



Resolving Land Disputes Through Land Offices and Customary Institutions: Perspectives from National and Customary Law in Aceh

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Abstract

Land disputes, which frequently arise, require comprehensive policies and integrated solutions for effective resolution. At the national level, the government has issued technical regulations through Ministerial Regulations. In Aceh, however, land dispute resolution also falls under the jurisdiction of regional laws, including the Aceh Governance Law and Qanun, which reflect customary practices. This study employs an empirical legal research method, using a socio-legal approach to analyze how law operates within the society. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and document analysis. Respondents included officials from the Land Office, members of the Aceh Customary Council (MAA), customary leaders, academics, and local community members. Documents reviewed consisted of legal regulations, case reports, journal articles, and academic texts related to land disputes. The study finds that the Land Office resolves land disputes through a multi-step process: Case Study, Preliminary Assessment, Investigation, Presentation of Findings, Coordination Meeting, Final Assessment, and Case Resolution. However, traditional leaders and institutions such as the Aceh Customary Council have not been involved in this process, despite their official role in supporting governance, development, community affairs, and social conflict resolution. Currently, the Land Office and customary institutions operate independently, each following its own procedures. The study argues that a more integrated approach between the two entities could enhance the effectiveness of land dispute resolution. Such collaboration would strengthen the legitimacy and public trust in both institutions. Furthermore, customary law has demonstrated its capacity to resolve societal conflicts, including land disputes, thereby underscoring the value of incorporating traditional mechanisms into formal legal processes.

Keywords: Dispute Resolution, Land Disputes, Land Office, Customary Institutions, National Law and Customary Law

Abstrak

Perselisihan tanah yang sering terjadi memerlukan kebijakan yang komprehensif dan solusi yang terintegrasi untuk penyelesaian yang efektif. Pada tingkat nasional, pemerintah telah mengeluarkan peraturan teknis melalui Peraturan Menteri. Namun di Aceh, penyelesaian sengketa tanah juga berada dalam kewenangan hukum daerah, termasuk Undang-Undang Pemerintahan Aceh dan Qanun yang mencerminkan praktik-praktik adat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian hukum empiris dengan pendekatan socio-legal untuk menganalisis bagaimana hukum beroperasi dalam masyarakat. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dan analisis dokumen. Responden terdiri dari pejabat Kantor Pertanahan, anggota Majelis Adat Aceh (MAA), tokoh adat, akademisi, dan anggota masyarakat setempat. Dokumen yang ditelaah meliputi peraturan perundang-undangan, laporan kasus, artikel jurnal, dan literatur akademik yang berkaitan dengan sengketa tanah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Kantor Pertanahan menyelesaikan sengketa tanah melalui proses yang terdiri dari beberapa tahapan: Studi Kasus, Penilaian Awal, Penyelidikan, Penyampaian Temuan, Rapat Koordinasi, Penilaian Akhir, dan Penyelesaian Kasus. Namun, para pemimpin adat dan lembaga seperti Majelis Adat Aceh belum dilibatkan dalam proses ini, meskipun mereka memiliki peran resmi dalam mendukung pemerintahan, pembangunan, kemasyarakatan, dan penyelesaian konflik sosial. Saat ini, Kantor Pertanahan dan lembaga adat beroperasi secara terpisah dengan prosedur masing-masing. Penelitian ini berargumen bahwa pendekatan yang lebih terintegrasi antara kedua entitas tersebut dapat meningkatkan efektivitas penyelesaian sengketa tanah. Kolaborasi semacam ini akan memperkuat legitimasi dan kepercayaan publik terhadap kedua lembaga tersebut. Lebih lanjut, hukum adat telah menunjukkan kemampuannya dalam menyelesaikan konflik sosial, termasuk sengketa tanah, sehingga menegaskan pentingnya memasukkan mekanisme tradisional ke dalam proses hukum formal.

Kata kunci: *Penyelesaian Sengketa, Sengketa Tanah, Kantor Pertanahan, Lembaga Adat, Hukum Nasional dan Hukum Adat.*

Introduction

Land conflicts remain prevalent in Indonesia and have tended to increase over time. To address these issues, numerous regulations have been enacted, ranging from those at the highest legal hierarchy to more technical implementing provisions. This regulatory framework also incorporates elements of local wisdom, often favoring mediation as a means of dispute resolution. However, despite the abundance of regulations, they have not effectively resolved the underlying issues and, in some cases, have introduced new complications. This is partly due to over-regulation, often referred to as legal pluralism, which undermines the legal certainty that the law is meant to provide. The pluralistic nature of agrarian law in Indonesia is evident in

the wide variety of customary legal systems (*hukum adat*) that exist across different regions of the country.¹

The crucial role of land in human life is often not matched by adequate efforts to address the various issues that arise in the land sector.² Empirical evidence shows that instability in this sector has far-reaching negative impacts on social, political, and economic domains.³ Given land's centrality to human and national life, these problems inevitably affect the broader development of the nation. Therefore, to achieve national objectives, it is essential to establish comprehensive planning for the allocation, utilization, and management of land, water, and space to serve the interests of both the people and the state. Such planning enables land use to be carried out in a structured and orderly manner, thereby maximizing its benefits for the nation and its citizens.⁴

One of the institutions authorized to resolve land disputes in Indonesia is the Land Office. This authority is regulated under the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency (*Permen ATR/Head of BPN*) No. 21 of 2020 concerning the Handling and Settlement of Land Cases. According to Article 1 of this regulation, land cases are defined as cases, disputes, or conflicts related to land that are submitted to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), its Regional Offices (*Kanwil*), or the Land Offices. This ministerial regulation serves as the implementing guideline for Presidential Regulation No. 47 of 2020 concerning the Ministry of ATR, and Presidential Regulation No. 48 of 2020 concerning the National Land Agency. Specifically, Article 5(a) of Presidential Regulation No. 47 of 2020 stipulates that one of the functions of the Ministry of ATR is to handle land disputes and conflicts. Similarly, Article 3 of Presidential Regulation No. 48 of 2020 states that a key function of the National Land Agency is to formulate and implement policies related to the prevention and resolution of land disputes and conflicts.⁵

¹Eddy Pelupessy, "The Land Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Revaluation of Papua Special Autonomy," *Hasanuddin Law Review* 3, No. 1 (2017). Edy Ikhsan and Saidin Saidin, "Analysis of Land Rights Ownership Deli Spoorweg Maatschappij in Medan, Sumatera Utara, Indonesia," *Cogent Social Science* 9, No. 2 (2023).

