

Cross-Generation Agrarian Conflict in Indonesia's Palm Land

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ABSTRACT

Conflict on land issues occurred in many countries, including Indonesia. According to the National Land Agency, in 2015, the number of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia increased by around 60% from 2014. Palm plantations contribute to the highest problems of agrarian conflict. Ironically, during the bureaucratic reform period, the agrarian conflict escalated, especially in the provinces where plantation companies were expanding. That is because the companies have obtained land use permits for land within the community management area. The high eruption of agrarian conflicts in the plantation sector indicates that there has not been a serious and significant effort from the government to resolve agrarian conflicts caused by policies and practices of plantations expansion and development in Indonesia. The agrarian conflict in the palm land in Indonesia is closely related to the disagreement of the insoluble claim on who is entitled to access to land, natural resources, and territories between a rural community group with authority and/or land management engaged in the field of production, extraction, conservation, and others. Opposition to such claims followed by efforts and actions to eliminate existence, legitimacy, or the power of claims by other parties. This paper seeks to understand the cause, impact, and root of problems of the agrarian conflict in Indonesia's palm land. The writing process of this paper is a series of activities related to the method of data collection library, analysis, and processing of research materials.

Keywords: Agrarian conflict, government, palm land, people.

1. INTRODUCTION

The conflict on land issues occurred in many countries, including Indonesia [20]. Discussing the pattern of ownership, mastery, utilization, and management of natural resources through economic, social, and environmental approaches demonstrated a tendency to asymmetric relationships involving country and corporate actors, which faced directly with the community [3,23]. In many cases, the presence of the state becomes a relational situation that supports and accommodates corporate interests through the licensing regime [17].

According to the National Land Agency, in 2015, the number of agrarian conflicts increased by around 60% compared to agrarian conflicts in 2014 and spread throughout Indonesia [10,18]. Palm plantations contribute the highest agrarian conflicts problem. In recent years, the average expansion of palm plantations has reached 500,000 hectares per year. The government

supports expansion by removing the boundaries of large plantation land. Previously, each company managed a maximum of 100,000 hectares.

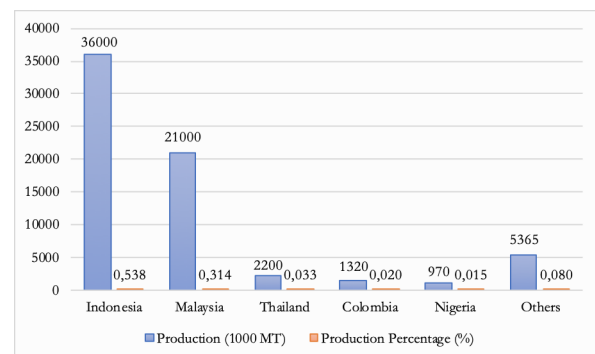


Figure 1 Palm Oil Production in The World 2017 (Index Mundi, 2017).

Source: Iskandar *et al.*, 2018

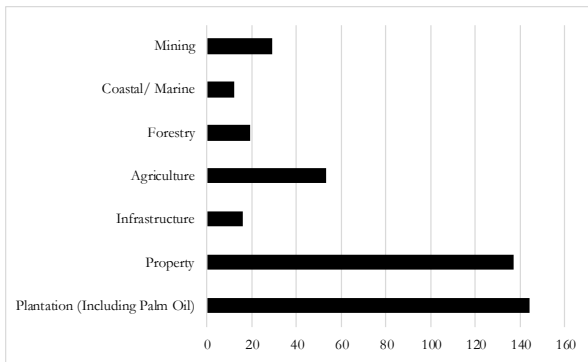


Figure 2 Number of Indonesia Agrarian Conflicts in Each Sector 2018.

Source: Agrarian Reform Consortium, 2018

In the palm plantation sector, the trend of conflict continues to rise from 2007 that occurred 514 conflicts, then in 2008 were 576 conflicts, and increased in 2009 that occurred 604 conflicts, in 2010 there were 608 conflicts, in 2011 there were 668 conflicts, in 2012 were 679 conflicts, and in 2013 there were 680 conflicts [10]. Ironically, during the bureaucratic reform period, the agrarian conflict escalated, especially in the provinces where plantation companies were expanding. That is because the companies have obtained land use permits for land within the community management area. The high eruption of agrarian conflicts in the plantation sector indicates that there has not been a serious and significant effort from the government to resolve agrarian conflicts caused by policies and practices of plantations expansion and development in Indonesia [5,14].

