

Implementation of Agrarian Reform On Assets And Equitable Access To Reform In Batu City

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ABSTRACT

Agrarian reform is a strategic state policy aimed at realizing agrarian justice through the restructuring of land control, ownership, use, and utilization accompanied by community empowerment as the subject of agrarian reform. However, the implementation of agrarian reform at the local level, including in Batu City, faces various challenges, particularly in integrating asset reform and access reform as well as pressures arising from land commercialization driven by tourism and investment development. This study aims to analyze the effectiveness of the integration between asset reform and access reform in the implementation of agrarian reform policies in Batu City and to examine the impact of land commercialization on the sustainability of agrarian reform. This research uses a normative juridical method with statutory and conceptual approaches supported by empirical analysis. The legal materials consist of laws and regulations related to agrarian reform, regional policies, and relevant literature, which are analyzed through qualitative legal analysis. The results of this study indicate that the integration between asset reform and access reform in Batu City has not been implemented optimally. The implementation of agrarian reform still tends to focus on asset legalization, while access reform, including economic empowerment, institutional strengthening, and sustainable land tenure protection, has not been systematically implemented. In addition, the increasing commercialization of land through spatial planning policies and investment permits has limited the space for agrarian reform and increased the vulnerability of agrarian communities. Therefore, strengthening local policy strategies, including the reorientation of spatial planning based on agrarian reform, the strengthening of regional regulations, and the integration of agrarian reform with local economic development, is necessary to achieve sustainable and inclusive agrarian reform.

Keywords: Agrarian Reform, Reform Assets, Reform Access, Agrarian Justice, Land Commercialization, Batu City.

1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of agrarian reform has been a crucial topic throughout human history due to the complexity, difficulty, and sensitivity of land ownership management. The idea of agrarian reform was already documented in ancient Greece during the reign of Solon (540 BC) through the "Siessachtheia Law." This law aimed to free the hectare-like or poor farmers who were held captive from debt and slavery in the agricultural sector. This law was not entirely satisfactory because the hectare-like debts were forgiven and their status was rehabilitated (no longer as slaves). However, their land was not returned because there was no redistribution program and its purpose was unclear. This contrasts with the "enclosure movement" in England, which was the process of parceling out agricultural and livestock land from land that could be rented to the public, turning it into individual land (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012).

In Indonesia, agrarian reform has a long history, beginning in the pre-colonial era (which included nomads, agriculture, and kingdoms), then the Dutch East Indies colonial period and continuing through post-independence. In the early kingdoms of Java, territorial division was based on the division of land into separate holdings and supervision, which were given to officials appointed by the king in charge of the palace. However, there are indications of both individual and collective control. Van Setten Van Der Meer writes:

"Individual ownership rights apply to a pioneer farmer; once he has cleared new land, he is given three years to develop and cultivate rice fields before being subject to tax. Land clearing and cultivating rice fields carried out by several farmers together constitutes 'community' ownership. If the entire village works together to clear the land, the land becomes collectively owned as village rice fields."

Land is a gift from God Almighty, entrusted to humans to be managed, used, and maintained properly as a support for life. Humans are given responsibility considering that land is a non-renewable natural resource and has very high economic value. This is because the area of land is limited while the need for humans is increasing. Therefore, it is necessary to reorganize the land or what can also be called "Agrarian Reform" is an important program in developing the agricultural sector that has the aim of realizing social justice, reducing inequality in land ownership and use and improving the welfare of the community, especially farmers. The concept of reform has been fought for since the independence era, as stated in Article 33 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution (hereinafter referred to as the 1945 Constitution) that: "that the earth, water, and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the State and used for the greatest possible prosperity of the people." (Sumardjono, 2001; Lev, 1990)

The history of the implementation of the agrarian reform program in Indonesia has experienced ups and downs. This program was initiated during the reign of President Soekarno with the birth of the Basic Agrarian Law No. 5 of 1960 (hereinafter referred to as UUPA) which has regulated the right to control from the state so as not to harm the public interest, ownership and control of land that exceeds the limit is not permitted as stipulated in Articles 7, 10, 13, and 17 contained in the UUPA. (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 1960; Boedi, 2008)