²Abdul Kadir Jaelani, Anila Rabbani, and Muhammad Jihadul Hayat, 'Land Reform Policy in Determining Abandoned Land for Halal Tourism Destination Management Based on Fiqh Siyasa', *El-Mashlahah*, 14. No. 1 (2024), p. 211.

³Kharis Fadlan Borni Kurniawan, et.al., "Territorialization of Plantation Concessions: Customary Land Acquisition Process, Agrarian Fragmentation and Social Resistance," *Cogent Social Science* 9, No. 2 (2024). Chairul Fahmi, et.al., "The State's Business Upon Indigenous Land in Indonesia: A Legacy from Dutch Colonial Regime to Modern Indonesian State," *Samarah* 8, No. 3 (2024).

⁴H. M. Arba, *Hukum Agraria Indonesia*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2015, p. 22.

⁵Muhammad Jihadul Hayat Lego Karjoko, Abdul Kadir Jaelani, Hilaire Tegnán, Henning Glaser, 'Islamic Court's Approach to Land Dispute in Inheritance Cases', *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 21. No. 2 (2021).

The Land Office, within the scope of its authority, is empowered to handle and resolve land cases in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. In the context of Aceh, however, there are additional legal provisions derived from Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning the Governance of Aceh, which grants special recognition to the role of customary law. This recognition had also been previously established under Law No. 44 concerning the Special Status of Aceh, which identified customs including customary law as one of the province's distinctive features. In line with these mandates, Aceh Provincial Qanun No. 9 of 2008 on the Development of Customary Life and Traditions provides that certain disputes, including those concerning property rights, may be resolved through customary legal mechanisms. A study conducted between 2021 and 2023 revealed that 34 land dispute cases were submitted to and resolved by the Land Office, indicating that land conflicts remain a persistent issue within society.

According to Juwita Tarochi et al., the study of land disputes is crucial, as demonstrated by a range of prior research showing that land disputes can be resolved through formal legal channels or through mediation.⁶ Hamidi and Latif observe that, in the Madura region, mediation conducted by the National Land Agency (BPN) serves as a key mechanism for resolving such disputes.⁷ Furthermore, Sukarmadji and Winarsih highlight the limitations of judicial resolution of land cases, noting that the court process is often overly bureaucratic and demands significant time and resources.⁸

Mudjiono found that land disputes in Indonesia are typically resolved through the General Court and the State Administrative Court, often yielding incomplete and suboptimal outcomes. These shortcomings stem from overlapping decisions issued by different judicial bodies, difficulties in enforcing final and binding judgments, and a lack of clarity regarding which legal framework holds primary authority in resolving land disputes.⁹

Many existing studies emphasize the limitations of formal legal mechanisms in addressing land conflicts and therefore advocate for mediation as an alternative. However, what remains largely unexplored is the possibility of integrating both formal and non-formal (mediation-based) approaches into a unified dispute resolution model. Building on this gap, the present study aims to explore how a nationally applicable mechanism formulated through the Land Office and grounded

⁶Juwita Tarochi Boboy. et.al., *Penyelesaian Sengketa Pertanahan Melalui Mediasi Berdasarkan Teori Dean G. Pruitt Dan Jeffrey Z. Rubin*, *Notarius* 13, No. 2, (2020), p. 803-818.

⁷Hamidi dan Moh Abdul Latif, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Pertanahan Di Wilayah Madura Secara Mediasi Oleh Badan Pertanahan Nasional," *Yudisia: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Dan Hukum Islam* 12, No. 1, (2021), p. 51-72.

⁸Sri Hayati, Agus Sekarmadji dan Sri Winarsih, "Model Penyelesaian Sengketa Pertanahan Melalui Mediasi Dalam Mewujudkan Penyelesaian Yang Efisiensi Dan Berkepastian Hukum," *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 14, No. 1, (2014), p. 36-48.

⁹Mudjiono, "Alternatif Penyelesaian Sengketa Pertanahan Di Indonesia Melalui Revitalisasi Fungsi Badan Peradilan," *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum*, Vol.14 (3), Juli (2007), p. 458-473.

in local wisdom can be developed to create an ideal and effective model for resolving¹⁰ land disputes in Indonesia.¹¹

The prevailing phenomenon is that land disputes frequently arise, and their resolution is supported by multiple legal frameworks. Although existing regulations permit dispute settlement through mediation, mediators are typically appointed by formal institutions such as the Land Agency, Land Office, or related services. In contrast, in Aceh, customary institutions exist that could be further empowered to play a significant role in resolving¹² land disputes.¹³

To obtain accurate and comprehensive data, this study employs an empirical legal research method, utilizing a socio-legal approach that examines the interaction between law and society.¹⁴ Data were collected through in-depth interviews and document analysis. Interviewees included Land Office officials, members of the Aceh Customary Council, customary leaders, academics, and community representatives. The documents analyzed comprised legal regulations, case reports, journal articles, and books related to land dispute resolution.

Authority of Customary Institutions in Dispute Resolution in Aceh

Aceh is one of the provinces in Indonesia that strongly upholds customary law as the living law within its society. Consequently, customary law¹⁵ is given priority, especially in addressing social problems and disputes, including those related to land. The preference for customary law in dispute resolution stems from its foundation in the principle of reconciliation rather than adjudication. As articulated by Judge *Nyak Pha*, the "teaching of resolving" emphasizes that disputes should be managed in a manner that enables the involved parties to continue living together peacefully and harmoniously, restoring relations to their state prior to the

¹⁰Munisah Munisah and others, 'Barambangan: Dynamics and Challenges in Resolving Husband and Wife Disputes in the Banjar Community', *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran*, 23. No. 1 (2023), p. 50–60.

¹¹Tijani Abdul Lateef Aremu, Musa Jeje Ibrahim Aladire, and Alimi Lawal Sikiru, 'An Assessment of Independent Shari'a Panel (ISP) and Its Roles in Resolving Marital Conflicts in Osun State of Nigeria', *Al-Ahkam*, 32. No. 2 (2022).