Following the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945 (UUD 1945) article 33 paragraph 3 that states, "The land, the waters, and the natural resources within shall be under the powers of the State and shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people" [6]. That right means the country has a responsibility for the prosperity of the people by managing the resources on Indonesia's land wisely. It is a particular concern considering that despite the clear statement in the 1945 Constitution concerning the greatest prosperity of the people, agrarian conflicts still often occur in Indonesia until now.

In 2019, the plantation sector occupied the highest position as a contributor sector of agrarian conflict with 144 (35%) conflict eruption, property sector 137 (33%), agriculture sector 53 (13%), mining 29 (7%), forestry sector 19 (5%) conflict, infrastructure sector 16 (4%), and the coastal/maritime sector with 12 (3%). Of 144 agrarian conflicts occurring in the plantation sector throughout the year, as many as 83 cases or 60% occurred in palm oil commodity plantations.

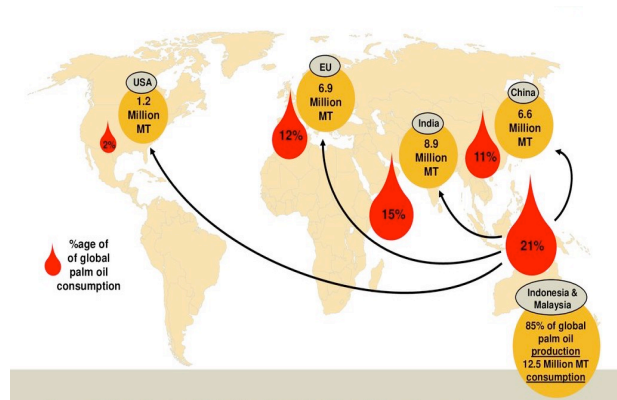


Figure 3 Global Palm Oil Production and Consumption 2020.

Source: USDA, UN Comtrade, RSPO, Mielke Oil World, WWF Palm Oil Buyers Scorecard

Indonesia and Malaysia are the major palm oil-producing countries, where the largest markets are India, the European Union, and China (38 percent of world palm oil consumption). The economic potential through palm oil production drives land clearing in forest areas for oil palm plantations which are in line with many land conflicts.

At the beginning of the year 2020, the primary destination for Indonesia's CPO exports was a country impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic, this affected demand for Crude Palm Oil (CPO) exports, causing a decrease in prices. Even though the current price has started to increase, it is still necessary to strengthen the domestic market. Until now, no reports and news about the closure of Indonesian palm oil companies due to COVID-19.

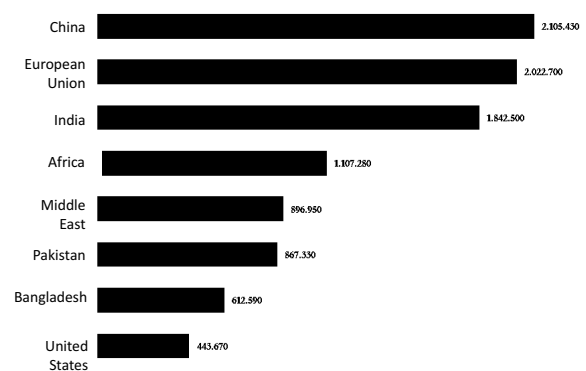


Figure 4 Main Export Destination Countries for Indonesian CPO 2019 (Tons).

Source: USDA, UN Comtrade, RSPO, Mielke Oil World, WWF Palm Oil Buyers Scorecard

Indonesia is known to have vast plantation land for the Asian level. The plantation was the entrance of western capitalism into the third world economy, a system known to produce raw materials and tropic crop yields necessary for the interests of industrialized countries [5]. The understanding of agrarian conflict

problem complexity in Indonesia's palm oil field is an interesting topic to be discussed. This paper seeks to understand the cause, impact, and root of problems of agrarian conflict in the Indonesian palm land.

