

Unregistered Customary Land Ownership: Implications and Challenges in Practice

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Abstract

In Indonesian culture, land is very important, especially when it comes to the ownership of unregistered customary property. This study seeks to evaluate the efficacy of the registration period outlined in Article 96 of Government Regulation No. 18/2021, along with the obstacles faced by the government in executing this policy. The study employs a normative legal approach with a qualitative descriptive methodology, examining applicable legislation and relevant literature. The results indicate that the specified registration timeframe could create legal ambiguity for landowners, particularly when several community members are either oblivious to the

significance of registration or encounter barriers such as financial expenses and administrative processes. Although the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) initiative aims to optimize the registration process, insufficient public legal awareness may impede the attainment of land registration objectives. This study enhances comprehension of the effects of government policies on the rights of indigenous communities and provides recommendations to improve public participation in the land registration process, thus promoting greater legal certainty.

Keywords

Land Registration; Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL); Former Customary Land.

I. Introduction

Land holds a crucial role in the life of society, encompassing economic, social, and cultural dimensions. Since the enactment of Law No. 5 of 1960 on the Basic Principles of Agrarian Law (hereinafter referred to as UUPA), a significant aim has been to establish legal certainty regarding the ownership and utilization of land in Indonesia.¹ Furthermore, the UUPA underscores the sustainable management of natural resources, in line with environmentally conscious development principles. Through

¹ Subhan Zein, "Reformasi Agraria Dari Dulu Hingga Sekarang Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum Dirgantara* 9, no. 2 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.35968/jh.v9i2.357>; Nurhasan Ismail, "Arah Politik Hukum Pertanahan Dan Perlindungan Kepemilikan Tanah Masyarakat," *Jurnal Rechts Vinding: Media Pembinaan Hukum Nasional* 1, no. 1 (2012), <https://doi.org/10.33331/rechtsvinding.v1i1.105>.

legal certainty and clear regulations, the UUPA is expected to attract investment, advance the agriculture and fisheries sectors, and promote welfare and social justice for all Indonesian citizens. However, a significant challenge faced is the recognition and protection of communal land rights, which pertain to land collectively held by indigenous communities.² Although the UUPA recognizes land rights for indigenous communities, the reality shows that many communal lands remain officially unregistered. This creates legal uncertainty that affects the welfare of indigenous peoples and poses potential conflicts in the future. The ambiguity in legal recognition of communal land rights provides opportunities for certain actors, such as private companies or the government, to claim lands traditionally managed by indigenous communities without adequate consultation processes. This practice often disregards the rights of indigenous peoples, which can have serious repercussions on their cultural identity and access to vital resources for their livelihoods. In many cases, such unlawful land appropriation has the potential to exacerbate social injustices.³

Indigenous communities often hesitate to register their communal lands due to the collective nature of land ownership within their customary frameworks, a situation shaped by various interconnected factors. One significant barrier is the lack of awareness regarding the importance of land registration. Furthermore, high costs

² Sebastianus Apung, “Konflik Hukum Adat Dan Hukum Negara : Kajian Konflik Hak Kepemilikan Tanah Adat Di Kecamatan Pangururan Kabupaten Samosir Dan Dampak Terhadap Pembangunan Infrastruktur,” *UNIMED*, 2010.

³ Ni Made Desy Aiyan and I Wayan Parsa, “Konsolidasi Tanah Sebagai Upaya Meningkatkan Efisiensi Dan Produktivitas Pemanfaatan Tanah Perkotaan Secara Optimal,” *E-Jurnal Universitas Udayana*, 2019; Ade Setiana, “Pelaksanaan Konsolidasi Tanah Sebagai Upaya Meningkatkan Efisiensi Dan Produktivitas Pemanfaatan Tanah Perkotaan,” *Kementrian Keuangan Republik Indonesia*, 2022.

and complex bureaucratic processes can present substantial obstacles, resulting in legal ambiguities that may jeopardize their rights and access to vital natural resources essential for their livelihoods. The coexistence of customary law and civil law adds another layer of complexity to this issue. As a result, indigenous communities tend to rely on traditional norms and practices for land management, which may not align with formal legal requirements.⁴ At the same time, national law requires them to follow certain procedures. The tension arising from this inconsistency often leads to conflicts, both within indigenous communities and between indigenous peoples and the government. In this context, the rights to communal lands frequently lack adequate protection within the national legal framework, posing serious challenges to the recognition and management of their long-established rights.

