

The Precarious State of Letter C: Land Registration Law Dynamics After PP Number 18 Year 2021

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Abstract

The enactment of Government Regulation (PP) No. 18 of 2021 has triggered a major transformation in Indonesia's land registration framework. The primary focus of this study is to evaluate the current legal status of "Letter C" and determine whether it still functions as a robust evidence of ownership or merely as proof of physical possession. Under the latest regulations, the role of Letter C has undergone a significant shift, moving from a primary form of evidence to a transitional or temporary document within the national land registration process. This study employs a normative legal research method, examining various regulatory layers, including the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) No. 5 of 1960, the Job Creation Law No. 11 of 2020, and specific provisions in PP No. 18 of 2021 regarding mandatory land registration. Furthermore, a conceptual approach is used to compare the administrative weight of Letter C against the absolute legal certainty provided by a formal land certificate. Data was gathered through an analysis of legal documents from the BPL Legal Documentation and Information Network (JDIH), agrarian law journals, and court rulings involving customary land disputes. The analysis reveals that after 2026, Letter C documents will hold a very weak legal position if they are not promptly converted through the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) program. From a legal standpoint, Letter C is now classified only as a temporary basis of right (*alas hak*) that requires re-verification by Land Deed Official (PPAT) and the National Land Agency (BPN). To address this vulnerability, it is recommended that the government provide subsidies for verification costs and conduct extensive public outreach to ensure legal certainty and agrarian justice for the community.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The land registration system in Indonesia is currently undergoing a significant transition following the implementation of new regulations regarding land rights and digital registration. This policy aims to establish legal certainty through the use of electronic certificates integrated into a national system. Conversely, traditional documents such as "Letter C" village administrative records used for generations—are now in a precarious position. This is because their status is currently regarded only as supporting evidence of physical possession rather than absolute proof of ownership, creating challenges for rural communities who still rely on these documents as their primary reference for transactions and inheritance. (Puteri & Ramli, 2025)

Historically, Letter C was recognized as a valid basis for land registration since 1960 to guarantee legal certainty for owners. However, current regulations have strictly

narrowed the role of such documents. Today, Letter C is positioned only as a temporary proof of ownership that must be accompanied by additional documentation, such as sale and purchase deeds or grant documents, and must undergo a re-verification process by authorized officials. This shift directly weakens the legal standing of village documents that were previously often used as the primary reference in resolving land disputes in court. This situation has become increasingly urgent due to a deadline requiring all land parcels to be officially registered within five years of the regulation's enactment. If Letter C documents are not converted into official certificates through government registration programs by early 2026, these bases of right risk losing their legal foundation. The millions of land parcels that remain uncertified across various regions in Indonesia pose a threat of social conflict, disrupt the economic stability of farmers, and hinder investment certainty due to these unresolved administrative land issues. (Tarigan & Amalia, 2025)

The core of this problem lies in how the legal status of Letter C is positioned within the current land registration system. The latest rules have indirectly shifted the standing of village records from strong evidence to mere supporting data. This shift is part of the government's effort to accelerate the digitalization of the land sector to support ease of doing business and provide more modern protection for land rights holders. The primary objective of this study is to analyze how the change in Letter C's status from primary evidence to temporary evidence affects the public's sense of justice. This research also attempts to map various field challenges, ranging from high administrative costs and complex verification procedures to a lack of information in remote areas. Ultimately, the results are expected to provide recommendations for the government to offer mass registration subsidies and strengthen protection systems for underprivileged communities who find it economically difficult to conduct independent certification. (Nugroho & Dewi, 2023)

The importance of this discussion lies in the critical situation approaching the 2026 deadline, where the standing of Letter C is at its lowest point. Without decisive action from the government, a failure to achieve large-scale conversion could trigger a surge in future land dispute cases. Furthermore, obstacles in the certification process may also hinder the achievement of sustainable development goals, particularly in providing fair land access for farmers who serve as the backbone of the national economy. The scope of this analysis is focused on examining current legal provisions regarding the basis of rights and the evidentiary strength of certificates. The analysis is conducted by comparing old and new regulations and observing their practical impacts in regions where community reliance on village documents remains very high. Through a comprehensive legal approach, it is hoped that appropriate solutions can be found for policymakers to overcome existing administrative complexities. (Agustin et al., 2025)

