

# The Agrarian Reform as a Path to Social Justice in Indonesia

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## Abstract

This study aims to examine the obstacles to the implementation of agrarian reform that cause injustice for farmers. Inequality in land ownership, rooted in the colonial era, continues to cause multidimensional impacts, such as structural poverty, agrarian conflict, food dependency, and marginalization of indigenous communities. The research method used in this study is a qualitative method with a library research approach. The results show that agrarian inequality weakens agricultural development, deepens social disparities, and weakens state legitimacy. On the other hand, agrarian reform that is implemented comprehensively, including land redistribution, farmer empowerment, recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, and integration with the sustainable development agenda can be a path to social justice as mandated by Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

**Keywords:** agrarian reform; farmer justice; agricultural development; land reform

## Introduction

Land plays a crucial role in the lives of Indonesians, both economically, socially, culturally, and politically. For the Indonesian people, the majority of whom work in agriculture, land is not only considered an economic asset but also a primary source of livelihood and prosperity (Kusumaningrum, 2019). Land provides shelter, space for growing food, livestock breeding, space for building facilities, and is a source of food and natural resources that support community survival. Therefore, land management and utilization have always been a crucial issue in national development and in achieving social justice for all Indonesians.

Inequality in land ownership has been a hidden problem and continues to threaten Indonesia since the colonial era until today (Kurniawan et al., 2022). The forced cultivation system in the 19th century marked the beginning of the transfer of people's land for the benefit of colonial plantations (Jadina et al., 2025). People were forced to grow export commodities such as sugar cane, coffee, and indigo, while their daily food needs were often neglected. Since then, the people's relationship with their land has shifted from that of owners to that of

workers. In the past two decades, agrarian issues have become increasingly complicated due to various large-scale development projects, such as oil palm plantations, mining, and the national food program. Many of these projects sacrifice the land of indigenous communities and small farmers (Fraser et al., 2025). This exacerbates agrarian injustice and leads to various conflicts, both among farmers and between farmers and other parties. Thus, the roots of agrarian inequality in Indonesia are historical and structural (Pereira et al., 2025). On the other hand, the majority of Indonesian farmers fall into the category of smallholder farmers, meaning those with very small plots of land, often less than 0.5 hectares. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency, more than 56% of farmers in Indonesia fall into the category of smallholder farmers, with land holdings of less than 0.5 hectares. With such small plots, it is difficult for farmers to increase their yields and improve their well-being (Kontesa & Fernando, 2024).

Inequality in the agrarian sector has a serious impact on the national development process. First, this inequality creates structural poverty in rural areas. Farmers with limited land can only produce food for daily needs, not for sale to the market. Second, this inequality leads to agrarian conflicts, which continue to increase annually. According to the Indonesian Agricultural Commission (KPA) in 2022, there were more than 200 cases of agrarian conflicts annually, involving hundreds of thousands of families. These conflicts have not only economic impacts, but also social and political ones. Furthermore, agrarian inequality also impacts food security (Raina & Kachroo, 2024). With limited land, farmers struggle to produce excess production. As a result, Indonesia often has to import foods such as rice, soybeans, and sugar. This dependency makes national food security fragile and vulnerable to global price fluctuations. From a social justice perspective, agrarian inequality clearly contradicts constitutional thinking (Avella, 2024). Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution states that the land, water, and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used to the maximum extent possible for the prosperity of the people. However, in reality, many policies actually benefit large corporations more than ordinary people.

Given these various problems, agrarian reform is clearly an urgent issue and cannot be postponed. Agrarian reform is not only a technical policy related to land, but also a structural issue closely related to aspects of social justice, economic democracy, food security, and the environment. Therefore, this study will examine in depth how agrarian reform in

Indonesia can become a path towards social justice. The main focus of the research is to examine the roots of agrarian inequality, its impact on farmers and agricultural development, and how agrarian reform policies can be a tool for achieving social justice.

## **Methods**

This study uses a qualitative method with a library research approach, aiming to analyze in-depth the concept and implementation of agrarian reform as a path to social justice in Indonesia (Subekti & Usada, 2023). Research data were obtained from various secondary sources such as books, scientific journals, laws and regulations, official government reports, and academic publications related to agrarian and social justice. Data analysis was conducted descriptively and analytically, namely by reviewing, comparing, and interpreting various literature to find the relationship between agrarian reform policies and the achievement of social justice as mandated by the Indonesian constitution.

