

# The Polarization of Orientation Amongst Locals on Cultural-Land Utilization For Ecotourism Development in Ranah Minang, Sumatera Barat

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**Abstract.** *The dynamics of problems related to land occupation, ownership of cultural land, and agricultural land in Indonesia, especially in Ranah Minang, West Sumatra, have become so serious they need to be solved first before trying to achieve the ideals of sustainable development. The research methodology used in this study was a phenomenological approach. The data were analyzed through the One Score-One Criterion Scoring System. The mean values obtained for the phenomenon of cultural land-use patterns in the region were very good in many aspects. On the other hand, the dynamics of stakeholder perceptions, motivations, and preferences did not indicate any directional bias or attitudinal scale among actors over the use of cultural land. This would be different if observed in the dynamics of perception and ecotourism motivation by generating inferences of the direction polarization and attitude scale among actors. The strategy for this purpose was to optimize various aspects of land-use patterns for ecotourism development: 1) strengthening the function of cultural lands as precious treasure; 2) creating a communal business field; 3) optimizing the productivity of agricultural commodities as added value for land users; 4) establishing no-building zones in certain strategic areas as well as providing incentives to land users.*

**Keywords:** *Cultural land; ecotourism; one score one criteria scoring system; polarization; Ranah Minang West Sumatra.*

**Abstrak.** *Dinamika isu okupasi dan kepemilikan lahan kultural serta diiringi dengan maraknya konversi lahan kultural pertanian secara umum di Indonesia, khususnya di Sumatera Barat, telah menjadi persoalan serius untuk segera dicari solusinya dalam rangka meraih cita-cita pembangunan berkelanjutan. Strategi yang dilakukan pada penelitian ini adalah menggunakan pendekatan phenomenology, dan kemudian data dianalisa menggunakan one score one criteria scoring system. Dalam berbagai aspek, nilai rata-rata yang diperoleh dari fenomena pola pemanfaatan lahan kultural di kawasan ini adalah tergolong cukup baik (skor 5). Adapun dinamika persepsi, motivasi dan preferensi stakeholder menunjukkan tidak adanya polarisasi arah dan skala sikap antar aktor atas pemanfaatan lahan kultural. Hal berbeda jika diamati dari segi nilai rata-rata dimana adanya dinamika persepsi dan motivasi ekowisata yang menghasilkan kesimpulan terdapat polarisasi arah dan skala sikap antar aktor. Secara umum, Kruskal-Wallis test memperlihatkan tidak terdapat perbedaan signifikan antar aktor atas orientasi pemanfaatan lahan kultural maupun ekowisata. Mempertimbangkan IFA dan EFA, maka strategi yang baik untuk dilakukan adalah dengan menerapkan strategi agresif, yaitu dengan mengoptimalkan berbagai perspektif, yaitu: 1) memperkuat fungsi lahan kultural sebagai harta pusaka tinggi; 2) menciptakan lapangan usaha komunal; 3) mengoptimalkan produktivitas komoditi pertanian*

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sebagai nilai tambah bagi para pemanfaat lahan; 4) membuat zona larangan membangun pada wilayah strategis tertentu serta memberikan insentif kepada para pemilik dan/ atau pemanfaat lahan.

**Kata kunci:** Ekowisata; lahan kultural; one score one criteria scoring system; polarisasi; Ranah Minang Sumatera Barat.

## Introduction

### Background

The development of occupational issues and the dynamics of cultural land tenure in West Sumatra Province are seen as fundamental issues that pose an obstacle to achieving the ideals of sustainable development. The difficulty of investing in the Province of Minangkabau is an issue and an allegation that is a public secret, frequently heard from various sources without measurable clarity from an objective point of view. However, when reflecting on the phenomena that occur, and trying to be more objective, the root of the problem are external groups (investors) who cannot hold back their liberal-capitalistic and anthropocentric tendencies. Avenzora *et al.* (2013) explain that the root of the problem lies in the inability of businesspeople to refrain from ‘lust-capitalism’ when occupying and seizing ownership of lands that adorn Ranah Minang.

Besides the high interest of ‘venture capitalists’ to occupy cultural lands, another issue are the regulatory dynamics, with the policy on *ulayat* (cultural) land not yet having reached a compromise agreed upon by all members of the Minangkabau community. West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Law No. 16/2008 on *ulayat* land, Article 8, Paragraph 2(b) states that “customary land of the tribe may be registered with the tribal *penghulu* as the right holder, with a freehold ownership title (*hak milik*)” and Paragraph 3(c) reads that “people who may be registered as right holder are members of the clan and *mamak* heirs, with a freehold ownership title (*hak milik*).” In other words, when land is legally certified, the regulation has the potential to transgress Minangkabau customary law, because *ulayat* land belongs to the people as a communal treasure and cannot become individual property; it does not belong to individual customary leaders or community members. From a historical perspective, *ulayat* land in Ranah Minang is inherited from the mother’s lineage (matrilineal) and its utilization is communally oriented; either in the family *samande/saparuik*, *sekaum*, tribe, or any *senagari*. Therefore, it is not possible to sell *ulayat* land.

For sustainable development and ecotourism to be successful, it is important to first examine objectively and scientifically the dynamics of the use of cultural land. One crucial aspect that needs to be considered in ecotourism development is that the land right or full ownership of the land must be held by the local community. Avenzora (2013) states that only through land ownership, the local community can really be said to have full rights and contributions in ecotourism development and that only this can guarantee that the local community does not merely become laborers in the ecotourism development process. Bedelian (2012) also urges that full ownership of the *ulayat* land should be held by the local community as a key aspect in achieving justice, thus giving the community a strong position in partnering with tourism investors. This is in contrast to the views of the influential economist Hernando de Soto (2000), who claimed that society will remain shackled in poverty if cultural property rights are not legalized and certified, thereby ultimately impeding investment opportunities to improve livelihoods in the community. Yet, upon closer inspection, the view presented by de Soto (2000) is a form of neoliberalism that is destructive to the sovereignty of indigenous peoples in Indonesia

and specifically in Ranah Minang. De Soto's view may also provoke unequal rights in the distribution of the benefits of ecotourism development as well as stimulate the acquisition of cultural land tenure.

