

## The Juridical Study of the Role of BPN in Eradicating the Land Mafia

Rahmat Hidayat Simamora<sup>\*)</sup>

<sup>\*)</sup> Faculty of Law, Universitas Islam Sultan Agung (UNISSULA) Semarang, E-mail: [rahmathidayat3464@gmail.com](mailto:rahmathidayat3464@gmail.com)

**Abstract.** *The land mafia is a serious problem that can harm society and the country. As a serious problem, law which is a state instrument in managing national land affairs mandated to be able to eradicate the land mafia, has not been optimally implemented. This is proven by the increasing number of land mafia cases, including in the Medan City area. This writing uses sociological or empirical legal research. Based on the studies conducted, it is known that the implementation of the BPN's role in efforts to eradicate the land mafia in Medan City is currently not optimal, this is because the BPN acted after there were public complaints regarding land mafia cases in the community. The juridical obstacle is the absence of regulation regarding criminal law enforcement processes in the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D.VII/2018 concerning Prevention and Eradication of Land Mafia. The next obstacle is the obstacle in the aspect of law enforcement which consists of internal and external obstacles. Internal constraints are constraints from the BPN institution. External constraints are obstacles related to the legal culture in society related to eradicating the land mafia.*

**Keywords:** Agrarian; Land; Mafia.

### 1. Introduction

The land mafia is a problem that can be detrimental to society and has various modes of carrying out its crimes. According to Member of the Republic of Indonesia DPR Commission II H. Guspari Gaus, who is a partner of the Ministry of Art / BPN as a guest speaker at the Year-End Reflection National Seminar on Breaking Ecosystems and the Epicenter of the land mafia in the GBHN Building, the MPR / DPR RI Complex on Tuesday, December 14, 2021 explained whereas the modes often used by the land mafia are as follows:<sup>1</sup>Use of falsified land titles; Forgery of Documents; Provision of false information; counterfeiting of

---

<sup>1</sup>Yunawati Karlina and Irwan Sapta Putra, 2022, "Eradication of the Land Mafia Using Criminal Law Instruments in Indonesia" Res Justitia Journal: Journal of Legal Studies, Volume 2 Number 1, p. 123-124.

rights; fictitious sale and purchase; Fraud or embezzlement; Lease; Claiming land ownership; Dominate the land in the style of thugs (illegal land occupation); Perform case engineering.

Furthermore, according to him, the land mafia uses the following methods:<sup>2</sup>

1. As if Become a Buyer. The perpetrators borrowed land certificates, the reason was to check with the National Land Agency (BPN), after that, the land mafia would falsify the certificates, sell land without the knowledge of the owner, involving elements that had been prepared.
2. *Girik* Certificate Ownership Mode. Perpetrators often admit that a *Girik* is on land belonging to someone else, even though the land owner has a certificate of ownership of the *Girik*.
3. Involve Brokers And Notaries. Land sales are carried out by brokers, fraudulent acts by taking advantage of the age condition of the owner of the land certificate, the broker plays with the selling price of the land, the modus operandi of the AJB seller's price is not suitable for the owner, usually involving a notary.
4. Using a fake power of attorney to arrange for a replacement certificate on behalf of the real owner.

Meanwhile, according to TK Main Crime Investigator. II Bareskrim Polri Brigadier General Pol. Agus Suharnoko, as a guest speaker at the national seminar on End of Year Reflection on Disconnecting Ecosystems and the Epicenter of the land mafia at the GBHN Building of the MPR/DPR RI Complex on Tuesday 14 December 2021 said that the mode of action carried out by the land mafia was as follows:<sup>3</sup>

1. Claiming Land Ownership in Court;
2. Use of Land Rights That Are Considered Unowned; Falsification of Documents Against Land Objects:
  - a. *Girik/Petuck*;
  - b. AJB, PPJB;
  - c. Land certificate;

---

<sup>2</sup>Yunawati Karlina and Irwan Sapta Putra, Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Yunawati Karlina and Irwan Sapta Putra, Loc. cit.

- d. Inheritance Deed, Inheritance Certificate;
- e. Signature forgery.