The development of land registration regulations in Indonesia began with Government Regulation No. 10 of 1961, which was later amended by Government Regulation No. 24 of 1997. This regulation accommodated rights that had been converted in accordance with the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA), which abolished land ownership based on customary law and prioritized the Western legal system. However, in 2021, the government issued Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021, which strengthened the recognition of customary rights and facilitated the transition to legally valid land rights.

One of the key issues related to former customary land is the use of documents such as girik (a traditional land document) as proof of ownership. Before the enactment of UUPA, girik was used as evidence of ownership of ulayat (customary) land. However, since the

⁴ Wimba Roofi Utama, “Eksistensi Hak Ulayat Pasca Berlakunya Peraturan Menteri Agraria Nomor 18 Tahun 2019,” *Notaire* 4, no. 3 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.20473/ntr.v4i3.28036>; Dianto, “Incorporation of Krik Slamet Values In The Exercise Of Rights Over Customary Land,” *Law and Justice* 8, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.23917/laj.v8i2.2997>.

implementation of UUPA, land certificates have become the sole legal proof of ownership. PP No. 18 of 2021 stipulates that girik used as proof of ownership for land with customary rights must be registered within five years, no later than February 2, 2026. After that, girik will no longer be valid as proof of ownership, only as a basis for registration.

The process of registering land in an orderly and timely manner is crucial to providing legal certainty and protecting land rights. This is in line with the principles in the 1945 Constitution, which guarantees the protection of property rights and legal certainty for every citizen. Land registration is also an important step in preventing land disputes, combating land mafia practices, and raising public legal awareness. Therefore, it is essential for people to register their land promptly in order to obtain valid certificates and secure strong legal protection.

Research in Banyuraden Village shows that the majority of the community does not have sufficient legal awareness regarding land rights. Of the 37 respondents, 54% did not have sufficient legal knowledge, 62% did not understand the law well, and 76% did not demonstrate positive legal attitudes. The main contributing factors were lack of socialization of regulations, low levels of education, and distrust of institutions that are supposed to provide legal information. This shows the importance of government efforts to improve legal socialization and education.⁵

Meanwhile, research in Teluk Ketapang Village also revealed similar problems, with the community not fully understanding their land ownership status. Economic factors, low levels of education and a lack of desire to certify land are the main barriers. In addition, complicated and confusing land registration procedures make matters worse, highlighting the need for simpler and more accessible procedures

⁵ Taolin, Mujiburohman, and Widarbo, *Op.cit.*

and improved legal education to assist communities in the land titling process.⁶

Currently, the land registration process in Indonesia is not yet fully completed, largely due to a lack of public awareness. Although the government has set a target through the Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL) to complete land registration by 2025, challenges related to public awareness still need to be addressed.⁷ Therefore, it is also important to consider community participation in the land registration program to achieve the targets. This raises the question of the juridical review of Article 96 of Government Regulation (PP) No. 18 of 2021, and what government policies already exist to realize the land registration program based on the regulation?

II. Method

This study employs a normative legal approach with a qualitative descriptive specification,⁸ aiming to describe the implementation of Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021 concerning the challenges and government policies related to the registration of former customary land purchased by individuals. The focus is on the obligation to register land within a period of five years. The data sources consist of primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials, including legislation, literature,

⁶ Nadila Kartika, “Kesadaran Hukum Masyarakat Dalam Pengurusan Sertifikasi Hak Milik Tanah Di Desa Teluk Ketapang Kecamatan Senyerang” (Universitas Jambi, 2024), <https://repository.unja.ac.id/61526/>.

