

THE ROLE OF AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: ANALYSIS OF AGRARIAN REFORM POLICY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Agrarian reform is nothing new in Indonesia. In the 1960s the agrarian reform or better known as land reform was marked by the emergence of UUPA 1960 replacing the Colonial Agrarian Law 1870. However the implementation of land reform is not realized. Afterward now in the reign of Jokowi-JK, agrarian reform became one of the national development priority or known as Nawacita. One of Agrarian reform aims is to decrease inequality in Indonesia. The purpose of this research is to analyze the role of agrarian reform in rural development with observe of synergy between agrarian reform and objective of rural development policy. The method in this paper used descriptive analysis of agrarian reform policy in Indonesia and rural development policy. The result of this research is some agrarian reform priority programs have synergy with the direction of village development policy such as program of arrangement of land ownership and land ownership of agrarian reform toward the direction of policy of sustainable natural resources and environment management, and spatial arrangement of rural area. Then, program of community empowerment in the use, utilization and production of the land object of agrarian reform is synergy toward the direction of village development policy in poverty alleviation and economic business development. The result of this study represent that agrarian reforms has a role in encouraging rural development.

Keywords: Agrarian Reform, Inequality, Rural Development

1. INTRODUCTION

The village is still the center of poverty, statistics Indonesia (BPS) noted that in September 2016 the percentage of rural poor reached 13.96 percent greater than the percentage of poor urban who reached 7.73 percent. In addition, the level of inequality continues to increase. The Central Bureau of Statistics noted that in the period before the Jokowi-JK government in 2014 Gini Ratio reached 0.414. In 2005 the Gini Ratio was still at 0.38. Starting from efforts to improve equity in Indonesia, in the period of Jokowi-JK Government, agrarian reform became one of the main agenda of Nawacita. Then Nawacita is used as a reference in the development of Medium Term Development Planning (RPJMN) of 2015-2019 and is reduced to a program held by ministries and central government agencies through the Government Work Plan (RKP). In

Presidential Regulation Number 45 of 2016, there are five Priority Programs related to Agrarian Reform, namely: (1) Strengthening of Framework Regulation and Settlement of Agrarian Conflict; (2) Arrangement of Land Tenure and Ownership of Object Agrarian Reform; (3) Legal Certainty and Legalization of Land Rights of Object Agrarian Reform; (4) Community Empowerment in the Use, Utilization and Production of Land Object Agrarian Reform; (5) Institutional Implementation of Central and Regional Agrarian Reform.

The government formed an Agrarian Reform team involving several ministries under the coordination of Coordinating Minister for the Economy. Among them the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) focuses not only on land certification programs for the poor society, but also the data collection and arrangement of about 4.9 million hectares of state land given to the people. These lands are then called TORA (Land Object Agrarian Reform) including non-renewable land for Business Land (HGU) and abandoned land. In addition to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (Ministry LHK) also has the task of structuring more than 4.8 million hectares of state forests to be managed by the lower economic community.

Agrarian reform is not a new thing in Indonesia. Agrarian reform or better known as land reform has existed since the 1960s which was marked by the published of Law No.5 Year 1960 or better known as UUPA 1960. According Wiradi (2004) Agrarian Reform (RA) is a rearrangement composition of ownership, control and use of agrarian resources (especially land) for the benefit of the small people (farmers, farm laborers, tunakisma, etc.), thoroughly and comprehensively. Now, agrarian reform is one of the efforts of equity by the government. Through agrarian reform, it is expected that there will be an increase in people's productivity and overcome the land ownership gap.

Through the Ministry of ATR/BPN and the Ministry of LHK, has recorded 21.7 million hectares of land that is ready to be redistributed and accessed to the people through Agrarian Reform Program and Social Forestry. The right to access the Social Forestry program is the people, cooperatives, farmer groups and gapoktan (family of farmer groups). Agrarian reform will not only stop at the granting access of social forestry, but also followed by further programs to strengthen the ability of the people around the forest area. The program, start from the preparation of production facilities and infrastructure, training and extension, access to market information, technology, access to financing and post-harvest preparation. In addition, the development of social forestry business aspect is not only agro-forestry, but also can be developed into ecotourism business, agro business, bio energy business, non-timber forest product business, and wood industry business.

