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The Mechanism of Adat Justice Conducted by the Kerapatan Adat Nagari (Kan) within Dispute Resolution on Sako Pusako in Indigenous People Community In Luhak Agam West Sumatera

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Abstract: ***Indonesia ismulti-cultural, ethnic, religious and tribes country.So that, dispute settlement mechanisms withinthat diversity among Indonesian community could be taken through two kinds, namely the litigation settlement (settlement through the general or state courts) and non-litigation settlement (using out-of-court deliberations/ADR). This study aims to describe the customary court mechanisms conducted by Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN) within dispute resolution of Sako Pusakoon Adat law community in Luhak Agam regency, West Sumatera Province. This study uses empirical legal research methods, namely looking at the law in the sense of reality and examining how the law works among environmentalcommunity. In addition, This research uses socio-legal approach, that is a study that sees the law through a merger between normative analysis (legal or juridical norms) and non-legal science approaches. Furthermore, Both those empirical and socio-legal methods hold in descriptive analysis. Overall result reveals that the mechanism of customary court conducted by Kerapatan Adat Nagari both in Kanagarian Batu Taba and in Kanagarian Pasia on the settlement of Sako and Pusako disputes resolved from the lowest level in which known asBajanjangNaik BatanggoTurun, first resolved in the Paruik level, then Jorong, then the Ampek Suku, the last is to the Nagari level. At the Nagari level, the settlement of Adat disputes of high treasures is resolved through customary institutions, namely the Kerapatan Adat Nagari.***

Keywords: KAN, adat law, Sako Pusako, Adat Justice

1. Introduction

As matter of fact, Indonesian is known as anation-state with themulti-cultural, ethnic, religious, racial and classical country. By the concept to Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity) which in de facto reflects the national cultural plurality within the auspices of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. State territory that stretches from Sabang to Merauke in which also having varieties of natural resources.

The Amendment of the 1945 Constitution, the recognition, and respect for indigenous peoples is stated in Article 18 B paragraph (2), namely; "The State recognizes and respects the unity of indigenous and tribal peoples along with their traditional rights as long as they are alive and in accordance with the development of society and the principle of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, as governed by law".

This Article provides a constitutional position to indigenous peoples in relation to the state, as well as the constitutional basis for the administration of the state, how should one community be treated. Thus,the article is a declaration of:

1) The constitutional obligations of states to recognize and respect indigenous peoples.
2) The constitutional rights of indigenous peoples to gain recognition and respect regarding their traditional rights.

The meaningof Article 18 B Paragraph (2) of the Constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia 1945, is also a constitutional mandate that must be obeyed by state officials, to regulate the recognition and respect for the indigenous people's existence in a form of law.

Another article concerning with the indigenous peoples is Article 28 I Paragraph (3) which states: "The cultural identity and rights of traditional communities are respected in accordance with the times and civilizations."

The rightful authority of indigenous and tribal peoples are affirmed by the previous Law in relation to the management of natural resources in accordance with cultural identity and distinctiveness, Law No. 32/2004 on executive orderis more concerned with the affirmation of the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples to manage their political and governance systems in accordance with the provisions of local customary law. Article 203 paragraph (3), for example, states: "The election of the village head in the unity of indigenous and tribal peoples along with their traditional rights as long as their living and recognized existence of the local customary law provisions stipulated in local regulations by referring to the executive order.

Those Articlesdisclose the meaning that the adat/customary law community according to its development can develop its form of fellowship into a village-level government as mentioned in the elucidation of Article 202 paragraph (1): "The villages referred to in this provision such are Nagari in West Sumatra, Gampong in the province of Nangro Aceh Darussalam, Lembang in South Sulawesi, Kampung in South Kalimantan and Papua, Negeri in Maluku".

The adat Law community arrangement in the region, particularly West Sumatera, is fully reflected in the form of Nagari. This Nagari institution has been growing everfor

centuries before the Dutch colonization came to Indonesia. The West Sumatra region, known as Minangkabau, has been living under the leadership of the Penghulu-penghulu organized by the Kerapatan AdatNagari(KAN) within each Nagari (entity) who runs its management under the terms of mufakat or wisdom of the *Alua Jo Patuik* (Rules and Propriety), even the relationship amongeach Nagari and Nagariwas regulated by KerapatanAdatNagari.

