

CONTENT ANALYSIS ON AGRARIAN REFORM POLICY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The design of land management is a crucial thing that is sought in mitigating agrarian conflicts. Efforts to reduce agrarian conflicts are outlined in various agrarian policies. This study aims to review and analyze various policies in realizing agrarian reform in Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive analysis model. The data in this study are sourced from agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. The policies related to agrarian reform are then processed and analyzed using the NVivo 12 Plus application. The results of this study reveal that there are several essential issues in agrarian reform policies in Indonesia, namely land conflicts, land governance, land services, land use permits, land distribution, people's land, and land arrangement. Some of these issues are related to one another. In general, land management which includes community land management, land distribution, land use permits, and optimal land services, is an effort to reduce massive agrarian conflicts that occur to this day in Indonesia. This research contributes to formulating and optimizing the implementation of agrarian conflict management policies in Indonesia. The limitation of this research is that the data used is only sourced from agrarian reform policies, so further research needs to use other data sourced directly from cases of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Agrarian Reform, Conflict, Government, Land, Policy, Society.*

INTRODUCTION

Agrarian reform, also known as defense reform, is an effort to improve agrarian conflicts. These improvements are intended for matters relating to nature, redistribution, land rights, power, and land ownership (Nuriyanto, 2020). Agrarian reform must continue to be carried out to minimize land conflicts. Massive population growth, while the static nature of the land, is the root cause of most land conflicts. In addition, ambiguous legal certainty related to defense affairs is the primary reason for

the emergence of defense conflicts. On the other hand, the aim of agrarian reform or agrarian reform is also related to efforts to create prosperity at all levels of society (Sinaga, 2020).

Agricultural land conflict is a big problem that occurs not only in Indonesia but also in many countries. Therefore, as the party running the governance of public services, the government needs to develop effective measures to mitigate agricultural land conflicts. Accelerating agrarian reform is a very fundamental thing to achieve in order to be able to reduce massive agrarian conflicts that occur (Salwa Nurfaiziya, 2021). Furthermore, several concepts of implementing agrarian reform are generally carried out by several countries. These concepts include land restoration, colonization, radical land reform, and market-based land reform (Nuriyanto, 2020). Some of these concepts can be an alternative to mitigating agrarian conflicts. However, several aspects trigger the birth of agrarian conflicts. Some of the causes referred to are ambiguous land regulations, lack of political will from the authorities, lack of legal certainty, rampant land mafia, business interests that are not in line with land functions, and various other causes (Sulistyaningsih, 2021).

The presence of regional autonomy can be an effort to reduce land conflicts in Indonesia. It is because it can make defense affairs at the regional level able to be executed and managed directly by the regional government. However, on the contrary, it is common until now that in the regions, there are increasingly massive agrarian conflicts (Fauzi, 2022). Discussing related to agrarian reform and conflict is a complex matter. There needs to be a comprehensive arrangement and implementation in reducing agrarian conflicts that are still massive. Fundamentally, the presence of legal certainty and regulations that detail defense affairs is vital to hasten. The government must initiate this context as the authorized party in state administration affairs (Erfa, 2021).

In Indonesia, regulations related to defense affairs to achieve agrarian reform have been widely pursued. Agrarian reform policies in Indonesia refer to Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Regulations on Agrarian Principles, commonly known as UUPA (Sulistyaningsih, 2021). The UUPA, in this context, can also be understood as the main guideline in the form of a follow-up to Article 33, paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia

(UUD 1945). Article 33, paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution describes in general terms the arrangements related to the earth, water, and several assets contained therein as a constitutional mandate and used for the welfare of the people. Through the legal basis, it should be clear that agrarian reform is carried out to realize justice and the welfare of the people. However, this has not been realized optimally until now (Fauzi, 2022).