In line with the beginning of the reform era, the push for agrarian reform has increased with the emergence of community movements fighting for justice in land ownership. In response to this movement, the government, through the National Land Agency, has launched the Agrarian Reform Program as a policy or effort to restructure the relationship between communities and land by restructuring land ownership, control, and equitable land use. This policy is not only oriented

towards land redistribution or asset legalization, but also emphasizes the importance of economic empowerment by providing access to production resources, financing, and markets for beneficiary communities. Therefore, agrarian reform cannot be separated from the primary objectives of agrarian development, namely to create social justice, reduce inequality in land ownership, and improve community welfare. (Rachman, 2017)

Therefore, on September 24, 2018, the president issued Presidential Regulation Number 86 of 2018 concerning Agrarian Reform with changes to Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of Agrarian Reform which is the implementation of the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia Number: IX / MPR / 2001 concerning agrarian reform, it is said that the arrangement of control, ownership, use and utilization of land (land reform) has been made one of the principles and policy directions in agrarian reform in Indonesia and the management of natural resources and Law Number: 17 of 2007 concerning the National Long-Term Development Plan for 2005-2025, it is necessary to regulate the implementation of Agrarian Reform in order to improve social justice and people's welfare. Furthermore, Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of Agrarian Reform states that the Implementation of Agrarian Reform is carried out through the following stages: (Kementerian Agraria dan Tata Ruang/BPN, 2023)

- a. Asset Management; and
- b. Access Arrangement.

The implementation of agrarian reform cannot be limited to asset management alone; it will be more effective if accompanied by access management, including guidance or assistance, and post-asset management facilities. Agrarian reform needs to be understood as a comprehensive process, encompassing not only asset legalization but also access to natural resources, finance/capital, technology, markets, and labor. This concept of access emphasizes more productive land management and utilization, along with the development of infrastructure support that allows farmers to access economic resources in rural areas. This access includes access to agricultural facilities and infrastructure, irrigation, roads, farming, production marketing, cooperatives, and banking (people's business credit). Public access to agrarian resources requires significant government attention and restructuring to provide the greatest opportunity for the community to manage and utilize Indonesia's agrarian resources.

Agrarian reform activities must be implemented in a balanced and integrated manner between land reform (asset reform) and access reform. Agrarian reform activities aim to improve



socioeconomic life and have a strategic empowerment framework that can improve the welfare of beneficiaries. However, realizing access management often presents challenges. Even though land has been redistributed or legalized, many beneficiaries still lack adequate access to capital, markets, technology, and institutional support to manage land productively and sustainably.

In East Java, Batu City is an interesting area to study because it has enormous potential for developing agrarian reform, particularly in terms of access management. It faces significant pressure from tourism and urbanization, as the majority of its population relies on agriculture and livestock for their livelihoods. This program serves as a catalyst for boosting farmer and livestock productivity and equitable distribution of development outcomes. However, there has been no specific practical study to examine the extent to which asset and access reforms have been implemented in Batu City, as well as their impact on improving community welfare.

Therefore, access in this context emphasizes the economic empowerment of beneficiaries as subjects of agrarian reform to improve welfare in sustainable land use by involving ministries/institutions, provincial and district/city governments and business entities based on Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform. (Kementerian Agraria dan Tata Ruang/BPN, 2023)

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used is Socio-Legal Research, a legal study approach that is not limited to analyzing legal texts, but also examines the application of law in social life practices. Through this approach, researchers are able to gain a deep understanding of the reality that occurs in the field, including the relationship between village residents with the village government and the National Land Agency. Types and Sources of Data are Primary Data, Secondary Data, Tertiary Data. Data collection techniques use Interviews, Documentation, and Literature Studies. After all data is collected, it is then analyzed descriptively qualitatively, which is a data analysis method by grouping and selecting data obtained from research according to its quality and truth in the field. Then the data is connected with theories and laws and regulations obtained from document studies, so that answers are obtained to the problems in this study.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Effectiveness of Integration Between Asset Implementation and Access Reform in Agrarian Reform Policy in Batu City, and Its Implementation Which Reflects the Principles of Agrarian Justice

1. Agrarian Reform as an Integrated Policy: Reform Assets and Reform Access

Agrarian reform in the Indonesian legal system is a structural policy with a strong constitutional basis. Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia explicitly states that the land, water, and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people. This provision is not merely a declarative norm, but rather contains an active mandate for the state to regulate, manage, and distribute agrarian resources fairly.

