

Available online at : <http://jurnalantropologi.fisip.unand.ac.id/>

Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya

| ISSN (Online) 2355-5963 |



Meaning of Land: The Dynamics of Customary Land Certification in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang.

Uzika Putri Fatasa¹, Erwin², Yevita Nurti³

¹ FISIP, Universitas Andalas, Indonesia. E-mail: uzikaputrifatasa@gmail.com

² FISIP, Universitas Andalas, Indonesia. E-mail: erwin@soc.unand.ac.id

³ FISIP, Universitas Andalas, Indonesia. E-mail: yevitanurtti01@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFORMATION

Submitted: November 28, 2024.

Review: March 14, 2025

Accepted: November 17, 2025.

Published: December 01, 2025

KEYWORDS

Ulayat Land; System of Meaning; Land Certification; Indigenous Peoples; Agrarian

CORRESPONDENCE

E-mail: yevitanurtti01@gmail.com

A B S T R A C T

Customary land for indigenous peoples embodies complex meanings that extend beyond its economic value, serving as the foundation of social identity, moral order, and collective existence. This article examines the divergent interpretations of land among various social segments in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang in response to the state's policy of certifying customary land management rights. Employing a qualitative ethnographic approach, the study draws upon participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions with key social actors, including farmers, niniak mamak, bundo kanduang, and local government representatives. Findings demonstrate that while agrarian actors perceive land as ancestral heritage embedded in communal identity, administrative institutions conceptualize it as a legal and economic asset subject to regulation. These competing meanings produce contrasting orientations toward the certification policy, ranging from resistance rooted in cultural obligations to acceptance grounded in juridical rationality. Conceptually, the study advances the idea of "dual systems of meaning," showing how cultural and juridical interpretations of land co-exist, overlap, and at times collide within the same field of governance. In contrast to previous juridical analyses of customary land, this study contributes an interpretive anthropological perspective that elucidates how systems of meaning structure the politics of land governance. The analysis highlights the need for context-sensitive and culturally grounded agrarian reforms to achieve inclusive justice for indigenous communities.

A. INTRODUCTION

Agrarian issues are critical topics in the context of human rights. Fighting for the component of living space can cause an eruption of conflict, which nationally in Indonesia touched 2,939 cases from 2020 to 2023 with a total of 6.3 hectares of disputed land (KPA, 2024). Agrarian conflicts called "land disputes" by the Ministry of ATR / BPN in the Ministerial Regulation Article 1 Paragraph (1) of 1999 state the cause of differences of opinion regarding the validity of a right. This difference, in reality, is triggered by boundary issues, division of inheritance rights, disproportionate compensation, lack of legal certainty, and the absence of

land ownership documents (Surata, 2022). When registering their customary land, these juridical reasons are relatively complicated for the community, especially indigenous peoples. These recurring juridical obstacles highlight a structural gap between state legal categories and lived customary practices, a gap that becomes especially visible when customary land is drawn into formal registration regimes.

Indigenous peoples today are still struggling with legal certainty despite having recognition throughout their existence (Harsono, 2003: 9). Also mentioned in the 1945 Constitution Article 18B Paragraph (2) regarding the existence of indigenous peoples' rights and Article 28I Paragraph (3) regarding cultural identity, as well as traditional rights. These rights include customary land or

tanah ulayat. Unlike Western property rights law (best and Eigendom), customary land is not freely traded and changes conditions if the owner changes, but it is inherent to the Indigenous community (Moniaga, 2024). Therefore, the mention of customary land is now operationalized as customary rights because these rights are binding on the local indigenous community (Zakaria, 2016). Constitutionally, Ulayat Rights are the communal rights of Indigenous Peoples, which allow them to control, manage, utilize, and preserve their customary territories in accordance with prevailing values and customary laws. Such constitutional and juridical affirmations, however, do not automatically clarify how communities themselves understand and interpret these rights, nor how meaning systems mediate their engagement with state policy.

Prof. Kurnia Warman, in the Kupas Agraria Seminar held by the Center for Agrarian and Customary Law Studies (PAgA) Faculty of Law, Andalas University, in September 2023, online via Zoom Meeting, said that the recognition of existence has not been accompanied by operational legal certainty for customary rights. When West Sumatra Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2008 was still in effect, it regulated the registration of customary land. However, this regulation was only utilized when land sales transactions were made on ulayat suku, ulayat kaum, or pusako tinggi. The nature of "*Ganggam nan bauntuak, hak bapunyo, and miliak bamasiang*" (see in Bachtiar, 2007: 6) of *pusako tinggi* accommodates the inheritance system and also the transition to property rights (Wahyudi, 2019). In contrast to the Nagari customary land, the existence of which cannot be transferred even with the excuse of closing the four customary disgraces (*mambangkik batang tarandam, mayik tabujua ateh rumah, rumah gadang katirisan, gadih gadang indak balaki*). This distinction highlights that customary land is embedded in complex social and moral logics, rendering it insufficient to approach it solely through juridical frames.

The Indigenous People in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang use this Nagari customary land with the provisions in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Regulation Number 1 of 2003 in terms of area and duration of utilization. Each Head of Family is given the right to use a maximum area of 0.25 Ha, and if it is infertile, it is allowed to add a maximum of 0.50 Ha. The utilization is limited to 5 (five) years with a retribution obligation to the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang of Rp35,000 / year. Only non-permanent or semi-permanent buildings are utilized for agriculture, fisheries, and businesses. Each utilized land will be given an empty distance of 1 (one) meter in order to minimize conflicts when fertilizing or loosening the soil, infectious diseases in livestock, and also as a space for nagari-owned perennials to be able to filter sunlight that hits young plants belonging to the user community. This rule, formed 11 years ago, is still in effect today and has been well attached to the community. Sumando, who does not have land rights in his clan or his wife's clan, depends on this Nagari customary land. Likewise, other users whom 99.9% do not have private land, and some have even been forced to live in *the dangau-dangau*. Efforts to guarantee living space for people who do not own private land align with the agrarian reform mission. These everyday practices reveal the deeply social and moral

dimensions through which land is experienced, suggesting that land functions as more than an economic asset; it is a locus of identity, obligation, and communal belonging.

According to Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023, the term "Agrarian Reform" refers to the rearrangement of the structure of control, ownership, use, and utilization of land, aiming to achieve greater equity through asset and access structuring for the benefit of the people. In agrarian reform, the term TORA (Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria) is known, one of which is land utilized by the community for distribution (JDIH Kemenko Kemaritiman and Investasi, 2023). Redistribution through reclamation of the former HGU land of PT Jenyta Ranch in 1998 was a step towards restoring customary rights on Nagari Customary Land. This Nagari customary land was seized because its category differed from that of Nagari Customary Land in other Nagari, such as Rimbo, Biluka, or Sasok (Warman, 2008, p. 58). The Ulayat Land of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang is more exclusive because the land has been cleared (*ditaruko*). The land is within the territory of the Nagari but is not controlled by any tribe (Nagari et al. Number 1 of 2003 Article 2), is not owned by the state through *erfpach* rights, and is also not classified as a state forest as happened in Nagari Canduang (Benda-Beckmann, 2000, p. 181). This unique configuration makes Kamuyang a productive site for examining not only the legal complexity but also the shifting meanings attached to land as it enters formal governance mechanisms.