Among the many administrative regions in Indonesia, West Sumatra Province is one of the areas that meet the sustainability criteria for ecotourism development. In terms of property rights, the ownership of the cultural lands in West Sumatra is fully held by the Minangkabau people. The love of all elements of society in the Minangkabau customary order along with the understanding and determination in the hearts of the *ninik mamak* (customary leaders) in managing the cultural lands is the key to success in maintaining this communal treasure in Ranah Minang. In terms of natural resource wealth, no one doubts or disputes that the natural beauty of the Minangkabau region offers many opportunities for ecotourism development. In the context of the natural landscape, Avenzora *et al.* (2013) pointed out that due to the existence of seven natural lakes in Ranah Minang, it can be said that this province is the province with the most natural lakes in Indonesia. Meanwhile, in the context of the cultural landscape, including the customary and cultural order, Minangkabau country is one of the areas in Indonesia that have very high exotic value, besides Toraja and Bali, while the extent of rice field terraces in the province is much larger than in Tana Toraja or Bali. Behind the great potential of ecotourism resources in Ranah Minang, an understanding of the orientation towards the use of cultural land for ecotourism development is very important as a starting point for science-based planning. The present research aimed to: 1) analyze the polarization orientation towards the use of cultural lands in ecotourism development in West Sumatra; 2) formulate a strategy for the use of cultural lands for ecotourism development in West Sumatra.

## Methodology

**Time and Research Location.** The research was conducted from August to November 2016 in West Sumatra Province, precisely in the *nagari* of Batipuah Baruah, Tanah Datar and Koto Katik Village, Padang Panjang City. Geographically, the two study sites are located in the central point of West Sumatra Province, whose plains are surrounded by three mountains, namely Mount Marapi, Mount Singgalang, and Mount Tandikek. The coordinate point of Batipuah Baruah *Nagari* is at 00°17 "SL to 00°39" SL and 100°19" EL to 00°51" EL, while the Koto Katik Village coordinate point is 0°27'43,27" NL and 100°23'24.34" EL. Topographic conditions in both study sites consist of plains, hills, and mountainous areas. The elevation of the *nagari* of Batipuah Baruah is about 650 meters above sea level (mdpl) with temperatures ranging between 22 °C and 33 °C, while the elevation of Koto Katik Village is approximately 700 m, with temperatures ranging between 18 °C and 28 °C.

**Sampling Techniques and Research Samples.** The sampling technique used in this research was purposive sampling. The respondents were divided into five categories: 1) farmers (rice field users); 2) community using plantation land; 3) communities using forest land; 4) communities with residential land; and 5) government. According to Roscoe (1982) and Sugiyono (2010), if the sample is divided into categories, then the number of sample members of each category must be at least 30 respondents, so that the total number of respondents from the community was 240 people and from the government 60 people, with a total of 300 people.

**Analysis of Pattern of Cultural Land Utilization.** The research approach used was phenomenology (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008), where researchers describe phenomena that occur in the field based on the experience and cognitive understanding of the researchers. The research instrument used was a closed questionnaire with a 7-point Likert scale (modified from the 5-point Likert scale), with consideration of the character of Indonesian society, which articulates values

in great detail (Avenzora, 2008). The data obtained from the questionnaire were analyzed using the One Score One Criteria Scoring System, which is an analytical model used through the elaboration of the questionnaire circuit in collecting data and evaluating various variables that have been determined by the researchers (Avenzora, 2008). In addition, on the aspect of the evaluation of cultural land use, also an analysis of farm income was done, referring to Soekartawi (2006), as well as spatial settlement area analysis based on Government Regulation of Public Works No. 06/PRT/M/2007 on General Guidelines of Spatial Planning, Building and Environment.

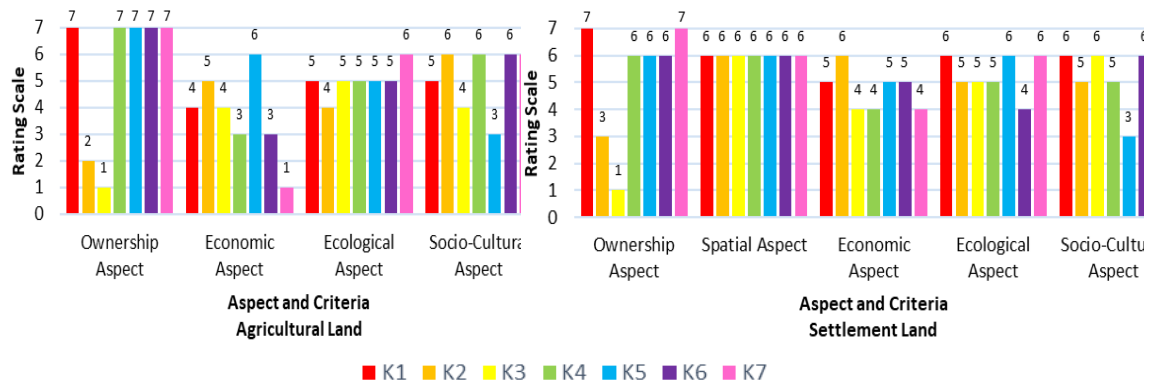
**Stakeholder Oriented Polarization Analysis.** To analyze the dynamics of stakeholder polarization, three important data points were obtained through the questionnaire, i.e., perceptions, motivations, and preferences. The perception data was related to the stakeholders' psychocognitive and stakeholder views on the benefits of cultural lands and ecotourism; the motivational data were related to the determinants or the stakeholders' motives regarding cultural land use and ecotourism development; and the preferences data emphasized the specific desires of actors in the utilization of cultural lands. The three data were analyzed using the One Score One Criteria Scoring System method and then tested statistically using the Kruskal Wallis test to determine the polarization's significance. Two important issues considered in polarization studies are directional polarization and attitude scale polarization. The direction polarization occurs when the score between actors is divided into two dimensions: scores of 4 or less (3, 2, 1) and scores of 4 or more (5, 6, 7). Attitude scale polarization, on the other hand, occurs when there is an absolute difference in scores even within the same dimension.

