



Quasi-adat: An Ethnographic Study of Palm Oil Plantation in Bawan Village

Edi Indrizal*, Universitas Andalas, Indonesia

Ermayanti, Universitas Andalas, Indonesia

Ade Irwandi, Universitas Andalas, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This paper highlights cultural issues arising from oil palm plantations and efforts to preserve customs amid global change. The purpose of this study is to examine complex issues and efforts to preserve customs in the context of oil palm plantations in Agam Regency. The method used is critical ethnography to uncover cultural practices that can shape and perpetuate injustice, as well as how dominant groups maintain their power (quasi-customary). The land ownership system is based on *Babingkah Tanah* (Entity Ownership). Therefore, only *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batuajah* have authority over customary land. However, not all *Ninik Mamak* were involved in the transfer of customary land to PT AMP Plantation. Thus, the land transfer was carried out with customary and political elements to control the land by PT AMP Plantation and to approach only the dominant *Ninik Mamak*.

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*CORRESPONDENCE AUTHOR

✉ ediindrizal@soc.unand.ac.id

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INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that since the 1980s, the expansion of oil palm plantations in Indonesia began due to high demand for palm oil in Europe. The development of oil palm plantations took place on the islands of Sumatra and Kalimantan, covering an area of 15 million hectares. As a result, there has been significant land conversion in Indonesia (Gaveau et al., 2022; HRW, 2021). Land conversion occurs in rural communities through a mechanism whereby land is handed over to the local government, which then grants land use rights to palm oil companies. Land that was originally controlled by indigenous communities is transferred to the palm oil industry. One example is in the province of West Sumatra, where palm oil plantations cover an area of approximately 253,898 hectares (BPS, 2024b), which are concentrated in several districts, one of which is Agam District.

The development of oil palm plantations in Agam Regency is in the western part of the region, close to the sea. This is because part of the region consists of long hills and mountains. Therefore, oil palm plantations are developed in flat areas. Agam Regency is the fourth largest producer of palm oil in West Sumatra Province (see **Figure 1**), with a total plantation area of 19,874 hectares (BPS, 2024a). The expansion of oil palm plantations in Agam Regency began in the 1990s, utilising community customary land in several sub-districts.

The management of oil palm plantations consists of private, community, and government ownership. However, nearly 80% of the oil palm plantations in Agam Regency are managed by private companies such as PT KAMU, PT Mutiara Agam, PT AMP Plantation, PT BSS, and PT PPR. Meanwhile, very few communities utilise their land for oil palm plantations. Most of them manage plasma plantations through the KUD (Village Unit Cooperative) mechanism, which involves transferring land to companies.