On the other hand, the exclusivity of the condition of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang's Ulayat Land may raise concerns about its legitimacy. This land cannot be privatized because it is public for the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Community (read: *Anak Nagari*), but is not included in state assets. The middle way taken by the government is to issue a model of management rights originating from customary land (Government Regulation Number 18 of 2021). The article continues with the provision that management rights originating from customary land are assigned to Masyarakat Hukum Adat. This Customary Law Community is operationalized as "*Nagari*" through a derivative regulation by West Sumatra Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2023. Article 7, paragraph (1) states that Nagari Customary Land is controlled by Niniak Mamak Nagari, which is organized in KAN. Therefore, on October 11, the Certification of the Management Rights of the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Customary Land was issued, and the Chairman of KAN Sungai Kamuyang, Irmaizar Dt . Rajo Mangkuto. The issuance of this certificate constitutes a turning point where state-driven formalization intersects with customary norms, opening space for contested interpretations of authority and rights.

Juridically, the concept of management rights has evolved, updated in accordance with the Job Creation Law, specifically Article 4, which states, "Management Rights can originate from State Land and Customary Land." Hidayah's research (2024), which uses empirical juridical methods, states that the legal umbrella for this certification no Juridically, management rights have developed a concept that is updated based on the Job Creation Law in Article 4 which reads, "Management Rights can originate from State Land and Customary

Land." Hidayah's research (2024), which uses empirical juridical methods, states that the legal umbrella for this certification no longer comes from the 1950 UUPA but from Agrarian Ministerial Regulation Number 9 of 1965, so that in legal science, there is a contrast between two laws that are still valid at the same time. This unestablished policy has the potential to reap disputes in the future over each different legal basis tailored to conflicts of interest. Safatullah (2025) also mentioned that the clear legal umbrella in this policy still raises concerns about human rights violations and deprivation of living space, such as in Nagari Sitapa, which is still seen from a normative juridical perspective, as it is only seen from how there is a conflict of material legal instruments. Existing studies thus remain confined to juridical tensions, leaving unaddressed how affected communities themselves make sense of, negotiate, or resist these shifting legal landscapes.

Another research on this topic by Redni (2024) only offers the point of view of interest groups as the reason for the formation of conflicts in this policy. In this case, the community, especially farmers, is not highlighted, so it is only seen as an extra who decorates the ongoing conflict among the customary elite, namely the old KAN and the KAN version formed through extraordinary deliberations. The community, especially farmers, are only shown as victims who have no personal or group arguments for this policy. This analytical limitation underscores the need to reposition farmers and other everyday actors as interpretive subjects who actively construct meaning rather than passive recipients of elite conflict.

The results of several studies from the juridical and sociological perspectives above served as a basis for encouraging researchers to explore the perspective of the affected community. Although the legal basis is clear, it does not necessarily represent communalistic living law (Mangar, 2022). The new atmosphere created by this system does not always bring acceptance. However, it can also be a forerunner of clashes because of the rights of indigenous peoples that fail to be accommodated. Some people will feel that this new atmosphere is the antithesis of the cultural patterns and meaning systems that have historically formed the direction of their lives (Geertz, 1992a, p. 65). longer comes from the 1950 UUPA but from Agrarian Ministerial Regulation Number 9 of 1965, so in legal science, there is a contrast between two laws that are still valid at the same time. This unestablished policy has the potential to cause disputes in the future over each different legal basis tailored to conflicts of interest. Although the legal basis is clear, it does not necessarily represent communalistic living law (Mangar, 2022). Safatullah (2025) also mentioned that the clear legal umbrella in this policy still raises concerns about human rights violations and deprivation of living space, such as in Nagari Sitapa, which is still seen from a normative juridical perspective, as it is only seen from how there is a conflict of material legal instruments.

The results of several studies from a juridical perspective are used as a basis that encourages researchers to explore the perspective of the affected community. The field of anthropology tries to see that the new atmosphere created by this system does not always bring acceptance, but can also be a forerunner of clashes because of the

rights of indigenous peoples that fail to be accommodated. Some people will feel that this new atmosphere is the antithesis of the cultural patterns and meaning systems that have historically formed the direction of their lives (Geertz, 1992a, p. 65). From this standpoint, the central research concern is not merely legality but the *dynamics of meaning* that emerge when state certification interacts with long-standing customary conceptions of land.

The culture owned by the community forms patterns that are not merely visible on the surface but must be identified and then interpreted (Geertz, 1992a: vii). This interpretation is made on the symbols found in the community that have a close relationship with customs, religion, and habits, such as in Geertz's research on the culture of cockfighting in Bali, where the assessment is not only a matter of losing and winning but also seen through elements of chicken feathers, blood, crowds of spectators, money and physical demonstrations (Geertz, 1973, p. 444). These elements help interpret the match between chickens as a match of status and power of the chicken's landlady (*sabung ayam*). Likewise, the perspective of a policy can be sourced from the dimensions of individual/group meaning to the Nagari Customary Land. This interpretive lens positions customary land as a symbolically charged entity whose meanings are continuously produced, negotiated, and sometimes contested among different social segments.

Based on this connection, it tries to discuss the main issues regarding (1) how the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang community lives on Nagari Customary Land in order to identify symbols, (2) the certification process starting from planning, socialization, inventory, registration and issuance and (3) perspectives seen from how the reality of Indigenous Peoples (MHA) in their daily lives is developed into knowledge and communicates their knowledge about and attitude towards life (Geertz in Saifuddin, 2014: 230). In particular, this paper has a basic hypothesis that wants to be tested: the community's perspective based on the situation of social life that has been rooted for so long, but still has a different level of priority and orientation in each perspective.

B. METHOD

Nagari Sungai Kamuyang still has customary Nagari land, which is currently quite difficult to find in Indonesia because it only remains 8,38% in West Sumatra (Interview with KAN Secretary, July 29, 2024). This loss is caused by different conditions in each area, such as former *erfpacht verponding rights* (Fatimah, 2014, p. 63) and still jungle so that it is claimed as a state forest (Benda-Beckmann, 2000, p. 181). This customary land is controlled by Niniak Mamak who are members of KAN with the basic principles of aristocracy through the top penghulu in *Piliang* harmony but still prioritizing democracy in the utilization process (Miko, 2006: 203, Purwaningsih, 2017: 88, Warman, 2008: 58). Meanwhile, in the technical implementation, it is directly handled by the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Government by appointing the Ulayat Land Supervisory Agency (BP Ulayat) which is found in each field of customary land.