The recognition of customary law community was also stated by Muhammad Bakri that; long before the Independence Proclamation of Indonesia, and even long before the invasion into Nusantara, the Indonesian archipelago was inhabited by customary law (Rechtgemeenschap) with sovereign and full authority over its territory. Sovereign and the authority is (based on) right Ulayat, that is, the right of customary law community to assume the land and its contents (natural resources) in its jurisdiction.

By the time the Dutch cominginto the Minangkabau territory, they had witnessed social stability among the people in the Nagari under the care of the (Penghulu) princes, and had been able to create variations of relatively high cultures, therefore the Dutch were very cautious in putting their powers, it could be seen on the goodwill of the Dutch Government with the following agreement:

1) Minangkabau Kingdom Submission Contract to the Netherlands on January 10, 1820, article 5.
2) The approval of Masang, Dated January 20, 1824, the second part b.
3) Approval of Kramat De Steurs, dated 15 November 1825, paragraphs 2 and 7.

The Dutch governmentbegan their colonial foundations in the Nagari, through the Long Placard Agreement dated 25 October 1833 which reads as follows: "The heads and the chiefs (penghulu) appointed as our representatives shall be paid by the Governor, they shall not be given great power, but labor as the tip of our order, and enlighten us all things which may increase the progress of the gentlemen".

At the time of the Dutch colonialists, Nagari was also given the right to take care of its own entity. This can be seen in Article 128 IS, on this NagariAdat Density we can see in *InlandscheGemeenteOrdonantieBuitengewesten* (IGOB).

After the Independence of Indonesia, it came out the Resident of West Sumatera No. 20 and 21 on 18-3-1946 on the change of the composition of Nagari Institution, Nagari Representative Council, Nagari Daily Council headed by WaliNagari, while the KAN is not mentioned and customary affairs are the competence of the KAN. Based on the of West Sumatra Governor order dated 18-3-1963, No. 015/GSB/1963 on the Basic Regulation of Nagari Administration in West Sumatera region, states that Nagari government is WaliNagari and Nagari People's Legislative Council, but this rule was not implemented because of the tendency of the Nagarichildren will return back to KAN.

The provision sought to end of customary law and its sanctions for indigenous and foreign easterners with customary criminal justice, except only by public courts, religious courts and village courts (village peace judges).

Based on West Sumatera Provincial order. No. 13 Year 1983, Nagari as a Unity of Customary Law Community could be viewed as positive entity from West Sumatera Provincial Government, Nagari can also be interpreted as applying the intention contained in Repelita III (five-year development plan) Chapter XXVII on National Law Development, which states that the development of law national government can be pursued by way of establishing new legislation as soon as possible, for the Government of West Sumatra Regional Level I issued a form of local regulations that is Regulation No. 13 year 1983 in which village authority is hand over by NagariKAN.

Article 4 of West Sumatra Provincial OrderNo. 13 year 1983, it is called: "The KAN custom is preserved and is a body in accordance with the function of Nagari in the future, which is to organize the life of the Nagari community as a community unit as long as it related to customary law and Minangkabau culture".

This article becomes apart as the juridical foundation for the establishment of kerapatan adat Nagariwhich currently better known as KAN take place in each Nagari.

The existence of indigenous peoples in Indonesia. In the 1945 Constitution (amendment proceeds), the recognition and respect for indigenous peoples, stipulated in Article 18B paragraph (2), namely; "The State recognizes and respects the unity of indigenous and tribal peoples along with their traditional rights as long as they are alive and in accordance with the development of society and the principle of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, as governed by law".

This Article provides a constitutional position due to indigenous peoples in relation to the state, as well as a constitutional basis for the stategovernance.

Law no. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government is more concerned with the affirmation of the indigenous and tribal peoples'rights on managing their political and governance systems in accordance with the provisions of local customary law. Likewhat, article 203 paragraph (3), states: "The election of the village head in the unity of indigenous and tribal peoples along with their traditional rights as long as the living and recognized existence of the local customary law provisions stipulated in local regulations by referring to the executiveorder.

According to Minister of Home Affairs OrderNo. 5 of 2007, in Article 1 paragraph 10 states:

Adat Institution is a social Institution either intentionally formed or which has reasonably grown and developed in the history of society or in a particular customary law community with the jurisdiction and right to property d in the customary law, and has the right and authority in order, manage and solve various life problems related to and refer to issued customs and customary law.