The journey of agrarian reform in the post-reform era is also quite noteworthy. During this period, special regulations were formulated as stated in Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 48/1999 regarding the Policy Review Team and Legislations as an essential effort to base the implementation of agrarian reform. A derivative of this regulation was then issued TAP MPR IX/2001 to the Constitutional Court Decree No. 35/2021, which discussed and confirmed the existence of indigenous peoples in detail. These policies became very important and crucial considering that agrarian conflicts at that time were massive, especially regarding the division of indigenous peoples (M Nazir Salim & Westi Utami, 2019). Along with its journey, regulations related to agrarian reform are also

contained in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 86 of 2018. The regulation describes how to rearrange the structure of control, ownership, use, and utilization of land that is more just and leads to welfare aspects (Amaliyah, Muhammad Amar Ma'ruf, Novytha Sary, 2021). In the second period of President Joko Widodo's leadership era, land affairs regulations are still a particular concern. This sequence is included in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2021 regarding Job Creation. In particular, agrarian affairs are contained in Articles 125 to 135 related to land banks, where there is land allocation regarding agrarian reform (Utomo, 2021). The fundamental vision of this regulation is to fulfill people's welfare. However, the articles in this regulation also raise a lot of pros and cons or need to be combined more in the efforts of development interests. Agrarian conflicts are still a massive problem in Indonesia (Hidayat, 2020).

Next, several previous studies related to agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. Krismantoro (2021), in his study, describes that the governance of land affairs in Indonesia is still attached to elements of colonialism, especially in the implementation of agrarian reform policy-

making. Affairs to reduce agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are still dominant using the Positive Wettelijk system. It is reflected in repressive patterns in resolving agrarian disputes in Indonesia. Erfa (2021), on the other hand, revealed that there needs to be the digitalization of agrarian administration in order to realize the acceleration of development in Indonesia. It must be supported by apparent legal policy aspects and substantial certainty. Through the use of big data and technology, it can simplify land affairs in Indonesia. Furthermore, Yana (2020) describes in detail the effectiveness of agrarian reform through the complete systematic land registration (PTSL) program in Bintan Regency. This study reveals that the actualization of agrarian reform in Bintan Regency has yet to be able to run optimally. It is because there are still many people who complain. After all, they still need to receive their land certificates. On the other hand, of the four indicators for measuring effectiveness, only one indicator has been successfully met in implementing the PTSL program in Bintan Regency. It means that the implementation of the PTSL program in Bintan Regency has yet to be carried out according to the desired vision.

Alvian & Mujiburohman (2022), in this context, also carried out studies related

to agrarian reform, especially in the era of President Joko Widodo's administration. The results of this study describe that the implementation of agrarian reform in the Joko Widodo era was carried out only to the extent of legalizing assets and land levies but has not been able to reduce agrarian conflicts as a whole. Therefore, clear regulations are needed for the implementation aspect to reduce the agrarian conflicts still massive in Indonesia. Clarissha (2020) then also carried out a study that specifically looked at agrarian reform in the old order and reform era. This study found several agrarian reform efforts in the two eras. However, they still needed to be carried out optimally and could not comprehensively minimize agrarian conflicts. Finally, Triandaru (2021) focuses on studies on how stakeholders collaborate in agrarian reform through redistribution patterns in Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency. The results of this study reveal that the implementation of land redistribution in the Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency is running quite effectively. It is realized by the strong synergy between the relevant stakeholders. The supporting factors for land redistribution are the availability of complete data and information, high political will from the government, careful

and gradual preparation, and strong synergy between stakeholders, including People's Organizations/Farmers in Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency.