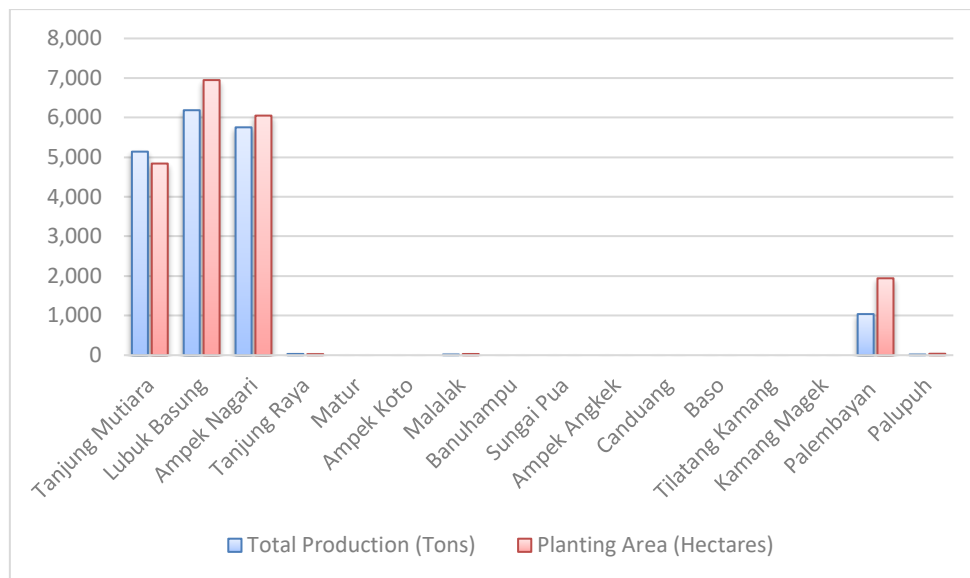


Figure 1. Palm Oil Production Volume and Planting Area by Subdistrict. Source: (BPS, 2023).

From the image above, only four subdistricts have oil palm plantations in Agam Regency. Most of the oil palm plantations are managed by companies, one of which is PT AMP Plantation, which operates in Tanjung Raya District, Ampek Nagari District, Palembayan District, and Lubuk Basung District. PT AMP Plantation acquired land through transfers from *Ninik Mamak* (traditional leaders) to the Agam Regency government (see Table 1).

One of PT AMP Plantation's plantation locations is in Nagari Salareh Aia Utara and Salareh Aia Barat, Palembayan District. The land was transferred by *Ninik Mamak* in 1993 and is in Tompek and Tapian Kandih.

Table 1. Land Transfer Letter

No.	Description	Year	Area (hectare)	Names of Traditional Leaders who signed
1	Surat Penyerahan Tanah Ulayat Desa Bawan Kecamatan Perwakilan Lubuk Basung Kabupaten Agam Untuk Keperluan Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit Yang Akan dilaksanakan oleh PT AMP	Bawan, 25 Agustus 1991	766,51 (BPN, 1999)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. B. Dt. Tan Majo Lelo (Basa Barampek) 2. B. Dt. Mangkuto Alam 3. MR. Dt. Sati (Andiko) 4. M. Dt. Bandaro (Andiko) 5. M. Dt. Basa (Andiko) 6. B. Dt. Indo Marajo (Andiko) 7. M. Dt. Majo Lelo Basa (Tujuh Suku) 8. B. Dt. Rangkayo Kaciak (Tujuh Suku) 9. Sy. Dt. Majo Kando (Andiko) 10. K. Dt. Sinaro (Andiko) 11. M. Dt. Sinaro Panjang (Andiko) 12. SK. Dt. Majo Lelo (Andiko)

Source: Processed data from land transfer documents in each village, 2025.

The transfer of land by *Ninik Mamak* to the Agam Regency local government and its conversion into an HGU by PT AMP Plantation is customary land controlled by the indigenous community. *Ninik Mamak*, as the ruler and manager of customary land, is responsible for the transfer of this land for oil palm plantations. The transfer of land is based on customary regulations following the rules applicable in the Nagari or *adat salingka nagari*. The transfer mechanism is based on *adat diisi limbago dituang* (customary terms and conditions) and *siliah jariah/tali asih* (customary compensation money) (Indrizal et al., 2024; Rahmadhani, 2024; Ramadhan et al., 2023). *Siliah Jariah* system is a custom in Minangkabau that regulates the transfer of rights to communal land, whereby the right to cultivate the land is transferred from one party to another. In this system, the party receiving the transfer of rights (the buyer or donee) provides a certain amount of money or goods as ‘compensation’ or ‘reward’

to the party relinquishing their rights (the seller or donor). This system differs from ordinary buy-sell transactions because its purpose is not merely an economic transaction, but also to maintain good relations and mutual respect among the parties involved, as well as to preserve the integrity of communal land (Indrizal, Ermayanti, et al., [2025](#); Indrizal et al., [2024](#); Indrizal, Nurti, et al., [2025](#)).

