

INDONESIA'S AGRARIAN REFORM POLICY IN IMPROVING ACCESS TO FOOD SOURCES IN REMOTE AREAS

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Abstract - Agrarian reform in Indonesia is one of the strategic policies to create equal access to natural resources, especially land, which serves as the main support for food security. However, the implementation of agrarian reform so far has shown gaps in achieving its main objectives, especially in improving access to land as a source of food in remote areas. This study aims to examine the extent to which the agrarian reform policy is able to have a real impact on increasing people's access to food sources in these areas. Using the doctrinal approach method, this research relies on secondary data obtained through literature studies, policy documents, and relevant laws and regulations. The results show that although agrarian reform has been running, its implementation is often distorted by political and economic interests, which causes unequal land distribution and does not support food security in remote areas. Therefore, this study recommends that the implementation of agrarian reform return to the spirit of its purpose, which is to provide fair and equitable access to land, with a focus on granting land access rights that are directly related to the survival and food security of communities in remote areas. This effort must involve the government, the community and the private sector in an integrated manner to achieve maximum results.

Keywords: agrarian reform, food sources, remote areas;

INTRODUCTION

Soil has a timeless relationship with humans. As a natural resource, land is absolutely necessary for human existence as it provides shelter and a way of life. However, current human activities have created many problems related to land access and use. Land tenure has existed since the Dutch colonial era; the agrarische wet (Agrarian Law) became the legal basis for land regulation, to the detriment of the Dutch East Indies population at the time. The colonial government controlled land and exploited it for their own interests (Tarfi, 2021). Always the basis for Indonesia's socio-economic growth, the agricultural reform program was a key tool. The main objective of this approach is to reduce inequalities in the management and utilization of natural resources, especially land, which usually underlie differences in income distribution and access to basic human needs, including food. In this regard, land is of critical importance, especially for those who rely on agriculture as their main source of income. Agrarian reform is considered not only as a land transfer procedure but also as a tool to achieve sustainable social, economic and environmental justice and welfare (Salim, 2020).

Based on the idea of social justice, the agrarian reform program reflects the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which states that the purpose of the state is to promote general welfare. By ensuring fair access to natural resources - especially land - for historically poor communities, agrarian reform promotes prosperity. Especially in remote areas that are often overlooked, land owned by certain groups of people and companies is anticipated to be allocated to underprivileged communities to improve their quality of life. This philosophy is in accordance with the concept of distributive justice, which gives a fair distribution of resources according to needs as a top priority, thus increasing access to arable land for people in remote locations to increase their food production (Zakie, 2016). Many laws and regulations for land tenure, use, and administration govern agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. The Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) No. 5 of 1960, which is the main legislative framework, empowers the state to regulate and allocate land in Indonesia for the benefit of the people. UUPA protects land rights, such as the right to own, manage and use land for agriculture. It also provides the legal basis for agrarian reform projects. This approach aims to correct inequities in land tenure that have led to socioeconomic disparities, where a handful of economic elites control land ownership, while



the majority of the population, especially in rural areas, do not have adequate access to arable land. Agrarian reform in this context is not only seen as land redistribution, but also as a way to increase people's access to natural resources that can improve their food security.

For Indonesia, the existence of agrarian resources, especially land, is vital. Its existence serves to fulfill the needs of the entire community, especially the need to sustain life. However, agrarian problems in Indonesia have been going on for a long time. This shows the existence of social pressure. Mass riots of various types have emerged, mainly targeting government and corporate entities involved in rural resource management. KPA (Consortium for Agrarian Reform) started on January 6, 2021. The number of disputes in two areas - plantations (122 cases, up 28%) and forestry (41 cases, up 100%) - increased compared to 2019. This is shown in the Agrarian Reform Consortium's 2020 Year-End Note. Agrarian disputes affected a total of 135,332 families from April to December 2020. Komnas HAM also recorded 196 cases of agrarian conflict from 2018 to April 2019. These cases occurred in 33 provinces and covered 2,713,369 hectares. On the other hand, the Acceleration Team for Agrarian Conflict Resolution of the Presidential Staff Office of the Republic of Indonesia claims there are at least 666 complaints about agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. Despite the differences, both data show that Indonesia still experiences high levels of agrarian conflict (Laia, 2022) .