Agrarian reform is generally seen as aimed at improving community productivity and overcoming ownership disparities. This is very close to the condition of the village which is the center of poverty and inequality. Referring to this situation, this study would like to see the role of agrarian reform in village development. The role of agrarian reform is seen from the agrarian reform policy and its priority programs whether it has synergy with the direction of the village development policy or even the contradictions that make the village even poorer and lame.

2. METHODOLOGY

Based on the purpose of this study, it will be presented in a narrative/descriptive way. The paradigm used in this research using qualitative approach. Denzin & Lincoln (2009) mentioned that qualitative research focuses research on a variety of methods, which include interpretive and naturalistic approaches to the subject of the study. This study is a policy analysis study defined as communication or creation and critical assessment, knowledge relevant to policy (Dunn 2003).

Policy analysis combines and transforms the substance and methods of multiple disciplines, and further generates information relevant to policies used to address certain public issues. Analytical approaches that can be done include: (1) Empirical Approach, emphasizing the explanation of the causes and effects of a particular public policy. The resulting information is descriptive; (2) Valuable Approach, especially emphasized on the determination of the weight or value of some policies. The resulting information is valuable; (3) Normative Approach, emphasized on the recommendations of a series of upcoming actions that can solve public problems. The resulting information is prescriptive (Dunn 2003). While the scope of themes in policy analysis refers to Runhaar et al (2008) in Kartodihardjo (2017), namely: analysis of policy content, policy processes, policy organizations, policy impacts, and policy contexts. In response to the theme of policy analysis, reconstruction of policy theory, stakeholder analysis, impact assessment, cost-benefit analysis, and discourse analysis are used. In this study the focus will be on an empirical approach with the theme of content policy analysis.

The data was collected by literature study by studying related regulations and documents such as Presidential Regulation Number 45 Year 2016 on Government Work Plan 2017, RPJMN 2015-2019, Implementation of Agrarian Reform Office of President Staff Direction 2017. Data analysis was done by looking at the content of the policy manifested into the priority program toward the direction of village development policy. If there is synergy through content in terms of targeting the same thing or having the same goal then agrarian reform has a role in rural development. The results of data analysis presented descriptively and if there is a contradiction between the contents of the policy will be a normative approach that is prescriptive.

3. RESULTS

The results of this study are presented in the sub-chapter which begins with the results of regulatory review and priority programs of agrarian reform, followed by the policy direction and strategy of village development and the last is the synergy between agrarian reform and rural development.

3.1 Review of Regulations and Priority Programs of Agrarian Reform

The implementation of this agrarian reform is applied to the nine million hectares of land categories contained in the Nawacita and is also contained in the RPJMN 2015-2019. Priority programs and priority activities tied up by the Office Staff of the President (KSP) are implemented by the respective Government Ministries and Agencies as well as cooperating in synergies and across sectors, coordinated by the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs. Priority programs and priority activities are formally incorporated into the Government Work Plan whose preparation is the responsibility of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), and the budget allocation is undertaken by the Ministry of Finance. The implementation of Agrarian Reform will be specifically controlled by the Office of the KSP as stipulated in Presidential Regulation No. 26 of 2015 on the Office of Presidential Staff.

At the local level, the subjects targeted by the program are poor organized farmer household groups and villages as regulators of tenure, ownership, stewardship, and land and forest use. Villages and villagers can form a special business entity that serves to improve productivity and generate household income of participant program participants.



