of Datuk Belahan Puti is held by Sudirman. In the Tonga Tribe, the title of the tribe leader, Datuk Godang, is held by Si'amri. In the Kapeh Tribe, the title of the head of the tribe is Datuk Paduko Sindo and in the Malayu Tribe, the title of the head of the tribe is Dubalang Setio.

In Tanjung Belit village, which was originally customary land or customary land controlled by Datuk Singo with Datuk Dubalang Setio, the customary land in Tanjung Belit village is approximately 300 hectares. Among the four tribes, there was a misunderstanding between the Domo tribe, the Tonga tribe and the Kapeh tribe. These three tribes have the same understanding while the Malayu tribe does not. This tribal misunderstanding occurred because the Malayu tribe sold the customary land in Tanjung Belit village and the Malayu tribe named the customary land as the name of the Malayu tribe.

The Malayu tribe is one of the landowners of the Batu Dinding area as a customary prohibition forest and waterfall tourism. Their Ninik Mamak does not agree that their land is managed by the village without their involvement in it. So, the Ninik Mamak (tribal leader) reclaimed their land and wanted to manage the Batu Dinding tourism area themselves. So there was a conflict between the Malayu tribe and the people of Tanjung Belit Village.

In 2016, individuals from the Malayu tribe began to build buildings at the entrance to the Batu Dinding waterfall area to take retribution money from tourists who came. So, this raises questions from the village government and the community. Thus, a meeting was held with the Malayu tribe. Mr. E (Head of Tanjung Belit Village) said "*The Malayu tribe wants to take over the Batu Dinding waterfall tour themselves and reclaim that the Batu Dinding area belongs to their tribe*". So, the village government did not agree with this attitude and the conflict occurred. Likewise, the people of Tanjung Belit village felt that the actions of the Malayu tribe were arbitrary and out of mutual agreement.

Between 2016 and 2017. The village community began to demolish the hut built by the Malayu tribe. There was chaos from the demolition to reporting the demolition party to the police. A total of 11 people were reported by the Malayu tribe to the police. The elements of the Malayu tribe are Mr. TJ and Mr. I who act as actors and are one of the Ninik Mamak in the Malayu tribe.

From 2018 to 2020 there were court hearings. Between the Tanjung Belit village community, the Village Government and the unscrupulous Malayu tribe. The trial lasted quite a long time, because the two parties reported each other. In addition, 11 people who have been detained by the police on charges of damage to private facilities belonging to the Malayu tribe. According to Mr. Y (one of the reported parties), "*We were reported and detained for 3 months in prison on charges of damaging their (the Malayu tribe's) hut, but those who carried out the demolition were not individuals but on behalf of the masses, namely the people of Tanjung Belit village*". Indeed, in the reporting, the Malayu tribe was selective in reporting this case to the police. According to Mr. YK (Tanjung Belit Village Community) said, "*There are several tribes that are not included in the 11 reported people, especially the Domo tribe who are also the landowners of Batu Dinding and do not know why?*".

Indeed, by custom, the landowners of the Imbo Batu Dinding customary forest and Batu Dinding tourism area are the Domo tribe and the Malayu tribe. However, the Domo tribe has the strongest ownership and evidence. Thus, during the land reclaim case by the Malayu tribe, the Domo tribe provided a lot of information and helped take over the land so that it returned to the collective agreement and was managed by the community. According to Mr. A (Ninik Mamak Domo Tribe) said, "*We as landowners have agreed, the land was given to the village to be used as a*

customary forest and managed and used for tourism, but the Malayu tribe was influenced by some of its ninik mamak elements, so they took over again".

The conflict that occurred between the Malayu tribe who tried to take over the Batu Dinding area was initiated by a Ninik Mamak person, Mr. TJ (a Malayu tribe person). He instigated other Ninik Mamak to agree to take over with the lure of money. Because he wanted to sell the land to oil palm investors. According to Mr. E (Head of Tanjung Belit Village) "*The efforts made by Mr. TJ to instigate his children and the Malayu tribe so that the land can be sold*". Previously, Mr. TJ had also sold some land to oil palm developers, and there was also a conflict between them and the villagers. In this case, the instigated Ninik Mamak is Mr. I who is the *datuak* (Malayu tribal chief).

Mr. I actually received intervention from Datuak TJ so that he, as Ninik Mamak, tried to take back the land that belonged to his tribe. This was recognized by Mr. I and besides that he also had disappointment with the management of the Batu Dinding area. Mr. I said, "*In the management of Batu Dinding tourism, his children are not involved and I feel that as one of the tribes that donated land, they should be involved so that it is fair*". So, on that basis he ventured to dispute it.

However, this is not entirely the case. Batu Dinding tourism management is under the authority of the village. Thus, there are several young people involved in Pokdarwis. According to Mr. E as the Head of Tanjung Belit Village said that "*Not all people who are members of Pokdarwis are only 15 people, even those who are able to be in the field every day and manage and not all tribes are also involved*". This means that Pokdarwis is not based on the tribe who gave the land, but people who want to be actively involved in it. Incidentally, there are none from the Malayu tribe, continued Mr. E. Community involvement in tourism activities is not selected and determined by the village head, but based on readiness and seriousness in managing it. Thus, some of the people who joined were people who really wanted to develop tourism in Tanjung Belit Village and were fully involved in it. POKDARWIS (Tourism Awareness Group) is only a community with duties and responsibilities but the owner is still the Tanjung Belit Village community, starting from youth, community leaders and Ninik Mamak.

One of the triggers for the conflict was the involvement of members of the Malayu tribe in the management of Batu Dinding waterfall tourism. However, it became prolonged when it was interfered with arbitrary actions from both the Malayu tribe and the community. Thus, it led to legal proceedings. The period of trial and resolution of the conflict started from 2018 to 2021. In 2021 after the 11 parties reported to the police had been sentenced to 3 months in prison and Mr. I was also sentenced to prison. Then this case was finished. Mr. TJ was also tried within the community and village government.