¹²Firdaus Arifin and others, 'Resolving Village Head Election Disputes: Legal Pathways in State Administrative Courts', *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat*, 24. No. 2 (2024), p. 449.

¹³Ajidar Matsyah, et al., 'Cultural Continuity and Legal Adaptation: The Evolution of Suluh in Aceh's Conflict Resolution System', *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)*, 24. No. 1 (2025), p. 101.

¹⁴Jonaedi Efendi and Jhonny Ibrahim, *Metode Penelitian Hukum: Normatif dan Empiris*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2018.

¹⁵Muhammad Syarif Hidayatullah and Rahmat Fadillah, 'Economic and Legal Dimensions of Collateral Existence in Modern Mudhârabah Contracts: Understanding the Relationship between Risk Management, National Law, and Contemporary Fiqh', *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, (2022), p. 223.

conflict. In other words, this approach aims to return the situation to its original condition after the dispute has been settled.¹⁶

To support these principles, Aceh enacted Qanun No. 10 of 2008 concerning Customary Institutions, which stipulates that customary institutions are community organizations formed by specific customary law communities. These institutions possess defined territorial jurisdiction, manage their own assets, and hold the authority to regulate, administer, and resolve matters related to customary law.

According to Aceh Qanun No. 10 of 2008, customary institutions have evolved alongside the Acehnese people from the past to the present, playing a vital role in nurturing cultural values, customary norms, and regulations aimed at achieving security, order, peace, harmony, and welfare within the community, all in accordance with Islamic principles.¹⁷ Consequently, when problems or disputes arise, it is the responsibility of these customary institutions to resolve them, thereby ensuring the continued realization of social stability and communal well-being in alignment with Islamic values.

The resolution of land dispute cases requires serious and focused attention. Generally, dispute resolution methods are categorized into formal channels—such as litigation and alternative mechanisms like mediation or other non-litigation approaches. Land conflicts are often exacerbated by the complexity and multiplicity of agrarian regulations in Indonesia.¹⁸ Regulatory overlap is a significant factor contributing to the prevalence of agrarian disputes. Agrarian law encompasses a broad spectrum of legal provisions, including those found in constitutional law, administrative law, civil law, and specific agrarian legislation. Collectively, these regulations govern the relationship between individuals or legal entities and land, water, and natural resources throughout the country.¹⁹

Land holds a central position in human life and, consequently, exerts a significant impact on national and state affairs. Therefore, to achieve the objectives of the nation and the state, comprehensive planning is essential concerning the allocation, utilization, management, and supply of land, water, and the natural resources they contain, serving the diverse interests of both the people and the state. Through such planning, land use can be conducted in a systematic and regulated manner, thereby maximizing benefits for the nation and its citizens.²⁰

¹⁶Hakim Nyak Pha, *Peradilan Perdamaian Dalam Konteks Kekinian*, Artikel, *Majalah Jemala*, Nomor XVI (2005), p. 17.

¹⁷Konsideran Menimbang huruf a Qanun Aceh No.10 Tahun 2008 tentang Lembaga Adat.

¹⁸Setiyo Utomo, “Problematisasi Tumpang Tindih Status Kepemilikan Tanah,” *Jurnal Hukum Bisnis Bonum Commune* (2023). Muhammad Guntur, “Analisis Kebijakan Kepemilikan Hak Atas Tanah Tumpang Tindih Dalam Perspektif Peraturan Pemerintah No. 24 Tahun 1997,” *Indragiri Law Review* 2, No. 3 (2024), p. 32-38

¹⁹Sugina Hidayanti, et al., *The Land Legal System in Indonesia and Land Rights According to the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA)*, *Legal Brief*, 11, No. 1 (2021), p. 366-379.

²⁰H. M. Arba, *Hukum Agraria Indonesia*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, (2015), p. 22.

The critical importance of land is not always matched by effective efforts to address the diverse problems emerging within the land sector. Empirical evidence demonstrates that instability in this sector produces adverse effects across social, political, and economic spheres.²¹ In practice, many lands remain unused or are cultivated in ways that do not align with their inherent capacities, resulting in land use that contradicts the principles of sustainable land management and the social functions of land rights. Legal principles serve as foundational guidelines that offer direction, establish objectives, and provide fundamental assessments, encompassing ethical values and normative demands.²²

The purpose of land use must be oriented towards achieving the greatest possible prosperity for the population. One key effort to realize this goal is to provide legal certainty for land rights held by community members and to regulate the management of land in response to evolving societal needs, such as through the systematic registration of land rights. This regulatory control aims to prevent conflicts arising from competing land interests. As Douglas J. Willem describes, land registration is a continuous and consistent process that documents individual land rights, thereby providing reliable information and data on registered land parcels.²³

Mediation is widely recognized as an effective method for resolving disputes and achieving peace. It is a straightforward and practical approach that involves seeking mutual agreement to resolve conflicts, facilitated by one or more neutral mediators who act solely as facilitators.²⁴ Mediation has the potential to produce outcomes that are acceptable to all parties involved in the conflict. It emerged as a corrective response to the limitations of formal institutions in dispute resolution. According to Mudjiono, formal justice systems often result in injustice, legal uncertainty, land grabbing, and hinder economic growth and development, as investors may become reluctant to invest in Indonesia. Furthermore, these shortcomings contribute to the emergence of social and political conflicts.²⁵

Settlement through mediation is closely linked to the customary law, which represents the original legal system of the Indonesian nation and continues to be recognized as such today. Unlike Western legal systems that rely on codification, customary law is characterized by its traditional yet dynamic, elastic, and flexible nature. Its traditional aspect reflects the continuity of the nation's cultural heritage, while its dynamic and flexible qualities allow it to evolve in response to changing

²¹Vellayati Hajad, et.al., "Land Politics and Food Security: A New Perspective on Land Degradation in Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, No. 2 (2025). Samun Imasya, *Pengantar Hukum Agraria*, Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2011, p. 22.

²²Agus Yudha Hernoko, *Hukum Perjanjian Asas Proporsionalitas dalam Kontrak Komersial*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2010.

²³Samun Imasya, *Pengantar Hukum Agraria*, p. 112.