Nagari is anadatlaw community which has certain territorial boundaries and authorized to organize and manage the interests of local communities standing with based-Minangkabauadat philosophy (AdatBasandiSyarak, SyarakBasandiKitabullah) and or based on indigenouslocal customs within the area of West Sumatra Province.

Alternatives settlement of disputes resolution occurredamong society, could be taken under two kinds of solutions; the first settlement is litigation, namely settlement through the general or state courts, and the second non-litigation settlement that is using the settlement of deliberations outside the court or in other words out of court, of these two options, have a meaning for the parties, religious values, culture, goals and other benefits.

The regional order of West Sumatera No.2 Year 2007 on the Principles of the Nagari Government, also stated on the Implementation, Enforcement and Sanction, contained in Article 32 states:

1) All villagers of the Nagaricommunity have the duty and responsibility to keep, maintain, and develop the values of syarak, custom and culture in the Nagari.
2) All villagers of the Nagari community have the duty and responsibility in theenforcement of the values of syarak, custom and culture in the Nagari.
3) Violations against the prevailing syarak, customs and cultural values system are given sanctions in accordance with the mutual of adatNagarigoverned by the Nagari Regulations.
4) Procedures for enforcement and sanctions as referred to in paragraphs (1), (2) and (3) are regulated technically by Nagari Regulations and refer to guidelines issued through Districtorder.

Disputes Settlement through formal justice or litigation is the last option in the search for justice. Settlement beyond dispute resolution outside the formal or state courts, is essentially permissible. This can be seen in Chapter XII of Article 58-61 of Law 48/2009 on Judicial Power, as well as in Article 130 of the *HerzieneIndicheReglement*, which has outlined explicitly to the judges for any incoming civil case should be examined and decided formally, stating that although judges must adjudicate civil cases, efforts are made for getting mutual peace. Then more firmly mentioned in Article 2 paragraph 2-3 Supreme court unity No. 1 Year 2008 on Mediation Procedures in Courts which read as follows: Every judge who solves civil cases shall first require the parties to resolve their dispute with peace through mediation mechanism. If the judge does not encourage settling the dispute by reconciling through the mediation mechanism, then the court's decision is null and void".Dealing with this, it can be seen that not all cases must be solved through formal justice.

Lincoln in (M. Ali) has said, that every society does not always bring the case of disputes to court because disputes in court are more disadvantageous than profit. His name alone is called a winner, but in reality, the person is said to be included in the losing party, having lost the money and taking a long time.

Regardingthe foregoing background above, authorconducted this study untitled;*The mechanism of customary court conducted by the kerapatan adat nagariin solving the sakopusako dispute on indigenous and tribal peoples in LuhakAgam, West Sumatra Province* As an alternative settlement of disputes among group society, there are two kinds of solutions; the first settlement is litigation, namely settlement through the general or state courts, and the second non-litigation settlement that is using the settlement of deliberations outside the court or in other words out of court, of these two options, have a meaning for the parties, religious values, culture, goals and other benefits.In addition, this study is limited to the problems; first, what the Customary Justice it is: definition, scope, history, authority and development, second, How is the customary court mechanism conducted by the Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN) in solving the sakopusako dispute on indigenous and tribal peoples in LuhakAgam of West Sumatra Province.

2. Research Method

This study uses empirical legal research method, which sees the law in the real sense and examines how the law works in the community. This study uses a socio-legal approach, a study that looks at the law through a merger between normative (legal or juridical) and non-legal science approaches. Methods of analysis of research using descriptive analysis.

3. Result and Discussion

1) Living law and legal system concept

Living lawtheoreticalconcept is used to discuss the laws living amongthe indigenous and tribal peoples in general and in particularamong Minangkabau customary law community.

According to Soepomo in (Abdurrahman, 1984: 22),customary law is a living law because it embodies a real legal feeling of the people. The living law commonly used to show the various laws that grow and develop by itself within society, whichwill remain as the completeness of the National Law. The mention of customary law for theunwritten law does not diminish its role in providing the distribution of customs, the unspoken interests of the written law.