The land transfer occurred during the New Order era, which was significantly influenced by political and socio-economic interests. As a result, there are currently many internal conflicts within the *Ninik Mamak* community regarding the transfer. Some *Ninik Mamak* were not involved in the transfer process, and the company did not fulfill the agreements made in the transfer letter. As an example, the conflict among the Tanjung tribe in Manggopoh has been ongoing for three decades between *Ninik Mamak* and *Ninik Mamak*, *Ninik Mamak* and the company, as well as the Manggopoh community, due to the management of the oil palm plantation plasma by PT AMP Plantation and PT Mutiara Agam (Sandi, [2018](#)). Similarly, in Tiku Limo Jorong, conflict arose between *Ninik Mamak*, who had different understandings of the customary land rights that had been handed over to PT AMP Plantation (Indrizal, Ermayanti, et al., [2025](#); Syatri et al., [2019](#)).

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to re-examine the customary system in the transfer of customary land in Bawan village, as well as the structure of the community that has authority over the transfer of customary land. In addition, this paper explains the customary system used in community life and the social conflicts resulting from customary understandings related to the transfer of land to PT AMP Plantation.

In general, in Minangkabau (Darek region), customary land ownership is held by the Penghulu (traditional leader) and managed by the Bundo Kandung (eldest woman) (Yevendri, [2023](#)). Therefore, a Penghulu cannot decide on his own when to sell, transfer, or even pawn land because there are strict customary rules that must be known by members of the tribe/clan (Putri et al., [2024](#)). However, in the Rantau region (Minangkabau), there are different rules. The customary land ownership system is controlled by a group of traditional leaders often referred to as *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah* (the Bawan village system), based on the *Babingkah Tanah* approach. As a result, conflicts of interest, bias, and mutual domination occur within this entity. What is interesting about this paper is that land transfer is possible through a political-economic approach rather than emphasising customary rules. This is because the entity (*Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*) has sole authority to decide. However, this sole authority leads to a lack of consensus in deciding on land transfers, resulting in quasi-customary practices exploited by companies.

This paper contributes to the case of high-level conflicts between palm oil plantations and communities. It illustrates that the frequent conflicts are not entirely the fault of companies perceived as seizing community land, but rather involve internal community factors exploited by traditional leaders for personal gain. This leads to internal conflicts among *Ninik Mamak* and the division of the community.

This paper also shows that the problems faced by rural communities are not limited to conflicts with large companies operating in palm oil plantations. These communities have long been plagued by internal conflicts that have allowed other parties with specific interests and objectives to infiltrate them. Thus, this article explores other customary systems of land transfer in Minangkabau and the conflicts of interest that arise between these communities (Indigenous Peoples) themselves.

METHOD

This paper is based on the existence of PT AMP Plantation in Agam Regency, West Sumatra. PT AMP Plantation obtained HGU (right to cultivate) in Salareh Aia Utara and Salareh Aia Barat. The land was handed over in 1993 by *Ninik Mamak* (traditional leaders) in their respective customary areas. The

process of land transfer by the *Ninik Mamak* through the traditional concept of *adat diisi limbago dituang* and compensation with the concept of *silih jariah/tali asih*.

The research approach uses ethnographic methods. The essence of ethnography seeks to show the meanings of the actions that happen to the people we want to understand (Nader, 2011). The aim is to understand the way of life from the point of view of the indigenous people concerning their vision of the world (the society under study) (Johnson, 2023). Therefore, this approach emphasises field research and direct interaction with the community being studied. The research strategy used is a case study, as it relates to answering the problem formulation with how and why questions. The choice of case study strategy is carried out to be able to examine something in depth in a context.

Data collection in qualitative research focuses on the actual type of data and the collection process (Strudwick, 2021). Data collection includes seeking permission, implementing a good qualitative sampling strategy (selecting informants who are truly well informed and credible), developing ways to record information (digital, paper), to anticipating ethical issues that may arise. But what researchers often do in collecting data from field research is observation and interviews (Creswell, 2015). In this study, researchers collected documents because they were related to the results of collective decisions and secondary data.

