



The Implementation of Agrarian Reform for Achieving Food Security: Lessons from West Java

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Article	Abstract
<p>Keywords: Agrarian Law; Food Security; Poverty; Land Reform.</p> <p>Article History Received: Nov 22, 2025; Reviewed: Jan 3, 2026; Accepted: Jan 20, 2026; Published: Jan 31, 2026.</p> <p>DOI: 10.28946/slrev.v10i1.5408</p>	<p>Land tenure and ownership in Indonesia are marked by two interrelated structural problems: limited land availability to meet development needs and the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a small group of individuals or business entities. This concentration restricts access to land for much of the population, particularly marginal farming communities whose livelihoods depend on land cultivation. Accordingly, agrarian reform is necessary to restructure land tenure, ownership, use, and utilisation in a more equitable and sustainable manner. West Java Province, as Indonesia's most densely populated region, faces acute challenges due to limited state land availability and a high proportion of low-income residents. In this context, agrarian reform must be treated as a development priority. This article examines agrarian reform as a regulatory and social engineering instrument aimed at achieving national development objectives, particularly food self-sufficiency and poverty alleviation, using West Java Province as a case study. The findings demonstrate that although agrarian reform in West Java has been relatively well planned and implemented, its effectiveness is constrained by insufficient budgetary support and limited involvement of Regional Government Agencies (Organisasi Perangkat Daerah/OPD), especially in the execution of access reform programmes such as economic empowerment initiatives for agrarian reform beneficiaries. The study argues that stronger institutional coordination and enhanced collaboration among OPD are essential to improve access reform and to realise food security as a central objective of agrarian reform.</p>

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INTRODUCTION

Fundamentally, agrarian reform is directed at achieving the main objectives of land policy, namely creating patterns of control, ownership, use and utilisation of land that can encourage increased people's welfare and ensure the realisation of social justice, so that agrarian reform

seeks to realise the main objectives of land policy in general, namely control, ownership, use and exploitation of land that can improve people's welfare¹ while upholding social justice.² This objective is a mandate embedded in the constitution, Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.³ In the context of agrarian matters, the social justice mandated by the constitution must be understood as agrarian justice, which refers to a condition in which there is no significant concentration of land tenure⁴, ownership, use, and exploitation of land, natural resources, and the living areas of rural and remote populations, while ensuring the rights of farmers and agricultural workers to access and hold land, natural resources, and their living territories⁵. Therefore, in the context of government policy, agrarian reform should be understood in a broad sense as a development policy aimed at resolving issues of poverty and land inequality⁶ and realising social justice through the redistribution of state-owned land to the poor⁷, as well as providing credit and agricultural services to ensure that redistributed land becomes productive and sustainable⁸.

Agrarian reform represents an extension of the land reform program from the Old Order era (1960-1965), which was subsequently suspended during the New Order regime.⁹ The collapse of the New Order regime prompted the revival of the land reform program from the Old Order era, now addressing more complex issues, yet still prioritising the availability of land for agriculture.¹⁰ This initiative is not solely intended to promote the welfare of the people (particularly farmers), but also to establish food security, which refers to the condition wherein food needs are met for the state and for individuals, reflecting the availability of sufficient (in both quantity and quality), safe, diverse, nutritious, equitable, and affordable food¹¹.

Subsequently, the political commitment to agrarian reform was formally established with the enactment of the People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat/MPR) Decree No. IX/MPR/2001 on Agrarian Renewal and Natural Resource Management. Following the adoption of this decree, various dynamics surrounding the implementation of agrarian

¹ Firman Muntaqo et al., "Adat Law as a Foundation for Advancing Indonesian Agrarian Law to Maximise Societal Welfare," *Sriwijaya Law Review*, July 31, 2024, 376–92, <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol8.Iss2.3710.pp376-392>.

² Dalu Agung Darmawan et al., "The History of Agrarian Reforms in Indonesia: A Sociological Perspective," *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development* 11, no. 11 (2023): e2196–e2196, <https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v11i11.2196>.

³ Fifik Wiryani and Mokhammad Najih, "The Criticism of Land Procurement Law to Improve Landowners Welfare in Indonesia," *Sriwijaya Law Review*, July 28, 2021, 175–91, <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol5.Iss2.1073.pp175-191>.

⁴ Varun Chhachhar et al., "From Law to Justice: Ownership Restrictions in the Fight for Agrarian Equity," *Unnes Law Journal* 11, no. 1 (2025): 75–108, <https://doi.org/10.15294/ulj.v11i1.3288>.

⁵ Noer Fauzi Rachman, *Landreform Dari Masa Ke Masa* (Tanah Air Beta Publisher, 2012).

⁶ Bhim Prakoso et al., "Justice Perspective on Agrarian Reform in Realizing People's Welfare," *Notaire* 7, no. 3 (2024): 325–38, <https://doi.org/10.20473/ntr.v7i3.58676>.

⁷ Eduardo Von Bennewitz, "Land Tenure in Latin America: From Land Reforms to Countermovement to Neoliberalism," *Acta Universitatis Agriculturae et Silviculturae Mendelianae Brunensis* 65, no. 5 (2017): 1793–98, <https://doi.org/10.11118/actaun201765051793>.