## **Findings and Discussion**

Agrarian reform, in general, is an effort to change the way land is managed to achieve its goal of distributing ownership rights and land use (Subekti et al., 2023). After Indonesia's independence, the government created a policy aimed at reorganizing land ownership, use, utilization, and control. This policy is called agrarian reform and is regulated in the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) of 1960. The UUPA was a significant milestone because it emphasized that land has a social function and is not solely for the benefit of individuals or certain groups. Its primary goal was to restructure land ownership to be more equitable in accordance with the constitution. However, the objectives of the UUPA were not fully achieved. The political dynamics after 1965, marked by the transfer of power and the emergence of the New Order regime, caused the implementation of agrarian reform to stall. The focus of development shifted toward industrial development and the large-scale exploitation of natural resources. The government granted rights to vast tracts of land to plantation, mining, and forestry companies. As a result, land management in Indonesia still shows significant inequality between the rich and the poor, especially between landowners and small farmers.

Inequity in land ownership also leads to food insecurity among farming families. Due to limited land ownership, many farmers are unable to meet their families' food needs. This situation demonstrates a paradox in the development process in Indonesia (Simanjuntak &

Erwinsyah, 2020). From a social perspective, unequal land ownership widens the gap between smallholder farmers and large capital owners. Companies owning hundreds to thousands of hectares of land reap substantial profits, while smallholder farmers barely survive (Siagian, 2023). Low incomes make it difficult for farmers to access adequate education and healthcare. This reinforces the cycle of poverty: farmers' children lack education, so they remain trapped in low-productivity jobs as adults. In the long term, agrarian injustice will weaken the foundation of national agricultural development (Ramdas, 2021). Because the majority of farmers are smallholders, it is difficult to imagine Indonesia achieving food sovereignty. Dependence on imported rice, soybeans, and sugar is clear evidence of the fragile agricultural foundation due to the unfair agrarian structure. Farmers who own no land or only a small plot of land essentially have no clear future in economic development. They are vulnerable to marginalization, lack bargaining power, and ultimately fall behind the flow of development (Tarlau, 2021). This is why agrarian reform is considered a mandatory requirement for improving the conditions of farmers.

### **The Basis for Implementing Post-Reform Agrarian Reform**

One of the policies implemented by the Indonesian government in managing land affairs such as ownership, control, utilization, and use is Agrarian Reform. This Agrarian Reform is implemented based on Presidential Regulation Number 86 of 2018 concerning Agrarian Reform. Its main objective is to reduce inequality in land control and ownership. Previously, in the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960, there were three important objectives to be achieved, namely: first, restructuring the unbalanced agrarian structure to make it more equitable, second, resolving agrarian conflict issues, and third, improving the people's welfare after agrarian reform is implemented. In this context, agrarian justice can only be achieved through the Agrarian Reform agenda. In the 2015-2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM), it is stated that to improve people's welfare, the government provides land that is the object of Agrarian Reform of at least 9 million hectares, which will later be distributed to the people and landless farmers. As stated in the Appendix to Presidential Regulation Number 2 of 2005 concerning the 2015-2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan, the scheme includes the legalization of 4.5 million hectares of assets. This legalization includes 600,000 hectares of uncertified transmigration land and 3.9 million hectares of land already under community control (Chavunduka et al., 2021).

Agrarian reform has been transformed into a land legalization program and opened access to forest resources for communities surrounding forests through a social forestry model. The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) has distributed 14,968 plots of land, totaling 5,133 hectares, to 11,017 families. Furthermore, government programs related to land legalization and redistribution are said to have covered a total of 12.5 million hectares. However, fundamentally, government activities claimed to reduce inequality have not addressed areas where inequality and agrarian conflict have persisted for decades (Anwar & Shakeel, 2021).

To redistribute 4.5 million hectares of land, including 400,000 hectares of expired Land Use Rights (Hak Guna Usaha), unused land, and other state land, as well as 4.1 million hectares of land released from forest areas. The role of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) in Agrarian Reform is to provide assets and access. In terms of assets, the Ministry of ATR/BPN ensures clear legal status for land ownership, such as providing land certificates, expediting land registration, and conducting an inventory of land ownership, use, and utilization within the framework of agrarian reform through the Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL). Meanwhile, in terms of access, the Ministry of ATR/BPN provides empowerment through the construction of road and irrigation infrastructure, including post-harvest facilities, education and training, business credit, and marketing.