Based on the previous descriptions, the effort to realize agrarian reform in Indonesia is a complex matter. Based on this, this study seeks to review the agrarian reform policies implemented in Indonesia to date. This study is essential to see the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia so that it can be found what concepts have been implemented and what concepts are practical to realize agrarian reform in Indonesia in the future.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Agrarian Reform

Agrarian reform or land reform is a term for movement and improvement relating to rights to land, nature, distribution, strength, and land ownership (Salim, 2020). Agrarian etymologically comes from the Latin word *ager*, a plot of land. The word, in general, can be interpreted as a matter relating to land or the division of land. While the word reform is based on the word "remodeling," reform, in this case, can be interpreted as an effort to change and compile or reshape something so that it leads to improvement

(Hidayat, 2020). Agrarian reform is something that must be pursued in order to minimize land disputes. Massive population growth while the static nature of the land is essential for the birth of agrarian conflicts. Meanwhile, agrarian reform or renewal is also related to efforts to bring prosperity to all levels of society (Sulistyaningsih, 2021).

Next, agrarian reform can be pursued with several alternative regulations. There are several general efforts to realize agrarian reform. The first attempt is with the concept of land restoration. This concept makes significant lands owned by the community into government ownership or expropriated and then returned to the original owner with compensation. The second concept is land colonization. This concept is carried out with efforts to open and develop new areas to be inhabited by residents who come from areas with high population density levels. The residents/transmigrant get land from the government in a predetermined area. The third concept is radical land reform. This concept is quite controversial, where the large land owned by the community is taken over by the government to be distributed to landless farmers. This concept became controversial because there was no compensation to the previous

owners of extensive lands. Finally, the fourth concept is market-based land reform. This concept is implemented with the help of market mechanisms to improve financial markets in rural areas (Nuriyanto, 2020).

The case of agrarian conflicts is a massive problem that occurs not only in Indonesia but in many countries. Therefore, the government, the party that carries out the governance of state affairs, must formulate effective policies to reduce agrarian conflicts. Accelerating agrarian reform is a very fundamental thing to be realized (Utomo, 2020). The static nature of the land is also the main reason why agrarian conflicts are easy to occur. This fundamental problem was added to by the emergence of opposing groups or the land mafia. In order to reduce this, there must be apparent legal certainty to create equity and prosperity in land affairs (Fauzi, 2022).

Agrarian Policy in Indonesia

Agrarian reform policies in Indonesia refer to Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Regulations on Agrarian Principles, commonly known as UUPA (Sulistyaningsih, 2021). The UUPA, in this case, is also understood as the main guideline in the form of a follow-up to Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945

Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945). Article 33, paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution describes, in general, the arrangements related to earth, water, and several assets contained in them as a constitutional mandate and used for the welfare of the people (Fauzi, 2022).

In the post-reform era, discussions related to agrarian reform have also become an echoed topic. Efforts to implement agrarian reform are based on the importance of regulations that have a legal umbrella in implementing land reform (Masdin, 2022). As a result of the formulation, Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 48/1999 regarding the Policy Review Team and Legislation was issued as a primary effort to base the implementation of agrarian reform. The derivative results of the regulation are the issuance of TAP MPR IX/2001 to the Constitutional Court Decree No. 35/2021, which discusses and confirms the existence of indigenous peoples in detail. These policies became very important and crucial, considering that the agrarian conflicts at that time were massive (M Nazir Salim & Westi Utami, 2019).

Next, matters related to agrarian reform are also contained in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 86 of 2018. The

regulation describes how to rearrange the structure of control, ownership, use, and utilization of land in that is more equitable. This concept is carried out in detail through asset management and accompanied by structuring access for the prosperity of the Indonesian people in general (Amaliyah, Muhammad Amar Ma'ruf, Novytha Sary, 2021). In the second period of President Joko Widodo's leadership era, regulations related to land affairs also received special attention. It is stated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2021 regarding Job Creation. In particular, agrarian affairs are contained in Articles 125 to 135 related to land banks, where there is land allocation regarding agrarian reform (Utomo, 2021). The primary purpose of this regulation is to fulfill the welfare of the people. However, the articles in this regulation also raise many pros and cons or need to be combined more to develop development interests (Hidayat, 2020).