Fig. 1. Government Work Plan of 2017 Priority Program of Agrarian Reform

Furthermore, agrarian reform is then translated into five priority programs with the problems, objectives, and implementers of each priority program as follows:

Table 1. Problems, objectives, and implementers of the agrarian reform priority program

	Strengthening of Regulation Framework & Completion of Agrarian Conflict	Structuring of Land Ownership and Ownership Object Agrarian Reform	Legal Compliance and Legalization of Land Object Agrarian Reform	Community Empowerment in Utilization and Production Utilization of TORA	Institutional Implementation of Central and Regional Agrarian Reform
Problems	Agrarian conflict begins with the granting access/utilization rights by public officials who exclude a group of people from land, natural resources, and management areas	The cause of inequality of agrarian control is the concentration of land tenure	Efforts in providing legal certainty over the ownership of community land is still not optimal	Landless farmers still need support in the rearrangement of production systems	Institutional arrangements at the village level need to be revitalized in accordance with the objectives and priority programs of agrarian reform
Objective	Handling and resolving structural agrarian conflicts	Reduce the concentration of ownership and control of land and strengthen the certainty of the right to ownership and control of land for the prosperity and welfare of the people, especially poor farmers in rural areas	Strengthening the rights of the people on land legally formal after the redistribution of land ownership and ownership of the object agrarian reform	Increase the community's ability to use the land to bring about an equitable increase in social, economic, and environmental productivity on the land, and empower villages to be able to manage ownership, control, use and use of land, forest and natural resources in their respective areas	Ensure the availability of strong and effective institutions at the national, regional and local levels that implement and develop agrarian reform programs and activities and their support activities as a whole in accordance with the conditions, the character of the village, the community and the region
Implementer	Ministry of ATR/BPN, Desa PDTT, KLHK, Pertanian, ESDM, KKP, Kemendagri	Ministry of ATR/BPN, Desa PDTT, KLHK, Pertanian, ESDM, KKP, Kemendagri	Ministry of ATR/BPN, Desa PDTT, KLHK, Pertanian, ESDM, KKP, Kemendagri	Ministry of ATR/BPN, Desa PDTT, KLHK, Pertanian, ESDM, KKP, Kemendagri	Ministry of ATR/BPN, Desa PDTT, KLHK, Pertanian, ESDM, KKP, Kemendagri

3.2 Direction of Village Development Policy and Strategy

In Book I of RPJMN 2015-2019 stated that the number of villages is growing rapidly from 72,944 villages in 2012 to 74,093 villages in 2014. To reduce the gap between rural and urban is done by accelerating the development of independent villages and building local economic linkages between villages and cities through rural development.

The direction of village and rural development policies, including in border areas, underdeveloped regions, transmigration areas and outer islands 2015-2019 are as follows:

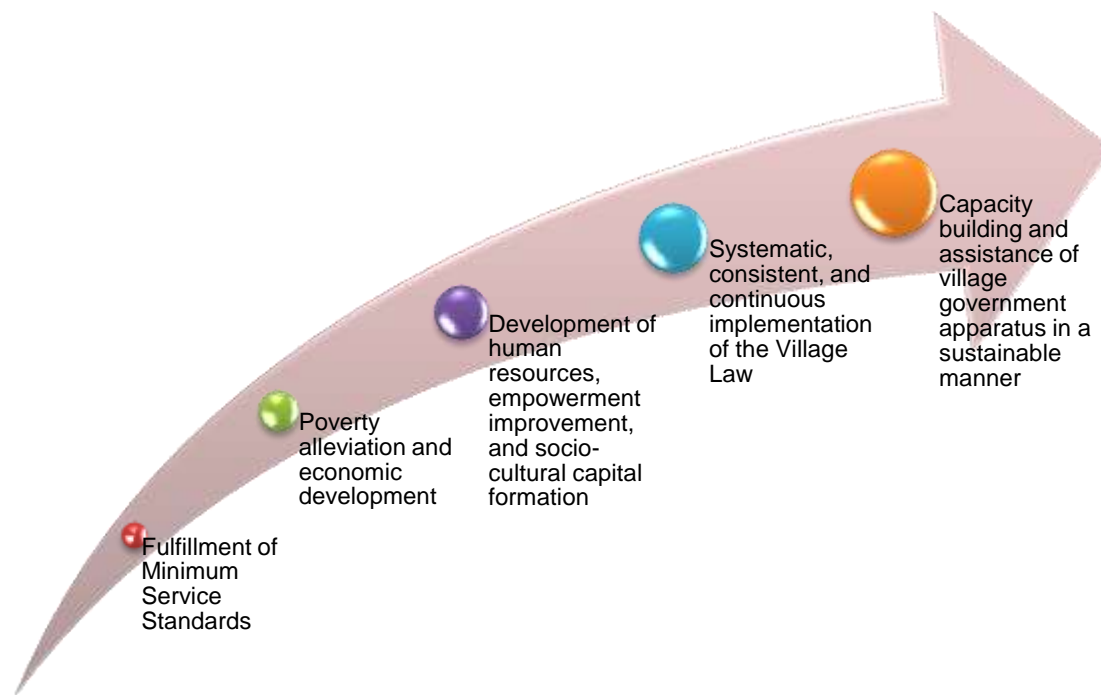


Fig. 2. Direction of village and rural development policy

While the strategy of each direction of policy of development of village and rural areas are:

- a. Fulfillment of Minimum Service Standards with strategies:
 - Increasing the availability of housing facilities and housing facilities and settlement facilities; Increasing availability of faculty and educational facilities and infrastructure;
 - Increasing availability of medical personnel and health facilities and infrastructure; Improving the availability of facilities and infrastructure of communications between settlements to education, health, and economic service centers;
 - Increasing availability of irrigation, electricity and telecommunication infrastructure.
- b. Poverty alleviation and economic development by strategy:
 - Facilitation of BUMDesa management and increasing availability of production facilities, especially seeds, fertilizers, post-harvest, processing of agricultural products and fisheries in village-scale households;
 - Facilitation, coaching, mentoring in business development, credit capital assistance, business opportunity, marketing and entrepreneurship;
 - Increase the capacity of rural communities in the utilization and development of appropriate science and technology.
- c. Development of human resources, empowerment improvement, and socio-cultural capital formation with strategies:
 - Developing skills-based and entrepreneurial education;
 - Giving recognition, respect, protection and promotion of the rights of indigenous peoples;
 - Developing institutional capacity and institutional assistance of village communities and institutional customs;
 - Increase community capacity and participation through facilitation, training and monitoring of village development;
 - Strengthening the capacity of village communities and indigenous people to manage and utilize the natural resources of land and water, as well as the village environment including coastal villages in a sustainable way;

- Increase participation and capacity of workers (TKI/TKW) in the village.
- d. Systematic, consistent, and continuous implementation of the Village Law with strategies:
- Consolidation of cross-ministerial work units;
 - Ensure that the various laws governing the implementation of the Village Law are in line with the substance, spirit and spirit of the Village Law, including the preparation of the Village Rural Financial System;
 - Ensure the distribution of village funds and the allocation of village funds proceed effectively and gradually;
 - Preparing provincial and district/city governments to operationalize the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights to become customary villages.
- e. Capacity building and facilitation of village government apparatus in a sustainable manner with strategies:
- Increase the capacity of village governments and Village Consultative Bodies through facilitation, training and assistance in planning, implementation and monitoring of village development, asset management and village finance, village map preparation and digital village boundary setting;
 - Reform of public services including off-hours services by villages, sub-districts and sub-districts;
 - Increasing the availability of village government infrastructure facilities;
 - Develop inter-village cooperation;
 - Implement village management;
 - Develop village information center/community hall.
- f. Management of natural resources and sustainable environment, and spatial management of rural areas with strategies:
- Ensure distribution of land to villages and distribution of land rights to farmers, landowners and fishermen;
 - Arranging rural areas to protect agricultural land and suppressing the function of productive land and conservation land;
 - Prepare and implement policies to free villages from forest and plantation pockets;
 - Prepare policies on access and village rights to manage local-scale natural resources including state-run forest management by village-oriented environmental balance and disaster mitigation insights to improve food production and achieve food security;
 - Prepare and implement new regulations on shareholding between government, investors and villages in natural resource management;
 - Undertake rural development investment programs with shareholding patterns involving villages and villagers as shareholders;
 - Rehabilitate polluted and affected areas in rural areas, especially in coastal and watershed areas.
- g. Economic development of rural areas with strategies:
- Realizing and developing production centers, industrial centers for agricultural and fishery processing, and tourism destinations;
 - Improve access to village transportation with local/regional economic growth centers;
 - Develop inter-village, inter-regional, and inter-governmental-private cooperation, including cooperation in the management of BUMDesa, especially outside Java-Bali;
 - Building agribusiness populist through the construction of special banks for agriculture, UMKM, and cooperatives;
 - Build business facilities/business centers;
 - Developing an information and communications technology community.