⁸ Joyo Winoto, *Landreform Dan Gerakan Agraria Indonesia* (Publisher Insist Press, 2017).

⁹ Darmawan et al., "The History of Agrarian Reforms in Indonesia."

¹⁰ Dewi Gafuruningtyas et al., "Transformative Pathways of Agrarian Reform: Comparative Bibliometric Insights of Southeast Asia and Indonesia Cases," *The Journal of Indonesia Sustainable Development Planning* 5, no. 1 (2024): 38–53, <https://doi.org/10.46456/jisdep.v5i1.534>.

¹¹ Article 1, paragraph 4, Indonesian Law Number 18 of 2012 on Food.

reform were pursued.¹² Nevertheless, no clear results were achieved due to the absence of a legal foundation to underpin agrarian reform as a national land policy. Seventeen years after the adoption of MPR Decree No. IX/MPR/2001, the legal framework for agrarian reform was finally established with the enactment of Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, which was later replaced by Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 on the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation. The concept of food security refers to the condition wherein the food needs of households are met, reflected in the availability of food, both in terms of quantity and quality, which is safe, equitable, and affordable.¹³ Accordingly, the availability of land for agriculture is the first requirement that must be fulfilled to achieve food security¹⁴. In response to this, the Government has established a policy regarding the designation of protected rice fields (LSD), the guidelines for the determination, monitoring, and management of which are regulated under Minister of Agrarian Affairs/Head of National Land Agency (Badan Pertanahan Nasional/BPN) Regulation No. 2 of 2024. However, implementing the LSD policy in the regions still requires supporting policies, as the LSD policy intersects with spatial planning and environmental policies in each region, potentially giving rise to conflicts between jurisdictions.

West Java Province has a land area of 37,040.04 km², consisting of a steep mountainous region in the southern part with elevations exceeding 1,500 meters above sea level (ASL), a region of gentle hills in the central part of West Java with elevations between 100 and 1,500 meters above sea level, and a vast flat region in the northern part of West Java with elevations ranging from 0 to 10 meters ASL¹⁵. Meanwhile, according to the 2020 Population Census, West Java Province's population stands at 48.27 million. Based on the population projection for 2020-2035 derived from the 2020 Population Census, it is estimated that by 2025, the population of West Java Province will reach 50.76 million, with a growth rate of 1.06 per cent between 2020 and 2025. Given the land area, the population density of West Java Province amounts to 1,370.38 people per km²¹⁶. This data indicates that the population of West Java Province is significantly large, ranking first among the ten provinces with the highest population in Indonesia¹⁷.

The large population of West Java Province,¹⁸ in fact, also corresponds with a substantial number of low-income residents. Data from March 2024 indicates that the number of low-income residents in West Java Province has reached 3.85 million people,¹⁹. The data further indicate that several regencies in southern West Java, particularly Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis, recorded poverty rates above the provincial average, reaching around 7-9 per cent in

¹² Adriaan Bedner and Yance Arizona, "Adat in Indonesian Land Law: A Promise for the Future or a Dead End?," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 20, no. 5 (2019): 416–34, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2019.1670246>.

¹³ Estiana Rusmawati et al., "Food Security in Indonesia: The Role of Social Capital," *Development Studies Research* 10, no. 1 (2023): 2169732, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21665095.2023.2169732>.

¹⁴ Yunastiti Purwaningsih, "Ketahanan Pangan: Situasi, Permasalahan, Kebijakan, Dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat," *Jurnal Ekonomi Pembangunan: Kajian Masalah Ekonomi Dan Pembangunan* 9, no. 1 (2008): 1–27, <https://doi.org/10.23917/jep.v9i1.1028>.

¹⁵ "West Java Province in Figures 2025," *Central Statistic Agency of West Java Province*, 2025, 50th ed.

¹⁶ Ibid.112.

¹⁷ "Sepuluh Provinsi Dengan Penduduk Terbanyak Di Indonesia," *Kompas.Com*, April 25, 2025.

¹⁸ *Statistic Indonesia, National Socioeconomic Survey 2023-2024*

¹⁹ *Central Statistics Agency of West Java Province*, "West Java Province in Figures 2025"172-175.

2024, indicating that poverty in that area increased compared to 2023. The increase in the line of high poverty rates in Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis also points to the structural character of rural poverty.

The land area of West Java Province, covering 37,040.04 km², is categorised into agricultural and non-agricultural land. Agricultural land for food crops, specifically rice harvesting, in 2024 was recorded at 1,475,362.09 hectares, with a large production of 8,626,879 tons, while rice production amounted to 4,981,868.86 tons. In addition to agriculture, the plantation subsector in West Java still plays a significant role, managed by both large state and private plantations and smallholder plantations. The potential commodities include tea, coconut, oil palm, sugarcane, and rubber. In 2024, the largest area of smallholder plantations was coconut, covering 144,487 hectares, while the smallest area was cashew tree with 20 hectares²⁰.