With the enactment of Law No. 5/1960 on Basic Agrarian Principles, agrarian reform has been in place since the beginning of independence. The law raised concerns regarding the recognition and protection of constitutionally guaranteed human rights, particularly the right to housing.⁵ The 1960 Law on Basic Agrarian Principles has been implemented to cause forced evictions that violate human rights by denying the right to housing. The ratification of Law No. 5/1960 on Agrarian Principles is a turning point for agrarian reform in Indonesia. It shows that agrarian reform has been talked about for many years. As part of a support package, agrarian reform changes the way land is owned and controlled.

From the needs of society, agrarian reform is not only a policy used for land return but also an evolving idea of reform that answers all the needs and demands of the times. Agrarian reform is an example of planned and intelligent work to improve people's lives and make society more just. Agrarian reform also facilitates the establishment of communal structures based on justice and democracy. Government Regulation No. 86/2018 on agrarian reform is what the current government is using to implement agrarian reform. This regulation has significant shortcomings, especially in the institutionalization of the Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA), which does not involve farmers and farmers' organizations at the central and regional levels. This omission has led to the non-identification of several agrarian disputes that could have been addressed quickly, including the redistribution of land previously designated as Land Object of Agrarian Reform (TORA).

From a sociological point of view, rural reforms are essential to improve food accessibility in remote locations that are usually neglected in development projects. Many remote places have people living in limited conditions with little access to infrastructure, markets and basic amenities. Fertile land is critical to increasing food production and overall well-being, as people rely heavily on agriculture for their livelihoods. This inequality is rectified by agrarian reform, which gives everyone, even those who live far away, equal access to arable land. Agrarian reform also affects more general social processes, including the empowerment of women in agriculture, community involvement in decision-making, and strengthening social ties within communities. Giving land rights to people in far-flung places can change the way people work, make people feel more just, and bring people together, which can lead to more inclusive growth.

As communities still depend on natural resources, agrarian reform plans must include ways to protect the environment. This approach requires land distribution and community participation in sustainable agricultural practices. So, sustainable use of natural resources, especially land, needs to be a big part of agrarian reform projects that aim to ensure future generations have access to food and protect the environment. Philosophical, legal and sociological perspectives require significant support for agrarian reform policies intended to improve food access in rural areas. The agrarian reform policy is intended to improve people's welfare and food security, especially in areas that do not have good food security. This policy is based on a commitment to social justice in philosophy, a clear legal framework, and a sociological view that considers the needs and situation of the community. Especially in underdeveloped areas that usually receive less attention in development, the agrarian reform policy has



a great influence in reducing social inequality. Communities in these areas usually depend on the agricultural industry as their main source of income. Agrarian reform is needed to ensure that natural resources are shared fairly. This will improve people's quality of life and their ability to obtain food. Agrarian reform aims to achieve social justice, improve people's welfare, and facilitate land transfers, resulting in increased food availability and improved access to larger markets. This directly affects food security, which is crucial for people living in remote areas to survive (Ramli, 2012) .

Agrarian reform in Indonesia is based on the basic values of Pancasila, especially the second principle, which states that everyone in Indonesia should be treated fairly in society. Agrarian reform should be considered as a project to create a more equitable distribution of natural resources within society, especially land, which is essential for agricultural activities. The concentration of land among a few parties has created great divisions in the social and economic fabric of society; therefore, agrarian reform projects are turning into tools to provide people access to vital resources, especially agricultural land. Especially since those in remote areas often experience difficulties in accessing natural resources such as agricultural land, the idea of social justice is considered as a way to reduce economic disparities.