This research uses a qualitative-ethnographic method characterized by an effort to dive into the lives of certain communities by directly following the procedures for living in certain communities (Spreadley, 2006). Researchers use all five senses in the participatory observation process in the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Community. This method was chosen to understand the community from the smallest things that may often be considered “ordinary” or normal for the local community, but can be realized by researchers as important variables and directly influence the research object. (Geertz, 1992a:18). This study adopts an interpretive ethnography, following Geertz’s view of culture as “webs of significance” that must be interpreted rather than merely recorded. Therefore, gestures, conversations, emotions, spatial arrangements, and everyday practices were viewed as symbolic expressions embedded within a broader cultural system.

This ethnographic method is more than just answering the question “how”; it can also explain the question “why”. In a deeper sense, it can require researchers to identify the reasons behind the occurrence of certain phenomena in society, such as local culture or traditions that shape values and norms that guide life, and then develop various community needs that are integrated into a social system. Furthermore, this system further materializes cultural objects in an abstract form and contains human ideas (Koentjaraningrat, 1990: p.49). This idea can influence the cognitive system to produce a certain perspective on things. In this study, the interpretive task involved identifying how different actors attach meanings, obligations, and emotions to Nagari customary land, and how these meaning structures shape their orientation toward the certification policy. This analytic process aligns with Geertz’s “thick description,” which seeks to uncover the layered meanings behind social action.

By using a qualitative approach through ethnographic methods, data were collected through participatory observation, in-depth interviews. Data collection was conducted through observation to observe the actual daily behavior of indigenous people grouped by livelihood or position. All groups that have significance with this customary land are directly observed to get a closer picture of the interaction of each group on the nagari customary land. The following data collection technique is to conduct unstructured and in-depth interviews with informants. The informant selection technique uses purposive sampling, namely the technique of selecting informants with specific considerations and criteria based on the objectives of this study with the community group unit.

Informants were selected based on their direct involvement in the conflict and certification process, including those who participated in the extraordinary deliberation (*musyawarah luar biasa*) and actors who routinely engage with land governance. Farmers were chosen based on the location of their cultivated plots: some farm on certified areas, others on non-certified ulayat land, allowing comparison across differently affected groups. Members of BP Ulayat were included due to their central role in monitoring customary land, receiving complaints, and collecting retributions.

Meanwhile, *bundo kanduang* were selected for their authority within the matrilineal system, which morally ties them to questions of lineage, land, and communal rights. Various social groups based on livelihoods that have a direct relationship with the customary land of the Nagari.

Table 1. Research Informant

No	Name	Gender	Age	Status
1	I	Male	51	Nagari Government
2	F	Male	44	Nagari Government
3	P	Male	42	Nagari Government
4	I. Dt	Male	53	KAN
5	S. Dt.	Male	63	KAN
6	B. Dt.	Male	65	KAN
7	Dt. SP	Male	57	KAN
8	RP	Female	42	Bundo Kanduang
9	K	Female	51	Bundo Kanduang
10	WI	Male	57	BP Ulayat
11	Fs	Male	26	Fisheries Farmers
12	J	Male	59	Chief of GAPOKTAN
13	I	P	45	Peasant (Mejan)
14	U	P	55	Peasant (Baliang)
15	A	Male	79	Cooperative Land Tenant (Mejan)
16	M	Male	61	Palm Sugar Peasant
17	E	Male	59	Peasant (Subaladung)
18	D	Male	55	Peasant (Subaladung)
19	Do	Male	55	Coffee Peasant (Madang Kadok)
20	N	Male	47	Farm Worker (Mejan)
21	L	Male	53	Breeder
22	W	Female	52	Cooperative Peasant (Subaladung)
23	T	Female	53	Cooperative Peasant

In this article, the identities of all informants are hidden, and personal details such as names are replaced with pseudonyms because permission was not obtained from the informants and their right to privacy was potentially compromised, which could exacerbate the conflict.

Fieldwork was conducted for approximately two months, immediately after the official issuance of the customary land management certificate a period in which tensions and public debates were at their peak. This timing allowed the researcher to observe how the policy was interpreted, contested, or accepted in everyday life. Ethical clearance was secured through consent from *niniak*

mamak and the Nagari Government, in accordance with local customary norms.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Tanah Ulayat Nagari : Pusako Basamo

The Nagari customary land in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang is divided into three areas as stated in the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Regulation on the Utilization of Nagari Customary Land Article 5, which shows the following areas of Nagari customary land: First, located in the East of Batang Punago to Labuh Gunung, which has been given by the Nagari to the Government as a previous Right of Use and second, located in the South of Jorong Subaladung and Madang Kadok, which is bounded to the East by *Batang Punago*, to the West by Nagari Tanjung Haro Sikabu-Kabu (Now Nagari Tanjung Haro Sikabu-kabu Padang Panjang) in *polongan tengah* Lurah Lubuak and to the South by Boswessent road (*Labuah Sosen*) which is fully controlled by Nagari and third, located in the West of Jorong Madang Kadok and Rageh which borders the West with Nagari Tanjung Haro Sikabu-kabu in Lakuak Nan Data. This territorial description is important because it demonstrates how customary land is spatially constituted as a collective domain, which becomes foundational for understanding how different social groups later interpret and contest its meaning in the certification process.

The overall size of customary land varies in several sources. The Indonesian Farmers Union (2012) states that the total customary land is 266 hectares. Meanwhile, the previous Wali Nagari, who now serves as the current Chairman of KAN in the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang profile video intended for the promotion of Agrotourism (2020), states that the actual amount of customary land in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang totals 260 Ha, which is divided into three locations. In the recording, Irmaizar Dt. Rajo Mangkuto, standing on communal land in front of Jalan Baliang, stated that to his right was Lokuak Nan Godang Customary Land, Jorong Subaladuang covering an area of 66.6 Ha, then behind leading to Mount Sago within the scope of Jorong Madang Kodok there is 130 Ha of Customary Land until it touches the foot of Mount Sago. Then, on the left side, there are 30 hectares of customary land in Jorong Rageh and Madang Kadok. Each of these lands has its designation according to the conditions and potential of the land, in addition to the plantation and agricultural land, so this Nagari customary land is overall productive. It is not included in the three classifications of Nagari customary land (Warman 2009: p.58). The multiplicity of figures and classifications illustrates not only technical inconsistencies but also the epistemic plurality surrounding what counts as "Nagari land," reinforcing the article's argument that customary land is embedded in different knowledge systems across actors.

In some cases, ulayat nagari land is only interpreted as a territorial reference and differs from lantak nagari, the initial settlement when the nagari was formed (Benda-Beckmann, 2000, p. 180). According to Biezeveld (2002: p.58), the initial settlement of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang was only located in Jorong VI Kampung, VIII Kampung, and XII Kampung, but the

Nagari customary land area located in Jorong Rageh, Madang Kadok and Subaladuang is still classified as hard to *pusako tambilang ruyuang* because it was opened (*ditaruko*) intentionally by previous ancestors but the origin of the tribe is not clearly known, has been loaned to foreigners and has been affected by colonialism. As a result, there is no specific genealogical inheritance, and this land is only cultivated together. It cannot be converted into property rights because it has the nature of "*jua indak makan dimakan bali, digadai indak dimakan sando*" meaning it cannot be sold or pledged (Nurdin, 2020, p. 163). Therefore, this Nagari customary land is only used as a right of use. This historical ambiguity between remembered origins and colonial disruptions later becomes crucial in explaining why some actors emphasize ancestral legitimacy, while others emphasize administrative certainty, a divergence that directly shapes their orientation toward certification. Until now, 200 families have used the land according to the following utilization rules.