The data recorded from the agricultural census conducted by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2023 indicates that the number of farmers utilising agricultural land and landless farmers in West Java Province stands at 3,135,866 farmers utilising agricultural land and 2,551,419 landless farmers²¹, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of Farmers Utilising Agricultural Land and Landless Farmers by Regency/City in West Java Province (individuals), 2023

Regency/City		Farmer		Regency/City		Farmer	
Code	Name	Land Users	Landless (Gurem)	Code	Name	Land Users	Landless (Gurem)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3201	Bogor	179.993	157.519	3215	Karawang	122.575	74.207
3202	Sukabumi	343.945	298.765	3216	Bekasi	92.974	62.469
3203	Cianjur	292.536	245.486	3217	Bandung Barat	155.537	142.783
3204	Bandung	157.875	133.978	3218	Pangandaran	84.642	62.199
3205	Garut	320.256	262.873	3271	Bogor City	3.693	3.480
3206	Tasikmalaya	287.669	253.806	3272	Sukabumi City	4.213	3.448
3207	Ciamis	186.667	163.621	3273	Bandung City	5.905	5.155
3208	Kuningan	110.475	99.013	3274	Cirebon City	1.542	1.484
3209	Cirebon	86.544	58.678	3275	Bekasi City	3.823	3.691
3210	Majalengka	143.552	114.300	3276	Depok City	6.858	6.695
3211	Sumedang	124.943	103.295	3277	Cimahi City	2.241	2.098
3212	Indramayu	180.249	113.063	3278	Tasikmalaya City	19.477	17.473
3213	Subang	138.720	95.826	3279	Banjar City	17.523	15.670
3214	Purwakarta	61.096	49.993				
Land User Total						3.135.523	
Landless (Gurem) Total							2.551.068

Source: BPS Agricultural Census, 2023

Table 2 shows a significant number of individuals in West Java Province who work as farmers, utilising agricultural land, and as landless farmers. Specifically, in the districts of Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis, located in the Southern Priangan region, the number of farmers (both land users and landless) is notably high. In Contrast, the availability of land suitable for agricultural activities in West Java Province is relatively limited, while its population is very high. This condition makes West Java Province a more important and relevant locus for the study of agrarian reform, particularly concerning asset management (land legalisation and land redistribution) and access management (land utilisation and development).

²⁰ Op.Cit., 353.

²¹ The data for 2024 has not yet been released by the Central Statistics Agency of West Java Province

Both aspects are essential for analysing and evaluating the implementation of agrarian reform during the period 2019–2024, following the enactment of Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, which was later replaced by Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 on the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation.

Previous studies on agrarian reform have largely focused on policy implementation and land administration. One such study is "The Implementation of Agrarian Reform in Semarang Regency," which examines the implementation of agrarian reform policies in the regency. However, this study primarily emphasises institutional and administrative aspects. It remains limited to a specific regional locus, without developing a broader regulatory analysis, particularly in relation to food security and poverty reduction.²² Another relevant study is Slamet Wiswanto's article, "Analysing the Implementation of Agrarian Reform Policy in Supporting National Resilience," which adopts a socio-legal approach and highlights the role of agrarian reform in providing legal certainty for farmers as part of national resilience. Nevertheless, this study mainly concentrates on policy and legal certainty issues and does not specifically address agrarian reform regulation as an integrated instrument for achieving food security and poverty alleviation.²³

Based on these previous studies, it can be observed that research specifically analysing the implementation of agrarian reform in West Java Province, both in terms of asset management and access management, and its linkage to the realisation of food security within a regulatory framework, remains limited. Therefore, the present study seeks to fill this gap by examining how agrarian reform is implemented in West Java and how its regulatory framework functions as an instrument to support food security and poverty reduction.

RESEARCH METHODS

The writing of this article is based on the results of a study titled 'the agrarian reform regulation model as a social engineering instrument for achieving food independence and poverty reduction', with three research locations in the provinces of west java, central java, and south Sulawesi. However, the present article specifically focuses on the research findings from West Java Province. This study is empirical legal research, where primary data serves as the main data and secondary data supports it., the primary data were obtained through field research, including in-depth interviews with key stakeholders such as government officials, land administration authorities, community leaders, and farmers, as well as direct observations of agrarian conditions and the implementation of agrarian reform programs. the research approach was using a qualitative method with a socio-legal study approach. with this approach, the agrarian reform regulation model can be formulated to more closely reflect the needs in the field when the regulations are implemented and serve as a reference for agrarian reform implementation in the regions, while simultaneously becoming an instrument for achieving food self-sufficiency and poverty reduction, particularly in the west java province. The research data, particularly field data (primary), were subsequently subjected to data reduction, data

²² Bayu Dwi Anggono and Rofi Wahanisa, "The Implementation of Agrarian Reform in Semarang Regency," *Journal of Strategic and Global Studies* 1, no. 2 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.7454/jsgs.v1i2.1008>.

