

Agrarian Conflict Resolution in the Strategic Perspective of National Defense: The Case of Batin Baringin Sakai Customary Community

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Abstract: The strategy formulation of the Riau Province Government in the *Perspective of the National Defense* is needed to deal with the conflict between the customary community of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi. This agrarian conflict occurred due to overlapping rights over customary land management, which has not yet come to light. From 1996 until now, the conflict never finds a solution. The Riau Provincial Government must complete homework with effective and efficient strategic steps. This study will analyze the strategic actions that the government can take to resolve the conflict between the two parties by examining the concept of the government's strategy from the *Strategic Perspective of The National Defense*. The research method used is qualitative, with case studies and interviews. The results explain that the strategic steps taken have not been maximized. So that there is no draft conflict resolution strategy guidelines between the Customary Peoples of the Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi by the Provincial Government of Riau. Several measures which include means, ways, and ends according to the perspective of the right and directed the Riau Provincial Government can carry out National Defense Stages how to maximize mobilization and integrate resources optimally through a work program that is compiled and evaluated. In the final stage, conflict resolution can be achieved through a peace agreement and a sense of justice between the two disputing parties.

Keywords: Agrarian conflicts, ends, means, ways

INTRODUCTION

Riau Province is one of the provinces on Sumatra Island with a population of 6,394,090 people in the 2020 population census (BPS, 2021). According to a report from the Ministry of Agriculture (Kementerian Pertanian), the area of oil palm plantations will reach 15.08 million ha in 2021. In terms of area, the majority of national oil palm plantations are in Sumatra and Kalimantan which are more than 14 million ha and Riau Province has oil palm production. The largest nationally with a total of 10.27 million tonnes (Katadata, 2022). Because Riau Province has the largest national production of palm oil, it cannot be denied that Riau Province is also one of the provinces contributing to agrarian conflicts in Indonesia.

Based on the year-end records of the Consortium for Agrarian Reform or *Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria* (KPA), it is stated that in 2021 there will be 207 agrarian conflicts in

Indonesia that are structural in nature. Agrarian conflicts occurred in 32 provinces and spread over 507 villages and cities. This conflict affected 198,895 households or Kepala Keluarga (KK) with a conflict area of 500,062 ha. The expansion of oil palm and Industrial Plantation Forest or *Hutan Tanaman Industri* (HTI) plantation companies has become a major cause of agrarian conflict in Riau Province, due to the decision of public officials to grant concession permits to companies. Agrarian conflicts recorded by KPA are structural agrarian conflicts, namely where communities, communities, villages, hamlets, farmers, or indigenous peoples in one group are dealing with State-Owned Enterprises or *Badan Usaha Milik Negara* (BUMN) and/or private companies.

Agrarian conflicts in Riau Province when viewed by sector, plantations remain the sector with the highest number of agrarian conflicts, namely 74 conflicts, followed by the infrastructure sector with 52 conflicts, mining with 30 conflicts, property project development with 20 conflicts, and conflicts with 17 conflicts. Over the past two years, between 2020 - 2021, there have been 448 conflicts in 902 villages/cities. The area to be discussed in this study is the agrarian conflict that occurred in Bengkalis Regency. the struggle for land management between the Batin Baringin Sakai indigenous people and PT Arara Abadi in Suluk Bongkal Village, Koto Pait Baringin Village, Talang Muandau District, Bengkalis Regency. They are part of the Sakai Tribe, one of the indigenous tribes from Riau which is included in a remote indigenous community that still lives traditionally by depending on the forests around them for their needs.

The most significant Indonesian agrarian conflict currently occurs in Riau Province, including the land dispute between the Customary People of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi in Suluk Bongkal Hamlet, Koto Pait Baringin Village, Talang Muandau District, Bengkalis Regency. The root of the problem includes non-compliance with lands and a lack of understanding of land rights. The problem caused by the lack of communication between the company and the community, causing conflict (Silalahi, 2021).

Approximately 3,500 hectares of land belonging to the Batin Baringin indigenous people have overlapped with PT Arara's land since 1996 but this conflict escalated again in April 2021 (Wicaksono, 2021). Of this area, indigenous peoples can still control 300 hectares of land, the rest have been planted with industrial crops. Meanwhile, the government also protects the existence and supremacy of rights owned by indigenous peoples in accordance with what is stated in Articles 18b and 28i of the 1945 Constitution. Until now, there has been no law derived from the two articles in the 1945 Constitution which explain and gives supremacy to indigenous peoples over their customary rights. Some of the laws made are in the form of regional regulations (*perda*) which often experience obstacles in terms of implementation because they conflict with other stronger laws above them such as government regulations, ministerial regulations, and so on. Conflict will arise when there is a conflict to achieve goals, differences in values, limited resources, and interests that exist

in individuals, groups, or society (Malik, 2017). Conflict will have a broad impact resulting in discomfort and disintegration that can disrupt National Security and even hinder national development.

The conflict resolution theory used is the Dynamic Framework for Conflict Prevention and Resolution theory by Dr. Ichsan Malik, M.Si which was announced in 2015 and patented in 2021. This theory maps conflicts and performs analysis to diagnose symptoms just like in Health Sciences. The results of the diagnosis will be used as a recommendation to determine what drug or method is right to take and resolve the process. As a result of conflicts that continue to grow increasingly complex, and emotional and escalate, the Dynamic Framework theory is here to answer them, with the historical course of the conflict, mapping of conflict sources (triggers, accelerators, vulnerable), actors, steps, and the peace process.