The philosophy behind agrarian reform initiatives fits into a more holistic view of the equitable distribution of natural resources. Agrarian reform is seen by many as a tangible way to redress the inequalities that underlie injustice in Indonesian society. The government can ensure that everyone has equal access to natural resources through agrarian reform laws. This provides more opportunities for people to improve their quality of life through successful agriculture. The agrarian reform program aims to realize the country's great ideals, including the achievement of equitable social welfare for all Indonesians, especially those living in rural areas. The Basic Agrarian Law says that the government should take care of land so that it benefits everyone. The state has the right to control the ownership and use of land to ensure equitable distribution, thus preventing profits for a few. The aim of agrarian reform is to redistribute land previously owned by certain groups and provide opportunities for the poor to use land in a responsible and beneficial way. This legal basis allows the government to increase agricultural potential in remote areas and make a better life for the people living there (Poerana, 2022) .

However, implementing agrarian reform is not always easy. Some of the problems faced by the program are unclear land ownership, conflicts among stakeholders, and lack of technical knowledge of local governments in terms of data collection and land redistribution. These reasons show that strong laws and controls are needed for agrarian reform projects to run well. Therefore, community participation in policy implementation and decision-making is crucial to ensure the success of agrarian reform plans. Agrarian reform has a great social impact from a sociological point of view, especially in terms of promoting good social growth in rural areas. Life in many places is very difficult because the economy, infrastructure and basic services such as food, health and education are not easily accessible. Their main source of income comes from agriculture, so having access to fertile land is essential. Agrarian reform can help those in rural areas to obtain land rights for agricultural purposes. By gaining this access, people will find it easier to grow their own food, which will improve their food security (Utomo, 2021) .

Agrarian reform can also lead to social change, especially in terms of giving people more power and letting them take part in development. Access to fertile land not only gives communities physical wealth in the form of land, but also greater social and economic power. Such wealth encourages their participation in the autonomous management of natural resources, thereby improving their quality of life and strengthening the social fabric of the community. Agrarian transformation programs improve social welfare and food availability in general. In addition, the social changes brought about by agrarian reform initiatives can promote cooperation in environmental conservation between communities and the government. Communities with land rights usually show greater dedication to land conservation.

Therefore, agrarian reform policies that prioritize environmental sustainability will encourage people to farm in ways that are better for the environment and protect natural resources for future use. Given the many challenges, the relationship between land and human existence is complex, an evaluation of the agrarian reform process in Indonesia is essential. The development of a multidimensional and holistic framework of life support systems is a key focus. This is especially important in Improving Access to Food Sources in Remote Areas, which aims to achieve land justice and improve community welfare. Therefore, this research will answer one question, namely How agrarian reform policies affect the availability of local food sources in remote areas in Indonesia.



RESEARCH METHOD

In writing, a writing methodology is required. The method concerns the way of working to understand the object that is the target of the science concerned. In order for the results of writing to be scientifically accountable, a certain writing methodology is needed. Research method is a scientific activity related to analysis and construction, which is carried out methodically, systematically, and consistently. Methodological means according to a certain way or method, systematic means based on a system, and consistent means the absence of conflicting things in a certain framework. The approach used in this research is a doctrinal approach, which is an approach that emphasizes research that focuses on the rules that exist in positive law (Qamar & Rezah, 2020) .

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Agrarian Reform as an Important State Agenda

One of the main strategies intended to reduce poverty and promote economic equality is agrarian reform. Agrarian reform is particularly important in Indonesia as inequalities in land ownership and access to natural resources are evident, thus promoting social and economic justice. The majority of Indonesia's population depends on the agricultural sector, and most farmers are smallholders living in rural or remote areas. The goal of agrarian reform is to give land owned by a few people or large companies to the poor and people who do not have access to agricultural land. Through this land transfer, farmers will have land to cultivate and expand local food production capacity. This development will lead to the achievement of food sovereignty and reduce dependence on food imports, which are usually vulnerable to changes in world prices. Taking these considerations into account, agrarian reform strategies can help make food more secure and reduce poverty in far-flung places that once had access to resources that helped the agricultural industry. For agrarian reform to be successful, the land tenure system needs to change. This includes land redistribution, restrictions on land consolidation, and changes in the way profits are shared in agriculture.