3.3 Synergy between Agrarian Reform and Village Development

Based on a review of the contents of the agrarian reform policy that covers the national priority programs issued by the Office of the Presidential Staff of the Republic of Indonesia as well as a review of the contents of the national development policy and strategy referring to the National RPJMN 2015-2019, this section will describe the synergy between agrarian reform and rural development. Based on the explanation of the problems and objectives of each agrarian reform priority program with the direction and strategy of the village development, there are several things that have synchronization that is:

1. Second priority program "Structuring of land ownership and ownership of agrarian reform", the goal leads to implementation of strategy of policy direction of development related to management of natural resources and sustainable environment, and spatial arrangement of rural area.



Fig. 3. Synergy between agrarian reform and rural development (1)

When viewed in the contents of the priority program objectives, agrarian reform leads to the distribution of land both in terms of ownership and control of the land. Concentration of ownership is seen as the cause of inequality and agrarian reform becomes a solution in reducing the condition of inequality. This is in accordance with the direction and strategy of village development. So the second priority program has a role in rural development.

2. The fourth priority program "Community empowerment in the use, utilization and production of agrarian reform land" purposes is in line with the strategy of the direction of village development policy in poverty alleviation and economic development.



Fig. 4. Synergy between agrarian reform and rural development (2)

Land redistribution only has not solved the problem of poverty for farmers. Farmers still need support in increasing capacity to increase productivity. This priority program is synergized with the policy direction of development in terms of poverty reduction and economic development. Even in the village development strategy explicitly mentioned the intended development in terms of facilitation and assistance in improving the capacity of rural communities.

From the review of the content of the agrarian reform policy, agrarian reform has a role in the development of the village, namely in the distribution of land assets, the strengthening of rights to land with legalization of assets and then increase the capacity of farmers in order to increase productivity. The role of agrarian reform leads to the direction and strategy of some village development policies. However, there are some things that become a critical point in agrarian reform policy are:

- Agrarian reform has established land of agrarian reform object (TORA) while TORA recipient subject only mention poor farmers. TORA is limited while poor farmers are very large. So that agrarian reform is only targeting some poor farmers only.
- Agrarian reforms on priority programs do not mention efforts in fulfilling minimum service standards as the first agenda of development policy directions. If the agrarian reform is not accompanied by the improvement of minimum service standards then the quality of life of poor farmers who are subjected to the subject of agrarian reform will remain powerless and may affect the increase in its capacity to increase productivity.
- Central and regional institutions in support of agrarian reform are also not synergy with the direction of village development policy. The direction of village development only mentions the strengthening of the village government in observe the Village Law and the strengthening of village institutions such as BUMDesa. If the direction of village development is also directed to the existence of special institutions implementing agrarian reform, the institutional strengthening of the agrarian reform that becomes the priority program not only at the central level but also up to the village level. This will be very effective in the implementation of agrarian reform.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Some agrarian reform priority programs have synergy with the direction of village development policy. Second priority program of arrangement of land ownership and ownership of agrarian reform object synergy toward policy direction of natural resource management and environment sustainability, and spatial arrangement of rural area. Then, the fourth priority program of community empowerment in the use,

utilization and production of land agrarian reform object is synergy towards the direction of village development policy in poverty alleviation and economic business development. So that agrarian reform has a role in encouraging rural development. In addition, there are also some things that are not synergies. First, the subject of agrarian reform and subject of the village development direction are not synergy. The agrarian reform only targeted some subjects because of the limitations of TORA. Second, the direction of village development in fulfilling minimum service standards is not included in the agrarian reform priority program. Finally, the institutional strengthening of agrarian reform is not included in the direction and strategy of village development.

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