Although there have been many regulations governing agrarian affairs, agrarian conflicts are still quite massive in Indonesia. In terms of regulation, many legal umbrellas are detailing agrarian affairs. However, in its implementation, it is still not fully implemented, and the existing

regulations have not been able to be implemented optimally (Krismantoro, 2021). The pros and cons related to regulations governing land affairs are still a common problem in minimizing agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. From a policy perspective, a formulated policy always contains positive and negative values in the eyes of the public. Therefore, to minimize agrarian conflicts that are still massive, it is necessary to be firm and clear in implementing regulations. Through these efforts, at least they can reduce agrarian conflicts that are still common in Indonesia (Dina Ayu Rizky Tirtyasmara, Mohammad Jamin, 2022).

Previous Studies Related to Agrarian Reform in Indonesia

Several researchers have previously carried out studies related to agrarian reform in Indonesia. Sinaga (2020), for example, previously studied the challenges and hopes of agrarian reform in Indonesia. This study reveals that massive agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are generally caused by a lot of competition and interest in controlling, maintaining, and developing the lives of individuals or groups. Therefore, the solution to minimize agrarian conflicts is to enforce the law and

solid political will from the government to present policies that are pro to the welfare and justice of the people. Nurrokhman (2020) also then studied the actualization of agrarian reform in Presidential Regulation Number 86 of 2018. Unfortunately, this study revealed that Presidential Regulation Number 86 of 2018 has contradictory content with several provisions in the UUPA

Furthermore, Yana (2020) focuses on the effectiveness of agrarian reform through the complete systematic land registration program (PTSL) in Bintan Regency, revealing that the implementation of agrarian reform in the Bintan Regency has yet to be maximized. It is because there are still many people who complain. After all, they still need to receive their land certificates. On the other hand, of the four indicators for measuring effectiveness, only one indicator has been successfully met in implementing the PTSL program in Bintan Regency.

Alvian & Mujiburohman (2022), on the other hand, also conducted a study related to agrarian reform in the era of President Joko Widodo's administration. The results of this study reveal that the implementation of agrarian reform in the Joko Widodo era was carried out only to the

extent of legalizing assets and land levies but has yet to be able to reduce agrarian conflicts as a whole. Next, Triandaru (2021) explicitly examines stakeholders' collaborative efforts in agrarian reform through redistribution patterns in Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency. This study explains that the implementation of land redistribution in the Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency is running quite effectively with solid synergy between relevant stakeholders. The supporting factors for land redistribution are the availability of complete data and information, high political will from the government, careful and gradual preparation, and strong synergy between stakeholders, including People's Organizations/Farmers in Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency.

Utomo (2020) also describes the need for applying progressive law to suppress the explosion of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. The application of progressive law becomes relevant in the resolution of agrarian conflicts, where progressive law prioritizes human rights, especially in terms of life which relies on land as a support to bring prosperity. Lastly, Iqma & Rozalinna (2020) specifically researched the social forestry program as the realization of agrarian reform for the management of the

People's Park Forest (HTR) area in Lubuk Seberuk Village, Southeast Sumatra. The results of this study reveal that the HTR program is an agrarian conflict resolution effort that occurred in Lubuk Seberuk Village. It can be seen from the positive results obtained by the local community because they can manage and empower the rubber plantations in the HTR territory of Lubuk Seberuk Village. It means that agrarian reform in this context can be appropriately realized.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a descriptive-qualitative method that focuses on analyzing agrarian policies in Indonesia. The agrarian policies used as the main data in this research are seven packages of laws, two packages of government regulations, eight packages of decisions of the national land agency, and eight packages of instructions from the national land agency. The stages of the research are as follows: collecting policy documents which are accessed on the official government website, <http://jdih.kemenperin.go.id/site/peraturan/34/all/>; grouping of documents based on the level and type of legislation; entering documents in the NVivo 12 Plus data

analysis application; performing data analysis with the NVivo 12 Plus application; performing data visualization with NVivo 12 Plus; and describing and explaining the data obtained from the NVivo 12 Plus.