In research, the need to determine who will be used as informants (participants) can be individuals or groups in a community (Franco & Yang, 2021). The determination of informants is very important in field research, the reason is that the level of generalisation (or not) is partly derived from the sampling technique (informants), as well as related to the validity of the findings. If the people spoken to know little about the research topic, the data that will be generated will not be informative. If the research topic is complex and involves many stakeholders and only collects data from one group of stakeholders, the findings and conclusions in the research will be limited (Heritage, 2023). Sampling in qualitative research includes purposeful sampling, and the focus in qualitative research is a relatively small sample, sometimes a single case, selected purposefully.

Data collection was conducted over a period of three months (March, May, June) in 2025. During this period, researchers began by approaching community leaders and identifying individuals who were involved in, played a role in, and were responsible for the research topic. These individuals were, of course, traditional leaders. While in the field, the researchers worked in parallel, conducting interviews with informants while also exploring explicit matters (customs, rules, and special agreements) and comparing and deepening each informant's statements.

The community who became informants consisted of *Ninik Mamak* (5 people), *Wali Nagari* (1 person), the Chairman, and the Members of KAN (*Kerapatan Adat Nagari*) (2 people), Community Leaders (2 people), and the company PT AMP Plantation (1 person).

Data analysis using reflective emancipation with several steps (Madison, 2020). *Data coding*, identifying, and coding themes and patterns in data related to power between communities, traditional elites, and companies. *Narrative analysis*, analysing narratives and stories that emerge in the data to understand how individuals and groups experience and interpret their experiences and knowledge of their culture. *Discourse analysis*, analysing how discourse is used to maintain power and knowledge between companies and communities. *Self-reflection*, conducting self-reflection on the researcher's position and role in the data analysis process and its influence on the analysis results. Thus, in this data analysis, the researcher considers contextual aspects (social, cultural, and political contexts), the researcher's position (role and position), and ethical considerations (data confidentiality and anonymity).

In three stages of data analysis, researchers classified data based on context according to interview and observation results, namely, data related to customary regulations interpreted by

customary leaders (*Ninik Mamak*) and the customary land ownership system. In addition, the researchers also collected information on the history and process of land transfers. This was combined with data obtained from transfer documents, HGU letters, and previous studies. This data classification will be gradually organised and interpreted concerning one another. Similar perspectives from informants in the same context will be summarised in concrete statements, while different perspectives will be used for comparison and explained in detail. Furthermore, commonalities will be identified, including the reasons and motives behind the occupation, as well as customary regulations understood by customary leaders regarding land ownership and its transfer.

Ethically, researchers obtained permission from the village head (Nagari) and KAN (Kerapatan Adat Nagari). Researchers ensured that meetings, interviews, or observations were conducted with the consent of informants and that confidentiality and data integrity were maintained. All interviews with informants were recorded with the consent of all informants.

Given the sensitive nature of traditional knowledge and the history of conflict, we established protocols to protect the intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples. Informants retain the right to withdraw information that is considered culturally restricted. All interviews were conducted with cultural sensitivity, respecting local customs and traditional protocols surrounding knowledge sharing. The names of informants are anonymised in interview quotations. Data storage followed strict confidentiality measures, with access limited to the research team. Research findings were verified through a literature review process, allowing researchers to review and verify the contributions of this paper before finalization.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The transfer of land by indigenous peoples for oil palm plantations has reciprocal consequences. The transfer of land can have a positive impact on the welfare of the community. However, there is currently internal conflict within the community. This is triggered by the fact that traditional customs are often used by some *Ninik Mamak* (traditional leaders) to gain personal advantage. As a result, *Ninik Mamak* defends their understanding of land ownership and their authority over land that has been transferred to companies.

Bawan: Cultural and Land Tenure Systems

Bawan village is divided into two areas based on the contours of the valley (*lambah* in the Minangkabau language), namely Lambah Bawan and Lambah Dareh. The area of Lambah Bawan is located from Pasar Bawan to the north and is adjacent to Tapian Kandis, while the area of Lambah Dareh starts from Pasar Bawan to the south and is adjacent to Lubuk Basung. According to Dt. Kando Marajo, '*The two areas in Bawan Village have their rulers and authority over the tribal groups living there*' (Interview, 2025).