### **Agrarian Reform as a Path to Social Justice**

Agrarian reform is a solution to various problems such as unequal land use, farmer poverty, and ongoing agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. The primary goal of agrarian reform is to redistribute land (Badri, 2022). This redistribution means transferring land that has been excessively owned by a small group to the common people, especially small farmers and indigenous communities. Land redistribution does not mean eliminating people's rights to own land, but rather regulating it so that ownership rights are more just and equitable. Without redistribution, inequality will persist (Kontesa & Fernando, 2024). Based on data from the National Land Agency (BPN) in 2023, approximately 0.2% of Indonesia's population controls more than 56% of existing agricultural land. Meanwhile, more than 16 million farming families do not own their own land or only own less than 0.5 hectares. This situation

demonstrates the urgent need for a truly fair implementation of agrarian reform, not just an administrative formality.

Agrarian reform cannot be viewed merely as a technical program, but must be understood as a structural change encompassing social, economic, political, and cultural aspects. This means that agrarian reform is not only about distributing land, but also about changing the unequal power relations between the state, companies, and the people (Arisaputra, 2013). Once land is allocated, there must be a definite legal guarantee. Many conflicts arise from overlapping claims to land, both between communities and the government and between communities and companies. With legal guarantees, farmers will feel secure and willing to make long-term investments. Furthermore, land redistribution needs to be supported by access to affordable capital, environmentally friendly agricultural technology, village infrastructure development, and guaranteed market access. This combination of factors will ensure that agrarian reform truly improves people's welfare, not just a political symbol. Agrarian reform is a tool to strengthen the position of farmers in the development process. Without agrarian reform, agricultural development will be dominated by large companies, while small farmers will continue to be excluded from the development path (Kusumaningrum, 2019).

A just agrarian reform model must begin with accurate and honest land registration. The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), through its PTSL program, has successfully registered 113 million plots of land by 2024. However, this registration is still not fair, as much of the registered land is owned by large corporations, not ordinary citizens. Therefore, land data must be integrated with the social and economic conditions of the community so that land redistribution can be provided to those truly in need. Justice in agrarian reform is inseparable from the principle of asset distribution and recognition of indigenous peoples' rights. There are 37 million hectares of indigenous territories that have not been officially recognized, even though indigenous people have managed the land for generations in a sustainable manner (Anwar & Shakeel, 2021). A just agrarian reform model must recognize these collective rights, not simply distribute land privately.

Agrarian justice also requires reform within the institutions responsible for agrarian reform in Indonesia. Currently, this responsibility is spread across various institutions,

including the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK), the Ministry of Villages, and local governments. This unintegrated policy creates overlapping authority and hinders the land redistribution process. According to data from the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) for 2024, of the 9 million hectares of land targeted for distribution as objects of agrarian reform (TORA), only around 1.8 million hectares were actually distributed to the community. This means that only about 20% of the target has been achieved in the past ten years. Beyond land redistribution, agrarian justice also involves access to productive resources. Many farmers who have received land from agrarian reform still struggle to manage it due to a lack of capital, technology, or market access. According to research by the Bogor Agricultural University (IPB) Center for Agrarian Studies (2023), 65% of TORA recipients have not received support for farming business assistance or access to capital loans. Therefore, a just agrarian reform model must encompass two aspects: land tenure and economic empowerment. In this regard, collaboration between the government, communities, and financial institutions is crucial. A good example can be seen in the 2023 Business Clustering Agrarian Reform program in Central Java, where 700 hectares of land provided through redistribution are jointly managed by farmer cooperatives with capital assistance from Village-Owned Enterprises (BUMDes) and steady sales from local food companies. This model demonstrates that agrarian justice goes beyond the distribution of land; it also fosters economic sustainability for recipients. One of the main pillars of just agrarian reform is the recognition of women's land rights. According to KPA data (2022), only around 24% of land recipients from agrarian reform are registered under women's names, despite women playing a significant role in family farming activities. A just agrarian reform model must ensure that policies and their implementation are not patriarchal, but rather provide equal rights to women as legitimate citizens.

A just agrarian reform model must be based on ecology and environmental sustainability. Past experience shows that expanding land without considering environmental capacity can lead to soil degradation, flooding, and forest destruction. Therefore, just agrarian reform is not simply about allocating a specific amount of land but must be based on environmentally friendly spatial planning to avoid damaging the natural environment. Furthermore, agrarian reform must also focus on national food sovereignty. With smallholder

farmers accounting for 56% of the total agricultural workforce (BPS, 2024), redistributing land can strengthen local food production. An agrarian reform model that combines smallholder food production with regional logistics systems will reduce dependence on imports and strengthen national food security.