Stages of data analysis with NVivo 12 Plus, namely making a research framework on the nodes/codes section, coding the data on policy documents, performing text categorization on research nodes/framework, performing data analysis with Coresstab Analysis, Chart Analysis, and Cluster Analysis features. The data obtained from Coresstab Analysis is related to the mapping of research problems based on the reviewed policies; Chart Analysis is used to obtain concept mapping data/research findings based on agricultural reform policies in Indonesia, and Cluster Analysis is used to map concepts that are directly related to agrarian reform policies in Indonesia.

DISCUSSION

Agrarian Reform Policy Targets in Indonesia

The efforts in realizing agrarian reform in Indonesia are carried out with various concepts. The concept referred to in this case is a goal or direction in presenting optimal agrarian affairs governance (Salim,

2020). The authors in this study map out several dominant concepts that are the focus of agrarian reform in Indonesia. This concept mapping was carried out using the NVivo 12 data analysis tools. The data processing conducted by the researchers found several concepts, such as dominant words, dominant policy directions, and policy relations or linkages in agrarian reform efforts in Indonesia. In detail, the following is a description of the concepts of the agrarian reform policy targets in Indonesia:



Figure 1.
Dominant Words in Agrarian Reform Policies in Indonesia

Based on the visualization in the picture, it can be seen that there are several dominant words in agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. The dominant word can also be interpreted as a group/word concept that is the government's focus on managing land affairs in Indonesia. Concepts/words that are dominant are distinguished by the size

displayed. The visualization's most dominant words based on size or thickness are "Indonesia" and "Government." As a stakeholder, the government is both the initiator and executor in pursuing agrarian reform in Indonesia. To date, the massive agrarian conflicts in Indonesia require the government to continue formulating effective policies for conflict resolution (Nurrokhman, 2020).

Furthermore, the dominant words that appear in agrarian policies in Indonesia are "rights" and "land." Agrarian-related policies are formulated to emphasize land rights. Various policy formulations, in this case, are formulated to minimize the inequality of tendencies over land rights (Amaliyah, Muhammad Amar Ma'ruf, Novytha Sary, 2021). An example of a policy that emphasizes land rights, as stated in the Instruction of the State Minister of Agrarian Affairs/Head of the National Land Agency Number 1 of 1994 concerning Inventory of Land Tenure by Legal Entities/Individuals. This policy explicitly emphasizes the position and rights to land for companies for investment/business purposes. As for other examples related to the dominant concept/word, for example, it is also massively contained in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 of 1996

concerning Mortgage Rights on Land and Objects Related to Land. This policy explicitly emphasizes land rights as contained in Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Regulations. These policies generally specify land rights, particularly property rights, usufructuary rights, and building rights to land.

The dominant concepts/other words that are massively contained in agrarian policies in Indonesia are such as "taxes," "regulations," "laws," and "regions." This context illustrates that regulations also always have legal legality. One of the triggers for agrarian conflicts is overlapping rules or laws governing land governance. Therefore, the development of regulations related to agrarian reform is always oriented towards simplifying regulations and strengthening legal certainty in land governance. On the other hand, "tax" is also a dominant concept because it directly correlates with state income. Tax governance in land affairs has become very fundamental. Therefore the concept of "taxes" has become quite dominant in agrarian policies in Indonesia (Krismantoro, 2021). On the other hand, the dominant concept of "region" is also massively included in agrarian policies in Indonesia. It is crucial to regulate local

governments' boundaries and duties in Indonesia's land governance (Chadijah et al., 2020).

In general, the dominant concepts/words that are massively contained in various agrarian policies in Indonesia are the focus or targets that the government is trying to reform. These dominant word concepts are crucial in realizing agrarian reform in Indonesia. It is also the reason why the concept of the dominant word is commonly found in various agrarian policies in Indonesia. Detailing and reinforcing some of these concepts is the primary step in minimizing agrarian conflicts. The dominant concept of the word is massive, from the era of the UUPA to various agrarian policies that have been formulated until now.