Lambah Bawan has four traditional leaders (*Penghulu--Dt*), namely Dt. Tan Majolelo, Dt. Sardeo, Dt. Mangkudun, and Dt. Mangkuto Marajo, each of whom has a customary land for their people. Dt. Tan Majolelo in Bukit Tapus, Dt. Sardeo in Padang Kaciak, Dt. Mangkudun in Suaian Randah and Dt. Mangkuto Marajo in Suaian Tinggi. These four traditional leaders are called *Basa Nan Barampek*.

In Lambah Dareh, there are *Penghulu Nan Batujuah* (seven traditional leaders), namely, Dt. Palimo Dirajo, Dt. Kando Marajo, Dt. Majolelo Basa, Dt. Simarajo, Dt. Majo Indo, Dt. Mudo and Dt. Kaciak. Then Dt. Rangkayo Kaciak is the customary king under the *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*. In the Minang language, "*pusek jalo nan bungka*" holds the power of *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*. The traditional leaders of Bawan are *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*. These two are also known as

the Penghulu 7 tribes, namely 3 tribes in the Lambah Bawan, namely Caniago, Sikumbang, and Koto, and 4 tribes in the Lambah Dareh, namely Tanjung, Jambak, Malay, and Pili.

Table 2. Classification of *Ninik Mamak* in Bawan Village

Wilayah Adat	Nama Ninik Mamak	Status	Suku
Lambah Bawan	Dt. Tan Majolelo	Basa Nan Barampek	Caniago
	Dt. Mangkudun	Basa Nan Barampek	Sikumbang
	Dt. Mangkuto Marajo	Basa Nan Barampek	Sikumbang
	Dt. Majosadeo	Basa Nan Barampek	Sikumbang
	Dt. Majolelo Basa	Penghulu Nan Batujuah	Caniago
	Dt. Rangkayo Kaciak	Penghulu Nan Batujuah	Caniago
Lambah Dareh	Dt. Palimo Dirajo	Penghulu Nan Batujuah	Tanjung
	Dt. Simarajo	Penghulu Nan Batujuah	Tanjung
	Dt. Kando Marajo	Penghulu Nan Batujuah	Jambak
	Dt. Majo Indo	Penghulu Nan Batujuah	Tanjung
	Dt. Mudo	Penghulu Nan Batujuah	Tanjung

The customary system used in Bawan is the Koto Piliang customary system, namely a leadership hierarchy. According to Dt. Tan Majolelo, "The reason why Bawan Village adopted the Koto Piliang system is because their territory is located on the coast and is a Rantau (heterogeneous and migratory) area ruled by ancestors who mostly came from the Pagaruyuang kingdom in Tanah Datar, which adhered to the Koto Piliang system" (Interview, 2025). In the Koto Piliang customary system, there are levels of authority as assistants to Penghulu Pucuk or Ninik Mamak (the highest customary leader. By using the Koto Piliang customary system, there is *Ninik Mamak* (customary leader) Pucuk, and there is *Ninik Mamak Andiko*. *Ninik Mamak Andiko* is *Ninik Mamak* who is appointed by *Ninik Mamak Pucuk*. *Ninik Mamak Pucuk* himself in Nagari Bawan is *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*.

In the customary system of the Bawan community, land tenure follows the *Babingkah Tanah* system. *Babingkah Tanah* is a land tenure system owned by each *Ninik Mamak*. Thus, only *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah* have authority over the land or customary land in Bawan village, or in the Minangkabau language called *Basako jo Bapusako*. Other *Ninik Mamak* (e.g., *Ninik Mamak Andiko*) do not have authority over land. By custom, they are only responsible for the tribe they lead.