In the study of jurisprudence within society, the law can not be considered only as a set of rules or norms, but must be more than that, which is more viewed law as a system. Larence M. Friedman states: A legal system in actual operation is a complex organism in which structure, substance, and culture interact.

Furthermore, Lawrence M. Friedman (1975) states that to understand state law as a legal system, the law must be studied as a cultural product which essentially has three elements or components:

a) The structure of a system is its skeletal framework; it is the permanent shape, the institutional body of the system the tough, rigid bones that keep the process flowing within bounds. The structure of the legal system includes similar elements, such as courts as

institutions/institutions authorized to apply the law, structurally concerning the number and magnitude of the members of the assembly, the scope of its power or the limits of authority, the means of appealing from one level to another level. In this case, the legal structure is concerned with the structure of the legislative board, from the institutions authorized to apply law and law enforcement agencies. In relation to the unity of indigenous and tribal peoples, the legal structure can be interpreted among others; who has the authority to resolve legal disputes occurring in his territory, the limits of the authority to give birth and the establishment of any law and disputes constitute the scope of authority. Structural aspects of customary law could be by law officerscoup and implement the law enforcement.

b) The substance is composed of substantive rules and rules about how the institutions should behave. The meaning of substance is the actual form produced by the legal system, either in the form of norms, prohibitions, imperatives, and sanctions, then the validity of the norms, and patterns of behavior of society. All of which are known as "laws", are demands to be met by the legal system. In this sense, the notion of law also includes unwritten legal or living laws.
c) Legal cultural refers, then, to those parts of cultural countoms, opinion, way of doing and thinking that bend social forces toward or away from the law and in particular ways. A legal culture is the attitudes and values of society toward law and culture of this law plays an important role to be able to direct the development of the legal systembecause of the legal culture with regard to perceptions, values, ideas, ideas of hope society against thelaw and public opinion. The culture of the law is the key to the legal system, because the legal culture concerns the values and attitudes of the society that determine which structures (institutions of law) are used, which laws (the substance of laws) apply and which do not apply and why. The legal culture is the key to the effectiveness of the law in society. In other words, that legal culture is an atmosphere of social thought and social power that determines how laws are used, avoided, or abused. According to Lawrence M. Friedman, states that "without legal culture, the legal system is inert.

In addition, David M. Trubekin (Lawrence, 1975, 16)argues, modern legal conceptions as: (1) the system of rules; (2) in the form of human works and (3) autonomous, that is, it is part of the state but at the same time independent of it.

Due to position the law trapped in narrowing of meaning because the law is increasingly becoming something autonomous, apart from the reality and value that should be its substance and its supporters. This resulted in a legal situation having been deformed since its inception, this as a legal tragedy.

This ideology of legal centralism as the midwifeon legal positivism commonlynamed as modern law, in the most extreme sense is the law must be freed and purified from the values of non-law (ethics, moral, religion), so that the law as a precious free, which are deposited in the form of order and which are sourced from the state in written form. This kind of law nowadays is very dominant and as a supporter of the modern-liberal, even ultra-modern-neoliberal, state supported by its bearers (legal education, professionals with strict standards). Conversely, contrary to the notion of legal centralism is the idea of legal pluralism. The idea of legal pluralism places one legal system together with other legal systems.

At the same time, there have been even more long-standing legal systems of society and other cultures than state law. The people keep maintaining these legal systems dynamically in accordance with the pace of their culture. Some consider the other laws to be part of the past, but some say they still exist today.Some say exist but increasingly eroded. Its presence is often felt in various events (law).

Since the concept of legal unification takes precedence, the existence of the other laws becomes constrained. The obstacles are a) from the local people's side of the local law, they are increasingly unimpeded in implementing the law, b) from the state side, other laws are addressed as obstacles that can hamper the development process.

It brought Clashes between state law versus the other laws then occur, and the dynamics are sometimes high, and low. It is this concept which in the study of legal anthropology is known as the concept of a clash between legal centralism and legal pluralism, one presented, especially by state law, and the other by the laws of local societies.

Nagari is a unity of indigenous and tribal peoples whose development can not be separated from the political, economic, socio-cultural and defense sectors. So it needs to be maintained and developed in accordance with the development of the present age, by providing the appropriate position, function and role in the constitution and the demands of national development.