²³ Slamet Riswanto et al., "Analysing the Implementation of Agrarian Reform Policy in Supporting National Resilience," *International Journal of Humanities Education and Social Sciences (IJHESS)* 4, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.55227/ijhess.v4i1.1025>.

presentation, and conclusion/verifications. A qualitative juridical analysis was then conducted using legal interpretation methods and legal construction to capture the meaning and relationships between the meanings behind the data information obtained. the results are then presented in a research report, with parts of it presented in the form of a scientific journal article.²⁴

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Agrarian Reform as a Land Policy for Achieving Food Security

The understanding and nature of agrarian reform are interpreted differently depending on the time and place of its implementation.²⁵ This is because each country has a distinct agrarian structure and political system, although there are fundamental similarities, namely, the equitable distribution of access to land and natural resources as sources of livelihood²⁶. With equitable and proportional access, Indonesia can achieve food security and food self-sufficiency, ultimately contributing to the prosperity of the Indonesian people.

The purpose of agrarian reform, as outlined in Article 2 of Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform (which has been repealed by Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 on the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation), are as follows: 1) reducing inequality in land tenure and ownership to create justice; 2) addressing agrarian disputes and conflicts; 3) creating sources of prosperity and community welfare through the regulation of land tenure, ownership, use, and exploitation; 4) creating employment opportunities to reduce poverty; 5) improving public access to economic resources; 6) enhancing food security and sovereignty; and 7) improving and preserving environmental quality.

The above objectives of agrarian reform are interconnected, interrelated, and mutually dependent. The objective of agrarian reform to enhance food security is a direct goal related to people's livelihoods and well-being.²⁷ Therefore, agrarian reform in Indonesia is implemented in stages, starting with asset management, which includes legalising assets (for individuals who already own land but have not yet obtained certificates) and land redistribution (for individuals who do not own land). In addition to asset management, agrarian reform is implemented through access management,²⁸ which includes economic empowerment activities for agrarian reform subjects, institutional strengthening, and community participation in its implementation.

The development policies implemented thus far, particularly during the ten years of President Joko Widodo's administration, have been heavily oriented toward physical infrastructure development, leading to significant conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural uses. This has led to issues concerning food security. Therefore, agrarian reform policies need to focus on land redistribution to counteract the conversion of agricultural land.

²⁴ Michel Vols, *Legal Research: One Hundred Questions and Answers* (Eleven International Publishing, 2021).

²⁵ Kartika Winkar Setya et al., "Fulfilling Communal Rights through the Implementation of the Second Principle of Pancasila towards the Regulation on Agrarian Reform," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi*, June 30, 2023, 89–102, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i1.7867>.

²⁶ Ida Nurlinda, *Prinsip-Prinsip Pembaruan Agraria: Perspektif Hukum* (RajaGrafindo Publisher, 2009).

²⁷ Mira Novana Ardani, "Indonesia's Agrarian Reform Policy In Improving Access To Food Sources In Remote Areas," *Russian Law Journal* 13, no. 01 (2025), <https://russianlawjournal.org/index.php/journal/article/view/5053>.

²⁸ Fratia Yunirahma Saragih et al., "Implementation of Access Arrangements for Agrarian Reform: A Case Study in the Kampung Tua of Tanjung Riau, Batam City," *BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria Dan Pertanahan* 10, no. 1 (2024): 79–96, <https://doi.org/10.31292/bhumi.v10i1.776>.

Although there is a law intended to control land conversion, namely Law No. 41 of 2009 on the Protection of Sustainable Agricultural Land (LP2B), the implementation faces challenges because many regions have not yet established a Regional Spatial Planning, or locally known as Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah (RTRW), which should designate land allocation for food crops. Furthermore, although land designated as LP2B is protected and its conversion is prohibited, conversion is still permitted when land is needed for public purposes, as stipulated in Article 44, paragraph (3) of Law No. 41 of 2009 on LP2B in conjunction with Government Regulation No. 1 of 2011 on the Designation and Conversion of Sustainable Agricultural Land. Conversion is permitted under certain conditions, including the provision of replacement land for the LP2B that is converted, with the replacement land being at least three times the area of the converted land (if irrigated) or twice the area of the converted land (if non-irrigated).

In addition to government policies oriented toward physical infrastructure development, the conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural uses is also driven by poverty.²⁹ The low-income population in Indonesia faces two interrelated food security challenges: regional food security and household food security. Regional food security is reflected in production aspects, while household food security is realised by the population's ability to access and consume food in accordance with nutritional standards to achieve a healthy living standard³⁰. People living in rural areas, the majority of whom are farmers, are classified as small-scale farmers, with an average landholding of less than 0.5 hectares³¹. With such limited land ownership and without serious efforts to increase it, this will ultimately weaken the food security of the Indonesian people. The weakening of food security can lead to a decline in food sovereignty, especially because, in the era of global trade liberalisation, the agricultural systems of developing countries struggle to compete with food commodities from developed countries.

Based on the explanation, which highlights issues of land conversion and poverty, the agrarian reform program through land redistribution becomes a necessity; consequently, in relation to food, ensuring food availability is the responsibility of the government and regional governments, as emphasised in Article 12, paragraph (1) of Law No. 18 of 2012 on food. The food security system must be built on avoiding dependence on external factors (such as global markets), as this can disrupt food sovereignty. Therefore, it must be addressed by recognising that the real issue is the imbalanced agrarian structure in terms of land tenure, ownership, use, and exploitation of land, which needs to be rectified through efforts to restructure it³².