Strategy is the concept of determining the framework of the activities of an organization and providing guidelines for coordinating every action carried out so that the government can adapt and influence environmental conditions that are constantly changing (Pamudji, 1985). The strategy is described and then developed through steps that contain indicative programs to realize a vision and mission carried out by public policymakers, namely the government (Mahfudz, 2015).

Theory of the Republic of Indonesia's State Defense Strategy 2015 or known as the National Defense Strategy. National Defense is a measurable state of the ability of a nation to overcome multidimensional threats to the welfare of its people and its survival as a nation-state, wherever given the time, by balancing all state policy instruments through government (Puguh Santoso. 2022). Based on this concept, the existence of indigenous peoples as one of the nation's cultural assets and as part of the nation's national structure needs to have the supremacy to deal with threats to their customary rights that have not been legally protected. Arthur Lykke Jr. (2006) put forward this theory by looking at three mind things, such as means, ways, ends, and additional concept call with actors. In conclusion, the explanation above is in line with the strategy that needs to be prepared by the Provincial Government of Riau in an effort to develop policies that can resolve the conflict between the two parties in the Bengkalis Regency.

METHODS

Research Methods is a qualitative method with a case study design. Qualitative research is a process in which the data collection process is carried out somewhat in a natural and natural setting according to objective field conditions, then focuses on data in the form of sentences without any manipulation of the data findings (Arikunto, 2013).

The case study design is an intensive, detailed, and comprehensive research approach to an object (individual), institution, or phenomenon with a limited subject area coverage.

Data was collected by interviewing policymakers and representatives of customary people in 7-10 February 2022 in Riau Province as the largest contributor to agrarian conflicts in Indonesia (Katadata, 2022). Interviews are a way of collecting data by digging for information to find out more in-depth problems related to something in terms of behavior characteristics and the meaning of the action (Sugiyono, 2016).

All informants as the resources of supporting data are the Head of the National Unity and Politics Agency (KESBANGPOL) Riau Province, Jenri Salmon Ginting, AP, Regional Police of Riau Province, Inspector General of Police Teddy Ristiawan, SS, Chairman of the Customary Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) Riau, Efri Sumbayang, and representatives of the Regional Office of the Ministry of ATR/National Land Agency (BPN) Riau Province, Ir. Umar Fathoni.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Dynamic of Conflict

The conflict between the Customary People of Customary Peoples of Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi has occurred since 1996 and until now (2022). Various factors, issues, and actions are the background and color of the long journey of this land conflict. Therefore, researchers must explain in detail the analysis of the sequence of events and the dynamics of the conflict that occurred. The researcher will describe the historical description of conflict or the history of conflicts that occurred in the Customary Customary People of Baringin Sakai, Bengkalis Regency, Riau. To resolve a conflict, it is necessary to know the process of escalation and de-escalation that occurs in the conflict. The conflict between the Customary Peoples of Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi can be divided into chronological conflicts.

In 1959. A map of the division of the Sakai Community's Ulayat land Area was made, including the Banyan village in the map of the area. At this stage, there is no conflict with the company (Kombes Pol. Teddy Ristiawan in interview, 2022).

In 1994. The central government then launched the Program for the Development of Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Terasing (PKMT) or Welfare for Isolated Communities with the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs Number 5/HUK/1994. This program has displaced some Sakai people from the forest to roadside villages (Daihoru, 2018). Not all Sakai people are willing to move and leave their lives in the forest. Meanwhile, they were forced to the outskirts of the forest which was close to the access road. There was a dispute among some Sakai people about this policy. From the perspective of escalation and de-escalation, this situation makes the conflict escalate to the first level or dispute.

In 1996. On November 25, 1996, the Minister of Forestry issued Decree No. 743/KPTS-II/1996, which granted a concession permit for PT Arara Abadi to manage 299.975 hectares

of land to be used as industrial forest plantations (HTI) planted with eucalyptus and acacia for raw materials Paper (Ministry of Forestry, 1996). With this regulation, PT Arara started operating in the Riau area. 3500 hectares of land overlap with land claimed and managed by the customary people of Batin Baringin Sakai, so they resisted and formed forces to fight against the company's domination. The conflict escalates to the third phase as each side prepares for confrontation. There has not been a peace process that both sides have actually carried out nor has it been facilitated by the government, so this crisis has become an ember in the husk that leads to an escalation of conflict.

In 2001. The conflict was caused by an overlap between the land claimed by the customary people of Batin Baringin Sakai and the Industrial Plantation Right of PT Arara Abadi. Of the nearly 300 thousand hectares of concessions granted to the company, there are 3000 hectares that have implications for Batin Baringin Sakai's customary land. The company began logging and clearing the disputed land. The Baringin Sakai customary people then fought, but PT Arara Abadi used assistance from unscrupulous officials and other parties so that the customary people eventually withdrew without a resolution to the conflict (TanahKita, 2020). The conflict again escalated at the peak phase because each party committed violence with the impact of physical or injury and psychological damage due to the trauma experienced by customary peoples. Conflicts can stop after the customary peoples temporarily move away from the disputed land.