⁷ Fitriana Trinengsi Taolin, Dian Aries Mujiburohman, and Koes Widarbo, “Kesadaran Hukum Masyarakat Dalam Pendaftaran Peralihan Hak Atas Tanah,” *Tunas Agraria* 7, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.31292/jta.v7i1.277>.

⁸ Read more Pritha Bhandari, “What Is Qualitative Research? | Methods & Examples,” scribbr.com, June 19, 2020, <https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/qualitative-research/>.

and dictionaries. Data collection techniques involve library research, drawing from legal regulations, books, articles, and academic journals, which are then analyzed using content analysis techniques to derive relevant results and conclusions. A qualitative approach is utilized to observe and understand the social context related to this issue, while data analysis is conducted qualitatively through steps of collection, reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing. The aim is to produce a comprehensive overview of the ownership of former customary land and the obstacles faced in its registration.

III. Juridical Review of Article 96 of Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021 on the Ownership of Former Customary Land

The legal status and implications of old evidence of rights, including those regulated in Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021, based on the Supreme Court Decision dated September 19, 1970 Number 123 K/SIP/1970. Evidence of old rights such as tax certificates, one example of which is *Verponding Indonesia*, is a product of the government during the colonial period (fiscal cadastre) which was valid before the Basic Agrarian Law took effect. *Verponding Indonesia* is a tax identification letter, which is the basis for determining the tax object is the status of the land is a Western land right or customary land rights. The subject of the tax is the right holder or owner of the land. Only land with Western Rights or customary land is subject to *Verponding* or *Landrente* tax.⁹

⁹ Meta Nadia Winata, "Analisis Terhadap Tanda Bukti Hak Lama Sebagai Petunjuk Kepemilikan Hak Atas Tanah Menurut Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 18 Tahun 2021," *Indonesian Notary* 3, no. 3 (2021), <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/notary/vol3/iss3/44>.

Ownership of land formerly belonging to customary rights can be proven by several types of evidence, including:

1. Land tax receipts/landrente, girik, pipil, kekitir, Indonesian verponding, or any other written evidence as referred to in Articles II, VI, and VII of the UUPA conversion provisions;
2. Deeds of transfer of rights made privately and witnessed by the customary head, village head, or other names made before the enactment of the Land Registration Government Regulation, accompanied by the transferred rights;
3. Certificates of ownership issued based on the relevant customary regulations;
4. Decrees granting ownership rights from authorized officials, whether before or since the enactment of UUPA, which do not impose the obligation to register the granted rights, but all obligations mentioned have been fulfilled;
5. Certificates of land history made by the land and building tax service office accompanied by the transferred rights.

Based on Article 96 of PP No. 18 of 2021, written evidence of former customary land owned by individuals must be registered within a maximum period of 5 (five) years from the enactment of this Government Regulation. If not registered within this period, the consequence is that the written evidence of former customary land rights is declared invalid and cannot be used as a means of proving land rights, and can only be used as a guideline for land registration. It should be noted that although the written evidence of the former customary land right is invalid, this does not change the status of the land.¹⁰

¹⁰ Erizka Permatasari, "Konsekuensi Jika Hak Atas Tanah Lama Tak Segera Diurus Sertifikatnya," Klinik Hukumonline, November 1, 2021, <https://www.hukumonline.com/klinik/a/konsekuensi-jika-hak-atas-tanah-lama-tak-segera-diurus-sertifikatnya-lt617fe39d8ed10/>.