Implementation of Land Redistribution Within the Framework of Agrarian Reform in West Java

To achieve one of the objectives of agrarian reform, namely, enhancing food security, the government has implemented a policy for the acceleration of agrarian reform, the strategy of

²⁹ Irene Vera Purba et al., "Implications of Agricultural Land Conversion for Sustainable Food Security: Evidence from Vietnam," *Contrarius* 1, no. 1 (2025): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.53955/contrarius.v1i1.79>.

³⁰ www.walhi.or.id., "Ketahanan Pangan dan Reforma Agraria", Campaign, 25th February 2008.

³¹ Sri Hery Susilowati and Mohammad Maulana, "Luas Lahan Usaha Tani Dan Kesejateraan Petani: Eksistensi Petani Gurem Dan Urgensi Kebijakan Reforma Agraria," *Analisis Kebijakan Pertanian* 10, no. 1 (2012): 17–30, <https://doi.org/10.21082/akp.v10n1.2012.17-30>.

³² Cláudia M. Viana et al., "Agricultural Land Systems Importance for Supporting Food Security and Sustainable Development Goals: A Systematic Review," *Science of The Total Environment* 806 (February 2022): 150718, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2021.150718>.

which is outlined in the action plan for the acceleration of agrarian reform. this action plan serves as a reference in the preparation of work plans and budgets for local governments,³³ both provincial and regency/city governments. Therefore, in accordance with their authority, local governments must incorporate agrarian reform programs and activities within their regions into the Regional Development Planning documents. The legal basis for this is the Minister of Home Affairs Decree No. 900.1.15.5-3406 of 2024 on the Second Amendment to the Minister of Home Affairs Decree No. 050-5889 of 2021 concerning the Results of Verification, Validation, and Inventory of the Update of Classification, Codification, and Nomenclature of Regional Development and Financial Planning.

The Development Planning document in West Java Province is currently outlined in Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2024 on the Long-Term Regional Development Plan for West Java Province for the years of 2025-2045. For the period of 2025-2029, in line with the leadership of Governor Deddy Mulyadi (2025-2029), the vision for West Java is '*Jabar Istimewa: Lembur Diurus, Kota Ditata*'. '*Istimewa*' signifies the commitment of the West Java Provincial Government to provide the best development and public services for the welfare of the people. '*lembur diurus*' refers to the development of rural areas as agricultural and conservation zones managed to strengthen food security and environmental sustainability. '*kota ditata*' means the development of urban areas as zones for goods and services trade, as well as industrial areas managed for resource management and regional competitiveness. this vision includes four missions and nine steps to build West Java.

In general terms, the implementation of agrarian reform in West Java Province (2018-2022) has been carried out as follows³⁴: 1). Inventory of expired Land Use Rights (HGU) across West Java Province that were not renewed by the landowners (2018); 2). Asset and access management through the preparation of suitability maps and a database of agrarian reform subjects by name and address, covering former HGU lands in Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Sukabumi Regencies, as well as state-owned free land in Cianjur Regency (2019); 3). Synchronisation of asset and access management from the by-name-by-address database by conducting the Inventory of Land Tenure, Ownership, Use, and Utilisation (IP4T) in 7 locations in West Java Province potentially suitable for TORA (Land Object for Agrarian Reform), specifically in the regencies of Bandung, Cianjur, Subang, Indramayu, Garut, Bogor, and Sukabumi (2020); 4). Inventory of assets and access development plans in Cianjur, Garut, and Bogor Regencies. These locations have validated data and are potential TORA sites (2021); 5). Evaluation and Strengthening of The Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) at the regency level, including monitoring and evaluation (ME) for institutional strengthening and GTRA implementation in Cianjur and Subang Regencies; Normative and Acceleration (NA), which involves the inventory of potential TORA in Sukabumi Regency; and 6). Network and Gainful (NG), focusing on the development of access in Indramayu Regency (2022).

³³ See Article 2, paragraph (3), letters b and c, in conjunction with Article 3 of Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 on the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform.

³⁴ Juarin Jaka Sulistyo, Head of the Department of Planning and Empowerment (P2) Regional Office of National Land Agency (BPN) of West Java Province, "*Lokasi Prioritas Reforma Agraria Jawa Barat 2023-2027*", Presentation in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) on Monitoring and Roadmap Evaluation of the GTRA West Java 1.0, Bandung, 11th April 2023.

The locations prioritised as the pilot project for agrarian reform land in West Java Province for the years 2021-2024 are included in the West Java Agrarian Reform Roadmap, Jabar Cergas 1.0, and have been designated as follows³⁵: 1) Cibedug Village, Ciawi Subdistrict, Bogor Regency; 2) Arjasari Village, Arjasari Subdistrict, Bandung Regency; 3) Cipendawa Village, Pacet Subdistrict, Bogor Regency; and 4) Sukawargi Village, Cisurupan Subdistrict, Garut Regency. Meanwhile, for the period 2023-2027, there has been a shift with a focus on priority locations for asset management and access management (referred to as the West Java Agrarian Reform Roadmap 2.0), which will be implemented in the following locations³⁶: 1) Girijaya Village, Cibinong Subdistrict, Cianjur Regency; 2) Pananggapan Village, Cibinong Subdistrict, Cianjur Regency; 3) Jayamukti Village, Blanakan Subdistrict, Subang Regency; 4) Bantaragung Village, Jampang Tengah Subdistrict, Sukabumi Regency; 5) Tegallega Village, Lengkong Subdistrict, Sukabumi Regency; and 6) Cemara Kulon Village, Losarang Subdistrict, Indramayu Regency.