The land mafia mode, according to the Head of FKMTI (Indonesian Land Mafia Victims Forum) Supardi Kendi Budiarmo, as a guest speaker at the Year-End Reflection National Seminar on Breaking the Ecosystem and Episintrum of the land mafia at the GBHN Building, the MPR / DPR RI Complex on Tuesday, December 14 2021 said that the mafia mode the land carried out is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

1. Creating new data by searching for data related to the victim's data or data in other places, it is postulated at the victim's place;
2. Make transactions with new data, namely by making transactions with one of the heirs;
3. Applying for a certificate by way of arguing with Government Regulation No. 24 of 1997 concerning Land Registration by applying for self-interested buyers in good faith;
4. Negotiation with the victim, namely by criminalizing finding fault with the victim through the legal process so that the victim agrees negotiate;
5. Fighting in court, this mode is carried out by the land mafia, putting the victim on a chessboard to fight in court, the result of which is determined by the victim.

Land mafia cases are increasing in Indonesia, this can be seen in several cases that have occurred at the national level. Some examples of the land mafia's involvement in recent popular land cases include:

- a. The involvement of the land mafia in early 2019, with the victim, namely Indra Hosein, the owner of a plot of SHM Number 902 located on Jl. Brawijaya III Number 12, South Jakarta. In carrying out their actions, this plot or land mafia network collaborated with a fake notary named the "Notary/PPAT Idham" office. The notary Idham is known to be played by the suspect Raden Handi (alias Adri).<sup>5</sup>
- b. The involvement of the land mafia with the victim, namely Zurni Hasyim Djalal, the mother of Dino Patti Djalal, Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia during the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. This case

---

<sup>4</sup>Yunawati Karlina and Irwan Saptia Putra, Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup>Cantika Adinda Putri, "Discovered Again, Land Mafia Arrested in Jakarta," <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200212203238-4-137462/Revealed-MafiaTanah-Tertangkap-Di-Jakarta>, February 12, 2020. Retrieved 06 September 2021

began in 2020, which occurred when SHM Number 8516/Cilandak Barat on behalf of Zurni Hasyim Djalal wanted to be sold or rented out by entrusting Yurmismawita with taking care of all his needs.<sup>6</sup>

c. The case of Nirina Zubir. The uncovering of the land mafia case experienced by artist Nirina Zubir which had shocked the wider community because the news was widely published by the news media, both print and online, at a press conference in Jakarta, on Wednesday 17-11-2021, Nirina Zubir explained the chronology of events that caused the loss around IDR 17,000,000,000. (Seventeen billion rupiah) quoted from the online media Kompas.com which summarizes several things that were conveyed by Nirina Zubir's family regarding this problem. In this case, the perpetrator was Nirina Zubir's household assistant (ART), especially her late mother, Cut Indria Marzuki, who was a victim of the land mafia. The crime was committed by his household assistant who had worked for his mother since 2009. The perpetrator was named Riri Khasmita. According to Nirina Zubir, the perpetrator was allegedly the household member. At first, my mother felt that her letter had been lost, then her mother asked a household assistant for help in 2009 to take care of the letter. However, instead of being taken care of, the letter was blamed for being used by changing the ownership name. He conveyed this to Nirina Zubir at a press conference held in the Cipete area, South Jakarta. It is known that the perpetrators secretly exchanged land certificates with their names as many as 6 land certificates. The perpetrator named Riri Khasmita collaborated with her husband and the PPAT Notary to carry out the action. then her mother asked a household assistant for help in 2009 to take care of her papers. However, instead of being taken care of, the letter was blamed for being used by changing the ownership name. He conveyed this to Nirina Zubir at a press conference held in the Cipete area, South Jakarta. It is known that the perpetrators secretly exchanged land certificates with their names as many as 6 land certificates. The perpetrator named Riri Khasmita collaborated with her husband and the PPAT Notary to carry out the action.<sup>7</sup>

Until now there have been several reports of developmental and social problems triggered by the land mafia's actions which have resulted in endless land disputes. There have been at least 180 (one hundred and eighty) cases of land mafia since the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency made a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the National Police which was recorded as having been received from 2021 to 2022 consisting of

---

<sup>6</sup>Zurni Hasyim Djalal has been a victim of the land mafia 5 times starting in 2019, see Muhammad Isa Bustomi, "Dino Patti Djalal Called His Mother Has Been a Victim of the Land Mafia 5 Times," <https://Megapolitan.Kompas.Com/Read/2021/02/10/14064991/Dino-Patti-Djalal-Called-His-MotherAlready-5-Times-Become-Victim-Mafia-Land?Page=all>, February 10, 2021. Retrieved 06 September 2021.