²⁴Syahrizal Abbas, *Mediasi dalam Hukum Syariah, Hukum Adat, dan Hukum Nasional*, Jakarta: Kencana, (2009), p. 4.

²⁵Mudjiono, "Alternatif Penyelesaian Sengketa Pertanahan, p. 79.

societal needs.²⁶ Several regions across Indonesia continue to employ customary law to resolve disputes within their communities. One notable example is Aceh, where dispute resolution is often conducted through customary institutions. The legal foundation for resolving disputes through these customary institutions includes:

1. Article 18B of the Amendment to the 1945 Constitution states that the state “recognizes and respects customary law community units along with their traditional rights.” This constitutional provision creates an opportunity for regions to revitalize customary law communities and their traditional rights. In Aceh, for example, this recognition supports the continued existence and authority of customary institutions such as the Aceh Customary Council, *Imum Mukim*, *Tuha Peut*, and *Sarak Opat*.
2. In 1999, Aceh was officially designated as a special region under Law No. 44 of 1999 concerning the Implementation of the Special Status of the Special Region of Aceh Province. This legislation provides the legal foundation for the exercise of Aceh’s special status, particularly in the domains of religion, customary law, and the role of the ulama (Islamic scholars).
3. As part of the implementation of customary law, the Aceh government has enacted several Qanuns and other regulations, including but not limited to:
 - a. The Qanun of the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam No. 4 of 2003 concerning the Government of *Mukim* outlines the role of the *Mukim* Customary Council. According to Article 12, Paragraph (2), the *Mukim* Customary Council functions as an institution responsible for preserving and developing customary law, organizing customary peace, resolving disputes and violations of customary norms, issuing customary decisions, and providing legal authority for certain matters and other forms of evidence in accordance with customary practices.
 - b. The Qanun of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province No. 9 of 2008 concerning the Development of Customary Life and Customs stipulates in Article 6, Paragraph (1) that the Wali Nanggroe is responsible for maintaining, developing, protecting, and preserving the customary life, customs, and culture of the community. Furthermore, Article 13, Paragraphs (2) and (3) specify that the resolution of customary disputes is conducted in stages, where law enforcement officers are required to provide an opportunity for disputes to be initially resolved according to customary law at the village level.
 - c. The Qanun of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province No. 10 of 2008 concerning Customary Institutions states in Article 2, Paragraph (1) that customary institutions serve as a means for community participation in

²⁶Dian Aries Mujiburohman, et.al., “The Patterns of Ownership and the Registration of Customary Land in Manggarai Regency, Indonesia,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 12, No. 1 (2024). M. Khoidin, et.al., *Eksistensi Pengadilan Adat Dalam Sistem Peradilan di Indonesia*, Surabaya: Laksbang Justitia, 2014, p. 91.

governance, development, community empowerment, and the resolution of social issues. Furthermore, Article 4 outlines specific functions of these customary institutions, including, among others, the reconciliation of disputes arising within the community.

- d. Aceh Governor Regulation No. 25 of 2011 concerning General Guidelines for the Implementation of Village Government defines a Customary Institution in Article 1, Number 18, as a customary community organization established by a specific customary law community, which possesses its own assets and holds the authority to regulate, manage, and resolve matters pertaining to Acehnese customs. In addition, one of the key responsibilities of the village government is to resolve disputes within the community based on customary law.
- e. The Joint Decree of the Governor of Aceh, the Aceh Police Chief, and the Chairman of the Aceh Customary Council (No. 198/677/2011, No. 1054/MAA/XII/2011, No. B/121/I/2012) concerning the Implementation of Village and *Mukim* Customary Courts or other equivalent institutions in Aceh stipulates the following:
 - 1) Minor disputes occurring at the village and *mukim* levels, as regulated in Articles 13, 14, and 15.
 - 2) Qanun No. 9 of 2008, must be resolved through the Village and *Mukim* Customary Courts.
 - 3) The police are mandated to provide opportunities for such disputes to be initially resolved via these customary courts.
 - 4) All parties are required to respect the authority and decisions of the Village and *Mukim* Customary Courts.
 - 5) Decisions made by these customary courts are based on local customary law norms and practices.
 - 6) Court hearings are public and include the parties involved and witnesses, except in cases where customary or propriety considerations require confidentiality.
 - 7) Decisions rendered by the Village and *Mukim* Customary Courts are final, binding, and not subject to appeal in general or other courts.
 - 8) Each case decision must be documented in writing, signed by the court panel and disputing parties, with copies submitted to the Police Chief, Sub-district Head, and Sub-district MAA.
 - 9) the implementation of the Village and *Mukim* Customary Courts in decision-making is prohibited from imposing corporal punishments, such as imprisonment, bathing individuals with dirty water, shaving their heads, cutting their clothing, or other forms of punishment that are contrary to Islamic principles.
 - 10) Cases unresolved at the village level may be escalated to the *mukim* level.
 - 11) The Aceh Government and Regency/City Governments are responsible for fostering and supervising the customary courts' operation.

- 12) The Regional Police Chief and MAA Chairperson, alongside their staff, must provide guidance, coaching, and supervision of customary law and court administration according to local customary principles.
- 13) The Aceh Government and Regency/City Governments may assist with funding the administration of these courts.
- 14) The procedures and council operations of the Village and *Mukim* Customary Courts are governed by Aceh Provincial Qanun No. 9 of 2008 and Aceh Governor Regulation No. 25 of 2011 concerning the implementation of village government.