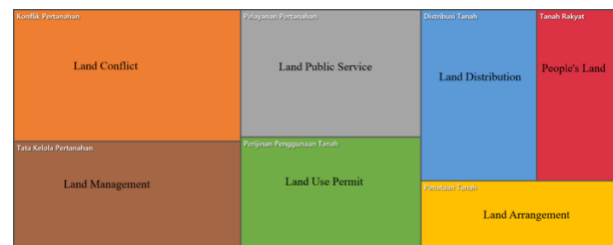


Figure 2.
Dominant Concepts in Agrarian Reform Targets in Indonesia

Based on the visualization, the concept mapping in the target of agrarian reform in Indonesia can be found. This concept mapping is essential to see the main focus and targets of the agrarian

reform implemented in Indonesia. Through the data processed by researchers, it is found that two main concepts are contained in agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. The two concepts are "land conflict" and "land governance." These two concepts have a strong correlation because land governance is made as complex as possible to prevent and minimize land conflicts in Indonesia. The static nature of land while massive human growth is the most fundamental reason for seeking optimal land governance. In Indonesia, land governance was initially contained in the 1960 UUPA, and this policy regulates the basics and provisions of control, ownership, use, and utilization of national agrarian resources in Indonesia. Along with its development, agrarian policies are still being formulated to reinforce land governance in Indonesia (Alvian & Mujiburohman, 2022).

Next, the dominant concepts that are targeted in agrarian reform in Indonesia are "land services" and "land use permits." Several agrarian conflicts in Indonesia arise due to the less-than-optimal service system. Land services are convoluted and require a long time to become a common problem in Indonesia. The government, as a public servant and also specifically regulates

related to land management, should be able to present an effective and efficient land service system. It is a public demand and is one of the indicators in the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia (Erfa, 2021). Furthermore, the concept of land use licensing is also still related to the concept of land services. However, this problem can be overcome by optimizing the use of digital technology in the land management system in Indonesia. Several local governments have also introduced innovations in land licensing system services, effectively simplifying land licensing affairs for the community. For example, the district government of Bintan initiated a complete systematic land registration (PTSL) program. This program is run by optimizing digital technology to make it easier for the community to deal with land licensing (Yana et al., 2020).

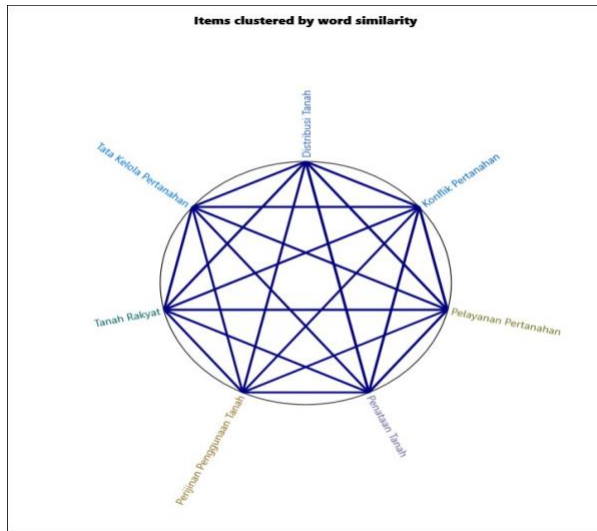
Land use licensing is indeed a complex matter. UUPA Number 5 of 1960 describes that the use of land must be adapted to the circumstances and the nature of the rights so that it is beneficial for the welfare and happiness of those who own it as well as for the community and the state. Based on this content, the use or utilization of land cannot be arbitrary, meaning that it must be based on its nature

and rights. Complex land use permits are enshrined in Government Regulation Law 51 of 1960 regarding the Prohibition of Land Use without the Authorized Rights or Proxy. This policy was formulated to minimize irregular land use. It is also considering that nowadays quite a lot of land is used by people without permission. Thus, it is crucial to formulate the governance of land permits in detail. It is also, of course, oriented towards agrarian reform efforts in Indonesia.