## Results

**Actual Condition of Cultural Land Utilization.** The sustainable use of cultural heritage must consist of several key aspects and criteria. An assessment of the following cultural heritage aspects and criteria is presented in Figure 1.

**Ownership Aspects.** According to the different criteria, the data indicate that the status of agricultural land ownership and settlements can be classified as positive, generating a score of 5. This indicates that each *saparuik* family, similar group or tribe still strictly upholds the regulatory system of benefit sharing from cultural lands based on the Minangkabau *adat* order. Therefore, it is understandable that the K2 and K3 values had a low score for both land types, since all levels of society understand that civil rights are very much contrary to Minangkabau customary law.

Based on empirical data, Sjahmunir (2005) states that the general public cannot clearly explain *ulayat* land rights, but they understand and fully appreciate the existence of *ulayat*, and understand the rights and obligations related to communal land. Sjahmunir (2005) also states that in Minangkabau, based on the customary law of the land, there is no un-owned land (*res nullius*) as in Western law, even when the parcels are very small.



**Information:**

1. Rating Scale: 1 = Very bad, 2 = Bad, 3 = Somewhat bad, 4 = Ordinary, 5 = Somewhat good, 6 = Good; and 7 = Very good.
2. Aspects and criteria of agricultural land:
  - 1) Ownership aspects: **K1** = Ownership of land status by local people; **K2** = Land status in the form of right of ownership (freehold); **K3** = Land status in the form of building rights on land or cultivation rights; **K4** = Land status in the form of right use or leasehold; **K5** = Land status in the form of a *girik*; **K6** = Land status in the form of oral agreement; **K7** = Land status not in dispute.
  - 2) Economic aspects: **K1** = Land area capable of producing certain commodity businesses; **K2** = Land area able to meet primary needs; **K3** = Land area capable of meeting secondary needs; **K4** = Land area capable of fulfilling tertiary needs; **K5** = Land area capable of opening employment opportunities; **K6** = Provision of basic income for secondary production business capital; **K7** = Provision of basic income for tertiary production business capital.
  - 3) Ecological aspects: **K1** = Maintaining resource sustainability; **K2** = Maintaining soil fertility; **K3** = Maintaining the function of the ground water system; **K4** = Prevent soil erosion; **K5** = Maintain a micro balance; **K6** = Keeping wildlife; **K7** = Maintains aesthetic value of the landscape.
  - 4) Socio-cultural aspects: **K1** = Benefits of cognitive character formation; **K2** = Benefits of affective character formation; **K3** = Benefits of motor character formation; **K4** = Benefits of religious and spiritual activities; **K5** = Benefit of arts activities; **K6** = Benefit of protection of historic objects; **K7** = Benefit is protected from all forms of discrimination and social jealousy.
3. Resettlement Aspects and Criteria:
  - 1) Ownership aspects: **K1** = Ownership of land status by local people; **K2** = Land status in the form of right of ownership (freehold); **K3** = Land status in the form of building rights on land or cultivation rights; **K4** = Land status in the form of right use or leasehold; **K5** = Land status in the form of a *girik*; **K6** = Land status in the form of oral agreement; **K7** = Land status not in dispute.
  - 2) Spatial planning aspects: **K1** = Every plot of land is in accordance with the permit of land use of spatial land area; **K2** = Every land parcel follows the KDB requirements; **K3** = Each plot of land follows the terms of the Outbreak; **K4** = Every land parcel is subject to the KDH requirements; **K5** = Every land parcel in accordance with the permit for designation of land for the layout of the building; **K6** = Construction of land parcels in accordance with the permit designation of building materials; **K7** = Land parcels in accordance with the permit designation of the building structure.
  - 3) Economic aspects: **K1** = The land area can accommodate all family members; **K2** = Land location has proper accessibility; **K3** = Land location in remote areas from the economic center; **K4** = Land location has good drainage and sanitation channels; **K5** = Land location is not in a natural disaster hazard area; **K6** = Land location has adequate infrastructure and public facilities; **K7** = Land is strategically located towards tourism destinations
  - 4) Ecological aspects: **K1** = Land use does not degrade the natural quality of the landscape; **K2** = Land use does not degrade the landscape's cultivation; **K3** = Settlement pattern does not degrade wildlife habitat (flora); **K4** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the value of the natural landscape benefits; **K5** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the cultural value of the landscape; **K6** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the human ecological quality.
  - 5) Socio-cultural aspects: **K1** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the quality of the knowledge system; **K2** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the quality of the life equipment system; **K3** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the quality of the livelihood system; **K4** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the quality of the social organization system; **K5** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the language quality; **K6** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the quality of the religious system; **K7** = Settlement pattern does not degrade the artistic quality.

**Figure 1.** Assessment of aspects and criteria of agriculture and settlement land.

**Economic Aspects.** The results show that the average value obtained for economic benefits on agricultural land yielded a score of only 4 (normal). This indicates that the community does not receive an optimal distribution of benefits over the various agricultural commodities. Primary data proves that 1.27 hectares of farmland in the *nagari* of Batipuah Baruah and 0.42 hectares in the village of Koto Katik can only generate an average income of 15,480,478 Rp/year and 11,951,417 Rp/year. This means that the average amount of income from farming is far below the Provincial Minimum Wage (UMP) of West Sumatra in 2017, amounting to 23,391,408 Rp/year. In addition, the limited capacity of the community to use various modern technologies, along with the marketing of agricultural products in the form of ‘raw products’ is one of the factors that make agriculture suboptimal. Meanwhile, for residential land, the average score for economic benefits was 5 (rather good). Some of the factors that resulted in the failure of achieving optimal results were: 1) ineffective development of various facilities and infrastructure in residential areas due to low political will of the government, and budgetary restrictions; 2) remoteness of residential areas, especially rural areas within the district, which slows economic development. Botteril *et al.* (2000) and Darusman *et al.* (2013) state that the weakness of peripheral regions is not only related to the problem of their remoteness from the standpoint of the goods and services industry but also to the alienation of the ‘suppliers’ of goods and services.