Table 2. Rules for the Utilization of Customary Land of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang

Items	Rules
Utilization	a. Anak Nagari (Main) b. Business Entity c. Business entities owned by outsiders must use Nagari children's labor
Type of Utilization	a. Fishery b. Agriculture c. Non-permanent residence
Registration	a. The Nagari child registers are the Mamak Kepala Waris or Mamak Kepala Kaum. b. Business entity known and approved by LAN (Now: KAN)
Land Area	a. Family Head as much as 0.25 Ha b. If infertile, a maximum of 0.5 Ha is given c. Group (10 families) as much as 4 Ha d. Business Entity as much as 10 Ha
Types of Plants	Perennials are only for Nagari customary boundaries, communal customs, and protected forests and may only be planted by the Nagari.
Rights	a. Protection b. Utilization for a maximum of 5 years c. Guidance and Counseling
Obligations	a. Pay interest on the land, which is determined based on the type of utilization and land area b. Anak Nagari is burdened with Rp's land interest. 50,000 per year (After the Nagari deliberation with the community, land interest was reduced to Rp. 35,000 / year and is still valid today) c. Anak Nagari Business Entity is

	burdened with Rp's land interest. 250,000 per year
	d. Business Entities Outside parties will be negotiated first
Buffer Zone	Each land must have 1 (one) meter of vacant land on each side as a separator for each subject user to avoid boundary conflicts, protect plants, or as an environmental conservation space.
Dispute Resolution	<i>Naiak, Batanggo Turun</i> (Has a hierarchy starting from the kaum, pasukuan, Jorong, Nagari, then the highest is the <i>pasukuan umbrella</i>)

This rule, which is based on Nagari Regulation No. 1/2003, is not strictly enforced today. This leniency is not only due to the absence of strict legal sanctions but also to adjusting community conditions, such as the amount of land interest. Land interest, originally set at a nominal value of IDR 50,000 / plot of land, after going through a bargaining process between farmers and the Nagari Government, it was agreed that the price would be reduced to IDR 35,000 / plot, which is paid once a year. Nevertheless, land users must still fulfill their obligations according to the due date. Many have delayed payments and have not paid land interest during the land loan period. BP Tanah Ulayat, which has the authority to collect land interest, admitted that it is sometimes difficult to collect complete land interest because people sometimes report their financial conditions and other complaints to BP Tanah Ulayat instead of handing over the money. Members of BP Tanah Ulayat, who are Anak Nagari Sungai Kamuyang, eventually empathized and suspended payments. Eventually, normalization was formed under the pretext that the land was inherited from their ancestors. This condition reveals how communal moral economy often prevails over formal rules, aligning with broader anthropological observations that customary tenure is governed as much by relational obligations as by codified regulations (cf. Scott, 1976; Li, 2014).

In addition to land interest cases, cooperation with third parties differs from the rules in the Pernag. Cooperation that should have been registered with the Nagari Government by completing permits and paying land interest following the predetermined nominal rate was considered incomprehensible and draining energy and costs. Third parties tend to choose to negotiate with land-using farmers. The farmer will lease the land for Rp 2,000,000/year. The land will be freely utilized in the form of agriculture or livestock so as not to look too different from the surrounding farmers. The farmer leases the land and has a compound cooperation scheme because there is daily wage cooperation in addition to the lease relationship. Farmers are occasionally asked to work on the land or harvest the crops. Therefore, the difference between an independent farmer and a farmer who leases land secondhand could be clearer. This practice lasts because the community considers it more profitable. After all, the money received is more certain without the need to think about market conditions. Meanwhile, for the third party, the costs incurred are also considered less

compared to dealing with the Nagari Government, making licenses, and many other administrations. These informal arrangements not only demonstrate local strategies to navigate economic uncertainty but also foreshadow the tensions that arise when a formal certification system rooted in legality and standardization confronts a long-standing practice governed by flexibility, negotiation, and social trust.

B. Certification of Customary Land of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang

The process of customary land certification begins with a comprehensive identification of existing customary land in Indonesia. This initial stage focuses on subject data, object data, and other information whose output will be indicative data. This phased inventory is carried out from 2021 to 2023. This cooperation produces data on customary land in Indonesia, in which there are around 320,000 hectares of customary land with more than 3000 customary law communities, all of which are located in 16 provinces in Indonesia. West Sumatra found 329 indicative fields of Customary Land, one in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang. Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Customary Land is categorized as customary land fully controlled by a customary law community unit recognized through a Decree of the Regent or Mayor, and can be delegated land rights. This national mapping stage demonstrates how the state constructs customary land as an administrative object, aligning with broader theoretical understandings of how states "simplify" complex social landscapes to make them legible (Scott, 1998). This legibility later becomes a crucial point of tension with local meaning systems identified in this study.

Ulayat Land of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang is selected based on the categories determined by the Ministry of ATR / BPN. First, customary land is not in the forest area because forests in Indonesia also have their own regulations, including loyal status such as protected forests, conservation forests, or production forests. Second, the customary land is not included in the land rights registration map at the Ministry of ATR / BPN. This assurance is carried out by investigating physical data and juridical data. Physical data involves verifying the location, boundaries, and physical condition of the land, while juridical data involves examining legal documents and evidence that shows ownership or legal claims to the land. Third, there are no ongoing conflicts; finally, there is support from the local community and customary leaders. These criteria illustrate the shift from customary legitimacy to bureaucratic legitimacy, revealing how the state's inclusion of customary land requires its transformation into a form that fits state-driven property regimes (Sikor & Lund, 2009).

Initial coordination was carried out by the Pilot Project team of the Center for Agrarian and Customary Law Studies (PAgA) as an envoy for the acceleration of certification with the Regional Office (Kanwil) of BPN West Sumatra. The results of the initial coordination were then brought back to the FGD (focus group discussion) in Jakarta involving the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Regional Office of BPN of

West Sumatra Province, Land Office in West Sumatra, Office of Community and Village Empowerment in West Sumatra, and Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau (LKAAM). The result of the FGD in Jakarta was to agree on 20 (twenty) parcels of land to be followed up on the administration and registration of customary land. Of the 20 parcels of customary land, 5 (five) KANs were recommended to be followed up to the stage of administration and registration of customary land, namely: KAN Padang Gantiang in Tanah Datar Regency; KAN Tanjung Haro Sikabu-Kabu Padang Panjang in Lima Puluh Kota Regency; KAN Sungai Kamuyang in Lima Puluh Kota Regency; KAN Sariak Laweh in Lima Puluh Kota Regency; and KAN Pasia Laweh in Agam Regency. This agreement obtained permission from the Governor of West Sumatra and continued for further coordination with indigenous peoples. This multi-level bureaucratic negotiation reveals how certification is not merely a technical act but an arena of institutional power, where the authority to define, validate, and represent customary land becomes negotiated across state and customary institutions.