2. METHODOLOGY

References for this research are from journals, papers from other researchers, references to popular writings, and all related references that support research needs. Reference sources use sources related to agrarian conflicts in Indonesian oil palm land, history, policies, and their impacts as a literature review. Thus, the writing process of this paper is a series of activities related to the method of data collection library, analysis, and processing of research materials. The result of this paper is a recommendation to the handling of agrarian conflict in Indonesia as input for policymakers and agrarian actors in palm land.

3. AGRARIAN REFORM IN INDONESIA

3.1. Agrarian Reform Concept

The term agrarian is synonymous with problems in the land sector. If we explore more deeply, the meaning of "Agrarian" means related to affairs in the field of land and/or affairs in land ownership rights [7]. Agrarianism is often associated with various businesses involved in agriculture [1]. Agrarian reform is a restructuring (rearrangement) of the arrangement of ownership, control, and use of agricultural resources (especially land), for the benefit of the small people (farmers, laborer farmers, landless farmers, and others), thoroughly and comprehensively (complete). The "rearrangement" itself became known as "Land Reform". Comprehensive means the target not only agricultural land but also forestry, plantation, mining, irrigation, marine, and other lands. The land reform program needs to be followed by supporting programs such as counseling and education on production technology, credit programs, marketing, and others. Agrarian Reform is Land Reform plus supporting programs [7,19].

Agrarian reform has both macro and micro objectives. At the macro level, agrarian reform aims to change the structure of society, from the social order inherited from feudalism and colonialism to a more just and more equitable society. At the micro-level, the objective of agrarian reform is to get as much as possible all (or most) of the people have production assets, so they become productive and unemployment reduced. For Indonesia, whose society has an agricultural character, to achieve the above goals, the method is to reform (rearrange) the ownership, control, and use of agricultural resources, especially land. Thus,

it is fairer and more equitable for the benefit of the marginalized people [7,22].

3.2. Overview of Agrarian Reform in Indonesia

Agrarian conflicts indirectly reflect a country that has not achieved its goals in a state of unfulfilled sense of justice for people who rely on their lives from land and natural resources. Moreover, the situation that occurred in Indonesia, namely COVID-19, is where the role of farmers and natural resources is needed for survival during this pandemic.

Since being initiated for the first time during the Soekarno government until now, the ideals of Agrarian Reform to overhaul the structure of control and ownership of land in Indonesia for entitled citizens, especially to cultivators, smallholders, and farm-laborers are still far from expectations. Agrarian Reform Policy in the reformation era still prioritized sectors such as plantations, mining, and forestry. Even new efforts after the reformation have left problems. For forest areas, until 2018, the administration has granted Industrial Plantation Forest (HTI) permits, Forest Control Rights (HPH), and Borrowing and Use Permits for Mining Businesses covering an area of 40.46 million hectares for corporations. It is inversely proportional to the total land allocation for the community, which is only 1.46 million hectares.

Agrarian reform initiated by President Joko Widodo from the start of his presidency was needed to resolve land conflicts in the community. Agrarian conflicts will continue to flourish if government policies on land do not unravel the root of the problem. The governance should initiate agrarian reform by resolving land conflicts that involve communities with the state and corporations. Issues in the implementation of Agrarian Reform policies stem from the still dominant state power over land that encourages land ownership by companies through sectoral policies that inhibit the fair distribution of land ownership.

The reality is that the government must first revoke the disputed land permit for control. After that, redistribute the land back to the people who lost it. In practice, this kind of settlement dragged on because the government was reluctant to give the disputed land to the community if the company suspected of annexing the residents' land did not give permission. The company is unwilling to hand over land to the community for free.

There have been 1,771 cases of agrarian conflict during the President Jokowi administration in the 2015-2018 period [13]. This number exceeds similar cases with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration era were 1,520 cases. Government policies that do not involve the community in granting permits, either to state-owned enterprises, government

projects, or private companies, are the primary causes of agrarian conflicts. Often the government issues land use rights or mining permits, even though villages and communities are working on the land on the land.