**Ecological Aspects.** In general, the agricultural land and settlements in West Sumatra are ecologically relatively sustainable, producing an average value of 5. In the cognitive dimension, people actually realize the importance of living in harmony with all elements of nature, as reflected in the customary Minangkabau philosophy expressed in the following pantun (Nasroen, 1957; Jamna, 2005):

*The cutter sharpens his knife  
Takes a pole of hardened grass  
A palm blossom sheath becomes a winnowing basket  
A drop becomes a sea  
A fistful becomes a mountain  
Nature unfolds into a teacher*

Another customary concept that emphasizes that Minangkabau people are required to adapt to their environment is reflected in the proverb ‘*Di mana bumi dipijak, di situ langit dijunjung*’ (Where the earth is treaded, the sky is revered). On the other hand, the suboptimal situation of agriculture mentioned above is suspected to be a stronger economic determinant than ecological sustainability in utilizing the land, so that fragmentation and conversion of agricultural land or massive or uncontrolled use of non-organic fertilizers and chemical pesticides are often found. Yogi & Ratnaningtyas (2012) warned that environmental degradation and damage could occur if the development of agricultural activities also exploits nature, for example, clearing new land by destroying forests, using excessive pesticides, exploiting agricultural lands without reclamation, and so on.

**Socio-Cultural Aspects.** The average value gained from the socio-cultural aspects of agricultural land and settlements was 5 (‘rather good’). Axiologically, the various socio-cultural benefits felt by the community are a form of appreciation and love for the Minangkabau customary order, because having cultural lands is essential for the survival of its people in the future. This is reflected in the teachings of Minangkabau *adat* as written down by Sjahmunir (2005), namely ‘*Bangso jan sampai pupuih*’ (The nation must not disappear), ‘*Amanah jan sampai hilang*’ (Do not lose faith), ‘*Suku jan sampai baranjak*’ (The tribe must not move), ‘*Hak jan sampai habih*’ (Rights must not disappear). For the Minangkabau community, cultural land is also the basis for traditional institutional development (local widowhood) because it includes communal land

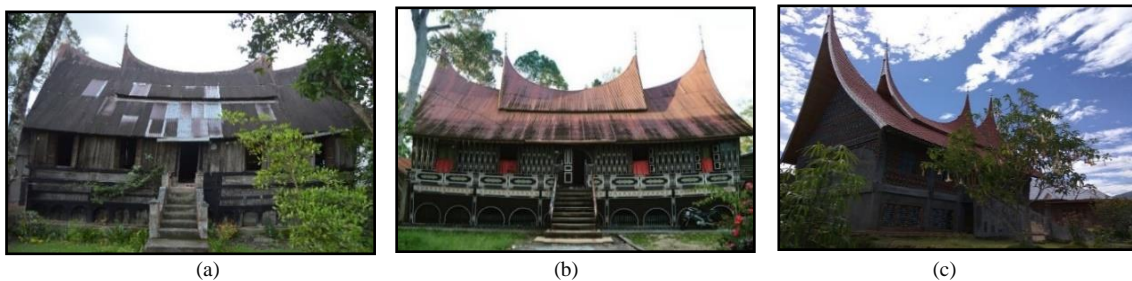
management practices based on *gotong royong*. Damsar (2005) states that the traditional institution of *Kapalo Banda* is a form of social wisdom in Minangkabau society related to cultural land in the field of irrigation management of rice fields. Cultural land is also viewed as part of Minangkabau cultural identity because in addition to being linked with the ethnicity and *nagari* of Minangkabau society, it is also used to describe places, such as *batapian tampek mandi*, *basasok jarami*, *bapandam bapakuburan* (water resources, farmlands, and burial grounds).

**Aspects of Spatial Planning.** According to various criteria, the data indicate that the spatial conditions of the settlements in the study sites were good or continuous. The score of 6 obtained, indicates the accuracy and consistency of the community in creating settlement patterns that comply with the regulations of the Regional Regulation on spatial in West Sumatra Province and the Minister of Public Works Regulation No. 41/PRT/M/2007. The public is aware that if the biophysical environment deteriorates, the community is the first to feel the negative impact. The results of the assessment of the communities’ residential land and residential building characteristics can be seen in Table 1. The adaptability of the settlement patterns towards spatial regulations creates an internal strength in creating environmental sustainability.

**Table 1.** Compatibility of Spatial Planning in Study Sites.

No	Spatial Planning Component	Average Score	
		Nagari of Batipuah Baruah	Village of Koto Katik
1	Residential area (m <sup>2</sup> )	293.48	170.36
2	Building area (m <sup>2</sup> )	106.54	72.53
3	Floor area (m <sup>2</sup> )	107.03	72.65
4	Number of floors of building	1.08	1.21
5	Height of building (m)	3.24	3.71
6	Area of green open space (m <sup>2</sup> )	133.88	57.09
7	Road width of the house (m)	2.58	2.58
8	Front border line (m)	4.36	2.86
9	Border line of left building (m)	2.75	1.66
10	Border line of right building (m)	2.70	1.39
11	Line border rear (m)	3.31	1.79

The phenomenon of communities preserving the various local architectural building types has been observed in many study sites. It is done by maintaining the authenticity of the *gadang* houses or by reconstructing them, incorporating indigenous Minangkabau concepts (see Figure 2).