<sup>7</sup>Yunawati Karlina and Irwan Sapta Putra, Op. cit.

land disputes and conflicts land, both those that have gone to court, already P21, or those who have been named suspects.<sup>8</sup>

According to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency Himawan Arief Sugoto, what needs to be understood is that the existence of the land mafia case in the land sector occurred because of a gap created by the land mafia space from the politics of national land law in Indonesia which regulates the land registration system where the national land registration legal system adheres to negative publications that contain positive elements. This land registration system produces legal and official products, with proof of rights in the form of certificates of land rights, which are strong but not absolute, so that they have loopholes that can be sued at a later date.<sup>9</sup>

### **3. Research Methods**

The type of research used in this research is sociological or empirical legal research which includes legal identification and legal effectiveness, empirical legal research is legal research in which data is obtained through primary legal data or data obtained directly in the community.<sup>10</sup>

### **3. Result and Discussion**

#### **3.1. The Juridical Analysis of the Implementation of Land Mafia Eradication in Medan City**

The land mafi problem is not only a national problem. This is because the land mafia problem is also growing massively in various regions of Indonesia, including in the city of Medan. One of the land mafia cases that occurred in Medan City was the case of Sujono's fraud against Achmad Kusnan. The case began when Sujono promised Achmad Kusnan to give him a piece of land because he had succeeded in helping him raise capital for Sujono's plantation business in Riau. After the land was handed over by Sujono to Achmad Kusnan, it was discovered later that the land did not belong to Sujono but belonged to the state. This made Achmad Kusnan feel cheated, because his achievements were not rewarded according to Sujono's promise, namely with a piece of land.

---

<sup>8</sup>Police Public Relations Division, "Data from the Ministry of ATR/BPN: 180 Land Mafia Cases Received," <https://Humas.Polri.Go.Id/2021/03/04/Data-Kementerian-Atr-Bpn-Jadi180-Kasus-Mafia-Tanah-Yang-Dimerah/>, March 4, 2021. Accessed September 5, 2021.

<sup>9</sup>CNBC, "Watch the efforts of the Ministry of ATR/BPN to eradicate the land mafia," <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20191127152107-8-118420/simak-upaya-kementerian-atr-bpn-berantas-mafia-tanah>, November 28, 2019. Retrieved 06 September 2021.

<sup>10</sup>Mukti Fajar and Yulianto Achmad, 2010, *Dualism of Legal Research: Normative and Empirical*, Student Library, Yogyakarta, p. 153-154.

Sujono's case is also related to the falsification of land ownership documents that he gave to Achmad Kusnan, where it can be seen that the land ownership documents that he wanted to give to Achmad Kusnan were incorrect or fake. The Sujono case also involved the Prosecutor where it was discovered that Sujono's case had been pre-trial and the results of the Pre-trial stated that Sujono had proven to meet the criteria as a perpetrator of land mafia crimes. The Prosecutor's document on the prosecution of Sujono was never prepared on the grounds that Sujono's file did not have sufficient evidence. As a result of this, Achmad Kusnan reported that Jaka was a file researcher in the Sujono case.<sup>11</sup>

This is clearly contrary to the purpose of law according to Islam. The purpose of law according to Islam is basically regulated in principles *maqsid al-Shariah*, on the principle of *maqsid al-Syariah* it is explained that the law must be able to protect five things, while the five things are:<sup>12</sup>

1. Religion;
2. Intellect;
3. Soul;
4. Property;
5. Descendants.

The problem of the land mafia in the juridical dimension also still has problems. The Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D.VII/2018 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of the Land Mafia regulates the mechanism for eradicating the land mafia. In the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D.VII/2018 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of the Land Mafia there is no penal mechanism. This has the opportunity for land mafia perpetrators to be able to escape freely because in the process of research, legal studies up to the delegation of legal proceedings for suspected land mafia perpetrators there is no mechanism for detention, even though a land case takes a long time.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>Personal interview with Johan as Movement Coordinator People for Justice and the Rule of Law (Raksahum), on 12 May 2022.

<sup>12</sup>Sri Endah Wahyuningsih, Principles of Criminal Individualization in Islamic Law and Indonesian Law Renewal, UNDIP, Semarang, 2013, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup>Personal interview with Yuliandi Djalil as Head of the Medan City Land Agency, on January 11, 2023.