In 2005. On February 2, 2005, the Pinggir Camat together with the Bengkalis DPRD brought together representatives of the Customary Peoples Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi at the Pinggir District Office. From the mediation meeting, each side refrained from the disputed land.

In 2007, the customary people demonstrated at the district (Bupati) office which was then responded with Bupati Letter No:100/P.H 13.06, submitted to the Minister of Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia. The Regent's letter was also responded to by the Ministry of Forestry by issuing No.S.319/MENHUT-VI/2007 which ordered local governments to form a special team to resolve conflicts (Perwati, 2021). The process of resolving conflict with mediation carried out by the government has escalated the conflict to stage three after an agreement was made to refrain from violent behavior from each party.

In 2015. The Directorate of Tenure Conflict Management and Customary Forests (PKTHA) of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) sent an assessment team to meet with the Sakai community and the management of PT.Arara Abadi. The team identified problems, including 2,912 hectares of land occupied by Arara Abadi to be returned as customary rights of Batin Baringin, PT.Arara Abadi thought it had built a germplasm plantation on the land, and customary people had built huts and planted horticulture. customary peoples feel most entitled to customary land (TanahKita, 2020).

There has been no progress on escalation or de-escalation at this stage because the efforts made by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry have not been accepted by both parties.

In 2019. There was a criminalization of a resident of Batin Baringin Sakai named Bongku bin Alm Jelodan who was arrested by PT.Arara Abadi security forces and reported to the Pinggir Police on charges of vandalism and theft for which he was imprisoned for 1 year (Tanjung, 2020). The massive coverage of the Bongku case made this conflict a national concern and gained the sympathy of many parties. Many parties have requested that this dispute be resolved immediately. Due to a lot of pressure, PT.Arara stopped activities in the disputed area and left the land unused.

In 2021. The disputed land that is not used by PT Arara is then used by the customary people of Barin Baringin Sakai for food agriculture and horticulture. On April 28, 2021, at around 09.30, there was expulsion and destruction of the food crops of the Sakai residents as well as intimidation accompanied by violence that resulted in several women being injured (Wicaksono, 2021). Until this research was conducted, there had been no further efforts to resolve the dispute between PT.Arara Abadi and the Customary People of Batin Baringin Sakai. The conflict escalated in the fourth stage with limited violence through intimidation from the company.

Table 1. Chronology of Conflict Customary Peoples of Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi

No	Year	Explanation
1	1959	A map of the division of the Sakai Community's Ulayat land Area was made, including the Banyan village in the map of the area.
2	1994	The central government then launched the Program for the Development of Welfare for Isolated Communities.
3	1996	On November 25, 1996, the Minister of Forestry issued Decree No.743/KPTS-II/1996.
4	2001	The conflict was caused by an overlap between the land claimed by the customary people of Batin Baringin Sakai and the Industrial Plantation Right of PT Arara Abadi.
5	2005	On February 2, 2005, the Pinggir Camat together with the Bengkalis DPRD brought together representatives of the Customary Peoples Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi.
6	2007	the customary people demonstrated at the district (Bupati) office which was then responded with Bupati Letter No: 100/P.H 13.06.
7	2015	The Directorate of Tenure Conflict Management and Customary Forests (PKTHA) of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) sent an assessment team to meet with them.
8	2019	There was a criminalization of a resident of Batin Baringin Sakai named Bongku bin Alm Jelodan.
9	2021	The disputed land that is not used by PT Arara is then used by the customary people of Barin Baringin Sakai for food agriculture and horticulture.

Source: modified by author

The conflict between the Customary people of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi was motivated by the struggle for the land tenure of approximately 3500 hectares which has not been resolved to date. However, the conflict does not stand alone due to land issues. But there are some aspects that are not managed properly, causing various problems. To analyze these factors, researcher can use the structural root, accelerator, and trigger (SAT) concepts which are part of a dynamic framework that is useful for describing the various causes that make this land conflict complex conflict and difficult to resolve easily.

Structural roots are latent problems that have not been resolved and become the basic cause of conflict (Malik, 2021). The latent problems that are the root of the open conflict between the customary people of Baringin Sakai and PT.Arara Abadi can be described as follows:

Regulatory Obscurity

Each of the conflicting parties has a legal basis to support their argument for controlling the disputed land. Customary peoples feel they have rights to the customary land because it is in accordance with their experience of managing the land for a long time and regenerating it. They have records in the form of ancient poems on the boundaries of customary areas which are also based on existing natural features or known as Tambo Alam (Subayang, on interview 2022). Meanwhile, PT.Arara Abadi also has proof of the transfer of land concession rights for Industrial Plantation Forests, the Decree of the Minister of Forestry No.743/KPTS-II/1996 which is still valid. The Bengkalis Regency Government as well as the Riau Provincial Government cannot review, reduce, or cancel the regulation because the right to grant concession permits rests with the central government through the ministry of forestry and the environment. Minister of Agrarian Regulation Article 4 No 18 of 2019 states that rights to customary land will be lost if the land is owned by an individual or a legal business entity (Fathoni, 2022).

Internal Conflicts of Customary Peoples

Each inner Sakai tribe in Baringin feels most entitled to control and manage the disputed Ulayat land. As a result, the conflict resolution process cannot run smoothly. Actually, Baringin Sakai's mind already has an inner being that is jointly recognized by all groups, but because each has an interest, it is not uncommon for some people to act alone without following a joint decision (Zazali, 2022).