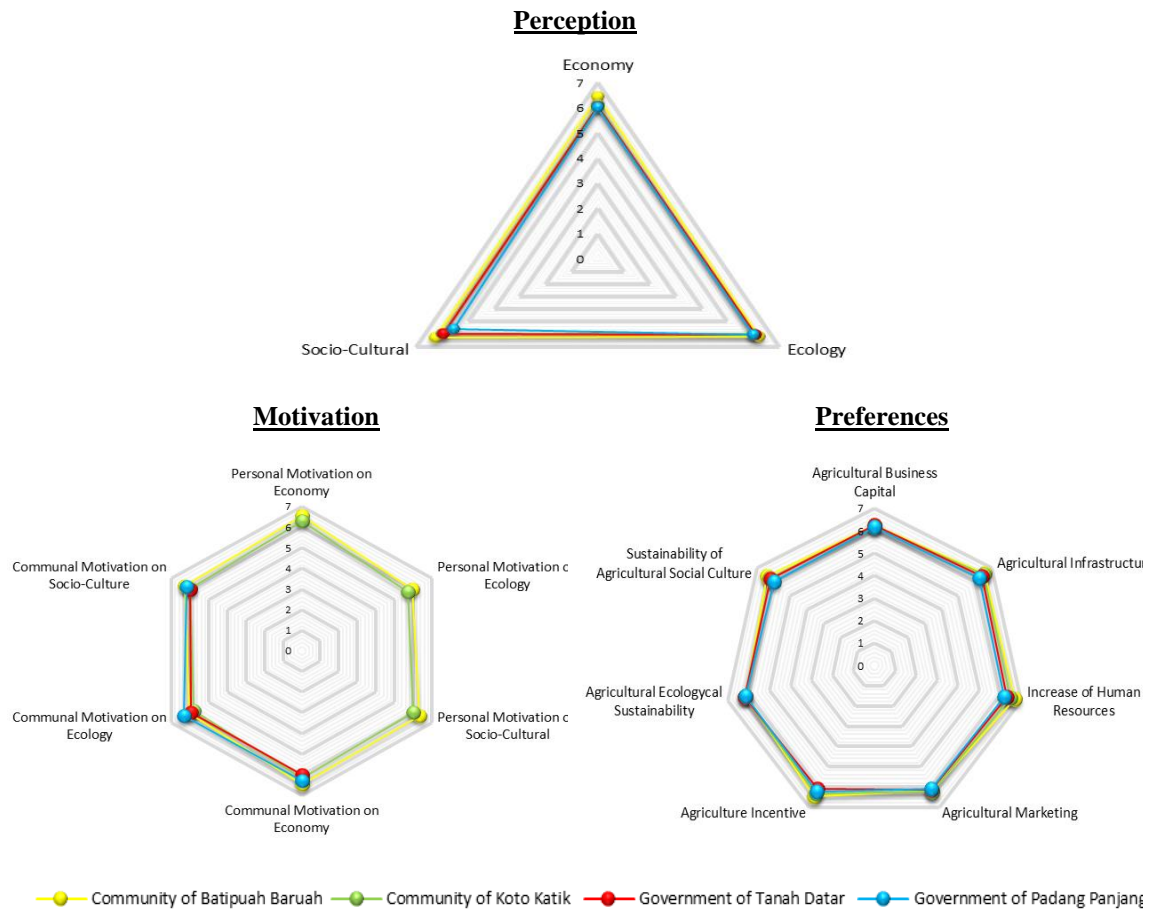


Source: Adam Rachmatullah (2016)

**Figure 2.** Non-permanent *gadang* house (1950-1960s), (b) non-permanent *gadang* house (1970s-1980s); (c) permanent *gadang* house (±2010).

### Polarization Dynamics of Cultural Land Utilization

The results of the present study show that there is no directional polarization among actors over the dynamics of their perception of cultural land use. This is different when examining the scale dimension, where there is polarization on the attitude scale among the actors involved regarding the direction of cultural land use. Nevertheless, the Kruskal-Wallis test, with  $\alpha = 5\%$ , showed no significant difference among the actors in the dynamics of stakeholder perceptions, motivations, and preferences (Figure 3).