This makes the performance of the Anti Land Mafia Task Force unable to work quickly and precisely. The rampant mode of land mafia crime has encouraged the formation of land mafia task forces starting from the central level to the regional level and in collaboration with the relevant Ministries of Art/BPN. The basis for establishing a land mafia task force is as follows:<sup>14</sup>

1. Memorandum of Understanding Between the Ministry of ATR/BPN and the National Police dated March 17, 2017 No. 3/SKB/III/2017 and B/26/III/2017 concerning Kerma in the Agrarian/Land and Spatial Planning Sector;
2. Working Guidelines Between the Ministry of ATR and the National Police dated 12 June 2017 No. 26/SKB - 900/VI/2017 and 49/VI/2017 Concerning Cooperation in the Agrarian/Land and Spatial Planning Sector;
3. Joint Decree of Kabareskrim and Director General for Handling Agrarian Problems on Space and Land Utilization No.: B/01/V/2018/Bareskrim - 34/SKB - 800/V/2018 dated 8 May 2018 concerning Task Force for Prevention and Eradication of Land Mafia.

According to Deputy Chairman of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly, Ahmad Basarah, in his remarks at the national seminar on Year-End Relection on Disconnecting the Ecosystem and Epicenter of the land mafia at the GBHN Building in the MPR/DPR RI Complex on Tuesday, December 14 2021, said that the land mafia's actions fall into the category of crime. In the Criminal Code, several criminal offenses become a reference for criminal offenses in land crimes, some of which are:<sup>15</sup>

1. Article 167, "entering the house, yard unlawfully."
2. Article 263, "makes a fake letter that can give rise to a right."
3. Article 266, "entering false statements in an authentic deed."
4. Article 385, "unlawfully selling, exchanging or encumbering a land right."

Based on the existing explanations, it is clear that positive law actually regulates criminal acts related to land crimes. It's just that these articles cannot be imposed easily because in reality, the land mafia conspires with elements in the central and regional government, Notary/PPAT persons to law enforcement officers, to elements in court. Basarah further quoted the opinion of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Mahfud MD, who

---

<sup>14</sup>Yunawati Karlina and Irwan Saptu Putra, Op. cit.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

stated that the land mafia had damaged the legal system. Not only at the investigative level, but also at the end of the justice system, namely the courts. So often the conflict between the land mafia and the people is a fight between the strong and the weak. Especially if we look at the many agrarian conflicts in forest and plantation areas, Oftentimes, the common people/indigenous people have to deal with large corporations with unlimited capital power. Meanwhile, according to the Chairman of the National Council of the Consortium for Agrarian Reform, Iwan Nurdin, said. wherever mafia alliances grow, it is because of secrecy, low public scrutiny, and lack of law enforcement. Land is an important tool in development and for human life, both from the economic, socio-cultural and legal aspects. The more development increases, the need for land increases, while the supply of land is very limited. The importance of land often results in conflicts in the community with marked land conflicts, namely land disputes between individuals, groups, classes, organizations, legal entities, or institutions that have had a broad impact sociopolitically. Various problems and issues of Indonesian land conflict are caused by many parties who often commit land abuses with the popular term 'land mafia'. "The rise of the land mafia shows that land is a high and promising economic investment community that attracts certain interests to own and control it in various ways resulting in law violations, disputes and conflicts in the land sector." As mentioned above, we all know that in handling the eradication of the land mafia, a task force has been formed, known as the Land Mafia Task Force, which consists of the Police, The Attorney General's Office and the BPN start from the City/City and Provincial level up to the Central level. So with the formation of the land mafia task force, we hope that land mafia crimes can be eliminated.<sup>16</sup>

In fact, the enthusiasm for the establishment of the Land Mafia Task Force has not been clearly seen, this is because the Land Mafia Task Force still seems to be waiting for complaints, does not actively prevent and eradicate land mafia in society which is increasing.<sup>17</sup>

Optimizing the eradication of the land mafia requires land law experts to solve each land mafia case, this clearly shows the important position of the Notary/PPAT in efforts to eradicate the land mafia. The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) is collaborating with the Land Deed Making Officer or Notary/PPAT in an effort to eradicate the land mafia. The Director General of Land Dispute and Conflict Handling at the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs/BPN Agus Widjayanto asked the Notary/PPAT as his institutional partner to participate in efforts to prevent land mafia practices. The importance of Notaries/PPATs as parties needed in eradicating the land mafia was stated by the Director General of Land Dispute and Conflict Handling of the

---

<sup>16</sup>Yunawati Karlina and Irwan Sapta Putra, Op. cit.