The aforementioned regulations constitute the legal foundation for the implementation of Aceh's special status, particularly concerning the resolution of disputes through customary institutions. These regulations reflect recognition by both the central and Aceh governments of the role of customary institutions as legitimate bodies for dispute resolution. Consequently, this legal framework formally acknowledges the traditional rights of indigenous peoples as distinct legal entities. In essence, it demonstrates respect for cultural identity, the plurality of national culture, and the rights of traditional communities as an integral aspect of human rights, aligning with contemporary developments in society and civilization. From a sociological perspective, customary justice—as an expression of the traditional rights of indigenous legal communities—continues to thrive and hold significance within Acehnese society.²⁷

In Aceh, customary institutions play a central role in dispute resolution within the framework of customary law. These institutions are customary community organizations established by specific customary law communities, each possessing defined territorial boundaries, their own assets, and the authority to regulate, manage, and resolve matters related to Acehnese customs.²⁸

According to Article 98, paragraph (3) of the Aceh Government Law, customary institutions include: (1) the Aceh Customary Council, (2) *Imum Mukim*, (3) *Imum Chik*, (4) *Tuha Lapan*, (5) *Keuchik*, (6) *Imum Meunasah*, (7) *Tuha Peut*, (8) *Kejrueu Blang*, (9) *Panglima Laot*, (10) *Pawang Glee*, (11) *Peutua Seuneubok*, (12) *Harian Peukan*, and (13) *Syahbandar*. The development of customary life and customs is aligned with the unique characteristics and special status of Aceh, grounded in *Sharia* values, and overseen by the Wali Nanggroe. For effective dispute resolution, it is imperative that these customary institutions are empowered and integrated with the National Land Agency. Such collaboration is expected to yield resolutions that are genuinely accepted by all parties involved.

²⁷Juwita Tarochi Boboy, et. al., "Penyelesaian Sengketa Pertanahan Melalui Mediasi Berdasarkan Teori Dean G. Pruitt Dan Jeffrey Z. Rubin, *Notarius* 13, No. 2 (2020), p. 803-818.

²⁸Qanun Aceh Nomor 10 Tahun 2008 Tentang Lembaga Adat (Pasal 1 angka 9).

Land Dispute Settlement by the Land Office

One of the legal instruments for resolving²⁹ land disputes is the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) No. 21 of 2020. Article 1 of this regulation defines “land cases” as disputes, conflicts, or legal matters related to land that are submitted to the Ministry of ATR/BPN, the Regional BPN Office, or the Land Office within their respective authorities for resolution in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. Land disputes encompass a variety of issues, including land status, ownership rights, and objections concerning evidence of acquisition, which serve as the basis for granting rights or land registration.

Article 6 of the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of BPN No. 21 of 2020 outlines the stages for handling disputes and conflicts as follows: (a) Case Assessment; (b) Initial Examination; (c) Research; (d) Presentation of Research Results; (e) Coordination Meeting; (f) Final Examination; and (g) Case Resolution. The process requires the establishment of a dedicated case handling team. It begins with an assessment and initial examination aimed at formulating a treatment plan. Subsequently, research is conducted to produce a report detailing the problem typology, root causes, principal issues, case history, description of field conditions, legal status of the parties based on legal and regulatory analysis, encountered obstacles, and proposed follow-up measures. The research findings are then presented to evaluate and address issues encountered during case handling. Following this, a coordination meeting is convened to gather input from experts and relevant agencies or institutions involved in the resolution process. The final examination stage serves to evaluate the overall handling of the case.

Furthermore, Article 13 of the same regulation provides that if additional data, information, or coordination with related agencies is required to reach a decision, or if mediation is deemed necessary for case settlement, the following steps may be undertaken: (a) Re-assessment; (b) Re-examination with an expanded research plan and objectives; (c) Testing, research, or examination by the designated Examination Team to obtain recommendations for case resolution; (d) Coordination meetings including relevant agencies or institutions; or (e) Mediation.

Recently, land-related problems have become increasingly complex, arising not only from economic factors but also from social, cultural, and religious dimensions. Despite this complexity, land issues cannot be left unresolved; rather, they require serious and comprehensive management and resolution by the Land Office. The recognition of individual land rights is imperative, as land ownership is an integral component of fundamental human rights.³⁰

²⁹Ikhwan Matondang, ‘Resolving Human Rights Violation Cases in Aceh, Indonesia’, *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, 24. No. 1 (2024), pp. 61–70.

³⁰Mila Hayati, et.al., “The Role of the Regional Office of the National Land Agency Aceh Province in Settlement Land Disputes,” *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, 8. No. 6 (2021).

To address land issues, the Ministerial Regulation of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) No. 21 of 2020 was enacted. According to Article 1, Number 1 of this regulation, land cases are defined as disputes, conflicts, or cases submitted to the Ministry of ATR/BPN, the Regional Offices, or the Land Offices within their respective authorities, for handling and resolution in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. Land disputes encompass various types, including those concerning land status, ownership, and objections to acquisition evidence that form the basis for rights grants or registration in the land book.

In exercising its authority, the Land Office has established services to manage land disputes, aligning with one of the Ministry's core missions: enhancing public services and providing accessible solutions to the community.³¹ Integral to this process are control and supervision mechanisms, necessitating the provision of an effective complaint service at the land case complaint counter. This service enables stakeholders to report issues or obstacles encountered. Such mechanisms are essential for realizing the organizational objectives of the Ministry of ATR/BPN effectively within society. Consequently, complaint services must be of high quality and well-equipped to ensure public satisfaction, legal certainty, and comfort.

The Land Office also occasionally resolves land disputes through mediation, which typically involves two stages: (1) pre-mediation and (2) mediation. However, several obstacles often arise during the resolution of land rights disputes at the Land Office. These challenges include: (1) the absence of disputing parties who fail to attend mediation sessions despite invitations; (2) a lack of good faith or willingness to compromise from one or both parties; (3) disparities in ability and education levels between the parties, which can hinder effective communication; (4) procedural rules perceived as slowing down the dispute resolution process; and (5) complainants often being unaware of the necessary requirements and procedures for dispute resolution.³²

However, it is acknowledged that resolving land disputes through mediation at the Land Office is often less effective. Several factors influence this, including a lack of understanding of legal substance, the legal structure, legal culture, as well as inadequate facilities and infrastructure. Consequently, the mediation process and negotiations often fail, resulting in unresolved disputes. One significant cause of this failure is the limited ability and experience of mediators in handling disputes. Effective mediation requires mediators to possess strong skills, deep understanding, and experience not only of legal principles but also of the sociological and anthropological values embedded in local customs and culture, which are essential for achieving meaningful dispute resolution.

³¹<https://jdih.atrbpn.go.id/profil/visi-misi>, Accessed on 12 November 2024.