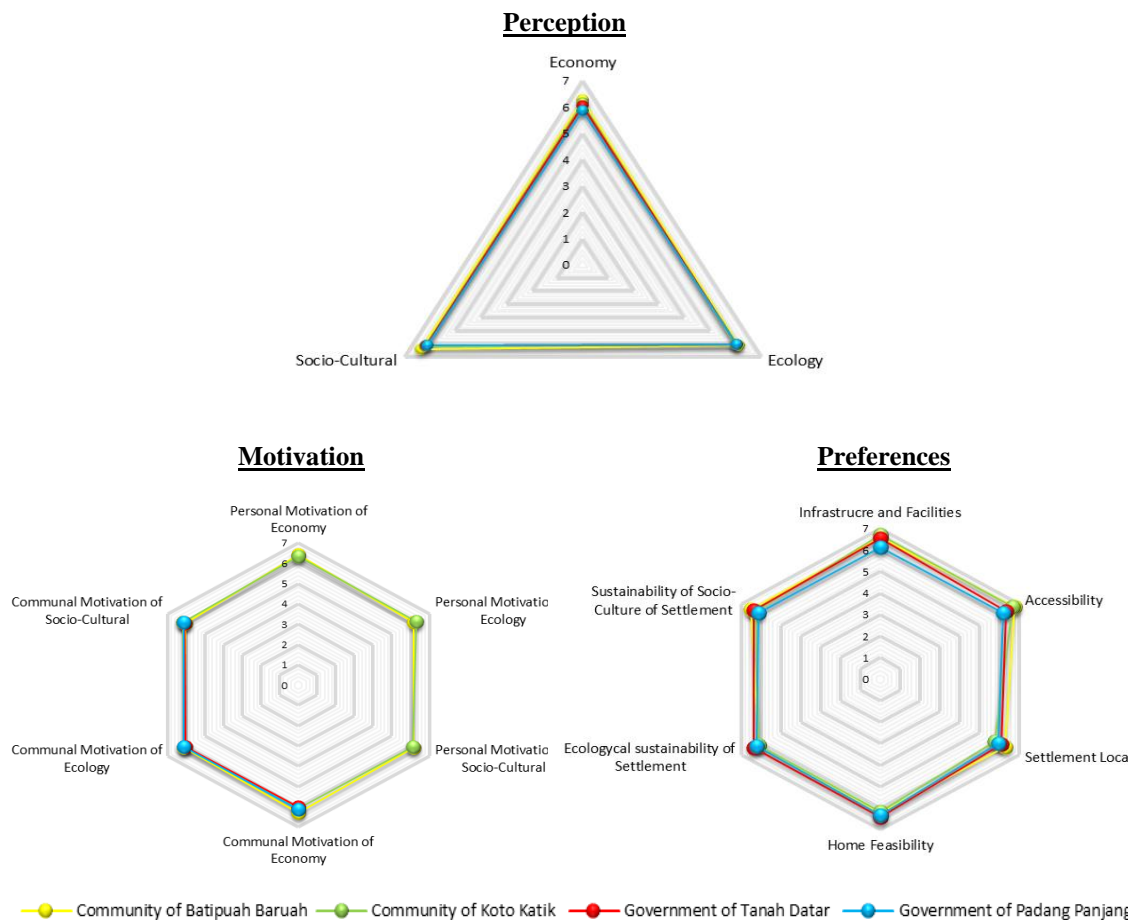
**Rating Scale:** 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Less agree; 4 = Ordinary course; 5 = Somewhat agree; 6 = Agree; and 7 = Strongly agree.

**Figure 3.** Polarization Dynamics of Agricultural Land Utilization

Overall, both the people and the government recognize that agricultural land remains a determinant that shapes the economic activities of the society, both to meet daily needs and to support food demand in other areas. For Minangkabau society, agricultural land is not only seen as a source of food security but also as an important component in preserving the values of local wisdom and social culture. In the wider space of benefit, Damsar (2005) reminds us that cultural land is not merely a material physical object but has also been socially, culturally, politically, and economically constructed so that it is vital for cultural identity and social status, and as social adhesive and economic resource. Meanwhile, MacNeill (1992) and Bohlen & House (2009) point out that “agricultural production and related activities are the foundation of human communities.”



**Polarization Dynamics of Settlement Land Use.** In general, the data show no directional polarization of community phenomena in the use of residential land, whereas when viewed on the scale dimension, the data indicate polarization of attitude/rating scales among actors (Figure 4). Despite the differentiation in attitude scales, the Kruskal-Wallis test, with  $\alpha = 5\%$ , yielded that  $H_0$  is accepted, meaning that the average orientation of each actor towards the utilization of residential land was the same. This indicates a high level of understanding by each actor of the various functions and benefits of residential cultural lands. Communities believe that cultural lands used for residential buildings and housing can be used to create spaces for various family businesses as well as to provide convenience for families to lead a decent life.

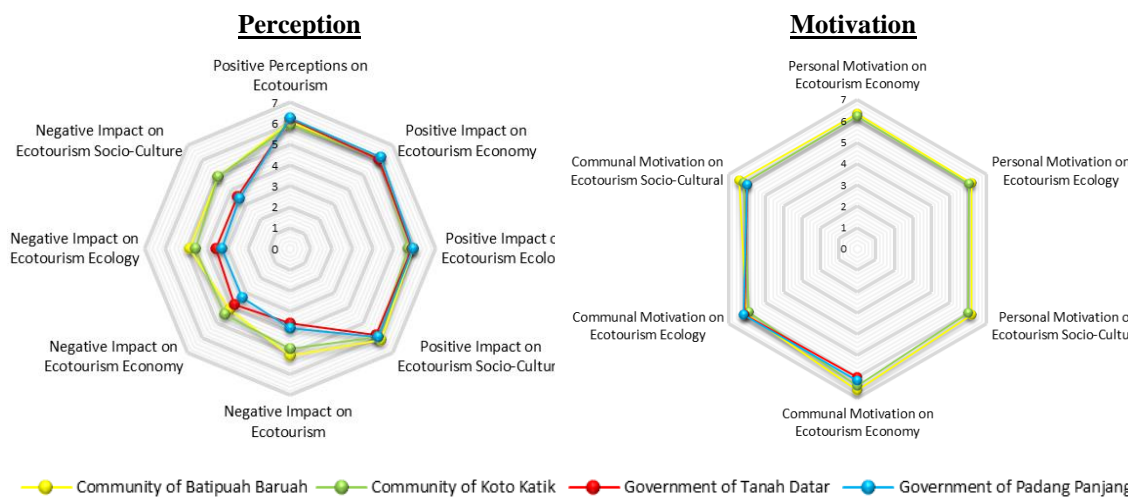


**Rating Scale:** 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Somewhat disagree; 4 = Neutral; 5 = Somewhat agree; 6 = Agree; and 7 = Strongly agree.