This study is expected to enrich the discourse on contemporary land law by bridging the gap between progressive regulations and the reality on the ground. Thus, the modernization of the national land registration system can proceed smoothly without disregarding the traditional rights of village communities that have existed for a long time. (Allan Setiawan Maniwu, Roy V Karamoy, 2021)

2. METHOD

This study utilizes a normative legal research method, focusing on an analysis of the regulatory framework within Indonesia's land registration system following the enactment of Government Regulation (PP) No. 18 of 2021. A statutory approach is applied in depth to examine the hierarchy of rules, beginning with the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) No. 5 of 1960 and the Job Creation Law, down to the technical provisions in PP No. 18 of 2021. These regulations govern the legal basis for land registration, the evidentiary strength of electronic certificates, and the mandatory certification of land before the February 2026

deadline. Additionally, conceptual and historical approaches are employed to compare the role of "Letter C" documents as village records against digital certificates, which are now regarded as conclusive proof of rights. This comparison highlights a major shift from previous regulations, which tended to accept traditional evidence, to the current regime that prioritizes digitalization and formal validation by authorized officials. Consequently, this shift results in the weakening of the legal standing of Letter C if it is not promptly converted through government land registration programs. (Suyanto, 2022)

The primary data collection process was conducted through an intensive review of legal literature sourced from the relevant ministry's legal information systems, court rulings on land disputes, and operational policies regarding systematic land registration. This data is further supported by materials from various agrarian law journals that examine the impact of recent regulations on land ownership status. Data analysis was performed qualitatively using systematic interpretation techniques to understand the function of Letter C, both as evidence of physical possession and as proof of ownership rights. The validity of the findings was ensured by comparing various regulatory sources and legal literature to maintain consistency. This study is limited to the analysis of written legal provisions without involving direct field observations and was conducted under strict academic ethical standards to guarantee objectivity, confidentiality, and the accuracy of the citations used.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. The History and Legal Foundation of Letter C as Evidence of Land Rights

Letter C is a document excerpted from village-level administrative records rooted in the colonial-era bureaucratic system. This document serves to record land tenure on customary lands or former communal territories. Its issuance is based on the owner's request, supported by a statement from village authorities and local witnesses. In practice, this document plays a dual role: as a multi-generational family ownership identity and as proof of land tax settlement. Within agrarian communities, it has historically been regarded as having weight equivalent to full proof of ownership. (Berkah Rizki Mayyasa, Fitria Dewi Naviisa, 2024)

Prior to the enactment of the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) of 1960, these village records held a very strong legal position. The document was recognized as valid written evidence in local or traditional dispute resolutions. This village-level registration system created strong social bonds without depending on formal certification from the central government. Consequently, these records became the primary reference for the community in conducting various legal transactions, ranging from the transfer of rights through sale and purchase to the distribution of inheritance and land grants.

Following the implementation of UUPA 1960, the legal basis for using these village records was further strengthened within the framework of national land registration. The regulation acknowledged village-level registration as a form of written evidence required to process ownership certificates during the initial stages of land registration. This is consistent with the legislative mandate requiring systematic land registration to achieve legal certainty for every landowner, even though the status of this document is positioned as a preliminary foundation rather than absolute proof of ownership. (Bambang Budiono, 2024)

The operational foundation of these village documents was further reinforced by the 1997 land registration regulations. This rule validated the use of village records supported by witness statements as legitimate evidence for registering lands subject to customary law. This policy often served as the basis for judicial institutions to grant temporary recognition of rights until the certificate issuance process was completed.

These conditions ensured that the document remained a highly relied-upon instrument by the community prior to the era of land administration modernization.

However, these traditional documents possess inherent vulnerabilities, such as uncertainty regarding land boundaries and the risk of administrative data manipulation at the local level. These weaknesses are often exposed in various court disputes. Subsequent legal policy directions have emphasized that village records cannot stand alone as sole proof of absolute ownership if they are not accompanied by verifiable physical evidence or consistent testimony. This marks a paradigm shift from traditional evidentiary systems toward a formal system based on state certification. (Lestioningsih, 2025)

Overall, the historical journey of this document demonstrates its role as a vital bridge between customary land tenure systems and modern land administration. Although it has served as a main pillar for decades in providing certainty for village communities, its position is currently in a state of transition. Along with the latest land regulation reforms, its function is being limited to temporary evidence to support the acceleration of a more transparent national land registration system that offers permanent legal certainty.