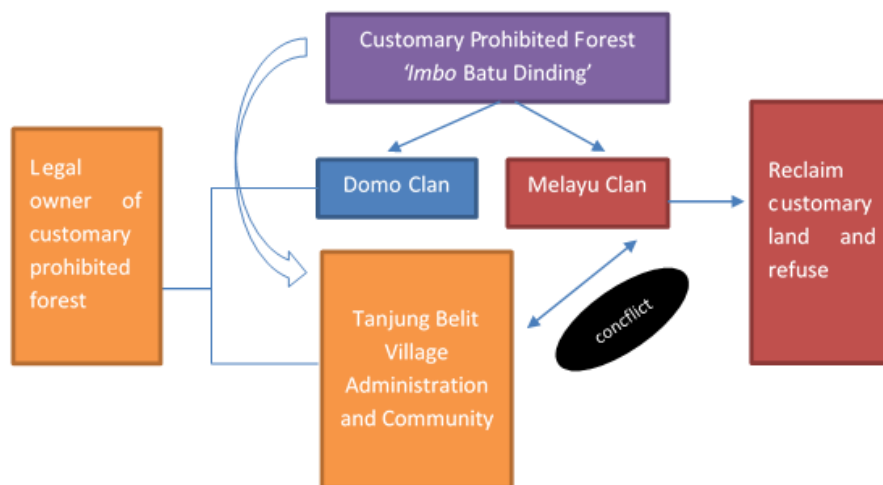
But in social life, tribalism in Tanjung Belit Village. The Malayu tribe was traditionally banished from the village. This means that the Malayu tribe is excluded from all matters relating to customs, social and community activities. This is a social sanction for them. However, according to Mr. A (Ninik Mamak of the Domo Tribe) said "*It was done in order to teach the Malayu tribe a lesson and become an example in social life, but at this time we have mingled again and we have embraced again*". A few years later, in 2022, a celebration was held at Batu Dinding by slaughtering buffaloes. The aim was to mark the end of the conflict and to reintegrate the Malayu tribe into the socio-cultural life of Tanjung Belit. The purpose of this is to show a deterrent effect and suppress future conflicts.

At this time, when the conflict has ended. The management of Batu Dinding tourism is managed by the Tanjung Belit village government and Pokdarwis. The distribution of retribution money is 50:50 between the village and Pokdarwis. Thus, the proceeds from tourism can be enjoyed by the village and the community. And can also be used as a fee for the development of tourism in Tanjung Belit village. So that people live in peace and carry out activities as usual.

It is necessary to realize that the phenomenon of conflict that occurred in Tanjung Belit had a positive and negative impact on society. That occurs has a negative impact, namely losses. The loss is on all parties to the conflict. Some of the losses received by those in conflict include: a) moral losses, b) material losses, and c) financial losses. In the case of Tanjung Belit Village, the parties to the conflict were community groups vs. the village government and community groups. This means that there are community groups that oppose and agree with the village government, so community groups that are pro-government are also involved in the conflict, which is part of the customary land used as Imbo Hutan Larangan and Batu Dinding Waterfall tourism. Another disadvantage is the trust between fellow communities that remains and has a grudge. However, it no longer to riots but to anxiety if the incident happens again. So, the community as the manager of Batu Dinding tourism is more careful so that the anxiety does not peak and cause even greater conflict.

The conflict that occurred was actually a conflict between communities. Communities consisting of several tribes (clan) strengthen their status quo to maintain social relations and strengthen their tribal solidarity. Thus, the Batu Dinding tourism conflict became an identity conflict or tribal conflict. Therefore, the contrast of debates and mutual defense of the truth of who has the most rights to the management of Batu Dinding tourism and the customary prohibition forest is interfered with by the selfishness of each party.

Figure 6. Conflict Map of Batu Dinding Area in Tanjung Belit Village.



There are several factors that trigger conflicts that occur in the Tanjung Belit Village community. Factors causing conflict between communities are caused by (1) differences in interests; (2) differences in perception; (3) mutual distrust; (4) injustice; (5) misunderstanding; (6) arrogance of action; and (7) egocentricity. This is motivated by economic value factors that want to monopolize. According to the Pokdarwis report, every year the average income generated from Batu Dinding tourism reaches IDR 100,000,000. So that it makes a handful of individuals want to control and seize their own profits.

Behind that, it is also seen that, in fact, the struggle for money also occurs between the village government and Pokdarwis with a 50:50 sharing system. Then, the 15-member Pokdarwis subdivides the 50% to all of its members. According to Mr. M (Pokdarwis), "We share 50% of the results with the village to all Pokdarwis members as salaries and our operational costs". This source of income for the Batu Dinding tourism board is not budgeted by the village, so their salaries are taken from the retribution money each month.

The positive side of this conflict was also seen in that it strengthened the tribal identity of the Tanjung Belit community and brought them closer together after the conflict was over. Thus, they created a safety valve through legal settlements (State regulations) that apply customary

rules. Therefore, after everything was over, the dynamics of the conflict that occurred made them create a strong balance and agreement between communities.

6. Conclusions

The basis of the conflict from the control of the Batu Dinding tourism area makes elements of the community divided. Thus, resulting in conflict between fellow communities. Identity conflict strengthens after those in conflict are the rulers of land and forests that are used as customary forests and waterfall tourism areas in Batu Dinding. Thus, both defend each other and strengthen relationships within their tribes. Finally, the ecotourism conflict shows a conflict dynamic that creates a balance and a positive value agreement for the community.

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9. Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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