The change in the focus of priority locations for agrarian reform mentioned above was made to align with the enactment of Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 on the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation.³⁷ It also aims to optimise and synergise the roles of the West Java Provincial GTRA Team with the community and the business sector to drive the achievement of agrarian reform targets through the GTRA of West Java, established based on the Governor of West Java's Decree No. 590.05/Kep.253-Rek/2023 on the GTRA Team. Subsequently, the GTRA Team was formed based on the Governor of West Java's Decree No. 590/Kep.86-Rek/2024 on the Agrarian Reform Task Force for West Java Province, which was later amended by the Governor's Decree No. 590/Kep.587-Rek/2024 on the Amendment of the Governor of West Java's Decree No. 590/Kep.86-Rek/2024.

In accordance with the Governor of West Java's Decree No. 590/Kep.260-rek/2023, the Priority Locations for Agrarian Reform (LPRA) for West Java for the years 2023-2027 have been established, comprising 11 locations across 7 regencies. This Governor's Decree serves as the basis for the GTRA of West Java to direct agrarian reform efforts in a more focused, targeted, measurable, and integrated manner within the designated Priority Locations for Agrarian Reform (LPRA). These eleven agrarian reform locations are situated in Cianjur Regency (3 locations), Subang Regency (1 location), Sukabumi Regency (3 locations), Indramayu Regency (1 location), Bogor Regency (1 location), Bandung Regency (1 location), and Garut Regency (1 location), as shown in Table 3.

Table 3³⁸: Priority Locations for Agrarian Reform in West Java Province (2023–2027)

Regency	Subdistrict	Village	Asset Location	Asset Legalisation	Area (Ha)	Number of Cultivators (HH)
Cianjur	Cibinong	Pananggapan	Former HGU of PT. Tigebang	Land redistribution with joint ownership certificates	±81.6	552 HH

³⁵ ibid.

³⁶ ibid.

³⁷ Andi Tenri Abeng et al., “The Ongoing Struggle for Agrarian Reform As an Unfinished Agenda? Lessons From Mekarsari Village,” BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria Dan Pertanahan 9, no. 2 (2024): 203–21, <https://doi.org/10.31292/bhumi.v9i2.797>.

³⁸ Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) of West Java Province, “Perencanaan Program dan Kegiatan serta Rencana Penganggaran pada Lokasi Prioritas Reforma Agraria Provinsi Jawa Barat”, 25th October 2023.

(SHMB) in 2021						
Cianjur	Cibinong	Girijaya	Former HGU of PT. Tigebang	Land redistribution with joint ownership certificates (SHMB) in 2021	±81.6	—
Cianjur	Pacet	Cipenda wa	State Reserve Land (Tanah Cadangan Umum Negara/TCUN)	Land redistribution (Individual Certificate) in 2022	±18.12	349 HH
Subang	Blanakan	Jayamukt i	Emergent Land	±149.2	±61 HH	
Sukabu mi	Jampang Tengah	Jampang Tengah	Release of HGU PT. MPIPP Djaja (HGU Renewal)	Proposed for consolidation, PTSL, land redistribution, and asset legalisation	±17.75	±178 HH
Sukabu mi	Jampang Tengah	Bantarag ung	Release of HGU PT. MPIPP Djaja (HGU Renewal)	Proposed for consolidation, redistribution	±142.58	±227 HH
Sukabu mi	Lengkon g	Tegalleg a	Release of HGU PT. MPIPP Djaja (HGU Renewal)	Proposed for consolidation, redistribution	±146.02	±398 HH
Indramaya	Losarang	Cemara Kulon	Emergent Land	Land redistribution (Individual Certificate) in 2022	±110.03	292 HH
Bogor	Ciawi	Cibedug	Former HGU of PT. Rejosari Bumi	Land redistribution in 2022	±72.85	153 HH
Bandung	Arjasari	Arjasari	Former HGU of PT. Arjasari	Land redistribution in 2018 and part of PTSL	87	800 HH
Garut	Cisurupan	Sukawar gi	Expired HGU of PT. Hardjasari	Land redistribution in 2019, Land Consolidation	±107.79	408 HH

Source: Governor of West Java Decree No. 590/Kep.260-Rek/2023

As can be seen from the table 3, the agrarian reform activities carried out in these 11 locations focus on asset legalisation activities (as part of asset management), specifically the implementation of the Systematic and Complete Land Registration (PTSL) program for land resulting from the redistribution of land from former HGU of plantation companies whose HGU period has expired.

Regarding the agrarian reform program in West Java Province, which has been planned and implemented since the enactment of Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, monitoring and evaluation were conducted in 2024 by the GTRA of West Java on the implementation of the Governor of West Java's Decree No. 590/KEP.260-REK/2023 on the Roadmap for the Establishment of LPRA for West Java in 2023-2027. During this period, activities have largely focused on asset legalisation through the Systematic and Complete Land Registration (PTSL) program. This is understandable, as the implementation of land legalisation falls within the duties and functions of the National Land Agency (BPN) and its regional offices, thereby facilitating smoother execution.