The following dominant concepts are "land distribution," "people's land," and also "land management." Until now, the pros and cons are still massive, especially concerning land distribution. As an illustration, the Decree of the Head of the Land Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Number 77/KEP-7.1/III/2012 regulates in detail related to land redistribution. Based on this policy, land redistribution must fulfill the six principles of agrarian reform.

These principles are the principle of justice, access to the community, prevention of disputes, welfare and prosperity, independence, and the principle of sustainability. It means that land distribution has been regulated in agrarian-related regulations. However, this still overlaps, especially in the implementation aspect (Utomo, 2021). The next concept is "people's land." In general, the concept of people's land is meant that lands controlled by the state are fully utilized for the welfare and prosperity of the people. It is also clearly contained in Article 33, paragraph (3), which explains that "the earth, water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people." The concept of people's land is also related to the division of rights and positions and land ownership between the people and the state.

The last concept is "land planning." In general, land management is related to



land management in Indonesia. It is also a part of agrarian reform efforts in Indonesia. To date, truly complex policies have yet to be found to address all land conflicts in Indonesia. However, various policy formulations, from the UUPA to agrarian policies in the current era, all refer to the realization of agrarian reform in Indonesia (Dina Ayu Rizky Tirtyasmara, Mohammad Jamin, 2022). The concepts described previously are the directions or targets that are the focus of land governance in Indonesia. Through this concept, it can be understood what is the focus of discussion in realizing agrarian reform in Indonesia.

Figure 3.
The Linkage of Concepts in Agrarian Reform Policy in Indonesia

The visualization shown in the figure describes the correlation of concepts in

agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. In general, all these concepts are related to one another. That is, there is no concept that is most dominantly related. It can be seen from the absence of a significant difference in line thickness. For example, the concept of land governance correlates with the concept of land services and land management. Furthermore, land use licensing correlates with land conflicts and distribution. Therefore, licensing and land distribution irregularities trigger agrarian conflicts in this context. On the other hand, the concept of people's land directly correlates with the concept of land services and land conflicts. It means that land services are sought as optimally as possible to minimize land conflicts, and the orientation of land control by the state is for the prosperity and welfare of the people.

Although there is a direct relationship that can be seen from the length and drawing of the line, it can be concluded that all these concepts are interrelated. These are also the dominant concepts that are the government's focus in realizing agrarian policies in Indonesia. In general, land management which includes community land management, land distribution, land use permits, and optimal land services, is an effort to reduce agrarian

conflicts. These are also steps taken in the agrarian reform effort in Indonesia.

Policy Analysis of Sustainable Agrarian Reform in Indonesia

Various policy formulations have been implemented to realize agrarian reform in Indonesia. However, issues related to land affairs which are so dynamic, and complex, require the government to present conflict resolution as optimally as possible. Therefore, the governance of land affairs in Indonesia has been contained in various policies (Clarissha et al., 2020). The focus of this study is to review how agrarian reform policies are carried out sustainably in Indonesia. Based on the processed data and the results of the author's analysis, several concepts that are the directions or targets of agrarian reform policies in Indonesia are mapped out. Mapping this concept is essential to determine what efforts are being carried out to minimize agrarian conflicts and what regulations are being pursued in realizing agrarian reform in Indonesia.

Based on the results of data processing conducted by researchers, several dominant concepts are massively contained in agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. First, land conflicts and land

governance are the dominant concepts contained as targets of agrarian reform in Indonesia. These two concepts have a very close relationship, where land management is carried out with an orientation to minimize land conflicts. The beginning of clarity in initiating agrarian reform in Indonesia is fundamentally enshrined in the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) Number 5 of 1960. UUPA, in this context, becomes the foundation for initiating clear and systematic land governance in Indonesia. In the new order era, the government also issued several primary policies to overcome agrarian conflicts that occurred. These policies are Permendagri No. 15/1974 regarding guidelines for follow-up implementation of agrarian reform. Then Perkebunan No. 3/1991 is also issued regarding the governance of land tenure for agrarian reform objects independently. Finally, law number 15/1557 was also issued regarding transmigration in this era. These policies were formulated based on conflicts and agrarian-related issues at that time.