<sup>17</sup>Personal interview with Hendri as a Notary/PPAT in Medan City, on January 11, 2023.



Ministry of ATR/BPN Agus Widjayanto who stated that "We cannot do it alone, we need all lines to jointly carry out prevention and supervision including Notaries/PPAT".

The role and responsibility of BPN so far in eradicating the land mafia where BPN is assisted by a Notary/PPAT and has become one unit with the Land Mafia Task Force has not been optimal. This is because BPN only acts when there are community advocates. BPN should be able to collect early data regarding the presence of land mafia in the community. So that the role of BPN has not been maximized in terms of eradicating the land mafia in Medan City. This is clearly contrary to the concept of legal certainty LJ Van Apeldoorn who stated that one form of legal certainty is the existence of a legal guarantee that is able to protect people's rights. The lack of pro-activity of the Medan City BPN in efforts to eradicate the land mafia has resulted in many people who are victims of the land mafia having their rights violated, this is clearly far from LJ Van Apeldoorn's concept of legal certainty.

### **3.2. The Effectiveness of the Implementation of Land Mafia Eradication in the City of Medan**

The implementation of eradicating the land mafia in Medan City has not been effective, this is due to several obstacles. Juridical constraints or in Friedman's theory can be said to be substantial obstacles in the form of the absence of regulations regarding criminal law enforcement processes in the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D.VII/2018 concerning Prevention and Eradication of Land Mafia. So that the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D.VII/2018 concerning Prevention and Eradication of Land Mafia only regulate the implementation of handling land mafia cases with an administrative approach, meaning that the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D. VII/2018 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of the Land Mafia only contains administration carried out by the National Land Agency and related parties regarding data collection and legal studies related to complaints of land mafia cases, while law enforcement efforts are left to law enforcers, both the Police, Prosecutors and Courts. This is clear, given the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D.VII/2018 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of Land Mafia stipulates that the mechanism for eradicating land mafia is not just prevention. So that it should also include the existing law enforcement mechanisms. The absence of penal or civil law enforcement mechanisms in the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D. VII/2018 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of the Land Mafia, inter-agency coordination in

criminal and civil law processes experiences summation, including coordination between the Police and the BPN in the investigative process in which the BPN often ignores Police requests to provide data and information related to warkah issuance of land certificates in land mafia case. The next obstacle is the obstacle in the aspect of law enforcement or in Friedman's theory it can be said as a structural obstacle consisting of internal and external constraints. Internal constraints are: including coordination between the Police and BPN in the investigative process in which the BPN often ignores Police requests to provide data and information related to the issuance of land certificates in land mafia cases. The next obstacle is the obstacle in the aspect of law enforcement or in Friedman's theory it can be said as a structural obstacle consisting of internal and external constraints. Internal constraints are: including coordination between the Police and BPN in the investigative process in which the BPN often ignores Police requests to provide data and information related to the issuance of land certificates in land mafia cases. The next obstacle is the obstacle in the aspect of law enforcement or in Friedman's theory it can be said as a structural obstacle consisting of internal and external constraints. Internal constraints are:<sup>18</sup>

a. The National Land Agency made efforts to eradicate the land mafia following public complaints regarding the alleged land mafia case, while most people who have contact with the land mafia mostly filed criminal complaints against the police. The next obstacle is the collection of data on land ownership rights by the BPN, mainly related to certificates that have been valid for a long time, are not stored neatly, and most of them are lost.

b. Obstacles at the legal process stage:

1) Constraints at the investigation stage:

a) Often the BPN has not submitted information and data related to certificates for the issuance of certificates for land parcels that are the object of land mafia crimes;

b) Accessing data related to land area and land boundaries to the Land Office is very difficult and you are even charged a fee according to land area;

c) BPN has not been able to provide clear data prior to the fingerprinting process.

2) Constraints at the investigation stage:

---

<sup>18</sup>Personal interview with Minarny Theh as Notary/PPAT in Medan City, on 11 January 2023.