Agrarian reform aims to increase smallholder farmers' incomes as well as agricultural output. With better land management, agricultural reform enables isolated communities to maximize their agrarian potential. Through land redistribution and access support reforms, farmers can increase local food production, thus reducing their dependence on imports. By giving farmers their own land to farm, agrarian reform can help rural areas that often struggle to get food due to inaccessibility. Agrarian reform also encourages the development of local food crops, thus diversifying agricultural products to suit the geographical conditions in remote areas. Remote locations may lack technical irrigation and poor infrastructure such as roads. These conditions reduce farmers' access to markets and hence reduce their yield potential (Consortium for Agrarian Reform, 2024) .

In accordance with Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018, agrarian reform was enacted during Joko Widodo's presidency. The aim is to reduce disparities in who owns and controls land. The government implemented agrarian reform as a strategy to legalize assets and facilitate community access to natural resources through social forestry initiatives. At the Agrarian Reform Summit 2024, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), Minister of Agrarian and Spatial Planning and Head of the National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), said that the government has improved people's welfare over the past ten years by ensuring legal certainty about land. AHY said that the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency has granted 11,017 households 14,968 plots of land covering 5,133 hectares. Reports indicate that the government has implemented asset legalization and land redistribution efforts covering 12.5 million hectares. In reality, government programs that are supposed to reduce inequality are actually making things worse because they do not address the problems that cause long-standing inequality and agrarian conflicts (Tempo, 2024) .

Regarding the basic principles of agrarian reform, these are protecting human rights, unifying all laws, justice in the management and use of agricultural resources, the role of land in society and the environment, resolving land disputes, sharing tasks, being open and allowing communities to participate, reforming and restructuring land, supporting agricultural production, and funding agrarian reform programs. In addition, access to agricultural resources is an economic right for all people. Agrarian reform is intended to improve people's welfare through two schemes, namely: asset reform and access reform (Waryanta, 2018) . Asset reform is carried out by giving state land to the community and also



strengthening land ownership rights to lands that have been controlled by the community. Meanwhile, access reform is carried out by providing assistance in the form of skills training and or providing access to capital and access to marketing to recipients of asset reform so that they are able to empower their land. This land empowerment is directed at improving the welfare of the community through access to infrastructure provision, financing, processing, production, marketing and distribution.

Access reform is realized as a post-asset reform empowerment program. Access reform is part of empowerment activities directed at providing power (empowerment) or strengthening to the community (Theresia et al., 2014). Empowerment is a "process of becoming" not just an "instant process" in which there are 3 stages, namely: awareness, capacity building, and empowerment (Rohman & Astuti, 2019). In the context of empowerment, villages are one of the important loci that become targets or beneficiaries. Villages have an important role in increasing national economic growth because it is through villages that the hinterland function (suppliers of basic needs) for urban communities is still carried out. Villages are food barns as well as raw material barns that ensure that economic activity in urban areas can continue.

Agrarian reform access arrangement can be said to be one of the empowerment programs that also places underdeveloped regions as a priority. Underdeveloped regions, if then associated with villages whose strategic function is as a *hinterland*, also have a variety of problems related to their underdevelopment records, including the problem of poverty. Hinterland itself is defined as an area that functions as a producer of staple foods, such as corn, cassava, rice, beans, fruit, vegetables, and soybeans (Jamal & Suparno, 2022). Access reform is a driving force for rural communities to become self-sufficient in the clothing, food, and shelter sectors. Access reform is implemented through exploring the potential of an area. Potential itself is the power, strength, ability and capability that has the possibility be developed. Village potential is the power, strength, ability and capability possessed by a village that has the possibility to be developed in order to improve community welfare (Pujiriyani et al., 2018).