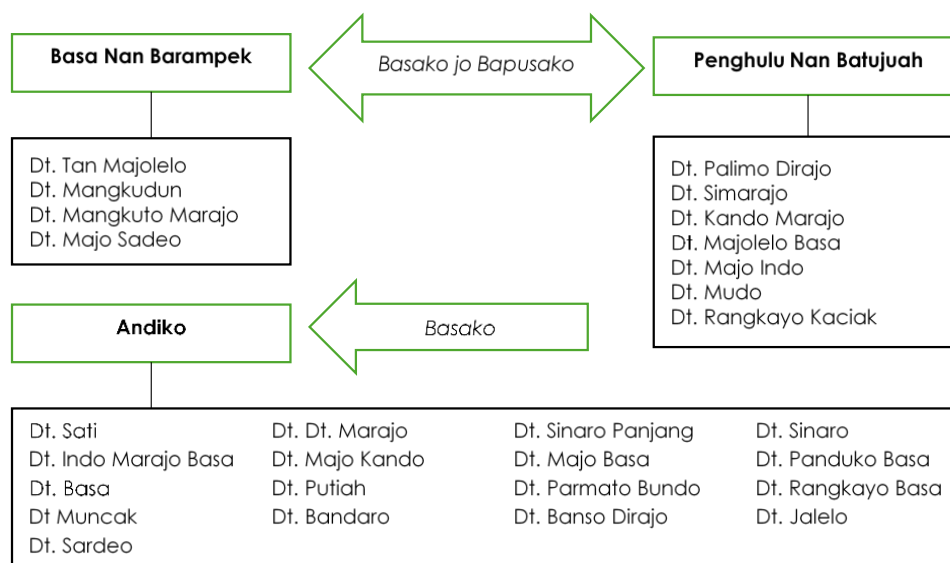


Figure 2. Social Structure of Bawan Community

According to Dt. Tan Majo Lelo, "Basa Nan Barampek and Penghulu Nan Batujuah are the ancestors of Bawan and have authority over the land and customary regulations" (Interview, 2025). The three elements of *Ninik Mamak* in Bawan (see **Figure 2**) have the following functions:

- 1) *Basa Nan Barampek*: These four *Ninik Mamak* are the first to open the village, and as the original (first) person who owns the area/region in the area. In the four *Basa*, the leader is the Dt. Sardeo as *urang tuo* (ancestor).
- 2) *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*: *Ninik Mamak*, who came after *Basa Nan Barampek* and had their customary territories in different areas.
- 3) *Andiko*: The leader of each clan, whether native or immigrant.

Quasi: Land Transfer and Its Implications

Based on the Letter of Submission of the Customary Land of Nagari Bawan dated 25 August 1991, it is stated that the customary land was submitted by *Ninik Mamak* Bawan. If identified more carefully, the *Ninik Mamak* who signed it included *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*. However, it can also be seen that there are *Ninik Mamak* who are included in *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*, but did not participate in signing. Only two of the *Ninik Mamak* of *Basa Nan Barampek* signed, namely, Dt. Tan Majolelo and Dt. Mangkuto Marajo, while Dt. Mangkudun did not sign. As for Dt. Sardeo did not participate anymore because his successor generation (*talipek*) had died out. Meanwhile, only two of the *Penghulu Nan Batujuah* signed, namely, Dt. Majolelo Basa and Dt. Rangkayo Kaciak. Outside the categories of *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah*, there were also *Ninik Mamak Andiko*, who signed, such as Dt. Sati, Dt. Bandaro, Dt. Basa and Dt. Indo Marajo, who were part of the pro-Dt. Tan Majolelo *Penghulu Andiko*.