From a macroeconomic perspective, the implementation of equitable agrarian reform can have a significant impact on inclusive economic growth. According to a World Bank study (2023), if access to land and productive resources becomes more equitable, rural family incomes could increase by around 15 to 25% in the next few years. This demonstrates that the issue of agrarian justice is not merely a moral issue but also part of the national economic development strategy. However, its implementation in practice remains challenging. For example, large companies often reject land redistribution, believing it would interfere with their investment interests. However, research by Raina & Kachroo, (2024) shows that land redistribution supported by legal certainty can actually reduce the risk of social conflict and improve the long-term investment climate. Therefore, a just agrarian reform model emphasizes a balance between economic interests and people's rights.

Another aspect that needs to be emphasized is public oversight and community participation. Without participatory oversight mechanisms, agrarian reform is vulnerable to abuse by local political elites or used as a tool of patronage. In a just model, civil society, farmer organizations, and academics must be involved in the planning process, data validation, and outcome monitoring. The context of digitalization also opens up new opportunities. Blockchain-based geospatial information systems, such as those being tested by the National Land Agency (BPN) since 2024, enable transparent land registration and prevent data manipulation. This innovation can be an integral part of a modern, equitable agrarian reform model, as it reduces the information gap between the government and the public. Sociologically, just agrarian reform has a social reconciliation function. Farmers who have felt marginalized can regain a sense of ownership of their country and land. In the context of national development, this strengthens social cohesion and reduces the potential for disintegration due to extreme agrarian inequality. Agrarian education is also a crucial part of a just model. Without increasing farmer capacity, land redistribution will only result in idle land or resale to large capital. Therefore, integrating agrarian reform with agricultural

vocational education, extension services, and local research is a crucial element of sustainability.

A just model must also ensure synchronization of central and regional policies. Many regions do not yet have derivative regulations for agrarian reform or lack specific institutions for TORA management. This gap hampers implementation on the ground. The ideal model requires harmonization of vertical and horizontal regulations so that national policies can be effectively translated at the local level. Ultimately, justice in agrarian reform is not just about land distribution, but also about changing the structure of agrarian power. Farmers, women, indigenous communities, and farm laborers must be the primary subjects of agrarian policy, not merely objects of development. Justice is born when land is no longer a tool for accumulation by a handful of parties, but a source of life for many (Tarlau, 2021). By considering aspects of redistribution, recognition of customary rights, economic access, environmental sustainability, and community participation, a just agrarian reform model can be a concrete instrument for realizing the ideals of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution concerning the prosperity of the people. Agrarian reform is not merely a technical policy, but a moral and political movement toward a more equal social order. If implemented consistently, equitable agrarian reform will be the main foundation for Indonesia towards food sovereignty and true social justice.

### **Agrarian Reform as an Effort to Resolve Agrarian Conflicts in Indonesia**

From a conflict perspective, implementing equitable agrarian reform has the potential to reduce the increasing number of agrarian conflicts. The National Commission for Land and Forestry (KPA) recorded that throughout 2023, 241 agrarian conflicts occurred, covering an area of 630,000 hectares, involving more than 130,000 families. Most of these conflicts arose from overlapping permits between communities and plantation and forestry companies. Fair and transparent agrarian reform can be a preventive instrument to resolve the roots of conflict by providing certainty of rights (Jadina et al., 2025). Agrarian conflict is one of the most complex structural problems in Indonesia. The roots of this conflict stem from the unequal control of land between ordinary people and those in power, both the state and large corporations. Land, which should be a source of people's welfare, has instead become a source of conflict and social tension due to overlapping claims, unfair policies, and weak legal certainty. In this context, the implementation of agrarian reform is a strategic and fundamental

step to resolve agrarian conflicts in a sustainable manner, because this policy touches on the root of the problem of inequality in ownership and access to agrarian resources.

Data released by the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) shows that over the past decade, there have been more than 3,234 agrarian conflicts across Indonesia, covering a total land area of 7.4 million hectares, involving approximately 1.8 million families. In 2024 alone, 295 agrarian conflicts were recorded, involving 1.1 million hectares of land and impacting more than 67,000 families. This figure demonstrates the high level of agrarian tension in Indonesia. These conflicts mostly occur in the plantation, forestry, mining, and national strategic project (PSN) sectors, where community land rights are often neglected. The implementation of agrarian reform serves as a systematic solution to these conflicts because it aims to restructure land ownership equitably (Fauzi, 2022). Through land redistribution, previously landless communities gain the right to manage state land, abandoned land, or land resulting from the release of land use rights (HGU). This policy not only reduces social disparities but also provides certainty and a sense of justice for previously marginalized communities. With legal ownership, communities are no longer involved in land disputes, and the potential for conflict is significantly reduced.