The first socialization in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang was held on June 13, 2023, at the Indigenous Hall of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang, which was attended by various elements ranging from the Wali Nagari, Niniak Mamak, Community Leaders, Bamus, Nagari Apparatus, LPM, Babinsa, Regional Office of BPN, Ministry of Home Affairs, Land Office (Kantah) Lima Puluh Kota, DPMN (Department of Community and Village Empowerment), and experts from Andalas University. The community welcomed the results of the socialization. The community thinks that registering customary land in the land book is an effort to ensure the children's future because the community asks for registration on behalf of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang, not the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Government. The government met this wish well, giving full authority for measuring boundaries without intervention, which was spoken in the second meeting on July 1, 2023. At this stage, expectations between community and state actors began to diverge subtly: while the community understood registration as collective safeguarding, the state emphasized standardization and juridical clarity. This tension becomes analytically significant because it foreshadows later contestations described in this study.

The Nagari Sungai Kamuyang community began to discuss this internally a week later and formed a follow-up companion team for the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Customary Land data. The companion team initially consisted of 27 people and then added 20 more people from Kaum / Kampuang leaders whose people's land borders / directly with the Nagari's customary land and Nagari Sungai Kamuyang community leaders, such as BP Tanah Ulayat and Urang nan ampek jiniah. The companion team began conducting an inventory on July 22, 2023, at Lakuak Nan Godang, Jorong Subaladuang, by agreeing on the boundaries:

- East: BPTU Padang Mengatas Wire Fence
- North Side there is two version :

- Kaum version: Tansi village head, Kudo road, and then up to the wire fence of PT Yenita Ranch.
- Team Version: Lurah Tansi, Jalan Kudo continues to Cubadak Bayak, Batu Nan Runciang, Kapalo Bonda Cubadak Bayak

These two versions of customary boundaries then sparked a re-discussion by the entire assisting Team. Some of the Team argued that only Nagari Customary Land with no boundary disputes was proposed for the Pilot Project. In contrast, those with boundary problems with the people would be resolved in the Nagari through the Nagari Customary Density (KAN) because after the agreement letter was made, the Jihad (who had direct boundaries with customary land) refused to sign the agreement because they considered point 2 in the agreement letter which read "Land from the gate down will be resolved at a later date" would cause problems in the future. Only if this point is removed will the Jihadists sign the agreement. Meanwhile, the Team also did not agree to remove this point. So, this land agreement was held in advance and continued to the next point. On July 24, 2023, the boundary sign was installed at the Baliang location. The result of the field is that the Team and the Jihad Kaum have not agreed on the Jihad boundary because the Kaum stated that the Kaum Land boundary is from Baringin Bakaki down (to the north) and Nagari Customary Land from Baringin Bakaki up (to the south). While the Assistance Team has not agreed to the statement from the people. These disagreements illuminate how boundaries often assumed to be fixed juridical lines are in fact socially negotiated claims shaped by memory, experience, and authority. This is consistent with anthropological literature that sees boundaries as political processes rather than neutral markers.

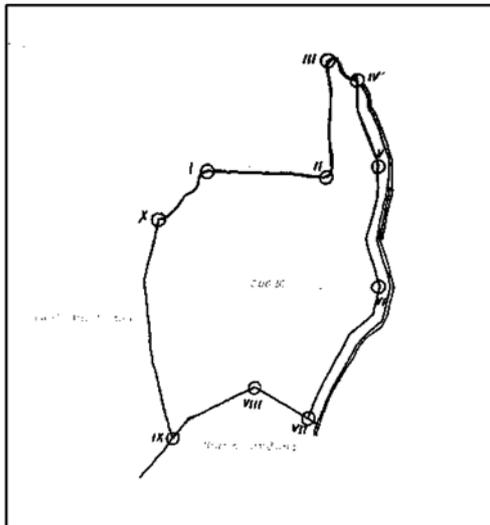
The Ministry of ATR / BPN does not necessarily mediate this stagnation because the government is not authorized to do so. After all, the community knows its territory better. The government only facilitated measuring and making the area map, so the community held another discussion on July 26, 2023. In this discussion, new obstacles were found regarding the border with Nagari Tanjung Haro Sikabu Kabu Padang Panjang, which is quite complicated because it is the sovereign territory of different Nagari and has a different perspective on its boundaries. The same thing happened to the Kubua Jawi border with Padang Mangateh, Nagari Mungo. Finally, the community agreed that the land registered was Lakuak Nan Godang and Baliang with the following boundaries;

- East: Padang Mengatas BPTU fence
- North: Customary Land (Asphalt Road, Wire Fence, Kudo Road)
- East: Customary Land (Lurah Kubangan)
- South Side: Boest Weshent Road (Labuah Sosen)

At the point of Lokuak Nan Godang customary land, it turns out that the Ministry of ATR / BPN rejected the submission. The rejection is due to the Cultivation Rights Title (HGU) findings of PT Jenyta Ranch, submitted

on April 22, 1997, for a 30-year extension, and is still valid until 2027. Although the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang community has used this land, the Ministry must take firm steps regarding this tenure. On the other hand, even if the community is now utilizing it, the HGU can only be granted by the government in the sense that, indirectly, the land is state land, not customary land. If the Ministry of ATR / BPN intervenes, there will be contradictions in the internal government; of course, solving them will be more complicated. Considering this difficulty, the Chairman of the KAN version of the Mubeslub Irmaizar Datuak Rajo Mangkuto applied for HPL Ulayat certification to the Ministry of ATR / Head of BPN on September 7, 2023, by submitting only one plot of Baliang land covering 371,095 square meters. This moment reveals the underlying authority struggle embedded in certification: the state's insistence on legal continuity (via HGU) clashes with the community's historical and moral claims. This contradiction is central to understanding why certification later produces divergent interpretations across actors, directly answering the research objective of mapping meaning-making processes.

Figure 1. Parcels of communal land certified



- i. Baliang Road from mejan intersection
- ii. Baliang Road from the edge of Baliang Motocross Sircuit
- iii. Lokuak Nan Godang Road
- iv. Baliang Road (Path in Polak)
- v. Baliang Road (Path in Polak)
- vi. Baliang Road (Footpath in Polak)
- vii. VII. Labuah Sosen (Boest Weshent Road)
- viii. VIII. Labuah Sosen at the Door of the Jungle via Subaladuang
- ix. Protected forest edge field
- x. Baliang Road

The certificate (proof of rights) was issued on October 7, 2023, in conjunction with the Decree of the Minister of Agrarian and Spatial Planning / Head of the National Land Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Number: 131/HPL/KEM-ATR/BPN/X/2023 with NIB Land Location 03.05.00.00.5.00004 in the name of each KAN Chairman. In this case, KAN is considered a representative of the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang

Community, which is a unit of Customary Law Communities (MHA). Legally, the subject of this certification is appropriate, but what the team missed at the time was the existence of the KAN and the conflict that followed at the time, so it became one of the factors that could influence the community's perspective on this certification. The KAN that signed the certificate is a KAN that was newly appointed during the Extraordinary Deliberation (Mubeslub) on July 31, 2023, but has yet to be inaugurated by the District LKAAM or customary paralleling.