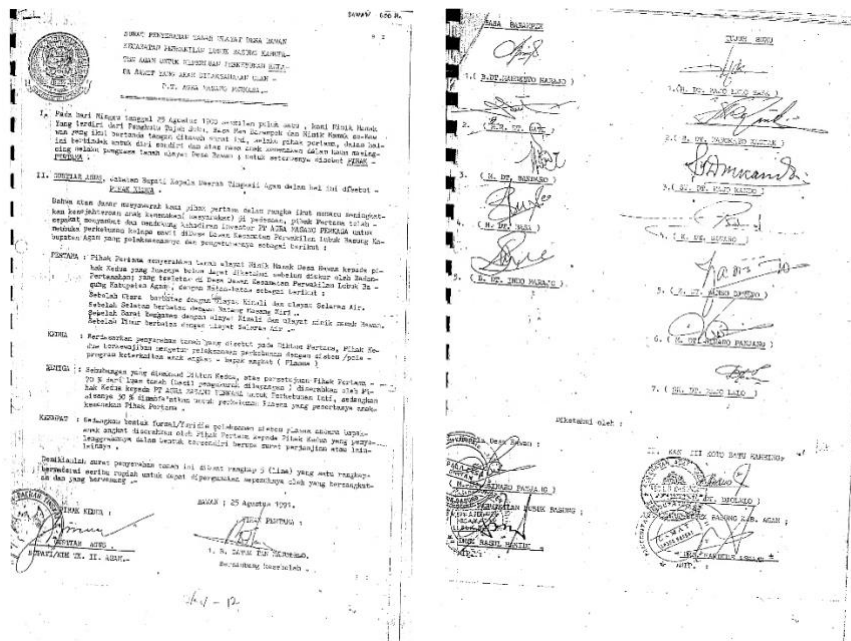


Figure 3. Letter of Submission of the Customary Land of Nagari

This is what underlies our hypothesis that the actual signature of *Ninik Mamak* in the handover of customary land obscures the customary leadership structure in Bawan itself. There is even an impression that the efforts of *Ninik Mamak* figures who were stronger in influence at that time actually coloured the determination of who *Ninik Mamak* could be involved. More interesting things can also be observed in the two-page letter of surrender of customary land. On the first page, there is only the signature of B. Dt. Tan Majolelo and Gustiar Agus, Regent of Agam. Meanwhile, the signatures of

other Ninik Mamak are all on page 2. It is suspected that this was later used as a basis for B. Dt. Tan Majolelo only showed the first page of the agreement to strengthen his position as the 'most powerful' Ninik Mamak in Bawan.

Although said to adhere to the Koto Piliang system, in Bawan, a quasi-adat system of land tenure customs applies. If it is said to be *Babingkah Adat*, in some cases, it seems to show the characteristics of *Babingkah Tanah*. In practice, B. Dt. Tan Majolelo appears to be trying to play his role like a "king". All Ninik Mamak from both *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah* were involved in the handover of communal land, but it was tailored to the needs of the 'king'. Not all of the *Basa Nan Barampek* and *Penghulu Nan Batujuah* were involved, while some other *Penghulu*, *Andiko*, were included in the signing of the communal land handover.

Based on the above description, it is clear that any dynamic relationship between elites will be able to influence decision-making practices in indigenous communities. In other words, what is declared as a customary decision does not necessarily guarantee that it follows the provisions of customary rules. Customary decisions can be influenced by the pragmatic interests of the more influential customary figures at the time. If we follow the legal language in the 1991 communal land surrender letter, there is mention of the surrender of communal land by *Ninik Mamak* throughout Bawan as if the communal land used as HGU is the communal land of the Nagari, and the *Babingkah Adat* system applies to it. However, a large portion of the communal land that was made into HGU was also the communal land of the Caniago tribe, led by Dt. Tan Majolelo. Therefore, the handover of communal land in 1991 cannot be fully said to be guided by the *Babingkah Adat* or *Babingkah Tanah* systems. Even if it is said to have been handed over by *Ninik Mamak* throughout Bawan, legally, those who participated in signing it were not fully under the customary leadership structure in the village. This is what we call a quasi-customary practice. But whichever option is considered more appropriate, it is still very important to first ascertain the object of customary land that becomes the plantation HGU area, whether the customary land is categorised as tribe/clan or Nagari (village).