The implementation of land redistribution for TORA (Land Object for Agrarian Reform) originating from expired HGU (Hutan Guna Usaha) lands is often hindered by the fact that these HGU lands are already occupied by local communities, leading to conflicts with local communities. However, through a persuasive approach, these communities are proposed as subjects for receiving TORA. Furthermore, in relation to TORA originating from land released from forest areas, results have yet to be achieved in West Java Province due to the lack of alignment in the implementation of agrarian reform duties between the Ministry of ATR/BPN

and the Land Offices at the regency level, and the Ministry of Forestry and the Forestry Offices at the regency level.

In terms of access management, particularly in relation to achieving food security and land for housing and settlements through agrarian reform programs, the primary obstacle is budget constraints. The planning of agrarian reform implementation by the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) and the West Java Provincial of National Land Agency (BPN) Office has often, in practice, not been supported by adequate budgeting for access management programs (empowerment) at the relevant Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD), such as the Department of Housing and Settlement, the Department of Forestry, the Department of Food Crops and Horticulture, the Department of Cooperatives and Small Enterprises, the Department of Plantations, the Department of Public Works and Spatial Planning, the Department of Manpower and Transmigration, and the Department of Fisheries and Maritime Affairs.

Achieving Food Security Through Agrarian Reform in West Java Province

In general, food security in West Java Province is relatively stable; however, it remains a concern due to limited land availability, ongoing conversion of agricultural land, and ongoing population growth. The average population growth rate in West Java in 2024 is 1.13%, with a total population of 50,490,000 people³⁹. This situation is due to West Java's strategic location as a buffer region for the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. Although Jakarta is no longer the capital city of the country, according to Law No. 3 of 2022 on the State Capital/Ibu Kota Negara (IKN), the dynamics of economic and business activities revolve around the surrounding areas of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta (DKJ), placing a heavy burden on West Java Province. The issues of agricultural land conversion and population growth pose significant challenges that must be addressed to avoid a food crisis. On the other hand, implementing agrarian reform, particularly the redistribution of agricultural land, is not easy due to limited land availability and the significant extent of land conversion. Therefore, the West Java Provincial Government has developed a food security strategy through programs such as the regeneration of millennial farmers, strengthening food information systems, and increasing the diversification of local food and food processing to enhance added value and food self-sufficiency.

Specifically, to enhance farmers' role in achieving food security, the West Java Provincial Government has issued Governor Regulation No. 36 of 2023 on the Regeneration of Farmers in West Java for the Enhancement of Regional Food Security. This regulation is intended to strengthen food security and accelerate economic recovery in West Java, as well as to foster entrepreneurship in the agricultural, fisheries, and forestry sectors by regenerating young farmers through an agribusiness development concept that is competitive, independent, and modern, supported by digital technology. These young farmers in West Java are known as millennial farmers. For these millennial farmers, the Governor provides facilities that include⁴⁰: Facilities for the Utilisation of Agricultural Business Land; Infrastructure facilities; Capacity enhancement facilities; Access to capital facilities; Assistance facilities for business

³⁹ www.jabar.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/3

⁴⁰ See Article 11, paragraph (2), of West Java Governor Regulation No. 36 of 2023 on the Regeneration of Farmers in West Java for the Enhancement of Regional Food Security.

start-ups; Institutional support for agricultural businesses; Access to product marketing facilities; and Digital technology implementation facilities. However, during its implementation, the policy to establish millennial farmers has not been fully effective, primarily due to the lack of support for the promised facilities, which has made it difficult for regency and city governments in West Java to realise it. Therefore, serious budgetary support is needed to ensure that this promising program does not remain merely a concept. If the government faces funding challenges, it may be beneficial to involve companies operating in the agricultural, livestock, or forestry sectors through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs, as the realisation of food security and poverty reduction is not solely the responsibility of the government but a shared responsibility of all relevant stakeholders.

In West Java Province, agrarian reform programs have yet to fully support the achievement of food security, particularly through the land redistribution program, because food security is not only about the availability and utilisation of agricultural land, but also encompasses other factors, such as: Improvement of agricultural infrastructure and facilities; Development and expansion of seed/seedling logistic; Strengthening of farmer institutions; Strengthening and enhancement of agricultural human resources; and Strengthening of market networks.

Therefore, in addition to the need for strong synergy in implementing agrarian reform in West Java Province, other forms of support beyond land availability are also required. This interrelation has already been addressed in several areas within West Java Province. In Tasikmalaya Regency, for example, research findings indicate that in the past five years (2020-2025), the agrarian reform implemented in Tasikmalaya Regency has included⁴¹ 1) Redistribution of land, totalling 1,200 hectares, to 3,000 households; 2) Legalisation of assets through PTS, covering thousands of agricultural and settlement land parcels in priority villages; 3) Involvement of various parties in the GTRA of Tasikmalaya Regency, including technical departments, village officials, BUMD (Regional-Owned Enterprises), and community leaders; 4) Empowerment of farmers through training, extension services, and access to People's Business Credit / Kredit Usaha Rakyat (KUR) for productivity.