Differences in Access to Education and Law

Customary peoples have limitations on education, so they cannot take persuasive and peaceful actions in overcoming problems, including in this agrarian conflict. Several times there have been clashes between them and the company, supported by several officers, as happened in 2001. In addition, there has also been the criminalization of people who carry out activities on the disputed land which are detrimental to the company, as happened to Bongku bin Alm Jelodan in 2019 (Tanjung, 2020).

In addition to the existence of latent structural roots caused by unresolved underlying problems, there are also issues that become the means for these structural problems to become large. Some of these accelerators include:

Legal Status of Customary Peoples

Until now, there has been no product of legislation that definitely protects customary peoples in gaining supremacy over their Ulayat lands. The Community Law that has been finalized and entered into the legislative body of the DPR has not yet been hammered out in the plenary (Tempo, 2021). As a result, customary peoples have not yet obtained clarity about their position before the law. They are often the defeated party in court when they have a dispute with the company because there is no concrete evidence of land ownership, while the company is always based on the certificate of the right to use the land. Meanwhile, customary peoples also feel they own the land because they have managed it for generations even though they do not have legal written evidence. This ambiguity makes conflicts that can actually be resolved peacefully in the form of negotiations and mediation, as well as through legal channels often fail and make the conflict even bigger (Fathoni, 2022).

Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic

The Covid-19 pandemic situation is one aspect that has made this conflict bigger. This pandemic has resulted in a decline in various areas of people's lives, one of which is the economy. The Customary people of Batin Baringin Sakai are experiencing economic difficulties which have forced them to enter the disputed land to use it as agricultural fields (Subayang, 2022). As a result, companies are also provoked to take action by expelling them by force.

The trigger for the conflict between the Inner Baringin Sakai Community and PT Arara Abadi is of course the implication of land tenure. Of the approximately 3500 hectares of land controlled by PT Arara through a 1996 Decree of the Minister of Forestry, it overlaps with land claimed by customary peoples. Of the thousands of hectares of land, there are approximately 300 hectares that are still vacant land which is often used by customary peoples for farming, while the rest has been controlled by PT Arara and planted with

eucalyptus and acacia trees (Wicaksono, 2021). Customary people then use the land to grow food crops and vegetables and build agricultural huts. Then on April 28, 2021, they were evicted by the company using violence and intimidation. Until now this conflict has not found a common ground for resolution.

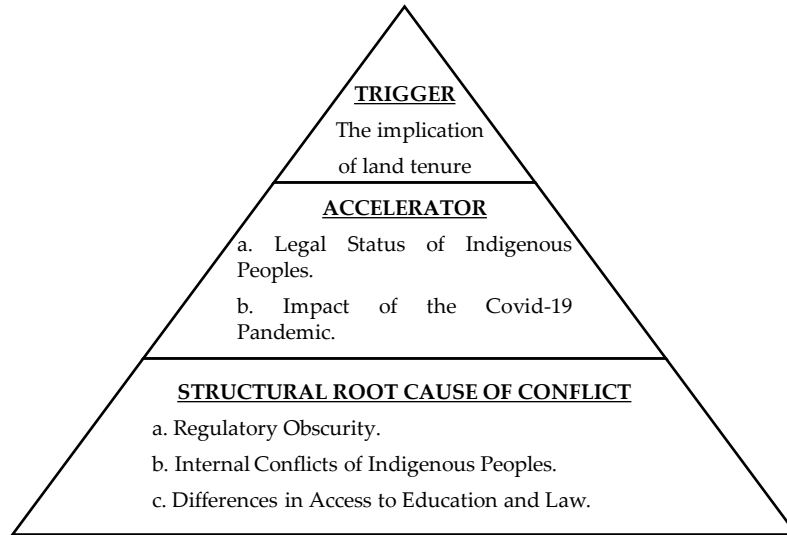


Figure 1. SAT (Structural Root Cause of Conflict, Accelerator, Trigger) Factor Analysis of Customary People’s Land Conflict Batin Baringin Sakai and PT. Arara Abadi.
Source: was modified by the author, 2022.

The information based on the picture above is the sequence or hierarchy of the root causes of the conflict, conflict accelerators that can increase the intensity of conflict escalation, and triggers or pressures that cause the phenomenon to get bigger so that land tenure conflicts occur. Therefore, at each stage it is necessary to do an analysis to find out in detail what problems are the source. What are the structural roots of the conflict? What issues make this problem of conflict continue, such as policies related to the status or laws of indigenous peoples and the impact of the pandemic. The implication is that there is a defense problem that is part of the suppressor or trigger. Therefore, in conflict analysis using the CEWERS conflict resolution theory, it is necessary to pay attention to all stages, especially the SAT section, in addition to other stages.

Current Approach to Solve the Conflict and Its Limitation

The conflict between the Inner Baringin Sakai Community and PT Arara Abadi is due to the overlapping status of the customary land of the Customary Batin Baringin community with land that is the right of the Industrial Plantation Forest or Hak Hutan Tanaman Industri (HTI) PT Arara Abadi, part of PT Asia Pulp and Paper (APP) which operates in the manufacturing sector paper processing. Th the condition in one of the situations of the agrarian reform concept divided into asset reform and access reform (Waryanta 2016,180).