Further elaboration of this constitutional mandate is embodied in Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Regulations (UUPA). The UUPA affirms that land has a social function and may not be controlled or utilized solely based on individual interests or market mechanisms. This principle of land's social function serves as the philosophical and legal basis for agrarian reform in Indonesia. (Sumardjono, 2018).

In this context, agrarian reform cannot be understood as merely a technical land policy, but rather as a state instrument to correct structural inequalities in land ownership and use. Agrarian inequality is seen as one of the main roots of poverty, social conflict, and economic injustice. Therefore, agrarian reform encompasses interrelated legal, social, economic, and political dimensions. (Lipton, 2009).

The development of agrarian reform policies in the contemporary era is explicitly formulated in Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of Agrarian Reform. This regulation marks a significant paradigm shift, from agrarian reform solely focused on land redistribution to an integrated agrarian reform encompassing two main pillars: asset reform and access reform. This Presidential Regulation emphasizes that the ultimate goal of agrarian reform is not merely the legalization of land rights, but also the improvement of the welfare and quality of life of the beneficiary communities. (Kementerian Agraria dan Tata Ruang/BPN, 2023).

Thus, normatively, agrarian reform under Indonesian law was originally designed as a social justice policy. However, the main issue lies in how this normative mandate is implemented in practice, particularly in areas with high economic dynamics like Batu City.

Asset reform is the first and fundamental element of agrarian reform policy. Asset reform focuses on restructuring the structure of land control, ownership, use, and utilization (P4T). Within this framework, the state has the authority to redistribute land, legalize assets, and resolve agrarian conflicts to create a more equitable land ownership structure.

Conceptually, asset reform aims to correct historical inequalities in land ownership caused by colonialism, land capitalization, and development policies biased toward large investors. Therefore, asset reform not only targets the granting of land certificates but also encompasses the restructuring of social relations regarding land.

In national policy practice, asset reform is often implemented through asset legalization programs such as the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL). This program aims to provide legal certainty over land rights to communities who currently hold land without formal ownership documents. From a legal perspective, asset legalization is crucial because it strengthens legal protection and reduces the potential for agrarian conflict.

However, an asset reform approach that places too much emphasis on administrative legalization has the potential to narrow the meaning of agrarian reform itself. If asset reform is understood solely as land certification without real redistribution, structural inequalities in land ownership will not significantly change. In this context, the effectiveness of asset reform needs to be assessed not only by the number of certificates issued, but also by the extent to which the policy is able to change the unequal structure of land ownership.

In Batu City, this issue is particularly relevant. The limited availability of state land, the high economic value of land, and the pressure of land conversion have made asset reform more of a legalization than a redistribution strategy. This situation raises critical questions about the extent to which asset reform in Batu City has contributed to substantive agrarian justice.

Access reform is the second pillar, integral to asset reform. Access reform encompasses a series of policies and programs aimed at ensuring that land owned or controlled by communities can be used productively and sustainably. Access reform encompasses access to capital, technology, business assistance, markets, and strengthening community economic and social institutions.

Theoretically, access reform is the answer to the failure of classic agrarian reform, which stopped at land redistribution without considering the community's capacity to manage that land. Without access reform, distributed land risks becoming unproductive or even re-accumulating with investors through market mechanisms.

In the context of agrarian justice, access reform plays a strategic role because it bridges the gap between land ownership and community well-being. Land will only become a source of social justice if supported by adequate economic and social access. Therefore, access reform should be viewed as an integral part of agrarian reform, not as a complementary policy.

In Batu City, access reform should be developed contextually, taking into account the region's agricultural and tourism characteristics. The potential of horticultural agriculture, agrotourism, and the village-based creative economy should be the primary basis for developing access reform. However, in practice, access reform is often sectoral, unsustainable, and not systematically linked to the implementation of reform assets.