B. Provisions of Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021 regarding the Basis of Registration Rights

Pasal 84 governs the implementation of land registration through an electronic system, carried out in gradual stages. The results of this process - comprising digital data, information, and documents—are recognized as absolute legal evidence both in and out of court, in accordance with applicable procedural laws. All such documents are stored within the relevant ministry's database with regulated access for evidentiary purposes. In this context, Letter C is positioned as a transitional basis of right that must be converted into a digital format through validation by land authorities to ensure a connected national integration system across Indonesia. Pasal 86 through 89 aim to accelerate this modernization by utilizing electronic deeds issued by authorized officials and requiring landowners to participate in the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) program. This process includes the transparent announcement of physical and legal land data through official government channels within a specified timeframe. This mechanism ensures that Letter C documents undergo public scrutiny before being processed into certificates, thereby preventing boundary disputes and forgery practices that frequently affect traditional agricultural lands in various regions.

Pasal 90 through 93 focus on administrative discipline to protect the conversion process of village documents. This protection includes the official recording of agreements or leases in public registers and a mechanism to block rights if the land is currently subject to litigation, maintaining the status quo. This serves as a safeguard for Letter C holders against land mafia activities during the registration verification process. In line with Pasal 92, paragraph (3), any refusal of registration by land authorities must be submitted in writing with clear legal justifications as a form of public accountability. Pasal 95 emphasizes that old evidence of rights from the past now holds a different standing within the national legal system. Current land registration prioritizes statements of physical possession, accompanied by legal liability and third-party testimony, to ensure the land is occupied in good faith and without disputes. This principle also applies to Letter C; its function as a village administrative record is now subject to formal verification by national land authorities. This phenomenon marks a hierarchical shift where traditional evidence has become subordinate to the supremacy of electronic certificates.

Pasal 96 is the most critical provision regarding the future of Letter C. This rule mandates that all written evidence of former individual customary rights must be registered within a maximum of five years from the regulation's enactment, specifically until February 2026. Once this deadline passes, Letter C documents are declared no longer valid as evidence of land ownership rights and will function solely as preliminary guidance for registration. This policy encourages mass conversion to ensure that the community's agrarian rights are not forfeited due to administrative delays. In closing, Pasal 97 confirms that all forms of certificates issued by village or sub-district authorities, including Letter C, serve only as registration guides and do not constitute absolute proof of ownership. This brings an end to the era where village administrative records were the dominant reference, which were often susceptible to manipulation. The transition toward a modern and inclusive electronic registration system is expected to provide stronger legal protection for smallholders against land disputes while supporting the sustainability of agrarian reform beyond 2026.

C. The Shift in the Legal Standing of Letter C into Transitional Evidence

Historically, "Letter C" held a very strong position as evidence of customary land tenure based on recognition within the 1960 and 1997 land regulations. During that era, judicial institutions often considered these village records a sufficient basis for issuing ownership certificates. However, the enactment of the latest rules through Government Regulation (PP) No. 18 of 2021 has brought fundamental changes. This regulation mandates that all individual customary ownership evidence must be registered by February 2026 at the latest. After this deadline, Letter C documents will no longer function as proof of ownership but will only serve as a preliminary guide in the registration process. This marks a shift from village administrative systems toward the supremacy of electronic certificates, which are recognized as absolute legal evidence within the Indonesian judicial system.

Various legal precedents have emphasized that records in the Letter C Book cannot stand alone as absolute proof of ownership without consistent physical evidence of land possession or witness testimony. This is due to the nature of the document, which was originally a village taxation instrument rather than a formal ownership certificate. The latest regulations reinforce this principle by placing unregistered legacy evidence into a lower tier. This step is a logical effort to close exploitation loopholes used by irresponsible parties, such as land mafias, who often exploit weaknesses in village administration regarding land boundary uncertainties and the susceptibility of traditional documents to forgery. (Hr Kilimanjaro, Isdiyana Kusuma Ayu, 2025)