Based on the Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number 743/KPTS-II/1996, which granted PT Arara Abadi a concession permit to manage 299.975 hectares of land. The land is driven to become an Industrial Plantation Forest or Hutan Tanah Industri (HTI), where eucalyptus and acacia trees are planted as raw paper materials (Ministry of Forestry, 1996). However, the facts on the ground contradict this decision because the Customary People of Batin Baringin Sakai have managed thousands of hectares of their ulayat land from generation to generation for subsistence purposes before the land concession was granted to PT Arara Abadi.

The Customary People's Land of Customary Peoples Batin Baringin covers an area of 3500 hectares, now, they can only control about 300 hectares, and the rest has been planted with PT Arara Abadi's industrial plants (Wicaksono, 2021). This problem cannot be separated from the government's intervention in customary mapping areas. The participation of customary peoples in the management of natural resources in Law Number 1 of 2014 Article 1 Number 33, U_ which states that and the characteristic are "customary peoples or indigenous peoples are groups of people who have traditionally lived in certain geographical areas due to ties to ancestral origins, strong relationships with the environment, and the existence of a value system that determines economic, political, social and legal institutions" (Suryani, 2021).

The government's initial goal to make a map of the division of the Sakai Community's ulayat land, which includes the Baringin village, is to make it easier to set boundaries (Kombes Pol. Teddy Ristiawan, 2022). However, in 1994, the launch of the Community Welfare Development Program for Isolated People (PKMT) through the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs Number 5/HUK/1994 by the Central Government actually made the majority of the Sakai Tribe population being relocated from within the forest area to villages located on the outskirts of the exit route enter the region (Daihoru, 2018). Not all residents agree to move away from life in the forest. Finally makes them divided into two groups, namely the group of residents who remain with the group of people who move, and of course, the transfer changes their way of life from before.

Overlapping regulations and prolonged conflicts that have not met a peaceful solution for 26 years are contrary to laws and regulations related to natural resource management in customary land areas. There is a related explanation: the control of customary peoples over their traditional territories has been registered and protected by the state, following Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Agrarian Law which explains that the earth, water, and air space located on customary lands have the right to be managed independently by the community on ulayat rights without violating regulations that are contrary to the law.

In addition, the conflict has expanded to become an internal horizontal conflict of the Sakai Tribe, debating which party has the most management rights over the disputed ulayat

land area. This happens because the conflict resolution process so far has not been going well, so it is feared that the irresponsible party will act alone without complying with the consensus.

The Riau Provincial Government as the central government's representative has the responsibility to comprehensively handle the conflict currently happening in Bengkalis Regency by formulating strategies and implementing targeted steps. It is feared that if the government only approaches conflict resolution between customary peoples and companies, it is only reactive, such as negotiations and mediation, when escalation increases without producing a fair and acceptable agreement by both parties, there will be an escalation of conflict tensions that will heat up again. It was recorded that in April 2021 there was a clash between residents with PT Arara Abadi security officers, which resulted in injuries to female farmers due to the harsh treatment of officers, followed by the revocation of residents' vegetable crops before they were harvested by irresponsible parties (betahita.id).

The Ends stage is the goal to be achieved as well as the reason why it is. Means is what resources we can use as a means to achieve the goal, both human resources and infrastructure completeness resources used. Ways is how we use resources owned to attain strategic plans or objectives, in this case, it is necessary to have vital solid planning, preparation, implementation, and Actors as those who make policies to carry out and oversee each stage of the process.

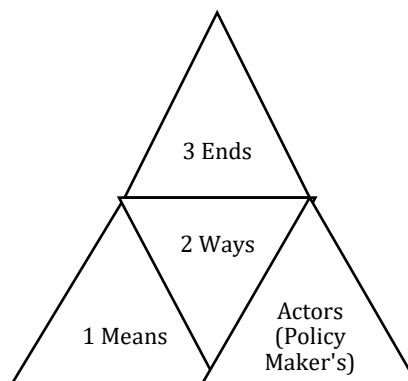


Figure 2. Three Basic Substance Formulation of National Defense Strategy. Source: was modified by the author, 2022.

The government is a large organization in the form of institutions or public bodies that have the task and function of carrying out various efforts to achieve the state's goals (Nawawi, 2015). Moreover, the government originally came initially from the command. An order to do something, to govern a region or the highest body of a country, such as the Cabinet, is interpreted as an act regarding ways, things, and affairs by Pramudji (Ribawanto et al, 2015).

Being a strategy is neither natural nor easy for the government". Implementing a strategy is not considered natural and not easy for the government, but it is also not impossible to

achieve. The process of training it requires maximum effort and support from all parties so that all things aspired to be performed for the welfare and prosperity of the community (Mulgan, 2003 in Husna, 2015). This study aims to analyze the concept of government strategy that can be implemented through three major frameworks namely means, ways, and ends. These steps can be compiled into a draft manual for conflict resolution strategies for managing the customary land of the Batin Baringin Sakai Customary People with PT.Arara Abadi.

The analysis of the government's strategy can be used as a reference and consideration in policymaking in Riau Province, both by the Central Government and the Provincial Government, so that these policies can contribute significantly to the development of positive peace in Riau Province, which affects the stability of The National Defense. Furthermore, building awareness, especially among the people of Riau Province, regarding the potential for horizontal conflicts and vertical conflicts between communities or companies that may occur so that these potentials can be responded to and prevented early by the people of Riau Province so that they do not escalate into violent conflicts.