For more detailed information, the public can refer to the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs/Head of the National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) of the Republic of Indonesia No. 16 of 2021 concerning the Third Amendment to the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs/Head of the National Land Agency No. 3 of 1997 on the Implementation Provisions of Government Regulation No. 24 of 1997 concerning Land Registration. Article 76 A, paragraph 1, states that written evidence of land previously owned by customary rights held by individuals, including the Land Tax Certificate (*Petuk Pajak Bumi/Landrente*), *girik*, *pipil*, *kekitir*, *Verponding* Indonesia, and other forms of evidence of former customary rights under different names or terms, will be declared invalid after five (5) years from the enactment of Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021 concerning Management Rights, Land Rights, Apartment Units, and Land Registration. However, the status of customary land can still be registered through the rights recognition mechanism by fulfilling the requirements outlined in Article 76 A, paragraph 4 of the Ministerial Regulation ATR/BPN No. 16 of 2021. The government's policy to no longer recognize letter C, *Petuk*, or *Kikitar* could be implemented swiftly. Therefore, it is advisable to upgrade to a SHM as soon as possible. Ultimately, the implementation of these changes depends on government policy. Nevertheless, it is essential to believe that such measures aim to protect community assets from land mafia exploitation. The SHM has been recognized as valid proof of ownership since the enactment of UUPA. This is further reinforced by Law No. 4 of 1996 concerning Mortgage Rights on Land and Objects Related to Land. These provisions are also stipulated in Government Regulation No. 24 of 1997 concerning Land Registration.¹¹

Permen ATR No. 16/2021 provides legal protection by allowing registration through a rights recognition mechanism. Applicants are

¹¹ *Ibid.*

required to make a statement of physical control of the land stating that: a) the land is theirs and does not belong to someone else, b) the land has been physically controlled for 20 years or more, c) the control is carried out in good faith and openly, d) there are no objections from other parties and it is not in dispute, e) there are no objections from creditors in the event that the land is used as collateral for a debt, and f) the land is not a government asset or located in a forest area. This mechanism provides a way for rights holders to ensure legal certainty over the land they control.

Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021 should not yet be implemented because the Job Creation Law as the basis for the regulation has been declared conditionally unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court for two years after the decision. Therefore, land registration again follows the provisions contained in Government Regulation No. 24 of 1997, which does not provide a time limit regarding the validity of written evidence in the land registration process. Thus, land registration law refers back to the older regulation and allows the recognition of written evidence as a condition of land registration without any time limit.

If PP No. 18 of 2021 is still enforced, there needs to be an amendment to Article 96 to remove the time limitation on written evidence in land registration. This step is important so that the rights of holders of written evidence are protected, especially for owners of former customary land. Although the purpose of such restrictions is to create order in land administration and ensure legal certainty in land ownership, the restrictions in Article 96 of PP No. 18/2021 contradict the principles in the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) No. 5/1960 and can be considered a form of violation of private property rights. Written evidence, although not yet fully recognized as valid evidence of ownership, must still be respected as the basis of legal land rights, provided that it is obtained in accordance with the applicable procedures and issued by the competent agency at that time, or by a

qualified party in accordance with the provisions of Article 1320 of the Civil Code.

IV. Government Policy in Implementing Land Registration Program under Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021

Considering the registration period for land previously owned by customary rights, commonly known as *girik* land, as stated in Article 96 of Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021, which no longer recognizes old written proof of rights, the government encourages the public to promptly register their land rights through various policy programs designed to facilitate this process. The first land registration activity was the National Agrarian Operation Project (PRONA), which has been implemented since 1981 based on the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 189 of 1981 concerning the National Agrarian Operation Project. The objective of PRONA is to support the implementation of the National Outline of State Policy and the Four Orderly Principles in the field of land management, particularly in providing certificates to communities that do not yet possess them. However, a significant weakness of PRONA is that from 1981 to 2016, it managed to certify only 44% of the land, leaving 56% uncertified throughout Indonesia.¹² Efforts to expedite land registration through PRONA did not meet their targets, leading to the initiation of a government program in 2015 that

¹² Ihsanuddin, "Jokowi: Prona Sudah 35 Tahun, Baru 44 Persen Tanah Warga Bersertifikat," *nasional.kompas.com*, October 16, 2016, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/10/16/12474581/jokowi.prona.sudah.35.tahun.baru.44.persen.tanah.warga.bersertifikat>.

also aimed to carry out the first land registration: the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) program.¹³

The Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) program is an ambitious initiative designed to provide legal certainty regarding land ownership for all Indonesian citizens. The government, through the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (ATR)/National Land Agency (BPN), has set a monumental target of certifying 120 million parcels of land across Indonesia by the end of 2024. This program aims to create legal certainty, prevent land disputes, and support a more orderly and systematic national spatial planning.¹⁴

The Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), has stated that as the end of President Joko Widodo's term approaches, the remaining target for land certificate registration is 7 million parcels, with an overall target of 120 million parcels by 2024. Currently, approximately 113 million parcels of land have been registered, indicating significant progress in the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) program. Despite facing challenges due to the geographical complexity of Indonesia as an archipelagic country, the government remains optimistic that this target can be achieved before the end of 2024. The success of this land registration initiative is driven by several factors, including strong leadership from President Joko Widodo, who has effectively coordinated efforts among various ministries and local governments. Additionally, the government has provided incentives, such as waiving the first-registration tax, to encourage public participation. The

¹³ Isdiyana Kusuma Ayu, "Kepastian Hukum Pendaftaran Tanah Melalui Pendaftaran Tanah Sistematis Lengkap Di Kota Batu," *Mimbar Hukum - Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada* 31, no. 3 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.41560>.

¹⁴ Eri Sutrisno, "Mendorong Pencapaian Target PTSL 120 Juta Bidang," Portal Informasi Indonesia, November 24, 2024, <https://indonesia.go.id/kategori/editorial/8604/mendorong-pencapaian-target-ptsl-120-juta-bidang?lang=1>.

involvement of the private sector and local communities has also been crucial, given the limited number of land surveyors available. However, challenges persist, particularly among communities practicing customary law, who are concerned about losing their land rights if they register. Therefore, the government needs to address public concerns regarding administrative processes and potential tax obligations. Looking ahead, the government is focusing on digital transformation to streamline the registration process, including the implementation of electronic land certificates. Training programs for officials are being enhanced to ensure the effective implementation of these digital services. With these measures in place, it is hoped that the land registration target can be achieved, providing legal certainty over land ownership for all Indonesian citizens.¹⁵

Based on this research, the PTSL Program provides convenience for the community to obtain land certificates and assists the government in creating a unified land map in Indonesia. Although there are deviations from several provisions in Government Regulation No. 24/1997, such as those related to the suspension of the payment of transfer taxes (BPHTB and/or PPh) and the announcement period, this program still provides legal certainty for the community regarding land ownership resulting from PTSL activities.

Even though this government program deviates from Government Regulation No. 24/1997, it can help realize Government Regulation No. 18/2021 on land registration, making the time frame specified in Article 96 effective. This also helps avoid land disputes and provides legal protection for land rights holders. The government and all regional land offices are also working focused and effectively to achieve these targets. On the other hand, the community is expected to

¹⁵ Harazaki, "Menteri ATR/BPN: Sisa 7 Juta Bidang Tanah Yang Masih Belum Terdaftar Di 2024 - Majalah Lintas," *Majalah Lintas*, May 30, 2024, <https://www.majalahlintas.com/menteri-atr-bpn-sisa-7-juta-bidang-tanah-yang-masih-belum-terdaftar-di-2024/>.

be active in the land registration process so that this program can provide maximum benefits for all parties. This is certainly not only the primary responsibility of the government; community participation is necessary so that the efforts to develop Indonesia through land data collection and certification can have a tangible impact.

In addition to providing legal certainty, the program also has positive effects on economic growth. With land certificates, the community can access various economic opportunities, such as using land as collateral to obtain credit or loans from financial institutions. This opens up opportunities for investment, business development, and increases the purchasing power of the community. Furthermore, clearer and more organized land certification supports more effective natural resource management, enhances investor confidence, and simplifies land transaction processes, which ultimately contributes to economic stability and development progress.¹⁶

The challenges of registering uncertified land in Indonesia, particularly for land previously owned by customary rights or commonly known as *girik* land owned by individuals, face serious obstacles. This issue is complex due to high costs, complicated procedures, a lack of public awareness, and the legal behavior of the community regarding the importance of land certification. Registration costs are influenced by various factors such as land area, its use, location,