So far, Indonesia's agricultural policies are still dominated by a developmentalism mindset, which views agrarian and natural sources as development assets. This development tends to get as much profit as possible, although it must displace humans and destroy nature. Instead of getting welfare, people who interfere with the development process will get evictions. Meanwhile, industrial or infrastructure development leaves natural damage. The cases are often more complex than that. As an example of many tourism projects cases and various green projects types, there is a combination of developmentalism and conservationist perspectives. Agrarian sources as assets can become commodities. Under the guise of environmental conservation and preservation, the fundamental rights of indigenous peoples or local communities may be displaced and neglected. The government needs to change its perspective in implementing agrarian reform by seriously maintaining a balance between human relations and humans and nature.

3.3. Local Land Conflicts: A Case of Ulak Teberau Village Community Versus Oil Palm Company

Land governance in Indonesia is complex due to various stakeholders, institutions, and legal instruments. Musi Banyuasin District is an example of the complexity of land governance in Indonesia. Investigations carried out by the land agency, villagers, and the local representative council in 1997 concluded that the area taken over by the oil palm company had been twice the area allowed. Based on literature studies from various sources, information and supporting documents showed that in 2014 the local people's representative council would issue a recommendation to the regional government to terminate the company's operating license. In the end, however, the board dropped its suggestion. Various sources indicate that the plantation company gave a certain amount of money to several high-ranking officials in the local government, councilors, and the land agency.

One of the well-known land conflicts related to oil palm plantations as a lesson in Musi Banyuasin District is the conflict in Ulak Teberau Village. The problems in Ulak Teberau village started in 1997 when a palm oil company obtained a concession permit to manage around 10,000 hectares of land in Musi Banyuasin District. In the two decades, the company has expanded its scope and managed more land than is stated on the license. Some of this land belongs to local communities, with residents claiming that the company has taken over

without permission of more than 3,000 hectares of their land.

The land in dispute has now turned into an abandoned swamp that is no longer productive and inaccessible to residents, threatening the welfare of around 400 households in the village. Communities stated that their current livelihood options are limited due to a lack of access to the surrounding land. Now, whenever people in this village want to fish, they have to get permission from the company. It is what triggers continuous and recurring conflicts.

The lack of unity among the inhabitants of Ulak Teberau Village may also have contributed to this prolonged dispute. Despite the people's anger towards the oil palm company, the villagers did not cooperate with their rights claim. Society split up. Some have complete legal ownership documents, but others do not have legal ownership documents. The people of Ulak Teberau Village, who did not have legal documents, tended to accept the situation without any desire to reclaim their land.

Land ownership and access issues must be understood in all their complexity to deal with this problem. Unidimensional political, economic, or legal models will not suffice. What is needed is a participatory and responsive approach based on a careful assessment of the local situation.

Land disputes are common in Indonesia, including in Ulak Teberau Village, where documents or proof of ownership are often absent or incomplete, and maps often differ between government agencies. It is a big reason why small farmers, communities who previously held ownership of land, indigenous peoples, and other parties often experience situations where their land is then taken and used by large companies, for example: for the production of oil palm, timber, or mining. Sometimes different government agencies even provide different business licenses due to overlapping authorities.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. Analysis of the Agrarian Conflict Process in Palm Land

Plantation agrarian conflict has extended from colonial heritage plantations to major post-independence plantation conflicts with a partnership pattern, a plasma nuclei pattern supported and encouraged by the government [12,14]. In addition to the issue of colonial relics, conflict escalation is also usual in the New Plantation sector. Most of these plantations are located in Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi. The conflicts in the New Plantation sector consist of several phases, namely the first, the administrative phase. This phase begins with the location permits issuance, the principal

plantation permits given by the regent, the governor to the minister who clashes with the regional management communities. After obtaining a location permit, plantation companies often force communities to give up land by providing unreasonable compensation.

After that process, the company registers the land to get a status of Land Cultivation Rights (HGU) with the National Land Agency (BPN). As a result of collusion with the persons in the BPB, the company often acquired Land Cultivation Rights through a malformed procedure so that the area of Land Cultivation Rights then acquired the land of citizens. The second, plantation development phase. This phase begins with the invitation of plantation companies to the public to partner with the company. Initially, the company gave land to the community to build plasma plantations. Before stepping into the construction of the plantations, the company needs to conduct MoU with communities.