Alternative Conflict Resolution Based on National Security Perspective

The conflict resolution process in Bengkalis Regency between the Batin Baringin Sakai conflict with PT.Arara Abadi is still passive and tends to wait. This means that the handling of conflicts that are carried out is not carried out continuously but rather waiting for the emergence of the next conflict. As well as being a waste of time, this can also result in increased tension in society. The lack of qualified human resources in dealing with communal land conflicts has overwhelmed the Riau Provincial Government. Evidenced by the mediation process which never resulted in a peace agreement between the two parties. The policies taken are still not strong and the policies from the center have not changed so it is important for stakeholders to review regulations. The current government is still in a desperate situation to reduce the causal forces of this conflict, therefore it is important to raise the issue of the right strategy according to the current strength from a security perspective.

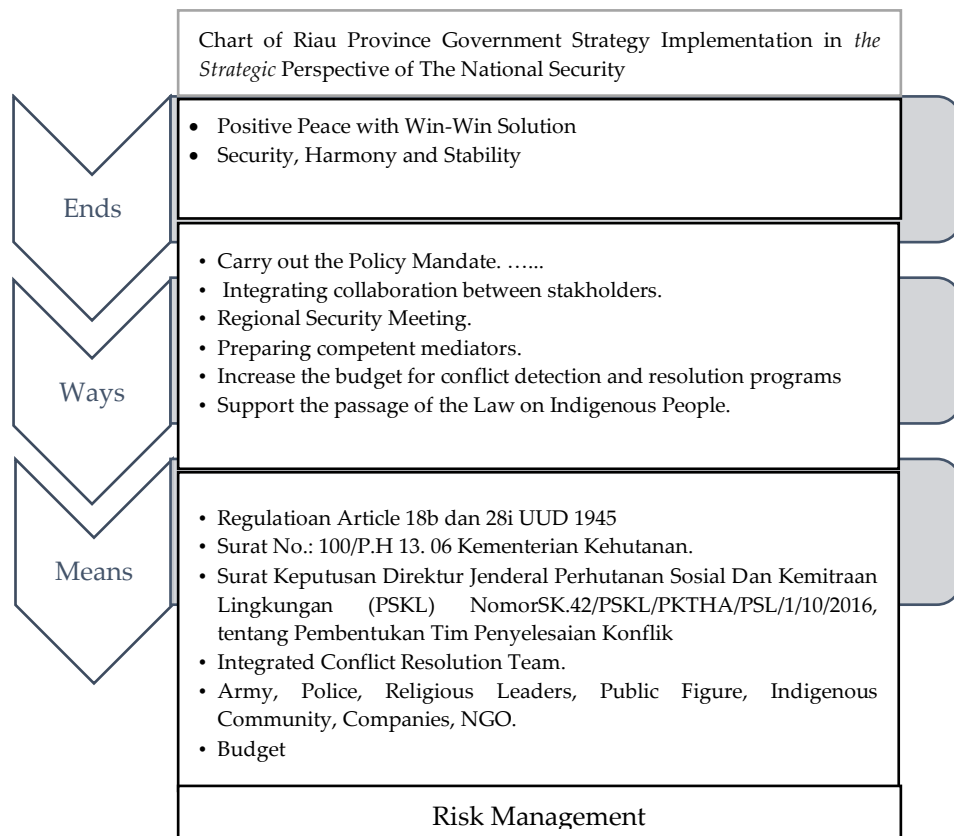


Figure 3. Strategy Design Book
Source: modified by author

Dreu and Gelfand explain that conflict is a process that begins when individuals or groups feel the differences or conflicts they experience, occurring starting between themselves and other individuals or groups about interests and resources, beliefs, values, or other practices (Ardiansah, 2019). The Agrarian Performance Consortium in Bahasa Konsorsium Performa Agraria (KPA) noted that during 2017 five provinces contributed the largest agrarian conflicts, namely East Java (60 conflicts), North Sumatra (59 conflicts), West Java (55 conflicts), Riau (47 conflicts), and Lampung (35 conflicts). As a result of the handling and complexity of regulations for handling agrarian conflicts that await from the central government's policies, the intensity of conflict in Riau is increasing to an increase.

The trigger for the problem is public dissatisfaction with the decision, causing conflicts between the community and the company. Other triggers for conflict were caused because the company took the land, was not compensated, low compensation, cooperatives as a forum for the company were dismissed, and delays in The Remaining Business Results or Sisa Hasil Usaha (SHU) triggered community resistance (Utari, 2021).

The strategy formulation Perspective of The National Defense in question is through the concept of means, ways, and ends. The art and science of creating and employing a state's political, economic, social-psychological, and military powers in line with policy directives to produce outcomes that defend or advance national interests to other states,

actors, or situations are known as strategy. The strategy model of aims, ways, and means is expounded on and recommended as a framework for expressing strategies, and it is regarded as both an art and a science (The U.S. Army War College, 2006).