¹⁶ Land is an abundant natural resource in Indonesia. Following the example of countries in Africa, resource exploitation must be managed well through the implementation of policies that leave no room for doubt (ambiguity) and improvements in good governance, read on Dana M. Baker, Grant Murray, and Andrew Kyei Agyare, "Governance and the Making and Breaking of Social-Ecological Traps," *Ecology and Society* 23, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-09992-230138>; Enrich the discussion in Sacha Ruzzante, Ricardo Labarta, and Amy Bilton, "Adoption of Agricultural Technology in the Developing World: A Meta-Analysis of the Empirical Literature," *World Development* 146 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105599>.

and taxes. Additionally, the fees for land deed officials (PPAT) and administrative costs further burden the community, making them reluctant to register their land.

To address this issue, there is a need for policies that establish reasonable registration fees so as not to burden the community. Facilities to assist financially disadvantaged individuals are also necessary, including the possibility of waiving registration fees. This aligns with the view that the government should consider the accessibility of land registration for all segments of society to ensure that land registration programs can operate more effectively and inclusively.

The government is attempting to tackle the challenges faced on the ground by implementing regulations that support the effective registration of land, such as Article 96 of Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021, which provides a five-year period for individuals to register their land, thus eliminating the need for outdated written evidence. Additionally, the government has created the PTSL (Systematic Land Registration Program), which helps the community easily register their land for the first time. However, there are challenges faced by the government in implementing this program, particularly regarding budget constraints. In response to budget issues, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) has requested additional funding from the Ministry of Finance, which has approved the additional budget to support this program.

If the community has not registered the transfer of land rights, the potential consequences include a lack of legal certainty. Without registration, new rights holders do not have assurance about their ownership status, which hinders legal actions such as buying, selling, or exchanging land. Furthermore, this uncertainty complicates access to capital, as land certificates cannot be used as clear collateral. Another consequence is the disorder in land administration, which may lead to an increase in land dispute cases and risks of weakness in land sector

management. This situation opens the door to potential conflicts and legal issues in the future.

Therefore, it is important for the government to continue implementing policies and programs that enable communities to register land at affordable costs and simple procedures. Programs such as PTSL need to be continuously strengthened and facilitated, both in terms of budget, regulatory support, and community understanding. With these steps, it is hoped that legal certainty over land ownership and the realization of more orderly land governance can be achieved, which in turn will support economic growth and prevent land conflicts that harm the community.

V. Conclusion

Old land rights evidence such as Indonesian Verponding and girik, which originated from the colonial fiscal system, remain relevant for determining tax obligations and land ownership, whether for Western or customary land rights. Under Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021, these old land rights must be registered within five years, otherwise, they will be declared invalid as proof of ownership, although the land's status will not change. However, the implementation of this regulation has been delayed due to the Constitutional Court's decision declaring the Job Creation Law temporarily unconstitutional, meaning land registration still follows Government Regulation No. 24 of 1997. If Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021 is enforced, amendments to Article 96 are necessary to remove the time limitation on written evidence, in order to better protect the rights of holders of old land rights evidence, particularly for customary land.

The Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL) is a strategic step by the government to expedite the land certification process in Indonesia. The PTSL program is also in line with the government's efforts to fulfill Article 96 of Government Regulation No.

18/2021, which sets a more efficient deadline for the registration of former customary land or girik land. This program aims to provide legal certainty regarding land ownership, which has significant implications for economic and social development. Although it has been launched since 2015 and has received various facilitation measures, challenges in its implementation still persist.

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Acknowledgment

None

Funding Information

None

Conflicting Interest Statement

There is no conflict of interest in the publication of this article.

Publishing Ethical and Originality Statement

All authors declared that this work is original and has never been published in any form and in any media, nor is it under consideration for publication in any journal, and all sources cited in this work refer to the basic standards of scientific citation.

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