Regarding the aspects of access to and ownership of land, the implementation of agrarian reform to enhance food security in Tasikmalaya Regency faces several challenges, including⁴²: 1) Limited access: 45% of farmers do not own land and work as farm workers on land owned by others; 2) Land tenure inequality: Some groups of individuals control large-scale land, while small farmers only own small plots of land or even work as farm workers; 3) Agrarian conflicts: take place at the boundaries of forest areas/former plantation HGU lands, with overlapping claims, which delay asset legalisation/land registration; 4) Productivity affected: The lack of landownership security causes farmers to experience stagnation, negatively affecting food security.

The situation in Tasikmalaya Regency is also observed in other areas of West Java, particularly in Garut and Ciamis Regencies, which are the focus of this research. The issue of land tenure inequality is a major factor in unequal access to food production. Food security, as part of President Prabowo's Asta Cita, is directly correlated with issues of land tenure and

⁴¹ Research Focus Group Discussion, "Model Pengaturan Reforma Agraria sebagai Instrumen Rekayasa Sosial terwujudnya Asta Cita Kemandirian Pangan dan Kementasan Kemiskinan," August 6, 2025.

⁴² Ibid.

ownership by small farmers, which play a strategic role not only in food surveillance but also in ensuring the success of productivity from the implementation of agrarian reform. To address these issues in Garut Regency, the Department of Food Security has implemented social engineering through agrarian reform based on food security, namely through⁴³: 1) Integrated Model: a. The process begins by mapping the Agrarian Reform Priority Locations, also known locally as Lokasi Prioritas Reforma Agraria (LPRA), where land redistribution is directly linked to strengthening food production programs. Technical assistance programs, marketing, and training are integrated into a single policy package. 2) Social Institutional Model: a. Focus on the formation and strengthening of farmers' organisations; b. Food literacy is expanded to the household level; c. Access to financing is facilitated through People's Business Credit (KUR), BUMD (Regional-Owned Enterprises), and cooperatives. 3) Local Government Intervention Model: a. Local Government, through the Department of Food Security, serve as the cross-sectoral implementation team for the food security program; b. Data collection, process oversight, and result monitoring are carried out centrally within the region.

By implementing the social engineering efforts mentioned above, the Department of Food Security of Garut Regency not only serves as a technical executor in supporting agrarian reform but also catalyses social change, as expected to be realised through agrarian reform. The Department of Food Security, as a catalyst in the agrarian reform program, has contributed to improved food security in villages and urban areas in Garut Regency over time. Based on composite indicators, the number of villages/urban areas classified as food insecure (priority 1-3) has decreased year by year. In 2022, of the 442 villages/urban areas in Garut Regency, 74 were classified as food insecure. By 2023, this number had decreased to 41 villages/urban areas, and in 2024, it further decreased to 17 villages/urban areas (3.85%)⁴⁴.

The good practice mentioned above demonstrates that the implementation of agrarian reform is not only the responsibility of the Ministry of ATR/BPN and its regional offices (Regional BPN Offices, Land Offices at the Regency/City level) but is a shared responsibility among all government agencies, both at the central and regional levels. Effective synergy and cooperation among relevant institutions, along with genuine farmer involvement, are essential to achieving food security in the region. Therefore, this good practice must also be supported by more detailed technical regulations for the implementation of agrarian reform that go beyond asset legalisation, such as PTSL, or land redistribution. The most important aspect is to conduct social engineering to empower farming communities, enabling them to achieve food independence and escape poverty.

CONCLUSION

From the evaluation of agrarian reform implementation in West Java Province, particularly in relation to achieving food security as discussed above, both in terms of access reform and asset reform across the three selected research locations, it is evident that many issues remain. These problems mainly stem from a lack of coordination among stakeholders. The evaluation shows that some stakeholders still perceive agrarian reform as merely a land administration issue and therefore regard it solely as the responsibility of the Regional Land Office (BPN) and local

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Land Offices. This perception is also closely related to budgetary issues, as financial resources for access and asset management are allocated primarily to land administration authorities. Consequently, other relevant stakeholders are unable to optimally contribute to achieving agrarian reform objectives, as their budgets must be prioritised for other institutional mandates. In fact, the success of agrarian reform, particularly in achieving regional food security, is highly dependent on effective coordination, synchronisation, and shared responsibility among government institutions, both vertically and horizontally, in carrying out agrarian reform-related tasks. The recognition of agrarian reform as a collective responsibility, implemented in an accountable manner, reflects the application of good governance principles. Indeed, the success of agrarian reform, particularly in achieving regional food security, is highly dependent on the effectiveness of coordination, synchronisation, and shared responsibility among government institutions, both vertically and horizontally, in carrying out agrarian reform-related tasks. The recognition of agrarian reform as a collective and accountable responsibility reflects the application of good governance principles in its implementation. Therefore, to strengthen coordination among stakeholders, it is necessary to establish a dedicated agrarian reform implementing body to enable more effective cooperation, accompanied by programs aimed at improving supporting systems, schemes, and institutional frameworks.

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