**Figure 4.** Dynamics of land use resettlement polarization.

**Polarization Dynamics of Ecotourism.** In many respects, the results of this study show that there is a polarization of orientations and attitude scales among the actors around ecotourism, particularly related to the negative impact of ecotourism (Figure 5). Despite this polarization, the Kruskal-Wallis test showed no significant differences among the actors over ecotourism perceptions and motivations. Communities see all forms of ecotourism activities as degrading the biophysical (ecological) and socio-cultural environment of Minangkabau. Goodman (2003) argues that some tourism activities have the potential to degrade and diminish local culture values. Nusa (1998) and Avenzora (2013) reported that tourism ignores the principle of *Catur Purusa*

*Artha*, a basic value in Balinese life, causing the destruction of customs, culture and nature in Bali. In the context of Indonesian forest management, particularly in the Kamojang Kawah area (FKKA), Muslih *et al.* (2015) found that there is a bias in stakeholder perceptions and motivations in FKKA management, which makes it difficult for management to create an optimal distribution of benefits. Polarization also occurs because of conflicts among stakeholders, preventing the optimal use of sustainable forests (Muslih *et al.*, 2015). Thus, the motivational data showed positive results, where the average value generated was a score of 6 ('strongly agree') related to ecotourism development. The high motivation of each actor indicates a positive attitude towards active participation in all forms of ecotourism activities. The community views ecotourism development as stimulating new economic growth and revitalizing various degraded cultural elements. Chase *et al.* (1998) states that ecotourism can be a reliable instrument for economic development through innovation of government policies and other mechanisms. For indigenous peoples, ecotourism is used to strengthen property rights, regain people's access right in cultural land use, and preserve cultural identity. In addition, various ecotourism activities on cultural lands are also considered to provide benefits and productive outcomes that can increase the income of indigenous peoples through an independent business management scheme (Hinch, 2001; Zeppel, 2007).



**Rating Scale:** 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Somewhat disagree; 4 = Neutral; 5 = Somewhat agree; 6 = Agree; and 7 = Strongly agree.

**Figure 5.** Polarization dynamics of ecotourism.

## Discussion

In achieving the ideals of sustainable development, the main ideas that came forward in the discussion sessions initiated to optimize ecotourism development in West Sumatra were: 1) strengthen the function of cultural land as a precious treasure; 2) create a communal business field; 3) optimize the productivity of agricultural commodities as an added value for land users; 4) establish no-building zones.

**Strengthening the function of cultural land as a precious treasure.** In the dynamics of *ulayat* land policy, which can be said to have virtually no contact with indigenous and tribal peoples because it is not considered contrary to their sovereignty, some of the following ideas can be used to evaluate policies regarding *ulayat* lands. Firstly, stakeholder integration is necessary for an objective and comprehensive review of policies regarding *ulayat* lands. The various regulations

on *ulayat* lands should be guided by the function and nature of the customary lands themselves, by reconciling the character and uniqueness of the existing customary arrangements for land management and land use rather than by retrogression, which would destroy the customary order of the Minangkabau people. If the cultural land is legalized as arranged by Article 8 Paragraph 2(b) and Paragraph 3(c), the exploitation and utilization of the cultural lands will be gradually reoriented towards individuals and stimulate the process of buying and selling to external parties. Avenzora (2013) notes that from the very beginning, the Law of Inheritance was greatly appreciated and always applied. It has also been regulated in the customary order in the form of the concept of *harato pusako randah* for various livelihoods of husband and wife in one family. On the other hand, the customary law related to *harato pusako tinggi* concerns property inherited from ancestors, with the rule that *ulayat* land cannot be sold and is only allowed to be utilized communally, which is equivalent to *wakaf* law in Islamic teachings, i.e., it can be classified as *baitul maal* treasure owned by all community members.

Secondly, in formulating regulations on *ulayat* lands, the government should conduct an integration-based management process in which the tendency of each party to have a partial orientation can be encouraged and directed to conduct fair management for the sustainability of the objects that are jointly cultivated, including in the context of ecotourism development. Regulations developed through integration-based management not only can serve as a platform for fair use of cultural land but also maintain a system of cultural land ownership by local communities, because in the practice of ecotourism development, only with land ownership held by the local community can fair sharing of all benefits be achieved. This is similar to the idea of Zeppel (2007), who stated that fair sharing of the benefits of tourism can be obtained if in the implementation, local communities are involved in the decision making with full rights to land ownership and the right to use existing resources.

**Creating a communal business field.** An idea that was initiated to create a communal business field was to build cafe businesses within a certain strategic area by creating a special zone for the development of culinary ecotourism businesses. The concept of establishing cafe businesses was discussed seriously in various *nagari* meetings, directly coordinated by three community leaders, namely the *Wali Nagari*, the leader of the *Kerapatan Adat Nagari* (*Nagari* Customary Council) and the Community Empowerment Institute. Sustainability is the main goal of the development of cafes and culinary ecotourism, which is believed to be able to provide the most benefit and opportunity for the local people, to maintain the harmony with the physical environment, and to preserve the customs and culture of the Minangkabau people.

In its implementation, the physical development of the cafe businesses will be limited to a few buildings only, depending on the carrying capacity of the area to be designated for culinary ecotourism and the agreement with the community. In its concession rights and management, community members of the *nagari* will be designated to a group under the auspices of integrated management as control center. Once the number of cafes to be established is determined, the next step is to set the investment amount required for each café. According to Avenzora *et al.* (2013), in the case study of cafe business arrangement on beach Kedonganan Beach, Bali this was 400 to 500 million Rp for twelve cafes, so ±12 billion Rp of funding is needed for water, electricity, telephone and environmental management. Funds prepared by Lembaga Perkreditan Desa (LPD) with long-term loans, including unsecured special interest (maximum 5 million Rp) are given to the community to meet the requirements for the cafes and supporting facilities. Furthermore, Avenzora *et al.* (2013) mention that local entrepreneurs play an important role in business planning, investment, management, marketing, human resource development, and network development.

In building such a people's economy, the ownership form of these cafes should be based on capital paid up by each member of each group as the people's stock. In order to agree on the investment amount for each cafe, the community will also agree on the minimum value of one share, for example Rp 1,000,000. The value of the investment will be used for the construction of a cafe, buy the operational equipment, and the entire cost for the regional arrangement. The management of the respective cafes will be handed over to the community, assigned by consensus within the group to people with management capability. With the establishment of communal cafe exploitation, not only will the local residents benefit from employment opportunities and economic added value, but overall, in various forms of ecotourism development, the dignity of the local residents as hosts will be enhanced through collective ownership and cafe management.