In the growth and development of the Nagari, the people still use customary law for certain matters, which customary law also will ultimately contribute to the development of national law which is generally accepted throughout Indonesia or will provide guidance on what does not need to be made public and left behind just as a local institution.

Furthermore, concerning with the enact of this customary law within the Nagariregion, it is also put forward by K. von Benda Beckman, how much: "the use of customs authorities in disputes processing in Minangkabau villages" and that "the authorities use of customary legal principles in the rationalization and justification of their conduct ".

Humans'living in society have been equipped to apply in accordance with and to sustain high cultural values. Cultural values which in certain societies are considered to be of the highest value, but the highest value in society is not always regarded as a value by other societies. In general, these values include social rules and norms and have been recognized as a binding norm between one another, ultimately institutionalized in the society.

The work of the law in society according to SatjiptoRahardjo,can not ignore the role of persons or members of the public who are subjected to positive law

arrangements. In the end can determine the attitudes, views, and values that members of the community need to live in behaving.The development and progress of society with a variety of interests, needs, and demands that are increasingly growing and growing day, it takes development and that happens so that leads to the goals that have been outlined.

The paradigm of understanding of customary law and its development must be placed in a large space, with theextensive review:

a) A study that no longer sees the legal system of a state in the form of state law, but also customary law and customary law;
b) The understanding of law (adat) not only understands customary law deep within the rural communities but also the laws prevailing in a particular hybrid or unnamed community environment;
c) Understanding the national trans law phenomena as the law made by multilateral organizations, hence the interdependence relationship between international law, national law and local law.

In order to increase the need for community action in various types of rural development in a labor-intensive manner, with some development policies to stimulate the values of society. While SoetardjoKartohadikusumosaid that: the village is a unity of law, where the residence of a ruling society to hold its own government. A small community entitled to hold a household is called a legal community. This means the right to hold its own household called autonomy according to customary law.

2) Adat Justice: Definition, Scope, History, Authority and Development

Customary law which, because of its unwritten nature standingamong thesocial community, it needsto take thecontinuous discussion on its development. This understanding will be known whether thecustomary law is aliveor it has changed, and in what direction it'schanging. There are many terms used to name local law: traditional law, customary law, indigenous law, people's law, which the overall known as "Adat" law.

Customary justice isadat law rules governing the way in which to deal with a case and/or to make a legal decision of a case according to customary law. The process of the settlement and decision-making of the case is called customary justice. The term justice (*Rechtspraak*) basically speakingon law and justice conducted by the court system/consent to settle cases outside the court and or in court.

Terminologically, customary law is defined asunwritten original Indonesian law in the form of legislation of the Republic of Indonesia which contains some religious entity. Derived from the word *Adatrecht*used by SnouckHurgronye and used as a technical terminology juridical by Van Vollenhoven. Later, the terminology of customary law known in the Indies era was stipulated in Article 11 of the AlgemeneBepalingen van Wetgevingvoor Indonesia (AB) with the terminology of *GodsdientigeWetten*, *VolksinstelingenenGebruiken*, the provision of Article 75 paragraph 3 *Reglement op hetBeleid der Regeling van Nederlands Indie* (RR) with terminology of *Instellingen en gebruiken des volks*, hereinafter under the provisions of Article 128 *Wet op de Staatsinrichting van Nederlandsch Indie or Indische Saatsregeling* (IS) is used the terminology *godsdientigewetten en oudeherkomsten* and under Stb. 1929 No. 221 Jo The last 487 is used *adatrecht* terminology.

Based on the current Indonesian Laws and Regulations (*IusConstitutum*) perspective, the terminology of Adat law is examined from the perspective of principles, norms, theoretical and practice commonly known; living law in society, legal values and sense of justice living within society, unwritten law, customary law, and so forth.

From such dimensions, adat law and its indigenous peoples have a close, integral and even inseparable correlation commonly expressed in the form of a *petatah*. For example, for example, in Acehnese society, known as *mateeanekmepat meshes*, *mateeadatphattamita* which means that a dead child can still be seen in hisgrave, but if custom is removed/dead, it will be difficult to find it. Another phrase, in the form of the *muripikanungedet*, *mate ikanung*bumi which means that the requirement to follow the adat rules is the same as the necessity when the dead must go into the bowels of the earth.