- a) When the Land Office is asked to provide certificates for the issuance of certificates in land mafia cases, they must ask permission from the Head of the Land Office at the Regional or Regional Office level, this takes a long time;
- b) The Land Office often claims that notes are lost when investigators ask for certificates to be issued in land mafia cases;
- c) It is difficult to coordinate with the Land Office regarding coordination in the process of investigating land mafia cases.

External constraints or in Friedman's theory can be said as cultural constraints are constraints related to the legal culture in society related to the eradication of the land mafia. These external constraints consist of:

- a. Most people do not take care of their land ownership documents, so there are many cases where land owners only have land evidence other than land certificates, this situation is clearly weak before the law, and there are opportunities for the land mafia to seize the land unlawfully;
- b. The community does not understand the existence of the Land Mafia Task Force and the role and responsibility of the BPN in protecting the community from the land mafia who can unlawfully seize their land rights;
- c. The community does not have sufficient legal education, so they are often deceived by the persuasion of the land mafia, especially regarding the management of land certificates owned by the land mafia, so that the land mafia often reverses the name of the land illegally.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The implementation of the BPN's role in efforts to eradicate the land mafia in Medan City is currently not optimal, this is because the BPN acted after a public complaint regarding a land mafia case in the community. The juridical obstacle is the absence of regulation regarding criminal law enforcement processes in the Technical Instructions of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Land Affairs Number 01/JUKNIS/D.VII/2018 concerning Prevention and Eradication of Land Mafia. The next obstacle is the obstacle in the aspect of law enforcement which consists of internal and external obstacles. Internal constraints are constraints from the BPN institution. External constraints are obstacles related to the legal culture in society related to eradicating the land mafia.

#### **5. References**

**Journals:**

Yunawati Karlina dan Irwan Sapta Putra, 2022, "Pemberantasan Mafia Tanah Dengan Menggunakan Istrumen Hukum Pidana Di Indonesia" *Jurnal Res Justitia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Volume 2 No.1

Zurni Hasyim Djalal sudah menjadi korban mafia tanah sebanyak 5 kali mulai tahun 2019, lihat Muhammad Isa Bustomi, "Dino Patti Djalal Sebut Ibunya Sudah 5 Kali Jadi Korban Mafia Tanah," <https://Megapolitan.Kompas.Com/Read/2021/02/10/14064991/Dino-Patti-Djalal-Sebut-IbunyaSudah-5-Kali-Jadi-Korban-Mafia-Tanah?Page=all>, February 10, 2021. Accessed on 06 September 2021

### **Books & internet**

Cantika Adinda Putri, "Terbongkar Lagi, Mafia Tanah Tertangkap di Jakarta," <https://www.cnbciindonesia.com/News/20200212203238-4-137462/Terbongkar-Lagi-MafiaTanah-Tertangkap-Di-Jakarta>, February 12, 2020. Accessed on 06 September 2021

CNBC, "Simak Upaya Kementerian ATR/BPN Berantas Mafia Tanah," <https://www.cnbciindonesia.com/News/20191127152107-8-118420/Simak-UpayaKementerian-Atr-Bpn-Berantas-Mafia-Tanah>, November 28, 2019. Accessed on 06 September 2021

Devisi Humas Polri, "Data Kementerian ATR/BPN: Sudah 180 Kasus Mafia Tanah yang Diterima," <https://humas.polri.go.id/2021/03/04/Data-Kementerian-Atr-Bpn-Sudah180-Kasus-Mafia-Tanah-Yang-Diterima/>, March 4, 2021. Accessed on 05 September 2021

Mukti fajar dan Yulianto Achmad, 2010, *Dualisme Penelitian Hukum: Normatif dan Empiris*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta

Sri Endah Wahyuningsih, 2013, *Prinsip-Prinsip Individualisasi Pidana Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Pembaharuan Hukum Indonesia*, UNDIP, Semarang

### **Interview:**

Personal interview with Hendri as a Notary/PPAT in Medan City, on January 11, 2023

Personal interview with Johan as Movement Coordinator People for Justice and the Rule of Law (Raksahum), on 12 May 2022

Personal interview with Minarny as Notary/PPAT in Medan City, on 11 January 2023

Personal interview with Yuliandi Djalil as Head of the Medan City Land Agency,  
on 11 January 2023