**Optimizing the Productivity of Agricultural Commodity as Added Value to Land Users.** In order to optimize the productivity of agricultural commodities, one of the things that can be done by farmers is to diversify agriculture. However, the (conventional) diversification that has been done so far tended to be oriented more towards the economic dimension and only in a few cases also comprised the social-cultural or ecological dimensions. Sumaryanto (2009) explicitly states that diversification is one of the strategic components for stabilizing food security. On the 'twin-track approach', FAO (2006) states that diversifying agriculture and employment is one of the most important options for the dimension of food security stability.

Conceptually, the agricultural eco diversification proposed in this study is defined as "the endeavor of various plant commodities with all farming activities in a certain productive space dimension in harmony with the biophysical environment so as to provide added value for sustainable land use." From an ecological perspective, the efforts of the various commodities not only guarantee environmental harmony but can also build new life webs that have been lost or degraded in order to increase the completeness of the ecosystem. From an economic perspective, this agricultural eco diversification program not only increases the added value for entrepreneurs as direct beneficiaries but also stimulates new micro entrepreneurs, throughout the production/processing chain, up to the packaging of the agricultural commodities. It is not impossible to say that diversified agricultural products may in fact be commodities that historically have customary value, but they have degraded as a result of the conversion of certain agricultural products in several regions as a result of the tragedy of the commons. In this regard, the agricultural diversification from a socio-cultural perspective in the future may revitalize the various values of local wisdom contained in it.

Secondly, if rice cultivation reflects the socio-culture of the Minangkabau community, the actual value of the benefits concentrated in it is very potentially part of the activity or the ecotourism product. However, if rice from West Sumatra is used as part of ecotourism merchandise, the quality of the rice seeds that will be cultivated must be premium. Thus, selling merchandise as part of the activities in the eco-agriculture tourism space will be more valuable and exclusive so as to meet the requirements for the satisfaction pillar of ecotourism.

Thirdly, in the context of natural beauty, the terrace rice fields in Ranah Minang are no less beautiful than the landscapes in Bali or Toraja; Ranah Minang even has terrace rice fields that are broader and far more dramatic than in Bali. In the ecotourism program dimension, some ecotourism resources that have been established have potential according to the empirical study by Avenzora *et al.* (2013) and are very feasible to be implemented and included in the ecotourism development program for Ranah Minang. Some potential ecotourism resources developed as ecotourism programs from a spatial perspective include eco-agriculture tourism, eco-horticulture tourism, eco-forest tourism, eco-geo tourism, eco-mountain tourism, eco-river tourism, eco-rural tourism, eco-urban tourism, and much more. Meanwhile, in terms of activities, ecotourism

programs can include eco-farming tourism, eco-sport tourism, eco-hiking tourism, eco-rafting tourism, eco-cultural tourism, eco-culinary tourism, etc.

**Creating a Building Prohibition Zone in a Certain Strategic Area as well as Provide Incentives to Land Users.** Along with the rapid development of the tourism sector and other sectors as well as the rampant dynamics of occupational issues related to cultural land ownership, it is not impossible that in the near future the existing cultural lands that stretch attractively along national roads of strategic areas will become increasingly fragmented and disintegrated. The threat not only comes from external factors but also from the role of internal actors trying to generate some kind of downstream business. Thus, it is very important for all parties on a local-regional scale to establish a special prohibition zone for constructing buildings (hotels, restaurants) as outlined in local regulations. With the establishment of local regulations on special development prohibition zones, the benefits gained are not only able to maintain the authenticity and the aesthetic value of the landscape but also to maintain the system of collective communal land ownership and preserve the Minangkabau *adat* order as a whole.

Strengthening the existence of cultural lands in strategic areas, the next effort to be done is to provide incentives to owners/users of cultural lands. These incentives aim to stimulate land users to maintain the integrity and function of their cultural land as appropriate. Furthermore, the provision of such incentives can be made through various policy schemes, such as reducing the distribution of taxes, grants, and/or incentives for agricultural development, such as money, fertilizers, pesticides or technology, and capacity building in stages.

## **Conclusion**

In general, the data on perceptions, motivations, and preferences indicate that there is no polarization of the stakeholders' orientation towards the utilization of cultural land. Then, in the context of attitude scale, the study results showed polarization on the attitude scale of each actor towards cultural land use. However, the Kruskal-Wallis test proved that there was no significant difference among the actors. Above that, all the values obtained can still be said to be in the positive dimension (good). In the dynamics of ecotourism perceptions and motivation, the data indicate polarization of orientation and polarization on the attitude scale among stakeholders; particularly in terms of perceptions of negative economic, ecological, and socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism. The extreme tendency value shown by the community is a reflection of their concern over the dynamics of all forms of ecotourism activities, such as: a) they can stimulate the acquisition of cultural land ownership by external parties; b) they can degrade the social values of Minangkabau culture and; c) they can potentially degrade the physical environment (ecological). As for the government, the low value indicated by the negative perception of ecotourism indicates a 'dilemma' attitude, with the view that all negative impacts of ecotourism are a consequence of ecotourism development as a whole. Nevertheless, the government believes that with mature and comprehensive planning, accompanied by a science-based planning practice, the negative symptoms in ecotourism development efforts can be eliminated and gradually resolved.

In the various polarization dynamics of the orientation towards the use of cultural land for ecotourism development in Ranah Minang, it is necessary for all elements of society and all levels of government to improve themselves and harmonize their development orientation towards an integrated planning form. At the very least, to achieve sustainable use of cultural lands through ecotourism development, several important things must be optimized, especially: 1) strengthening the function of cultural land as a noble treasure; 2) creating a communal business field; 3) optimizing the productivity of agricultural commodities as an added value for land users; 4)

establishing no-build zones in certain strategic areas and provide incentives to landowners and/or users.

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