The government in carrying out its main tasks, functions, and strategies has three responsibilities, namely facilitator, catalyst, and regulator (Gede, Diva, 2009:35). The role of a facilitator can bridge, and provide various facilities and roads or ways that can be taken to achieve the target. Second, the government has the duty as a regulator, which means that it must prepare directions for resolving land conflicts that occur between the Customary People of Batin Baringin Sakai and the company PT Arara Abadi by making policies that provide a basic reference as an instrument for guiding implementation all teams in the field, to resolve conflicts.

Finally, the government in its strategic task acts as a catalyst, meaning that the government and its staff must be able to take into account all the factors that occur, especially the barrier factors so that they can be reduced, and then identify the various driving factors that can support the rate of settlement of the agrarian conflict. The government is domiciled as policy maker's actors or those who make policies in the formulation of means, ways, and ends strategies. The parties in question are government components, both institutional and structural policymakers at the center, the Riau Provincial Government, and the Bengkalis Regency Government.

Means

The Riau government is currently still using regulatory stages from the central government such as decrees from ministry agencies. However, a number of these steps still encounter obstacles so they cannot produce a peace agreement. It is recorded that Decree Number 42 concerning Settlement of Agrarian Conflicts Between Customary Peoples Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi has been issued and Decree of the Director-General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership (PSKL) Number SK.42/PSKL/PKTHA/PSL/1/10/2016 regarding the Formation of a Conflict Resolution Team between the Sakai Community and PT Arara Abadi. The team that was formed to carry out land surveying which began in May 2006 consisted of an integrated team from the Bengkalis District Government, Bengkalis BPN, Forestry Service, Pinggir District Government, and Koto Pait Village Officials, community leaders, and the PT Arara Abadi company.

Governor of Riau Letter Number: 100/PH/14.06 of 2006 concerning the inventory and reconstruction of the HPHTI area of PT. Arara Abadi to the Regents of Bengkalis, Kampar, Pelalawan, Siak, Rokan Hilir, Mayor of Pekanbaru and PT Arara Abadi. The next policy tool that can be used as a reference is the Bengkalis Regent's Letter Number: S.319/MENHUT-VI/2007 concerning the Establishment of a Peace Negotiation Team for the

resolution of the agrarian conflict of the Customary people of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi (Jenri Salmon Ginting. Head of Kesbangpol Riau Province, 2022).

Unsuccessful negotiations require new strategies. The national security perspective helps to see problems from the point of view of the strengths they have or explore resources that can be used as provisions to move forward. There are many things in government planning that can be a source for developing strategies. Things like this haven't been strategically grouped so far. The following is an important explanation of what can be a source of strength in resolving conflicts between the Batin Baringin Sakai Indigenous People and PT. Arara Abadi. The means stage is the first stage that the government needs to do to map human resources, strength resources, infrastructure, insight into budget logistics, programs that have been made previously, policy or regulatory tools that have been made, and who are the competent actors who will be involved. assist and implement the designed strategy. The government in this case can remap the existing resources. First, the component that can be mapped is to identify what regulations are related to agrarian conflicts and what regulations have been issued by the government to handle the resolution of the conflict between the Batin Baringin Sakai Customary People and PT Arara Abadi by the central government, provincial governments and district governments.

The resources that can be mobilized by the government are law enforcement and security components, namely the TNI, Polri, Regional Leadership Coordinator Forum (Forkopimda), Community Leaders, Religious Leaders, an Integrated Team consisting of several stakeholders and including both parties to the conflict. Re-listing programs related to conflict handling activities, especially programs initiated to resolve agrarian conflicts. It's like evaluating with a SWOT analysis of the mediation program, dialogue, and peace talks that have not been able to reach a peace agreement. In handling conflict issues involving customary peoples, it is important to involve the Riau Malay Customary Institution (LAMR), a community organization that plays an important role in resolving the rights of customary peoples in Riau (Muhammad, 2017).

Ways

Funding is still limited and KESBANGPOL as the main part in resolving conflicts in this area does not receive a budget from the province. However, the budget comes from the center. This problem hinders efforts to resolve the conflict. Local governments are hampered by policies at different levels. This condition in the process of resolving this conflict actually hampers the mapping of potential actors who can speed up the reconciliation process, therefore it is important to map out who can contribute based on the stages of the strategy from the perspective of national security.

Ways is a stage to mobilize resources that have been mapped according to their competencies, including existing actors. At this stage, the government can implement the

chosen settlement steps by building synergy in the form of who can do what by optimizing the operations that will be carried out. The first is to carry out the mandate of the laws and regulations that have been set by the previous government.

The Riau Provincial Government can start by re-integrating and optimizing the roles of stakeholders, especially the parties that have been formed in the Peace Negotiation Team for the Settlement of the Customary People's Agrarian Conflict of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi according to the Bengkalis Regent's Letter Number: S.319/MENHUT-VI/2007 with the team formation described above. Law or regulation is a product of political power resulting from the process of negotiation and contestation of interests that go through the process of forming the law (Anggoro, 2019). The opinion can be interpreted in line with John Austin's thinking, that the law is nothing but a product of politics or power (Ahmad, 2015).

Integrating collaboration between security authorities, namely the police, the authority for land issues handled by the National Land Agency (BPN), and the authority for stability and community peace, namely the National and Political Unity Agency or Kesbangpol (Fathoni, 2022). Becoming a good unity and synergy so that they go hand in hand or not separately to reduce the branch of the coordination chain that hinders communication.