³²Bandaharo Saifuddin and Marwan Busyro, "Proses Penyelesaian Sengketa Hak Atas Tanah Melalui Mediasi Di Kantor Pertanahan Kota Padangsidimpuan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Muqoddimah* 7, No. 1 (2023), p. 115

Implementation of Land Dispute Resolution by the Land Office and Customary Institutions

Based on field data collected in North Aceh Regency, East Aceh Regency, West Aceh Regency, Southwest Aceh Regency, Bener Meriah Regency, and Central Aceh Regency, it is evident that between 2021 and 2023, several land disputes or cases were resolved by the respective Land Offices, as outlined below:

Table 1: Data on Land Dispute between 2021 and 2023

No.	Kab /Kota	2021	2022	2023	Selesai	Dalam Proses	Cabut	Jlh.
1	Aceh Utara	1	1	2	4	-	-	4
2	Aceh Timur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Bener Meriah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Aceh Tengah	3	13	6	8	4	10	22
5	Aceh Barat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	Aceh Barat Daya	1	3	4	8	-	-	8
Total		5	17	12	20	4	10	34

Source: Field Data, 2024.

Specifically, during this period, there were 34 land dispute cases reported or filed by the public, mostly through the complaint counter. In addition, in Southwest Aceh Regency, there were two cases reported via electronic mail to the Southwest Aceh Land Office one in 2022 and one in 2023. When cases are reported officially with clear descriptions, complete identities, and supporting documents as evidence, the Land Office proceeds with processing these disputes.³³

The data also indicates that in Bener Meriah Regency, the absence of reported land dispute cases does not imply that such disputes do not exist. This is largely due to the fact that the Bener Meriah Regency Land Office was only established at the end of 2022, following the Regulation of the Minister of ATR/BPN No. 20 of 2022 concerning the Establishment of the Bener Meriah Regency and Subulussalam City Land Offices in Aceh Province, which was stipulated on November 28, 2022, and came into effect on December 2, 2022. Consequently, not all residents of Bener Meriah Regency are yet aware of the Land Office's existence. The data further reveals that public complaints remain minimal, partly because of insufficient socialization efforts.

³³Interview with Ruslan, Head of Land Office, West Aceh District, 01 August 2024.

Land disputes handled by the Land Office generally involve land parcels that have already been registered or have certificates, as the public is aware that land certificates are issued by the Land Office.³⁴ Therefore, disputes related to land title certificates are initially reported or objected to the Land Office. Conversely, disputes concerning uncertified land often remain unreported to the Land Office and are usually resolved informally within the community through customary law or pursued through the courts. In these cases, the Land Office remains unaware of the disputes because the land is neither certified nor registered, and there is no formal mechanism requiring disputes resolved at the village level or through the courts to be reported to the Land Office. The Land Office typically only becomes aware of such disputes when it is named as a defendant or co-defendant in court cases.³⁵

Thus, it can be understood that the settlement of land disputes handled by the Land Office primarily concerns land that already holds a certificate. The Land Office, in resolving land disputes within its jurisdiction, has generally not involved customary institutions such as the Aceh Customary Council (Majelis Adat Aceh, MAA). MAA is a key customary institution in Aceh that serves as a vehicle for community participation in government implementation, development, community empowerment, and the resolution of social problems.³⁶

Customary institutions, including MAA, have the authority to resolve disputes or conflicts within society, including those related to land. Specifically, MAA plays a crucial role in enhancing the capacity of *Gampong* Customary Courts (or their equivalents) and *Mukim* Customary Courts, which are integral components of the Indonesian legal system.³⁷

The non-involvement of the Aceh Customary Council (MAA) in land dispute resolution by the Land Office stems from the fact that the Regulation of the Minister of ATR/BPN No. 21 of 2020 does not mandate or provide mechanisms to involve MAA in the dispute resolution process. According to this regulation, only village heads, sub-district heads, or relevant agencies may be involved, and even then, their role is limited to providing information related to the land dispute being handled. This aligns with statements from the Head of the East Aceh Regency Land Office, who explained that village officials such as the Village Head (*Keuchik*), Village Secretary, and Head of Environment (Hamlet Head) are involved in resolving land disputes, as they possess more detailed knowledge about the history and issues surrounding land in their respective villages. Regarding the absence of MAA's involvement, Amiruddin confirmed that disputes within villages are generally resolved internally by the community itself. The non-involvement of the Aceh Customary Council (MAA) in land dispute resolution by the Land Office stems from the fact that the Regulation of the Minister of ATR/BPN No. 21 of 2020 does not

³⁴Interview with Bakhtiar, Dispute Control and Handling Section at the North Aceh District Land Office, July 17, 2024.

³⁵Interview with Zulkhair, Head of the East Aceh District Land Office, July 19, 2024.

³⁶Qanun Aceh No. 10 Tahun 2008 tentang Tentang Lembaga Adat.

³⁷Qanun Aceh No. 8 Tahun 2019 tentang Majelis Adat Aceh.

mandate or provide mechanisms to involve MAA in the dispute resolution process. According to this regulation, only village heads, sub-district heads, or relevant agencies may be involved, and even then, their role is limited to providing information related to the land dispute being handled. This aligns with statements from the Head of the East Aceh Regency Land Office, who explained that village officials such as the Village Head (*Keuchik*), Village Secretary, and Head of Environment (Hamlet Head) are involved in resolving land disputes, as they possess more detailed knowledge about the history and issues surrounding land in their respective villages. Regarding the absence of MAA's involvement, Amiruddin confirmed that disputes within villages are generally resolved internally by the community itself.³⁸

Regarding the non-involvement of the Aceh Customary Institution (MAA) in the resolution of land disputes by the Land Office, Amiruddin confirmed that such disputes in the *Gampong* (village) are typically resolved by the local community itself.³⁹ These settlements are generally carried out through a customary approach, in which Acehnese customary law an integration of Islamic law and traditional customs plays a central role. This customary practice remains deeply embedded in the daily lives of the Acehnese people, including in the resolution of disputes.⁴⁰

Settlement by the community is generally carried out through a customary approach, where Aceh Customary Law represents a blend of Islamic Law and local customary law. This legal tradition remains deeply rooted in the daily lives of the Acehnese people, especially in resolving cases or disputes according to customary practices.