One example of public loss often found land-owned communities are handed over to plantation companies to build plasma plantations precisely noted in the company's Land Cultivation Rights certificate. The condition spawned a third phase of the conflict, the plasma plantation conversion phase. There are many cases where farmers receive more plasma plantations than home locations and transportation facilities. In addition, many farmers accept areas where the soil is less fertile that are not appropriate, a list of fictional plasma receivers, seedlings with low quality, a few numbers of staple crops, up to the amount of credit that soared. Furthermore, the phase of plantation conflict of the fourth phase is the production phase because of the number of cuts made by the company to plasma farmers. The Oil Palm Farmer's Union (SPKS) describes that the amount of cutting or sorting is often done in oil palm plantations can reach as many as four percent each time palm harvest.

4.2. Analysis of the Impact of Agrarian Conflict in Palm Land

In recent years, the average expansion of oil palm plantations has reached 500,000 hectares per year. The problem is that the state supports the enlargement by removing the vast boundary of the land. Previously, each company managed a maximum of 100,000 hectares. In Palm land, agrarian conflicts between communities and palm oil plantation companies are caused by several factors, such as land function conversion. With the reason for development and welfare, the state has converted paddy fields, farm fields, and community plantations that reach thousands of hectares for oil palm plantations development. In addition to unfair land submission mechanisms, the function of productive agricultural land leads to an economic gap that triggers conflict.

Conflicts involving palm farmers are generally caused by palm land development schemes that are unfair and detrimental to farmers. Since 2006, the Government has developed a one-stop management scheme for smallholders. This reference scheme comes from Indonesia Minister of Agriculture Regulation (Permentan) Number 33/2006, which regulates the cooperation pattern of one management [8]. This one-stop management scheme is a form of corporate monopoly on the small farmer's production, from maintenance, garden management to the production and management aspects undertaken by the company. Monopoly is also linked to credit from banks for plantation ventures. Bank credit will be given to the company and not to the farmers.

Based on existing literary studies, the impact of agrarian conflict in Indonesian palm land is in the form of the exclusion of the people, women and men, the land, territory, and natural resources contested directly resulting in loss (partially) Areas of life, livelihoods, and possession of goods. In addition, another impact that arises is the reduction of community living space, which is accompanied by declining people's independence in fulfilling the needs of its life, especially food. In a broader scope, the constant conflict creates a chronic social-ecological crisis, including encouraging villagers to migrate to new Territories to acquire new farms or go to the city and become urban poor people.

4.3. Main/Core Problem

During 2014, the plantation sector contributed to the rise of human rights violations in Indonesia. Based on the KPA report, the plantation sector occupies the second position after the infrastructure development sector in terms of agrarian conflict in 2014 [10]. Generally, problems in the palm plantation sector involved involving plantation companies, indigenous and local communities, security forces, and built-in securing forces from the company. Conflict issues involving palm oil plantation companies include land conflicts, environmental degradation, conflicts in partnership schemes, and labor conflicts [23].

Based on a variety of existing literature studies [13,15,18,23], some factors that cause agrarian conflicts in palm land are among others because: (1) The absence of policies to regulate tenurial security for access to land/natural resources/community-managed areas, including access to country forest areas. The uncertainty of forest areas hinders the effectiveness of forest governance in Indonesia. From the total forest area of 130 million hectares, the zoned area (term Temu Gelang) is only about 12 percent (14.2 million hectares). This uncertainty has triggered the emergence of tenurial (land) conflicts with various parties who have forest areas interests. At least 50 million people live around the forest area, with more than 33 thousand villages