One of the important sectors for rural communities is the food sector or what can be referred to as food security. Food security is one of the objectives of agrarian reform. Food security itself means the fulfillment of food for every household, which is reflected in the availability of sufficient food, both in quantity and quality, safe, equitable, and affordable (Tangngareng & Ridha, 2018). Before achieving food security targets, first, land ownership must be fulfilled. This access will then make land management productive and realize it as access to food sources.

Food sovereignty is a way for farmers to respond to the 'food crisis'. The terminology 'food sovereignty' emerged in the 1980s, while the movement emerged in the 1990s. The movement intensified to combat free trade and structural adjustment policies by supporting domestic agricultural sectors in the South. Food sovereignty emerged as the antithesis of the WTO's highly unrealistic food regime and claims of food security through free trade. The main formulations or elements of food sovereignty are: Redistributive agrarian reform, local food production through small-scale farmers oriented towards supplying domestic markets, democratically controlled agricultural policies, just and non-oppressive social relations, freeing the agricultural sector from trade agreements, stopping dumping of food subsidies in southern countries, and sustainable production based on agri-ecological farming techniques (McMichael, 2014).

Food sovereignty implies the implementation of comprehensive agrarian reform adapted to local conditions in each country in order to have equal access to productive resources, especially land (Rosset & et al. (Ed.), 2006). Without agrarian reform, there will never be food sovereignty because agrarian reform is a prerequisite or precondition towards food sovereignty. Through a cultural politics called 'agrarian citizenship', food sovereignty seeks to appeal to government authorities to protect and advocate for the rights of farmers that they do not merely produce food, but have rights to land (Shattuck & et al., 2015). Agrarian citizenship relates to the right of communities to produce and manage their local resources which includes the 'reterritorialization' of the state through the revitalization of local food ecologies under small-farmer stewardship (Bernstein & Bachriadi, 2014). In the context of food sovereignty, agrarian reform is needed to provide land for small farmers and farm laborers to guarantee ownership and control over the land they cultivate and restore their identity as food producers (Eilenberg, 2016).



Orientation of Agrarian Reform Implementation

According to Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018, Indonesia's agrarian reform program aims to make society more equitable by giving land to poor areas that do not have access to natural resources that can be used for farming. The agrarian reform program has two main objectives that require further elaboration:

a. Redistribution of Land

Land redistribution attempts to make land ownership and use more equitable by giving land rights to smallholders, indigenous peoples and the poor. Access to land will enable people to farm effectively and independently. This is especially important in remote locations, where smallholders are usually laborers with low incomes and no control over their agricultural resources.

b. Empowerment of the Community

Agrarian reform relies heavily on community empowerment. Community empowerment includes not only providing access to land, but also education and training to manage land sustainably and increase agricultural productivity. A good agrarian reform program will encourage people in far-flung places to manage their land better. This will improve food security, help farmers make more money, and reduce the need to import food.

According to Article 3 of the Presidential Regulation, the Central Government and Regional Governments implement Agrarian Reform in two main stages: planning and implementation. As stipulated in Article 4, Agrarian Reform planning includes several important elements: organizing the distribution of assets related to land tenure and ownership in Agrarian Reform (TORA), structuring access related to the use, utilization, and production of TORA, establishing legal certainty and regulations governing TORA, planning for the settlement of agrarian disputes and conflicts, and coordinating other activities that support the achievement of Agrarian Reform objectives.

The implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia emphasizes the idea of land redistribution by allocating state-controlled land, land with excess maximum area, absentee land, and other state land designated as objects of Agrarian Reform to small farmers and smallholders. In general, agrarian reform has three key elements regulated in Law No. 86/2018 on Agrarian Reform, namely asset structuring, access structuring, and conflict resolution. Asset structuring is the rearrangement of land tenure, ownership, use, and utilization in accordance with laws and regulations. Asset structuring is ordered by the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency. Meanwhile, access arrangement is the provision of good institutions and management so that land redistribution beneficiaries can cultivate their land as a source of profitable livelihood (benefit principle). Relevant ministries, institutions and local governments implement the access reform policy.

The National Agrarian Reform Team coordinates the implementation of agrarian reform by establishing Agrarian Reform Task Forces (GTRA), both Central, Provincial, and Regency/City GTRAs. The Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA), an ad hoc and temporary cross-sectoral organization, helps accelerate and implement the national strategic program of agrarian reform by facilitating asset management through asset legalization (consisting of asset legalization and transmigration land settlement) and land redistribution (originating from former Cultivation Rights Title (HGU), abandoned land, and forest area release). The program also offers ways to resolve agrarian conflicts and disputes (Tjandra, 2020a).

The TRA discussed the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). The objectives are: a) distribution of Land Object of Agrarian Reform (TORA) resources, including the release of forest areas, b) implementation of land redistribution associated with the growth of transmigration areas, c) issuance of land certificates (legalization), and d) empowerment of communities receiving TORA resources. GTRA aims to find barriers and assist the implementation of agricultural reforms at the national and local levels to overcome these barriers. GTRA aims to increase land redistribution from Forest Area Release from 4.11% in 2020 to 100% target (4.1 million hectares) in 2024, and to increase land redistribution from former Cultivation Rights Title (HGU) and abandoned land from 200% in 2020 to 500% of the 2024 target (increasing from 0.4 million hectares to 2 million hectares). The program also



aims to increase the income of communities affected by Agrarian Reform - from former HGU, abandoned land, redistribution, PTSL, and transmigration (by 25%). Although an efficient means of control has not yet been found, it is very important to strive for this control as a first step (Tjandra, 2020b) .

Regarding government involvement in land disputes, it is recognized that the main cause of these conflicts is the general public's lack of understanding of the importance of land certificates as proof of legal ownership, rather than their proper use. For example, land certificates are supposed to serve as a record of all legal processes relating to purchase and sale by recording all relevant details in the certificate. This condition is exacerbated by the lack of clarity of land ownership in disadvantaged areas, which leaves land managers unable to utilize their land as a source of food. Thus, if either party claims ownership, it will be documented that there has been a legal sale and purchase. If agrarian reform is to succeed, this must first be addressed (Amaliyah et al., 2021) .

In addition, for agrarian reform to work, all levels of society must be involved, from the highest levels of government and state institutions to the lowest levels of society and non-governmental organizations. Since local stakeholders have a better understanding of the situation on the ground, they can help shape the planning of the National Agrarian Reform Program to address specific regional issues by providing feedback on potential program implementation locations (Arisaputra, 2013) .

Impact of Agrarian Reform on Access to Food Sources

Agrarian reform in Indonesia has a direct impact on people's access to food sources, especially in remote areas that have experienced difficulties in gaining access to land and markets. Some of the main impacts that can be identified are as follows:

a. Increased Access to Agricultural Land

With land redistribution, smallholders in remote areas will gain access to land that they did not previously own. The land given to these smallholders can be used to increase domestic food production, which in turn will improve local food availability. By having enough agricultural land, farmers can produce various types of food commodities that can be used to meet the needs of the local community.

b. Improving the Quality and Quantity of Food Production

Access to larger and more productive land allows farmers to expand their agricultural businesses. Thus, they can grow various types of food crops such as rice, corn, vegetables and fruits, which are needed to improve food security.

c. Improved Infrastructure and Market Access

The implementation of agrarian reform should also be accompanied by the development of adequate infrastructure, such as better roads, food storage facilities, and efficient distribution. With adequate infrastructure, agricultural products produced by smallholders in remote areas can be more easily marketed, both for local needs and for a wider market. Better market access can increase the selling price of agricultural products, which in turn will improve the welfare of farmers.