In addition to redistribution, land asset legalization is also a crucial instrument in agrarian reform. According to a 2024 report from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), asset legalization has exceeded its target, reaching 10.34 million hectares, far exceeding the initial target of 4.5 million hectares. This massive granting of land certificates provides legal certainty for communities who previously lacked legal documentation for the land they cultivate. With this certainty, sources of conflict resulting from overlapping claims or disputes over ownership rights can be gradually eliminated.

Agrarian reform has also proven effective in resolving conflicts in priority areas. According to data from the Priority Locations for Agrarian Reform (LPRA) program, conflict resolution has been implemented in 24 locations, redistributing 5,133 hectares of land, involving 11,017 families. This process demonstrates that agrarian reform is not merely discourse but has yielded concrete results on the ground. This resolution was achieved through mediation mechanisms, field verification, and recognition of the rights of communities who have long occupied or managed the land.

The agrarian reform approach also has significant social impacts. When communities obtain land rights, they feel recognized and protected by the state. This increases public trust in the government and reduces the potential for vertical conflict between the people and state officials. Agrarian reform, in this context, serves as a tool for social reconciliation, strengthening the relationship between the state and citizens, particularly in rural areas, which have historically been a hotspot for conflict. Empirical examples from the regions demonstrate the positive impact of agrarian reform implementation. In Jember Regency, for example, implementing a land inventory and issuing certificates to farmers has been shown to reduce land conflicts between farmers and the local government from 1999 to 2005 (Fraser et al., 2025). Similarly, in Central Bangka, the Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) program encourages coordination between the government, communities, and the private sector to reduce social tensions through participatory mapping and structuring community access to land. These two examples demonstrate that community involvement in the agrarian reform process significantly influences the success of conflict resolution. However, the success of agrarian reform in resolving conflicts still faces challenges. The KPA noted that although asset legalization has exceeded targets, land redistribution remains far from expectations. Much land identified as targets for agrarian reform has not yet been fully distributed to the people due to bureaucratic obstacles, conflicts of interest, and weak inter-agency coordination (Salim & Utami, 2020). Furthermore, overlapping regulations between the central and regional governments also slow down the conflict resolution process on the ground.

Despite the challenges, empirical evidence shows that agrarian reform has reduced the intensity of conflict in several regions. The land redistribution and asset legalization programs in the LPRA (Regional Reform Agency) have been shown to improve social and economic relations in the community. With legal land ownership, communities have an incentive to manage the land productively, rather than engaging in conflict. This demonstrates that resolving agrarian conflicts cannot be done solely through legal approaches; instead, it must involve ownership restructuring and fair recognition of rights.

With consistent, targeted, and equitable implementation of agrarian reform, Indonesia has a significant opportunity to end decades of ongoing agrarian conflict. Agrarian reform is not merely an economic policy, but also a moral and political instrument for realizing social justice, as mandated by Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. When land is distributed fairly

and community ownership is recognized, land is no longer a source of conflict, but rather a source of shared prosperity. Therefore, agrarian reform is the only strategic path to resolving agrarian conflict in Indonesia. It is not merely a technical policy, but a movement for justice that restructures the relationship between the state, society, and agrarian resources. If implemented with political sincerity, transparency, and a commitment to the people, agrarian reform can close the long chapter of agrarian conflict and open a new era of people's sovereignty over land in Indonesia.

## Conclusion

The implementation of agrarian reform is key to realizing social and economic justice in Indonesia. The persistently high inequality in land ownership demonstrates that redistribution policies must be implemented not only through land grants, but also through economic empowerment, recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and women, and strengthening transparent and participatory institutions. Equitable agrarian reform must be oriented towards asset reform plus access reform, so that land becomes not only a physical asset but also a productive source of prosperity for the common people. A just agrarian reform model also requires cross-sector synergy, legal certainty, and ecological sustainability to be able to suppress agrarian conflicts, strengthen food security, and improve the welfare of farmers in a sustainable manner. Thus, agrarian reform is not merely a technical policy, but an instrument of social transformation to uphold the mandate of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution concerning the prosperity of the people, making land a source of just, sustainable livelihoods and the welfare of all levels of society.

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