bordering the forest area. The issue of forest boundaries uncertainty not only affects indigenous peoples or local communities who live and utilize land and resources in forest areas but also institutions that have forestry business permits and the government. At the field level, boundaries in the form of forest boundary markers are often unclear, making it difficult to verify in the making of minutes. To provide legal certainty for forest areas, a forest area gazette process is required, where all the processes that must be carried out are designation, boundary determination, mapping, and forest area designation. These processes are all aimed at a "legal and legitimate" forest area. (2) There are domination and expansion of giant companies in the extractive industries, plantation, forestry production, and conservation. The causes of agrarian conflicts have not revealed much, namely those related to how the capitalistic market economy works. It must be understood that a capitalistic market economy operates in a completely different way from a simple market economy where there is an exchange of goods through money-mediated buying and spending. In a capitalist market economy, "it is not an economy that is in social relations, but social relations that are inherent in the capitalist economic system." The capitalist market has self-regulating power. In many cases, it is the government institutions that make such capitalist markets work. (3) Instrumentation of government agencies as "land-clearing institutions" through the regime of granting rights/permits/licenses on land and natural resources. In post-colonial Indonesia, the taps of natural resource liberalization were very clear during the Orde Baru regime in 1967. This liberalization has usurped people's sovereignty over land for the second time after the colonial government did a similar method during the previous colonialism. Government agencies and companies began to plot Indonesian lands for plantation, forestry, and mining concessions and excluded the people living in the concessions. Relationships and ways of people enjoying natural commodities and products are severed through law enforcement, violence, territorial fencing, and the use of new symbols to indicate ownership status they no longer hold. If only a few people groups protest and fight to reclaim the taken over lands and territories by the government and companies, they will get the consequences such as criminalization, sanctions by the legal bureaucracy, or other acts of violence that often have law justification. (4) Basic Law on Agraria 1960 that originally placed as an umbrella agrarian conflict, in practice only deals with non-forest areas (about 30% of the territory of the RI), and principles ignored. The legislation on land/forestry/other natural resources management is overlapping and contrary to one another. Disharmony (disharmony) of laws and regulations also occurs due to the sectoral egoism of ministries/agencies in the planning and formation of laws. One of the main things in the regulation that is currently prominent by

the community is the law on land use because economic activities use the land as capital in economic activity. The land issue in Law number 5 of 1960 about Basic Provisions of Agrarian Law generally covers the earth, water, and natural resources, even the air above the land surface, while specifically, it is a matter of land. Arrangement of land rights still raises many problems with sectoral, departmental, and local (regional) activities. In his assessment, this occurs due to a mismatch between the provisions of law number 5 of 1960 with other laws, such as Mining, Forestry, Spatial Planning, Investment, between these laws, for example, Forestry and Mining. Overlapping in land management can be resolved if the land rights of an area are certain through the local Regional Spatial Planning, it becomes the basis for the right to issue various legal products, such as location permits, as well as permission to use other lands. (5) The customary laws applied in the community are ignored or eliminated by agrarian, forestry, and mining laws. Practically, governments often issue decisions of forest areas design without examining claims customary law community unit over the region where there are settlements of indigenous peoples. Data from the Ministry of Forestry and the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) show that 31,957 villages interact with the forest and 71.06% of the villages depend on their livelihoods from forest resources. The Ministry of Forestry and Environment data in 2003 show that from the 220 million population of Indonesia, 48.8 million people were living in rural areas around forest areas, and there are about 10.2 million people. (6) The high sectoral ego of institutions, systems, mechanisms, and administrations governing land/forestry/other natural resources. The ego-sectoral ministries and agencies that deal with the management of natural resources and the environment in Indonesia raise several further problems. The impact of this sectoral ego is that there is an overlap of programs and policies, causing waste of state finances and not achieving the goals desired by the constitution to make natural resources provide the highest possible benefit for the welfare of the people. In addition, conflicts between sectors occur because each ministry and agency carry out its duties based on its sectoral laws. (7) The increasing inequality of the mastery, control, utilization, and allocation of land/forest/other natural resources. The vulnerability of the position of indigenous peoples occurs as a consequence of unclear tenure management. In the long term, this condition will increase the welfare gap of community groups in Indonesia. One of the reasons is the legal instruments that are not in favor of recognizing the existence of customary law communities. The application of the Right to Control the State must be re-interpreted by placing Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution in one frequency with other provisions in the constitution which recognize the protection of human rights and constitutional recognition of the existence of indigenous peoples.