C. Perspective on the Certification of the Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Customary Land

Nagari Ulayat Land, as a communal asset, is not necessarily accompanied by a uniform meaning for all communal members. This meaning contrasts with the ethnoscience perspective, which considers meaning only in the ideational dimension. In the symbolic interpretive perspective by Geertz (1992a), it is located "outside the head." It is in the middle of the community, interacting with the Nagari Customary Land, but is still veiled (Dewita, 2020, p. 23). Its disclosure requires understanding and meaning in a certain social context (Saifuddin, 2015, p. 211). Geertz asserts that "culture is public because meaning is," meaning is extracted from various behaviors, interactions, and certain statements about life on Nagari Customary Land. Therefore, interpreting community responses to certification must involve tracing how symbols, practices, and memories are mobilized by each actor to define what customary land is and what it should be, directly aligning with the core objective of this research.

Finding meaning (system of meaning) must look carefully at symbols (symbols), which are the result of mediating the meeting of knowledge (cognitive) and values (evaluative). These two concepts have a reciprocal nature because symbols can turn knowledge into value or turn value into a knowledge system (Kleden in Geertz, 1922: xv). First, the cognitive system is manifested as something representative seen in reality, also known as made of. The scope of making is seen in symbols such as types of plants, patterns of cooperation, discipline in handing over land flowers, and other attributes that appear in interactions on Nagari Customary Land. Second, the value system is created from the reality of the cognitive system to form something normative in its existence (made for) and adjusted to the context. Its scope can be seen from how the direction of meaning will be created. This dual movement from cognition to valuation helps explain why the same land can be imagined as heritage, resource, legal object, or spiritual obligation depending on the actor interacting with it. Such a multiplicity of interpretations is also observed globally in studies on indigenous commons and property regimes (Ribot & Peluso, 2003; Li, 2014).

Various attributes of the symbols emerge based on the different interactions and experiences of each societal segment. In the section on farmers as direct cultivators of Nagari Customary Land, they have emotional relationships that tend to be stronger because they expect the land to yield results. Various steps, one of which is forming cooperation with third parties, are an effort to maximize profits economically. In this scheme, the farmer becomes the patron (superior). In contrast, the third party will become the client (inferior) because they need to take the official route by the Nagari Regulation to register with the Nagari Wali Office legally. This underhand cooperation can occur due to the delegation of full power over the land by land-using farmers without strict enough supervision on the grounds of race parties, with the principle that it is not good to suspect others excessively. As a result, this cooperative relationship gives farmers a sense of belonging to the Nagari Customary Land. This sense of belonging demonstrates that for farmers, land meaning is rooted in existential and relational logics rather than juridical ones. Their orientation toward certification is thus shaped not by legality but by lived experience, precisely the interpretive distinction this article seeks to highlight.

Past experiences also support the feeling of ownership. The incident of the seizure of part of the Nagari Customary Land by PT Jenyta Ranch strengthened solidarity between farmers in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang. The resistance that led to the reclamation of this land was carried out despite various obstacles, which urged farmers to seek support from outside parties, such as SPI (Indonesian et al.). At that time, a few farmers received verbal threats and threats accompanied by physical violence. The traumatic event remains a lasting memory for the farmers, lending depth of meaning to the Nagari Customary Land. The Nagari Customary Land is said to be "reclaimed," indicating ownership instilled in these farmers. This historical trauma functions as a powerful symbolic resource that frames certification not as administrative formalization but as a potential repetition of dispossession. Such memory-laden interpretations are widely noted in global literature on post-conflict land governance.

KAN, which at that time was on the dilemma side because its position was not so meaningful during the new order era, apparently had its own pressure from both parties. The company, which at that time had legality, continued to urge KAN to cooperate, and they were even given a "pangganja Lidah" (read: suap). On the other hand, the indigenous people of Nagari Sungai Kamuyang, whether farmers or not, are their brothers, children, and nephews simultaneously. Moral demands that should take precedence over relationships with foreigners are complex in their application. This confusion affects not only his

position in customs but also his life. This situation makes Tanah Ulayat Nagari and KAN also have an attachment outside the main tasks and functions normatively. Likewise, with Bundo Kanduang as Limpapeh Rumah Nan Gadang, who is responsible for the common pusako in normative terms, but there is a strengthening of a sense of ownership because they have the same fate as farmers and KAN in fighting for Nagari Customary Land. This demonstrates that meanings mobilized by KAN and Bundo Kanduang are shaped by moral obligations and kinship-based responsibilities, producing interpretive orientations distinct from administrative actors. These variations constitute the thematic categories used in this article's analysis.

This contrasts with the Wali Nagari and the Customary Land Supervisory Board, whose position is structurally in line with the government's. As an executive institution and policy organizer, Wali Nagari and BP Ulayat tend to be guided by juridical views instead of prioritizing local cultural backgrounds. As a result, decisions tend to focus more on formal legitimacy and legality rather than considering the dynamics and customary norms that apply to the local community. This can be seen in the steps taken to deal with the traumatic events of the past, such as inventorying the Land Book and attempting to obtain certification that would "sell" in litigation. These two parties consider that the certification of the Management Rights model is ideal because the Nagari Customary Land is an asset of the Nagari, and the user community only holds the right to use the land. Here, the meaning of land shifts into a developmental and administrative rationality, consistent with state-led modernization paradigms described in comparative agrarian studies. This contrast enables the article to illustrate the coexistence of divergent meaning systems: one cultural-symbolic, the other juridical-administrative. This contrasting meaning of land with farmers is the basis for the different perspectives born on the Nagari Customary Land Management Rights Certificate, as seen in the following table;

Sungai Kamuyang, who had yet to be formalized at that time, drew opposition from the farmers. Farmers are still suspicious and wondering about the interests behind all

Table 2. Structure of Data

Meaning of Nagari Customary Land	Actor	Orientation	Argumentation
Use Rights (Pros)	Wali Nagari	Legal Certainty	Externally, it is an effort to restore the HGU of PT Jenyta Ranch, and internally, it is to clarify the inventory between community land and customary land.
	BP Tanah Ulayat	Inventory	The Nagari's ulayat land belongs to the Nagari. While the community is only limited to the 'right to use.' This is because the user is charged a fee, has a period, has planting rules, and cannot be settled.
Property Rights (Cons)	KAN (Kerapatan Adat Nagari)	Certification Format	Experience of seizure of Nagari Sungai they Kamuyang's land power by PT Jenyta have Ranch, which has HGU until 2027. already
	Bundo Kanduang	Certification Model	The Management Rights Certification Model, is considered inappropriate if there is no property right as the basis
	Farmer	Legal Subjects	- Individual signing over communal rights - KAN is not a representation of MHA - Signing by name will indicate land privatization. Meanwhile, if it is in the name of a title, it is feared that this land will be passed down to the recipient of the sako title in the future, so there is a shift in meaning.
	Peasant	Legal Privatization	Give the state full rights to legitimize Jenyta customary land.