In the current evidentiary hierarchy, Letter C is placed at the basic level alongside other traditional land statements. To be accepted as a basis for systematic land registration, this document must be supported by various requirements, such as proof of land tax payments for the last five years, testimonies from relevant parties, and a field verification process by land authorities. Currently, electronic certificates hold the highest position as the sole absolute proof of ownership connected to the national database. This change aims to correct the public misconception that has long equated village tax records with the legal strength of a formal land title (SHM). The impact of this shift in legal status is significant, especially for the millions of land parcels that remain uncertified across various Indonesian agricultural regions. There is a risk of losing legal evidentiary strength after 2026 for those who do not convert their documents through government land registration programs. In addition to potential court disputes, the community faces economic challenges related to administrative costs and verification processes. Conversely, transitioning to official certificates offers

long-term benefits, such as easier access to financial institutions, better-guaranteed inheritance protection, and support for land distribution programs mandated by national policy for food security and investment ease. (Wardani & Indrawati, 2025)

Analysis of land law developments indicates that the transition of traditional documents into temporary evidence is essential to prevent conflicts between residents caused by overlapping ownership. As a strategic solution, government support is required in the form of mass registration subsidies and direct education for communities in remote areas regarding the importance of certification. Furthermore, strengthening the capacity of land deed officials to validate old documents is crucial. Harmonizing traditional legal principles with the new digital system is expected to create fair legal certainty for all levels of society, ensuring that traditional land heritage remains protected within a modern administrative system.

D. Obstacles in Converting Letter C through the PTSL Program

The systematic land registration program, designed to convert "Letter C" documents into official certificates, faces a major hurdle in the form of low public awareness regarding legal certainty. Under current regulations, a deadline is set for February 2026 for the public to register their land. However, many residents in agricultural regions still feel that traditional village documents are sufficient due to long-standing local customs. This issue is compounded by concerns over administrative costs despite available assistance, as well as fears regarding personal data security within digital systems, which ultimately slows down land conversion targets across various regions. (Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat et al., 2025)

Technical obstacles also pose a significant barrier, particularly regarding the limited number of field personnel relative to the vast amount of land requiring processing. A lack of modern mapping equipment to validate often inaccurate traditional land boundaries adds complexity to the verification process. Furthermore, frequent disruptions in national application systems often cause halts in land tax administration. Problems with the integration of residency data also force the public to deal with multiple different agencies, which, for those in remote areas, requires a considerable sacrifice of time and transportation costs.

Additional economic burdens serve as a crucial reason why the public is reluctant to participate in this registration program. Although the government provides subsidies, in practice, various independent expenses remain, such as additional measurement fees, verification services from authorized officials, and logistical costs for field implementation teams. For small-scale farmers, the total cost of managing supporting documents and administrative requirements is considered too heavy as it can deplete their agricultural capital. This creates a cycle of economic hardship that hinders the process of legalizing land assets at the village level. (Yulia & Anam, 2025)

The emergence of boundary conflicts is a serious issue because traditional documents generally do not include precise geographical coordinates. This uncertainty often triggers disputes between neighbors or neighboring village areas. On the other hand, the public announcement period for land data is frequently exploited by irresponsible parties to conduct illegal transactions for personal gain before the certification process is finalized. Public doubt increases if there is a perceived lack of fairness in the registration process at the village level, leading to skepticism toward government programs despite the very real risk of losing legal rights in the future.

Geographical factors and infrastructure in hard-to-reach areas also impede the smooth progress of the land registration program. Extreme terrain and unpredictable weather mean that implementation teams require more time and higher logistical costs

to conduct land measurements. As a result, many registration targets in underdeveloped regions are not met on time. This problem is further complicated by limited access to electricity and internet networks, which are essential for uploading data into the national electronic system as mandated by current regulations.

Finally, the integrity of implementing agencies and the security of information systems remain major public concerns. Findings of abuse of authority during the land registration process, alongside anxieties over personal data breaches in digital systems, make the public feel uneasy. Although socialization efforts continue, past trauma regarding system failures demands a more transparent and secure governance reform. The public expects a more modern and protected land document verification system so that the transition from village documents to digital certificates can proceed honestly and without fraudulent practices.