4.4. Analysis of Conflict Management and Future Challenges

Generally, many institutions can become public media to report agrarian conflicts experienced by the palm plantations parties [2,15]. The problem is that there are not enough places/institutions to resolve agrarian conflicts [23]. The lack of effective and specific institutions working to resolve agricultural problems further worsens the condition of victims because the problem is increasingly accumulated and has passed through the regime [13,18]. Many units of work exist to deal with agrarian conflicts by various national government institutions, including the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial/National Land Agency (BPN), the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights, Indonesia's Ombudsman, Indonesia's House of Representatives (DPR), and Indonesia's Regional Representative Council (DPD). That unit proved incapable and ineffective with the mandate to resolve agrarian conflicts. This can be seen from the problem-solving process and mechanism that does not follow the justice principle for the poor. If implemented with good practice, the recommendations from these institutions can lead to justice, but often these recommendations are not executed by the Government with various legal and political considerations. Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial/National Land Agency, Ministry of Environment and Forestry, and Ministry of Energy and Mineral resources – all three are authorized to issue permits, utilization rights and conflict of conduct (licenses) of land, natural resources, and territories, which can be the cause of agrarian conflicts. These ministries and institutions have sectoral mechanisms according to their respective main tasks and functions to manage agricultural issues.

However, because the problem of agrarian conflicts is already extra-ordinary, both in the regional context, the area, and the conflict scale, the government step is required to take care of the settlement thoroughly, cross-sectoral and complete. Therefore, some of the main challenges for the settlement of agrarian conflicts that give a sense of justice for the victims are: (1) There is still no mechanism and institutional settlement of the agrarian conflict like cross-cutting sectors and executorial; (2) There is still no specific legislation and regulation for the completion of the whole agrarian conflict, either through special and non-judicial courts; (3) Execution of tasks and institutional functions of agrarian Conflict Settlement (sectoral) existing under the Ministry or institution still not optimal; (4) Policy mistakes that cause and create agrarian conflicts in various sectors; and (5) Often using security approach that turns complicate conflicts, triggering criminalization and casualties on the people's sides.

The causes of weak governance and land use management in Indonesia such as inaccurate, incomplete, outdated, or unclear data guardians of geospatial data and information. Naturally, then the process of determining/changing spatial planning by the government was slow, causing overlapping permit areas, resulting in hundreds of agrarian conflicts. Land governance in Indonesia is indeed very complex. Repetitive patterns such as patronage to bribery complicate the situation. For this reason, the Acceleration of the One Map Policy can accelerate the development process of infrastructure and regional economy that often leads to land conflicts and social conflicts due to the absence of one data as a reference for spatial planning and land use.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Agrarian conflict cases occur in many places in Indonesia, with different types and backgrounds. In the end, conflicts and mutual claims regarding land status. These examples make us aware that lands are crucial tools in development and human life. From an economic perspective, the land is a means of production that can bring wealth and assets (industry, commercial agriculture). From a political perspective, land can determine one's position in decisions for society. As for the socio-cultural aspect, land can define the level of the social status of its owner. From a legal standpoint, the land is the power base for jurisdiction. Agrarian conflicts arise from unequal ownership, control, and management impact of agricultural resources (imbalance in agrarian structures). This conflict is chronic, massive, widespread, and has legal, social, political, and economic dimensions.

The results of the literature review that has been discussed earlier, to accelerate the agrarian conflict resolution, it is recommended to: (a) Formulate and harmonize the agrarian reform concept not only for the implementation of land certification, but also for the allocation and distribution of forestry land for the benefit of the community as part of public services; (b) Accelerate public access to backup land allocation for agrarian reform with a definite arrangement, especially with the concept of communal land, as well as ensure the absence of parties that utilize this policy for economic pragmatism; (c) Maximize coordination and institutional roles that have been conducting the treatment of agrarian conflict, in order to have a clear concept in the direction of the real agrarian reform; (d) Evaluate the role of Indonesia's Ministry of Environment and Forestry and the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial/BPN in the agrarian reform process in order to run more effectively in accordance with Nawa Cita; (e) Consider forming a national commission for Agrarian Conflict Resolution (KNUPKA) as an

alternative if the results of the evaluation expressed no proper functioning and consistent implementation of agrarian reform by the Ministry/institutions; (f) Forming a joint desk between Indonesia National Commission on Human Rights and Indonesia Ombudsman, Indonesia Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial, Indonesia President Staff Office, Indonesia Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Indonesia Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), and other related agencies for handling agrarian conflict in Indonesia; (g) Encouraging the central government to make presidential regulations on the Agrarian Reform and handling agrarian conflict. Therefore, the agrarian reform should return to its initial goal as a systematic attempt to rearrange the arrangement of ownership, mastery, and the use of agricultural resources, especially the land becoming more equitable for the benefit of the poor people.

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