The provincial government can follow up on these stages by carrying out several derivative activities at the lower level. A strategic step that can be taken by the Riau Provincial Government is to conduct a Regional Security Meeting. Activities of this kind of meeting are usually attended directly by civil security apparatus, state defense apparatus, the person in charge of regional intelligence, and related institutions. Security Meetings can aim to read seeds or potential that can threaten and disrupt security stability in a place. The government can then conduct monthly meetings, either coordination meetings, technical checks, or field reviews with the relevant Regional Leadership Coordinator Forum in Bahasa Forum Komunikasi Pimpinan Daerah (Forkopimda) regarding the development, process, evaluation of each step that has been taken and will be taken.

Mediation does not take a long time and costs are quite light, the choice of a win-win solution and the relationship between the parties is well maintained (Saladin, 2017). Mediation is very appropriate to be used, especially in resolving land disputes, because land disputes in Indonesia are very numerous, and of course can hinder development, and even contribute to various social conflicts (Firdaus, 2021). need to minimize mediation with an interest-based negotiation paradigm that has little potential to successfully find a solution (Shapero, 2019).

Prepare a team of mediators with competence in the field of conflict resolution in defense, forestry, and government policy administration. Lack of human resources and weak knowledge related to conflict mediation as well as accurate steps to resolve conflicts

within the Riau Provincial Government are some of the inhibiting factors. Therefore, capacity building is needed in the form of education for the teams involved and optimization of human resources or in this case by increasing the number of personnel to run these programs.

Adding to the logistics team formed to handle problems in the field by providing support in the form of additional operational budgets so that coordination and collaboration are optimal. Good coordination between government institutions and government institutions, the government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), local civic organizations can run optimally. Because the funding made during the negotiation process so far has been done independently or individually.

Adequate and appropriate funding is also very necessary. We cannot turn a blind eye that the institution that is mostly tasked with dealing with conflicts is Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik (Kesbangpol), but because it is under the auspices of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the source of funding is different from the stakeholders under the auspices of the Riau Provincial Government, so this is also one of the inhibiting factors for the process. conflict resolution due to a limited and not optimal budget.

Encouraging the ratification of the Customary Peoples Law is one of the keys to resolving various agrarian conflicts such as customary land to other problems experienced by customary peoples throughout Indonesia (Eri Sumbayang, Leader of AMAN: 2022). Customary land in the context of customary law is a right that is used for economic, social, and even spiritual-related interests (Jonar, 2020). On the other hand, they are demanded by a difficult situation in realizing their rights in the life of the nation and state (Thonthowi, 2015).

Ends

Ends, the final stage of the strategy in the form of achievements or outputs produced. Based on the actors, facilities, infrastructure, and steps taken, the final expected goal is the occurrence of a fair peace agreement as a win-win conflict resolution solution without burdening any of the conflicting parties. The creation of the peace agreement is a reflection of the successful performance of the Riau Provincial Government's strategy in resolving the 26-year agrarian conflict between the Customary People of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi in Bengkalis Regency.

The stages of means, ways, and ends above can be translated into points of government strategic indicators that can be implemented in a real and sustainable manner to resolve conflicts that occur between the Customary People of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT. Arara Abadi disputed the customary land, as a result of the permit granted by the

government for the management of the Industrial Plantation Rights (HTI) land to the paper processing company without conducting a first field study of the land management rights.

Agrarian conflicts are one of the sources that make conflicts a trigger for human rights violations and other structural conflicts. These conditions can disrupt the stability of The National Defense and National Security. Especially in Indonesia, especially in Riau Province, some tribes inhabit the interior of the forest and already have a life order that is in direct synergy with land management in nature.

CONCLUSIONS

The conflict that occurred in Bengkalis was not an easy matter because it involved the rights and obligations of many parties. Lack of budget, collaboration, and policies that are still piled high make this problem not find the best solution. Therefore, another strategic arrangement is needed that can be a solution in the future, such as conflict analysis mapping from the perspective of National Security and CEWERS. This formulation is arranged in the form of stages of mapping human power or policies, actors, and ways and the ultimate goal is to resolve conflicts. The strategic step that the Riau Provincial Government can take to resolve the conflict between the Customary People of Baringin Sakai and PT Arara Abadi is to use the Implementation of Strategy Formulation through Means, Ways, and Ends. The formula can be compiled into a Strategic Plan Guidebook for the Riau Provincial Government to deal with the Agrarian Conflict between the Customary People of Batin Baringin Sakai and PT.Arara Abadi.

Ends is a positive peace goal with a Win-Win Solution to be achieved as a goal to build a sense of security, harmony, and stability in society. These strategies and stages must be applied so that the number of land conflicts decreased significantly in Riau Province in 2035-2045. Ways, good ways or steps to optimize by carrying out policy mandates, integrating collaboration between stakeholders, conducting Regional Security Meetings, preparing competent mediators in theory and practice, providing training for integrated team members, increasing the budget for conflict detection and resolution programs, supporting Ratification of the Law on Customary Peoples.

The means that can be remapped by the Riau Provincial Government are human resources, strength resources, both infrastructure, regulations, integrated conflict resolution teams, team insights, community and company agrarian conflict resolution programs, state defense, and security apparatus, namely the army, police, religious leaders, community leaders, customary peoples, companies, NGOs, to budget logistics.

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