Furthermore, agrarian reform was also massively echoed in the reform era. Several policy points were produced to realize agrarian reform in this era. Some of the policy points are TAP MPR No.

IX/MPR/2001 regarding agrarian reform and natural resource management, Presidential Decree No. 34/2003 related to national policies in the land sector, PP No. 11/2010 related to controlling and utilizing abandoned land, and Presidential Decree no. 88/2017 regarding the completion of land tenure in forest areas. Until now, policies related to agrarian reform are still being formulated to reduce agrarian conflicts.

The next dominant concept as a target in agrarian reform policies in Indonesia is land services and land use permits. In this case, the government, as a public servant, must present an effective and efficient land service system. One of the focuses of simplification of land services up to now is land use permits. However, the administrative system is quite complicated, and the presence of land mafias requires the government to present complex policies and systems (Salim, 2020). Along with its development, the central government and several local governments have innovated in pursuing a digital-based land service system. It has become positive but still reaps the pros and cons because the system innovations presented have not been able to be effective in solving community problems (Erfan, 2021).

The following dominant concept is land distribution, people's land, and land arrangement. Some of these concepts are also the dominant targets in Indonesia's agrarian reform policies. The focus on land management that is sought is also related to land distribution and people's land management. Agrarian reform guarantees social and economic equity is oriented toward people's welfare and can reduce agrarian conflicts. As an illustration, land governance in this context can be seen from the Decree of the Head of the Land Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Number 77/KEP-7.1/III/2012, which regulates land redistribution. Land redistribution must fulfill the six principles of agrarian reform through this policy. These principles are the principle of justice, access to the community, prevention of disputes, welfare and prosperity, independence, and the principle of sustainability. It means that land distribution has been regulated in agrarian-related regulations. The principles clarified in the land distribution policy are implemented to prevent agrarian conflicts and to fulfill agrarian reform in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the concept of people's land is intended to maintain overlapping land ownership. This concept was also

formulated to realize agrarian reform in Indonesia.

Furthermore, the concepts described previously have an attachment to one another. In general, no dominant concept has a strong attachment to each other. All concepts in this context are correlated, especially those contained in various agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. Overall, land management which includes community land management, land distribution, land use permits, and optimal land services, is an effort to reduce agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. Even though the government has formulated various agrarian policies, agrarian problems or conflicts are still massive. It is because it is quite complex and dynamic in matters related to land governance. Therefore, the government is expected to be able to continue to study other formulations that can effectively address agrarian problems in Indonesia in the future (Sinaga, 2020).

CONCLUSION

Agrarian reform is crucial for the government to minimize agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. Various policies/regulations have been issued to improve land governance in Indonesia. Agrarian issues that are so complex and dynamic require

the government to be able to formulate policies as effectively as possible. This study reveals several dominant concepts that are massively contained in agrarian reform policies in Indonesia. Some dominant concepts are land conflicts, land management, land services, land use permits, land distribution, people's land, and land arrangement. A number of these concepts are related to one another.

In general, land management which includes community land management, land distribution, land use permits, and optimal land services, is an effort to reduce agrarian conflicts. These are also steps taken in the agrarian reform effort in Indonesia. Next, the suggestion that the author can convey is that several other concepts that can trigger agrarian conflicts also become the focus of the government in land management in Indonesia. It is crucial, considering that issues/conflicts related to agrarian matters have yet to be found as dominant concepts in various agrarian policies in Indonesia. These concepts include, for example, digital-based agrarian services, land management for indigenous peoples, the enforcement of human rights in agrarian conflicts, and various other concepts.

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