The arguments over the pros and cons of customary land certification in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang are closely related to the meaning of Nagari land as understood by various community groups, including KAN, Bundo Kanduang, and farmers. For this group, customary land is considered a cultural entity and a symbol of collective identity that cannot be separated from indigenous peoples. Customary land is understood as both an economic resource and an ancestral heritage, possessing spiritual, social, and cultural values that foster a sense of ownership over the land. For this group, a certification that follows a juridical approach ignores the sacred meaning and close relationship between the community and its land. Certification of customary land can alter the character of land from communal property managed collectively to individual or state property, which is then perceived as contrary to the principles of land management based on custom and togetherness. This reflects what global scholars describe as the tension between “relational ontologies of land” and “statutory property regimes,” a tension that this article empirically illustrates through the perspectives of local actors.

Moreover, some things are culturally irrelevant to the decision of the Ministry of ATR / BPN. For example, KAN's representation of MHA (Masyarakat Hukum Adat) has caused confusion, especially among farmers. According to them, KAN is only an organization of Niniak Mamak associations, so it does not represent all community elements. In addition, the signing of the certificate by the individual Chairman of KAN Nagari

Ranch, their worries and fears are different because this time, they see that KAN and the government are not on the side of the community as in the past. KAN itself also has sentiments towards the government because the certification format does not contain provisions for the return of land to Masyarakat Hukum Adat if the HGU has expired, as stated in the Certificate of Ulayat Land Management Rights in Papua. These institutional ambiguities reveal that representation itself is part of the meaning-making struggle, showing that authority is not only legal but also performative and relational.

On the other hand, the Nagari Government and BP Tanah Ulayat, who support certification, argue that Nagari land can be utilized more optimally with the legal certainty provided by the certificate. They interpret customary land as an economic asset that must be managed efficiently to support community welfare, especially amid development dynamics and socio-economic changes. Certification provides a legal guarantee of land management rights, allowing the community to access resources, such as bank credit, for developing agricultural or other businesses. For them, certification is not a threat to cultural values but rather a tool to ensure the sustainability and security of land management amidst the demands of modernization and practical interests. This view reflects a shift in the meaning of land from a symbolic entity of communal ownership to a productive resource that needs to be optimized in an economic context. This contrast between cultural-symbolic meanings and developmental-administrative meanings is the core analytical contribution of the article, showing how dual systems of meaning coexist, overlap, and

sometimes collide within a single customary governance field.

D. CONCLUSIONS

Nagari Ulayat Land, as a communal asset, holds significance for every community element in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang. Apart from being motivated by the historical event of land grabbing by PT Jenyta Ranch, the meaning is also formed by the close interaction, authority, rights, and obligations of the Nagari Customary Land. These layered meanings demonstrate that customary land is not simply a material resource, but a symbolic and relational field through which different actors articulate their social identities and political claims, which is central to the analytical aim of this study. KAN, Bundo Kandung, and farmer groups interpret Nagari Customary Land as communal property rights in contrast to the Nagari Government and BP Ulayat Land, which interpret Nagari Customary Land only as a right of use for its users. This duality reflects what global scholarship identifies as competing cultural and juridical property regimes, where relational obligations confront state-driven notions of tenure. The division of two meanings broadly forms the pros and cons of the Nagari Customary Land Management Rights Certificate issued by the Ministry of ATR / BPN on October 10, 2023. Rejection is based on arguments that tend to be resistant, such as certainty in the certificate format, certainty of the subject, and sentiment towards the privatization of the Nagari Customary Land. At the same time, acceptance rests on juridical arguments that can legally guarantee management rights over Nagari Customary Land. This contrast shows that responses to certification are shaped by meaning, making the contestation interpretive rather than administrative.

E. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Thanks to the Directorate of Research, Technology, and Community Service, Directorate General of Higher Education, Research, and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia through the Master Thesis Research Program as a research funding provider in 2024. Contestation interpretive rather than administrative.

REFERENCES

- Alfatih, Firdaus. 2020. Profil Nagari Sungai Kamuyang, Kecamatan Luak, Kab. Lima Puluh Kota. Available online from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C5A6xpa5RFM&t=5s>. [Accessed September 19, 2024]
- Consortium of Agrarian Reform. (2024). Konflik Agraria di Indonesia Tertinggi dari Enam Negara Asia. Available online from : <https://www.kpa.or.id/2024/02/27/konflik-agraria-di-indonesia-tertinggi-dari-enam-negara-asia/> [Accessed September 23, 2024]
- Bachtiar Abna. b. 2007. Pengelolaan Tanah Negara dan Tanah Ulayat. Padang: Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau (LKAAM) Sumatera Barat, http://repo.unand.ac.id/2619/1/Tanah_Negara_dan_Tanah_Ulayat.doc [Accessed September 19, 2024]
- Benda-Beckmann, F. v. (1997). *Properti Dan Kesenambungan Sosial: Kesenambungan Dan Perubahan Dalam Pemeliharaan Hubungan-Hubungan Properti Sepanjang Masa Di Minangkabau (Property in Social Continuity)*. Grasindo Ltd
- Benda Beckmann, F.v, & Benda-Beckmann, K.V. (1994). "Rural populations, Social Security, and Legal Pluralism in the Central Moluccas od Eastern Indonesia". In John Dixon and Robert P.Scheurell (eds), *Social Security Programs: A Cross-Cultural Comparative Perspective*. London Greenwood Press
- Benda-Beckmann, Franz von. (2000). *The Legal Logic of Agrarian Reform: Rights, Resources and Community in Minangkabau, West Sumatra*. In Franz von Benda-Beckmann & Keebet von Benda-Beckmann (Eds.), *Changing Village Order: Inheritance and Settlement in Minangkabau* (pp. 175–200). Leiden: CNWS Publications.
- Biezeveld, Renske. (2002). *Between Individualism and Mutual Help : Social Security and natural resources in Minangkabau Village*, Rene Peerdeman, Amsterdam
- Bohannon, Paul. (1967). *Law and Warfare: Studies in the Anthropology of Conflict*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Dewita, Riche Rahma. (2020). *Hutan Nagari Menurut Masyarakat Simancuang: Suatu Perspektif Interpretif*. Tesis. Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Ilmu Politik Universitas Andalas.
- Fatimah, T,et al., (2014) .Pola Penyelesaian Sengketa Tanah Ulayat di Sumatera Barat (Sengketa antara Masyarakat dengan Investor). *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Riau*, 4(4) Universitas Riau. <https://doi.org/10.30652/jih.v4i1.2085>
- Fitzpatrick, Daniel. (2005). "Best Practice Options for the Legal Recognition of Customary Tenure." *Development and Change*, 36(3), 449–475. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0012-155X.2005.00416.x>
- Geertz, Clifford. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures Selected Essays*. United States of America, New York: Basic Books (A Member of the Perseus books Group).
- Geertz, Clifford. (1992a). *Tafsir Kebudayaan*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius (Anggota IKAPI).
- Geertz, Clifford. (1992b). *Kebudayaan dan Agama*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius (Anggota IKAPI).
- Harsono, Boedi. (2003). *Hukum Agraria Indonesia : Sejarah Pembentukan Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria, Isi Dan Pelaksanaannya*, Djambatan Jakarta Ltd
- Hidayah, Nurul. (2024). Perbedaan Pendapat Penerbitan Sertifikat Hak Pengelolaan Tanah Ulayat Masyarakat Hukum Adat di Nagari Sungai Kamuyang. *Jurnal Pakuan Law Review* 10(2). Universitas Pakuan, Bogor, 80-92. <https://doi.org/10.33751/palar.v10i2>
- Jaringan Dokumentasi dan Informasi Hukum (JDIH) Kementerian Koordinasi Bidang Kemaritiman dan Investasi. Perpres 62/2023: Percepatan Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria Available online from : <https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v27.n2.p276-287.2025>