E. Legal Implications and Policy Recommendations for Agrarian Law

The implementation of the latest land registration regulations brings a systemic shift in agrarian legal certainty by transitioning the status of village administrative records into absolute electronic certificates. However, this policy carries a significant risk of social conflict after February 2026, particularly for millions of land parcels that remain uncertified, as they will lose their legal evidentiary weight. This change in the evidentiary hierarchy relegates traditional documents to mere preliminary guides, potentially increasing disputes within administrative courts. Such conditions also threaten the economic stability of smallholders in agrarian regions who rely on their land as business capital and hinder the property sector, as financial institutions tend to reject collateral that lacks official certification. (Sasikirana Anastasia, Rifki Nurohman, Daffa Tegar Nabil Zaidan, 1960)

From an economic perspective, the downgrade in the legal status of village documents restricts access to bank credit for small-scale farmers. Without official certificates, rural communities face difficulties in obtaining business capital due to stringent banking requirements. Consequently, accelerating land registration has become a vital prerequisite for rural welfare. On the other hand, the certification process offers long-term benefits, such as a significant increase in land asset value, easier access to agricultural subsidies, and protection for heirs against land mafias who often manipulate traditional documents for unilateral gain. The socio-cultural impact of this policy is also fundamental, especially for communities that uphold customary laws. The process of converting communal land into individual ownership through certification is often seen as conflicting with traditional land management principles. This has triggered resistance in various customary regions over fears that local values in land stewardship will be eroded. Furthermore, there is an issue of gender inequality where certain traditions still hinder the inclusion of women's names on ownership documents, putting them at risk of losing rights over the farmland they manage. (Eka Putra Zakran, Budi Sastra Panjaitan, 2026)

Environmental implications are also a serious concern, as the ease of document conversion may accelerate the shift of agricultural land into industrial or residential areas without strict environmental oversight. This phenomenon threatens traditional irrigation systems and the preservation of community forests that balance the ecosystem. If not managed wisely, this administrative process could inadvertently speed up the degradation of terrestrial ecosystems due to illegal land-use changes by well-capitalized parties. As a primary recommendation, a substantial allocation of the state budget is required to support free mass land registration programs, particularly in hard-to-reach areas. The government needs to establish specialized verification teams trained in the digitalization of legacy documents and utilize secure information

technology to prevent data forgery. Additionally, synchronization of regulations is necessary to ensure that land modernization continues to provide fair protection for customary rights and communal ownership. (Fajar et al., 2022)

Operationally, intensive information campaigns reaching down to the hamlet level using local languages are needed to ensure the policy is understood by all levels of society. Providing mobile land registration services to remote areas and waiving administrative fees for underprivileged families are concrete steps that must be taken. Furthermore, accelerating dispute resolution through specialized land courts is essential so that every obstacle in the document conversion process can be resolved swiftly and fairly. In the long term, land system reform should be directed toward unifying the concepts of individual and communal ownership to prevent legal friction. Integrating residency data with the national land database is crucial to prevent the duplication of landholder identities. Through coordination among government agencies, the protection of smallholders from the expansion of large corporations must be strengthened, partly through more equitable state land distribution programs to create social justice for all agrarian communities in Indonesia. (Mansur et al., 2025)

4. CONCLUSION

Government Regulation Number 18 of 2021 has fundamentally revolutionized the land registration system by shifting the status of "Letter C" documents from primary evidence of ownership to a mere transitional instrument. Under these provisions, there is a mandatory five-year conversion period ending in February 2026. Once this deadline passes, these traditional documents will no longer hold absolute evidentiary power and will instead function only as preliminary guidance for registration. This step reinforces previous legal precedents stating that village records are essentially tax administration instruments that are susceptible to manipulation. By implementing electronic certificates, the government seeks to establish legal supremacy and national agrarian certainty. Nevertheless, the systematic registration process continues to face various administrative and social challenges, particularly for millions of land parcels that remain uncertified. Accelerating certification in agricultural regions is critical to protecting community rights and enhancing access to financial facilities.

5. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As a strategic solution, significant state budget support is required starting in 2027 to fund mass land registration programs, prioritizing hard-to-reach areas and waiving fees for underprivileged families. The use of mobile mapping technology in remote villages and the implementation of digital database-based verification integrated with residency identities are essential to prevent document forgery. Furthermore, the establishment of a national task force is necessary to provide direct education to the public using local languages to ensure information is conveyed effectively. Other supporting measures include providing mobile court services to expedite the resolution of land disputes, as well as synchronizing legal regulations to ensure that the protection of customary communal ownership rights remains aligned with the modern certification system.

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