Furthermore, according to Taqwaddin, a *Gampong*—as a customary law community has specific characteristics or criteria that enable it to administer a form of justice. These characteristics include: 1) Operating its own system of governance; 2) Controlling and managing natural resources within its territory; 3) Acting both internally and externally internally by regulating and managing its residents and environment, and externally by representing the community as a legal entity; 4) Holding the right to participate in every transaction related to its environment; 5) Possessing the right to establish customs; and 6) Having the right to organize and administer a system of justice.⁴¹

Dispute resolution at the *Gampong* level is carried out by the *Keuchik* with the involvement of *Gampong* officials. According to Article 28 of Aceh Qanun No. 5 of 2003 concerning Village Government, the Village Apparatus consists of: 1) Staff elements, namely the Village Secretariat, led by a Village Secretary (or

³⁸Interview with Zulkhaidir, Head of the East Aceh District Land Office, July 19, 2024.

³⁹Interview with Amiruddin, Head of Traditions and Customs Division of the Aceh Traditional Council, North Aceh Regency, July 17, 2014.

⁴⁰Muhammad Syarif and Musfira, "Menynergikan Peradilan Adat Dalam Penguatan Syariat Islam Di Aceh, *Kalam (Jurnal Agama dan Sosial Humaniora)* 11, No. 1 (2023), p. 103-122.

⁴¹Taqwaddin, *Aspek Hukum Kehutanan dan Masyarakat Hukum Adat di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Intan Cendikia, 2011.

equivalent), who is assisted by several staff members according to the needs and capabilities of the village. 2) Implementing elements, which are functional technical officers who perform specific tasks based on the community's needs, capabilities, and socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions. Examples include *Tuha* or traditional figures, *Keujruen Blang* (rice field supervisors), *Peutua Seuneubok* (plantation supervisors), *Pawang Laot* (sea experts), and *Haria Peukan* (market officials). 3) Regional elements, who assist the *Keuchik* within the village area, such as the Hamlet Head/*Jurong* Head or other titles based on local customs.

In addition to the involvement of village officials, dispute resolution typically includes the participation of the Village Secretary, the *Tuha Peut Gampong* (Village Representative Body), as well as the *Imuem Meunasah* and local *Ulama*.⁴² If a dispute or conflict cannot be resolved by the *Keuchik* (Village Head) at the village level, it is escalated to the *Mukim* level and addressed by the *Imuem Mukim* through a customary meeting.⁴³ This practice is in accordance with Article 11 of Aceh Qanun Number 9 of 2008 concerning the Development of Customary Life and Traditions, which states, among other provisions, that customary resolution includes settlements at the village level, the *mukim* level, and at sea.

In addition to village officials, dispute resolution usually involves the Village Secretary and the *Tuha Peut Gampong* as the Village Representative Body, along with the *Imuem Meunasah* and local *Ulama*. Furthermore, if the dispute remains unresolved at these customary institution levels, the parties may seek resolution through other institutions such as the Land Office or the courts. However, it is important to note that the Aceh Customary Council (MAA) has never been involved in these dispute resolution processes, whether at the Land Office.⁴⁴ *Gampong*, *Mukim*, or court levels. H. M. Yunus also confirmed that the MAA is not involved in resolving land disputes in any of these forums.⁴⁵

The stages of land dispute resolution described above are not mandatory or sequential mechanisms that must be followed. The process may begin at the *Gampong* (village) level, proceed to the *Mukim* (sub-district) level, and if unresolved at these levels, alternative avenues such as the Land Office or the courts may be pursued. These stages are not compulsory because parties involved in the dispute may choose not to engage with all levels; some may directly submit complaints to the Land Office, while others may immediately initiate legal proceedings in court. Furthermore, there is no restriction preventing the parties from selecting any resolution mechanism or form of settlement. The Land Office is obliged to accept

⁴²Lailan Sururi, et.al., "Penyelesaian Sengketa Melalui Peradilan Gampong, *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 21, No. 1, (2019), p. 61-76.

⁴³Interview with Tgk. Suherman, Mukim and Community Leader of Southwest Aceh Regency, August 3, 2024.

⁴⁴Interview with Amiruddin, Head of Traditions and Customs Division of the Aceh Traditional Council, North Aceh Regency, July 17, 2014.

⁴⁵Interview with H. M. Yunus, Deputy Head of the Aceh Traditional Council, North Aceh Regency, July 17, 2024.

complaints submitted by the public, except in cases where the disputed land has not been registered or lacks a certificate, in which case the complaint may be rejected.⁴⁶

The resolution process at the Land Office typically begins with a complaint filed by one of the parties, referred to as the Complainant. According to Article 1, number 5 of the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) No. 21 of 2020, a land dispute complaint is defined as an objection submitted by parties who feel aggrieved either by a legal product issued by the Ministry of ATR/BPN, the BPN Regional Office, or the Land Office, or by other parties regarding the control and/or ownership of a parcel of land.

Complaints submitted to the Land Office may be made either verbally or in writing and must be accompanied by complete documentation, including but not limited to the complainant's Identity Card (KTP), information regarding the disputed land, the Land Rights Certificate, the identity of the respondent, and the grounds for the complaint, depending on the specifics of the case.⁴⁷ Complaints are lodged at the Complaint Counter within the Land Office, where they are recorded in the complaint register by the officers and subsequently forwarded to the authorized officials. If the submitted documents are complete, the complaint will be entered into the complaint summary, which serves as the basis for determining whether the complaint qualifies as a case for further assessment.

Based on this complaint summary, the resolution of land disputes proceeds through several stages, as outlined below:

- a. Case Assessment, at this initial stage, the case is evaluated to determine its classification, which may be categorized as serious, moderate, or mild. For cases classified as moderate or mild, it is not necessary to proceed through all subsequent stages.
- b. Initial case briefing, which involves:
 - 1) Identifying the parties involved, including any relevant institutions or agencies that have authority or interest in the case.
 - 2) Formulating a case handling plan.
 - 3) Reviewing pertinent and applicable regulations.
 - 4) Determining the necessary data to be collected, such as physical data, legal data, and field data.
 - 5) Preparing a work plan that includes a timeline and target outcomes.
- c. Conducting research: the purpose of this stage is to collect comprehensive data, including physical data, legal data, legal instruments related to the disputed land, field data, and information from the involved parties.
- d. Exposure of research findings aiming at:
 - 1) Evaluate problems encountered during case handling and propose solutions.