- <https://jdih.maritim.go.id/en/perpres-622023>. [Accessed September 21, 2024]
- Kleden, Ignas. (1988). *Paham Kebudayaan Clifford Geertz: Rencana Monografi*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Koentjaraningrat, (1990). *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi, Rineka Cipta*: Jakarta
- Li, Tania Murray. (2007). *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mangar, Irma. (2022). Tanah Ulayat Adat Perspektif Hukum Positif Dan Hukum Islam. *Jurnal El-Dusturie* (1)1. IAIN Ponorogo, <https://doi.org/10.21154/eldusturie.v1i1.4176>
- Meldianto, R. P., Jendrius, J., & Miko, A. (2024). Conflict in the Management of Ulayat Land in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang : Conflict in the Management of Ulayat Land in Nagari Sungai Kamuyang . *Jurnal Sosiologi Nusantara*, 10(2), 313–326. <https://doi.org/10.33369/jsn.10.2.313-326>
- Miko, Alfian. (2006), *Pemerintahan Nagari dan Tanah Ulayat*, Andalas University Press, Padang
- Moniaga, Rio R. (2024) Perlindungan Hukum Hak-Hak Masyarakat Atas Tanah Adat Ditengah Modernisasi. *Jurnal Lex Administratum* 12(4). Fakultas Hukum Universitas Sam Ratulangi, Manado
- Moore, Sally Falk. (1973). "Law and Social Change: The Semi-Autonomous Social Field as an Appropriate Subject of Study." *Law & Society Review*, 7(4), 719–746. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3052967>
- Nurdin, Zefrizal. (2020). *Hak Ulayat Dalam Dinamika Masyarakat Matrilineal Minangkabau : Suatu Kajian Yuridis*. Andalas University Press, Padang
- Peraturan Menteri Negara Agraria/Kepala Badan Pertanahan Nasional Nomor 1 Tahun 1999 tentang Tata Cara Penanganan sengketa Tanah.
- Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Sumatera Barat Nomor 6 Tahun 2008 tentang Tanah Ulayat dan Pemanfaatannya
- Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Sumatera Barat Nomor 7 Tahun 2023 tentang Tanah Ulayat
- Peraturan Nagari Sungai Kamuyang Nomor 1 Tahun 2003 tentang Tanah Ulayat Nagari dan Pemanfaatannya
- Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 18 Tahun 2021 tentang Hak Pengelolaan, Hak Atas Tanah, Satuan Rumah Susun, dan Pendaftaran Tanah
- Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 62 Tahun 2023 Tentang Percepatan Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria
- Purwaningsih, Prihatini. (2017). *Proses Pelaksanaan Pendaftaran Hak Ulayat Masyarakat Hukum Adat Minangkabau*. *Jurnal Yustisi* 4(1). Universitas Ibn Khaldun : Bogor, 80-111, <https://doi.org/10.32832/yustisi.v4i1.1125>
- Safatullah, A. (2025). Analisis Pemberian Hak Pengelolaan Lahan (HPL) diatas tanah ulayat Masyarakat Adat Nagari Sitapa. *Jurnal Sakato* 3(1) 254-259.
- Saifuddin, F. Ahmad. (2005). *Antropologi Kontemporer Suatu Pengantar Kritis Mengenai Paradigma*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Saifuddin, F. A. (2014). Some Notes on Clifford Geertz's Interpretative Anthropology. *Jurnal Antropologi*, 49, 4-11, <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v0i49.3287>
- Serikat Petani Indonesia, (2012). *Mempertahankan Tanah Ulayat untuk Anak Cucu Kamanakan*. <https://spi.or.id/mempertahankan-tanah-ulayat-untuk-anak-cucu-kamanakan/> diakses pada 20 September 2024.
- Scott, James C. (1998). *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Spradley, P. J. (2006). *Metode Etnografi*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Surata, I Gede. (2022). Penyebab Terjadinya Konflik Pertanahan. *Jurnal Kerta Widya : Jurnal Hukum*, 10(2). Fakultas Hukum Universitas Panji Sakti Singaraja, 137-144, <https://doi.org/10.37637/kw.v10i2.1247>
- Undang Undang Dasar Tahun 1945
- Undang Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-Pokok Agraria
- Wahyudi, (2019). Peralihan Hak Milik Atas Tanah Karena Pewarisan Terhadap Tanah Ganggam Bauntuak. *Jurnal Lambung Mangkurat Law* 4(2) Banjarmasin, <https://doi.org/10.32801/lamlaj.v4i2.127>
- Warman, Kurnia, (2006). *Ganggam Bauntuak Menjadi Hak Milik*, Andalas University Press, Padang
- Warman, et al., (2009). *Pemulihan Tanah Ulayat: Perspektif Pemangku*. Kepentingan di Sumatera Barat, Padang: Qbar
- Wulan, Dewi Nawang, dkk. (2022). Analisis Hukum Pemberian Hak Pengelolaan yang Berasal dari Tanah Ulayat Pasca Terbitnya Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja. *Jurnal Notaire* 5(1) Universitas Airlangga, <https://doi.org/10.20473/ntr.v5i1.32708>
- Zakaria, R.Yando. (2016). Strategi Pengakuan Dan Perlindungan Hak-Hak Masyarakat (Hukum) Adat : Sebuah Pendekatan Sosio-Antropologis. *Jurnal Bhumi : Agraria dan Pertanahan* 2(2). Sekolah Tinggi Pertanahan Nasional. Yogyakarta. <https://doi.org/10.31292/jb.v2i2.66>