The land transfer mechanism carried out by *Ninik Mamak* in Bawan is a mechanism carried out through customary and political interests. Although the concept of authority in the handover of customary land for each Nagari, in general, the scheme refers to the picture. The customary land to be handed over by *Ninik Mamak* through the concept of *silih jahiah* and *adat diisi limbago dituang* contains an agreement that the company will manage 70% of the land handed over, and 30% will be managed by *Ninik Mamak*. After this agreement is approved, the land will be handed over to the local government, which will then be used as HGU by the company.

In the social and cultural system of the community, there are layers of society that play an important role, namely, *Ninik Mamak*, which is quite extensive. So, there are often mutual claims to customary titles (*datuk*). On that basis, in the traditional structure of Koto Piliang and the matrilineal system, it is common because the concept of inheriting titles (*sako*) and property (*pusako*) does not fully follow the matriarchal system (mother's power). Due to the development of grandchildren, some people feel that they deserve to be able to become/hold the status of customary titles. Therefore, companies must understand that the inheritance of the customary 'special *Datuk*' *sako* is closely related to genealogical ties and kinship genealogy. Its inauguration was also marked in sacred traditional ceremonies and processions, as well as showing its recognition and legitimacy by members of the community and the entire Nagari population.

Internal conflicts that occur at the stakeholder level (*Ninik Mamak*) can be seen as a dynamic that inevitably occurs due to political and economic interests. In some Nagari, there is dualism in customary leadership, with multiple customary leaders. Not only elite conflicts, but also those that reach the level of grandchildren, because there are differences in the recognition of members of one tribe and another. The development of capitalism, marked by increased commercialisation and

monetisation, as well as political change, has had an impact on rural areas. This is actually not a new phenomenon but has occurred since the Dutch colonial rule in the past, even until the current post-reform era. Elite conflicts between interested parties will claim each other's customary titles or claim who has the most rights to the customary land under their control. Thus, the company's position does not need to be present as an arbiter, because they have its own mechanisms and natural selection on that matter. Juridically, title holder disputes are often resolved through legal channels, a sign that customary resolution mechanisms are weakening.

CONCLUSION

There is a loophole that can be exploited by the *Ninik Mamak* group to win their interests and create dualism in traditional leadership based on mutual claims of being the rightful party. However, the purpose of all this is also inseparable from the influence of capitalism, which is marked by the increasing flow of commercialisation and monetisation that is increasingly penetrating the fabric of traditional rural communities. In this context, the serious issue of the transfer of customary land ownership for oil palm plantation development is also not immune to this trend of change.

Internal conflicts related to customary land issues mainly occur among the traditional elite themselves. The main trigger is often inseparable from economic and political interests. In some villages, there is dualism in traditional leadership, and there are also dual traditional leaders. These elite conflicts also extend to the grandchildren and nephews, due to differences in the recognition of members of one clan/tribe and another. In fact, with the development of capitalism, marked by changes in political policies accompanied by the increasing influence of commercialisation and monetisation into the very fabric of rural community life, this is not a new phenomenon. It has been occurring since the Dutch colonial era, continued during the New Order era, and persists even in the post-reform era today. Sociologically-anthropologically, its dynamics should also be expected to be covered by non-legal factors (economic, social, and political) in the company's relationship with the authorities, and therefore should not be ignored.

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List of Informants

- 1) Dt. Kando Marajo, Ninik Mamak (KAN), Bawan (2025)
- 2) Dt. Tan Majolelo 1, Ninik Mamak, Bawan (2025)
- 3) Dt. Tan Majolelo 2, Ninik Mamak (KAN), Bawan (2025)
- 4) D. C, Head of Village, Bawan (2025)
- 5) Dt. Tan Majolelo 3, Ninik Mamak, Bawan (2025)
- 6) W, PT AMP Plantation, Bawan (2025)