⁴⁶Interview with Zulkhair, Head of the East Aceh District Land Office, July 19, 2024.

⁴⁷Interview with Zulkhair, Head of the East Aceh District Land Office, July 19, 2024.

- 2) Assess the progress made in managing the case.
 - 3) Plan subsequent actions.
 - 4) Determine whether the complaint aligns with the evidence or facts obtained during the research.
 - 5) Identify the relevant laws and regulations applicable to the case.
 - 6) Coordinate with related parties, institutions, or agencies with an interest in the case.
 - 7) Ensure that the resolution process adheres to predetermined targets.
 - 8) Make decisions regarding the case.
 - 9) Develop a handling plan or convene a Coordination Meeting if necessary.
- e. Coordination Meeting. This meeting aims to obtain input from experts, institutions, or agencies that are competent in resolving the case. Conclusions from the meeting may include case resolutions, directives, or recommendations for further data or information collection before reaching a final determination.
 - f. Final briefing, involves the following activities 1) Evaluating all actions taken throughout the case handling process; 2) Ensuring consistency between the evidence and statements from witnesses and/or experts; 3) Completing and perfecting the case file; 4) Determining whether the application of laws and regulations has been appropriate.
 - g. Case Resolution. Once all the preceding stages have been completed and a conclusion regarding the case has been reached, the findings are communicated to the parties involved, thereby resolving the land dispute. However, if the presentation of research results indicates that additional data, information, materials, or further coordination meetings with relevant institutions or agencies are required, efforts to obtain these will continue prior to making a final decision. This may include convening further coordination meetings with the pertinent bodies to ensure all necessary information is available for a comprehensive resolution.

These stages represent the land dispute resolution process conducted by the Land Office in response to public complaints.⁴⁸ In contrast, dispute resolution through customary law, which involves customary institutions and is recognized as a cultural or non-litigation approach commonly referred to as customary justice in Aceh offers several benefits. These include lower costs, faster resolution, greater flexibility, and importantly, the preservation of social harmony and brotherhood. This stands in stark contrast to court-based dispute resolution, which tends to be costly, time-consuming, rigid, and often detrimental to social relationships.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Sudirman Sudirman and others, 'Dysfunction of Muslim's Public Resource: A Study of Waqf Land Disorganization in Indonesia', *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar'iah*, 14. No. 1 (2022), p. 92–110.

⁴⁹Faisal Husen Ismail, et.al., "Customary and Islamic Practices in Inheritance Distribution: Insights from The Gampong Customary Court in Pidie," *al-Risalah* 24, No. 2 (2024). Abidin Nurdin, "Revitalisasi Kearifan Lokal di Aceh: Peran Budaya dalam Menyelesaikan Konflik Masyarakat," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 13, No. 1 (2013).

Customary law dispute resolution is not only acknowledged within Indonesia's formal legal hierarchy but is also supported by Islamic law, specifically the principle of al-'urf (custom). Furthermore, when dispute resolution is facilitated collaboratively by both the Land Office and customary institutions, cases tend to be resolved more effectively, thereby promoting peace and reducing land conflicts within the community

Conclusion

Based on the foregoing discussion, it is evident that land dispute resolution conducted by the Land Office primarily concerns land that has been registered and possesses formal certificates. Unregistered land or land without certificates cannot typically be addressed by the Land Office, as relevant data both physical and legal are either incomplete or absent due to the lack of prior registration. Furthermore, the Land Office has historically not involved traditional leaders or customary institutions, such as the Aceh Customary Council (Majelis Adat Aceh, MAA), which serves as a platform for community participation in governance, development, social welfare, and conflict resolution, as mandated by the Aceh qanun (regional regulation). Instead, the Land Office and customary institutions in Aceh operate independently, each utilizing distinct mechanisms for resolving land disputes. However, an integrated approach involving collaboration between the Land Office and customary institutions could enhance the effectiveness of dispute resolution. Such cooperation would reinforce the legitimacy and community trust in both institutions. From a sociological perspective, customary law has demonstrated considerable efficacy in resolving conflicts within society, including land disputes. In Aceh specifically, customary institutions such as the *keuchik*, *panglima laot*, *mukim*, and *tuha peut* possess both legal authority and social legitimacy to adjudicate and resolve conflicts effectively.

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The Role of Laws

Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Perdata.

Peraturan Menteri Agraria dan Tata Ruang/Kepala Badan Pertanahan Nasional Nomor 21 tahun 2020 tentang Penanganan dan Penyelesaian Kasus Pertanahan.

Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 24 Tahun 1997 tentang Pendaftaran Tanah.

Qanun Aceh Nomor 10 Tahun 2002 tentang Peradilan Syariat Islam.

Qanun Aceh Nomor 10 Tahun 2008 tentang Lembaga Adat.

Qanun Aceh Nomor 4 Tahun 2003 tentang Pemerintahan Mukim dalam Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam.

Qanun Aceh Nomor 9 Tahun 2008 tentang Pembinaan Kehidupan Adat dan Adat Istiadat.

Undang-Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2006 tentang Pemerintahan Aceh.

Undang-Undang Nomor 44 Tahun 1999 tentang tentang Penyelenggaraan Keistimewaan Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh.

Undang-Undang Nomor 48 Tahun 2009 tentang Kekuasaan Kehakiman.

Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-Pokok Agraria.

Interviews

Interview with Amiruddin, Head of Traditions and Customs Division of the Aceh Traditional Council, North Aceh Regency, North Aceh Regency, July 17, 2024.

Interview with Bachtiar, Head of the Dispute Control and Resolution Section, Land Office of North Aceh Regency, July 17, 2024.

Interview with Baidawi, Community Leader of Bener Meriah Regency, October 1, 2024.

Interview with H. M. Yunus, Deputy Head of the Aceh Traditional Council, North Aceh Regency, July 17, 2024.

Interview with Ruslan, Head of Land Office, West Aceh District, August 1, 2024.

Interview with Tgk. M. Yunus, Community Leader of East Aceh, July 18, 2024.

Interview with Tgk. Suherman, Mukim, and Community Leader of Southwest Aceh Regency, August 3, 2024.

Interview with Zulkhaidir, Head of the East Aceh District Land Office, July 19, 2024.