Now that the state is no longer the 'ruling' entity, agrarian reform must be seen in a new light. As Indonesia's transformation from an autocratic to a democratic state became emblematic across South and Southeast Asia, East Asia and Latin America, people wanted access to economic opportunities so that they could live a decent life. An important indicator that state dominance has changed is the Arab Spring phenomenon that took place in Tunisia in 2010 and 2011. Agrarian reform ideas initiated by the state, which is considered to have dominant power, need to be re-evaluated in this democratic framework. The dynamics of agrarian reform implementation cannot be adequately explained by reform by grace or reform by leverage. The declining role of the state's regulatory and political authority complicates the implementation of this kind of agricultural reform. Actors engaged in competition among companies, NGOs and the wider community seize control of political power on the ground. It is understandable that agrarian reform is difficult to gain traction in the current climate due to its complex and dangerous reputation. There are two processes associated with agrarian reform. While agrarian



reform does help some people to gain access, it does not help others at all. Equal access and recognition of previously excluded groups is a necessary condition for opening up access (Goodwin, 2017) .

An unanticipated but common consequence is the concentration of land after redistribution and the rapid integration of farmers into market circuits as a result of legalization. The phenomenon of deagrarianization, which affects several countries such as Indonesia, is closely related to the shortcomings and long-term viability of agricultural reforms. The process of deagrarianization signals a change in the perception and value of agricultural land. Deagrarianization means that 'farming' is no longer considered the main option for survival due to diversification of rural employment. People in rural areas no longer rely on land as the primary means of survival. Land release for sale will occur when 'farming' is no longer considered an attractive profession, when other viable employment options are easily accessible, and when returns from off-farm investments are considered more lucrative compared to returns from farming enterprises.

Case studies have been conducted by (Siscawati et al., 2017a) showing that the implementation of forestry tenure reform policies in several provinces in Indonesia, especially in Lampung and Maluku. Although policies issued by the central government have recognized the rights of local communities in the management of forest resources, their implementation at the regional level often encounters obstacles. In Lampung, for example, indigenous peoples and local communities have been granted licenses to manage some forest areas through Community Forestry (HKm) and Community Plantation Forest (HTR) schemes. However, even when licenses are granted, the process is often hampered by complicated bureaucracy and the long time it takes to obtain a license. This suggests that while these schemes exist, they are still limited in their capacity to effectively manage forest areas. Furthermore, in provinces such as Maluku, despite the push to involve local communities in forest management, many areas still face uncertainty over ownership and management rights. This lack of clarity often leads to conflict between the government, large companies and indigenous communities who have managed the land for generations.

The different policy implementation in each province shows the mismatch between policies issued by the central government and diverse local conditions. Reliance on permits and complicated regulations adds to the burden on communities who essentially just want to get the rights to the forests they already manage. These lengthy and bureaucratic processes, coupled with a lack of capacity at the local level, make policy implementation slow and sometimes ineffective. Clarity on forest ownership and management rights must be strengthened to ensure the sustainability of forest management by local communities, and to prevent greater conflict. This condition must also be responded to by the state in implementing a true agrarian reform. The main context as analyzed in this research is to improve access to food sources in remote areas.

The implementation of similar policies in other countries also shows different conditions. Research conducted by (Heredia et al., 2016a) shows that the regional impact of agrarian reform in Brazil, especially in the establishment of agricultural settlements managed by the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA). The research focuses on the socio-economic, political, and environmental changes that resulted from the establishment of these settlements in different regions of Brazil, such as Sul da Bahia, Sertão do Ceará, and the Canavieira Zone in the Northeast, among others. Brazil provides an example that while agrarian reform in Brazil has had a positive impact on many families, its impact on land concentration at the national level remains limited.