The above context describes that the customary criminal law has existed, born and grew in Indonesia for a long time. Then in the form of codification of customary criminal law after independence is regulated in the provisions of Article 1 and Article 5 paragraph (3) sub b of Law No. 1 the emergency year 1951, on Temporary Measures to Organize Unity of Structure, Power and Events of Civil Courts.

The provision of Article 1 Law No. 1 on the Emergency of 1951 argued that except the village court of the entire judicial body which includes the governing body of the court, the independent jurisdiction (*zelbestuurrechtspraak*) except the religious courts, if the court is in accordance with living law, is a part of the autonomous court, and the customary court body (*Inheemserechtspraak in rechtsreeksbestuurgebied*) except the religious court, if the court is in accordance with living law, is a separate part of the customary court has been abolished. The basic nature of the provision means that Act No. 1 of Emergency 1951 has eliminated other court bodies except the Public, Religious and Rural courts. As time goes by the changes and dynamics of a very complex society on the one hand, while on the other side of the legislation order as legislative policyshows3 stages: the policy stage of the formulation (process of legislation), the application stage (process judicial) and the execution stage (administrative process). Which is become partial is the existence of acustomary law can be said between existingand not. There are 2 (two) arguments that should be put forward in this context why the study of customary criminal law is assumed to exist between existence and absence.

First, it is examined from the dimensions of the formal legal principle (hereinafter referred to as the legal principle) and the material legalprinciple. Basically, the legal principle is commonly termed the *principle of legality*, *legaliteitbeginsel*, *non-retroactive*, *de la legalite* or *ex post*

facto laws. The provisions of the legality principle are regulated in Article 1 paragraph (1) of the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP) which reads: there is no event can be criminalized other than the strength of the provisions of the preceding criminal law (Geenfeit is strafbaar and uitkracht van eendaaranvoorafgeganewetteljkestrafbepaling). Studied by its substance, the principle of legality is formulated in Latin as *nullumdelictumnullapoena sine praevialegepoenali* (No Offense and No Crime without prior criminal provision), *or nullapoena sine lege* (no criminal without legal provisions)), *nullumcrimen sine lege* (no criminal act without provision by law) or *nullumcrimen sine poenalegali* (no crime act, no crime without criminal provision preceding it) or nullumcrimen sine legestricta (no criminal act without clear provision).

Subsequently, in the National seminaron Legal Report of 1994 on point a, it was revealed that written law and unwritten law should be complementary, and point b asserted that the formation of unwritten law is more "flexible" than the formation of a written law, as it can overcome the gap between validity laws and their effectiveness.

3) Dispute Settlement of Sako and Pusako conducted by Indigenous People Community in LuhakAgam West Sumatra.

Based on the revealed data results conducted through interview Mr. H RaymodDtBandaro Kayo at Kanagarian Batu Tabasubdistrict IV AngkekTilatangKamang, on Thursday, October 5th, hesaid that as long as he takes the Chairman of the Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN), anyviolating act toward the customary provisions (sakopusako) will be settled in Jorong level which called as Buek, then if it was not resolved it would be settled at a higher level that is known as KerapatanAdatNagari with a Dispute Settlement council of 11 people from each representatives tribes within the Kerapatan AdatNagari.

Whereas, in KanagarianPasiaSubdistrict IV Angkek Tilatang Kamang, based on the interview result with adat leader Mr. H John HendriSutanKabasaran on October 5th 2017 at 14.00 at the Office of NagariPasia, stated that the dispute resolution mechanism of sakopusakoshould be done by the Adat Dispute Settlement Council which got appointment from the Chairman of kerapatanAdatNagari as many as 18 people from the tribes in KanagarianPasia.

4. Conclusion

Based on the overall statement above, the writer takesthe conclusion about; The mechanism of customary court conducted by Kerapatan Adat Nagari both in KanagarianBatuTaba and KanagarianPasia on the dispute settlement mechanism of sakopusako disputes is resolved from the lowest level, in other words,*BajanjangNaik Batanggo Turun*, first that is resolved from the level of the *paruik*, then *jorong*, then the *ampek* tribe, then the last stage is it in the Nagarilevel. At the Nagarilevel, the settlement of customary disputes of high treasures is resolved through Adat institutions, namely the Kerapatan Adat Nagari with a Dispute Settlement council.

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