The establishment of agricultural settlements has improved the quality of life of most families by providing access to land ownership and agricultural work. However, despite these positive changes in the lives of farmers, there has been relatively little change in the agrarian structure nationwide. In the areas identified, these settlements brought diversification in local agricultural products, with the introduction of new crops and increased production of some existing local products. Products such as coffee, cocoa and other horticultural products have seen a significant increase thanks to agricultural settlements (Heredia et al., 2016b) .

Agrarian reform in Brazil has some similarities with the situation in Indonesia, especially in relation to the inequality of land distribution and the struggle of farmers to obtain land rights. In Indonesia, although there have been various agrarian reform efforts, such as the Land Redistribution Program (PRT), the main challenge remains in the implementation of these policies, especially in terms



of equitable land distribution, land dispute resolution, and the establishment of settlements that support the lives of farmers, especially in remote areas (Siscawati et al., 2017b). In the context of food security, Indonesia and Brazil are examples of dependence on landless or extremely poor farmers. In Brazil, most of the population of agricultural settlements come from areas that are accustomed to agriculture but are in unstable situations, such as farm laborers or seasonal workers. The same is true in Indonesia, where small farmers or farm laborers often face uncertainty in their employment, especially in marginalized (remote) areas.

Agrarian reform in Indonesia is an integral part of the state's efforts to realize social and economic justice through land redistribution and community empowerment, especially in remote areas that have limited access to agricultural resources. From the various aspects that have been discussed, it can be concluded that agrarian reform is not only related to land transfer, but also involves sustainable social, economic and environmental dimensions. This is especially important given the long-standing inequality of land ownership, where most agrarian resources are concentrated in the hands of a few people or large companies, while most small farmers and poor communities are marginalized.

The importance of agrarian reform in achieving social justice in Indonesia becomes clear when we highlight its impact on food distribution, which is one of the main problems still faced by the country. In this context, agrarian reform aims to provide fairer access to communities, especially small farmers, farm laborers and indigenous peoples who previously had difficulty obtaining rights to the land they manage. Through land redistribution, smallholders will have the right to manage their own land, which in turn will increase domestic food production capacity.

An analysis of the effect of agrarian reform on food security in remote areas shows that the success of agrarian reform depends on two main aspects: effective land redistribution and community empowerment. Land redistribution provides smallholders with the opportunity to manage larger and more productive plots of land, allowing them to improve the quality and quantity of food production.

Agrarian reform has broader impacts than just land distribution. It is a tool to promote social empowerment and create a more just and democratic social structure, where communities can manage their resources more autonomously. Agrarian reform also has the potential to strengthen social ties within communities, as well as raise awareness of the importance of sustainable natural resource management.

CONCLUSION

Agrarian reform in Indonesia has a crucial role in realizing social and economic justice through land redistribution and community empowerment, especially in remote areas. The main objective of agrarian reform is to provide fairer access to small farmers, farm laborers, and indigenous peoples who have been marginalized from agrarian resources. Through land redistribution, smallholders gain land rights that can increase domestic food production capacity, which in turn contributes to local food security. It is important that land redistribution can be utilized in a sustainable manner. However, the implementation of agrarian reform faces major challenges, such as unclear land ownership, agrarian conflicts, and complicated bureaucracy, which hinder people's access to the land they are entitled to.

In addition, agrarian reform also has broader social impacts, including social empowerment, increased social cohesion, and more autonomous management of natural resources by communities. While there are policies to support agrarian reform, the challenge of deagrarianization—where agriculture is no longer the main option for many—requires special attention. Overall, agrarian reform can reduce socio-economic inequality and improve people's welfare, but its success largely depends on effective implementation and active community participation. With an inclusive and holistic approach, agrarian reform can be key to achieving social justice and improving people's quality of life, especially in remote areas.

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have an impact on the improvement of the law in the field of agraria. We hope the reader can understand the results of the research carried out by the author.

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