2. Implementation of Asset Reform in Batu City: Achievements and Limitations

The implementation of asset reform in Batu City is primarily aimed at providing legal certainty over land rights for the community, particularly farmers and local communities who have traditionally managed the land. The Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL) is the primary instrument in achieving this goal. Through this program, communities obtain land title certificates, which legally provide legal protection from potential disputes and evictions.

Normatively, the success of asset reform can be measured by the increasing number of registered and certified land parcels. In Batu City, the asset legalization program has had a positive impact in terms of legal certainty. Communities previously vulnerable due to the lack of strong proof of ownership now have legal legitimacy over the land they manage.

However, from a substantive agrarian justice perspective, the achievements of asset reform in Batu City still have significant limitations. First, asset reform focused more on legalizing land already controlled by the community, rather than on structural land redistribution. This has resulted in a lack of significant land ownership inequality. Land with high economic value remains controlled by investors and large businesses, while smallholder farmers only receive legal certainty over relatively small plots of land.

Second, the limited availability of land available for distribution is a major obstacle. Batu City has limited state-owned land available for agrarian reform, while pressure for land conversion continues to increase. Under these circumstances, asset reform tends to be defensive, protecting existing rights, rather than offensive in restructuring land ownership.

3. Implementation of Access Reform in Batu City: Between Policy and Reality

The integration of reform assets and reform access is a key measure of agrarian reform's effectiveness. Effective agrarian reform is measured not only by administrative success, but also by its ability to create structural change and sustainable prosperity. This integration requires cross-sectoral coordination, area-based planning, and strong political commitment from local governments.

In the context of Batu City, asset integration and access reform face significant challenges due to economic pressures and land commercialization. Without strong integration, asset reform has the potential to become an instrument for legalizing ownership, accelerating land commodification. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012)

Therefore, the analysis of the effectiveness of asset integration and access to reform in Batu City must be placed within the framework of substantive agrarian justice, namely the extent to which the policy is able to protect agrarian communities, strengthen the bargaining position of farmers, and prevent the concentration of land ownership.

Access to reform is a crucial component in determining whether reform assets can generate tangible welfare impacts. Access to reform encompasses various aspects, including access to capital, technology, business assistance, markets, and strengthening community economic institutions. In the context of Batu City, access to reform should be developed contextually with local potential, particularly in the horticultural and agrotourism sectors.

The Batu City government has attempted to integrate agrarian reform with local economic development through farmer empowerment programs, business training, and support for agriculture- and tourism-based MSMEs. However, in practice, access to reform remains partial and has not been systematically integrated with asset reform implementation.

Many land certificate recipients lack ongoing economic assistance. As a result, land certificates, which should be a means of production, are instead transformed into passive economic assets or even traded commodities. This phenomenon demonstrates that without robust access to reform, asset reform has the potential to fail to achieve the goal of agrarian justice.

The implementation of asset reform in Batu City cannot be separated from the national agrarian reform policy framework that is cascaded down to the regional level. Normatively, Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of Agrarian Reform Positioning local governments as strategic actors in the implementation of agrarian reform, particularly in identifying the objects and subjects of agrarian reform and integrating them with regional development policies. In this context, Batu City plays a crucial role due to its unique regional character, namely as an agricultural region and a rapidly developing tourism destination. (Kementerian Agraria dan Tata Ruang/BPN, 2023)

In practice, asset reform implementation in Batu City has been largely realized through land asset legalization programs, particularly through the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL). This program aims to provide legal certainty over land rights to communities who currently control or utilize land without formal ownership documents. From an agrarian law

perspective, asset legalization is a crucial step in reducing the potential for agrarian conflict and providing legal protection to communities.

However, when viewed from the perspective of agrarian reform as a structural policy, the dominance of the asset legalization approach raises its own issues. Asset legalization tends to be affirmative of existing land ownership structures, rather than correcting structural inequalities. In other words, asset reform in Batu City functions more as an instrument for reinforcing the status quo than as a tool for progressive land redistribution.

This situation is inextricably linked to the limited availability of land that can be targeted for redistribution. Batu City has limited free state land that can be allocated for agrarian reform. Most of the land is already under private ownership, either by local communities or businesses. In such a situation, asset reform tends to focus on community land certification rather than large-scale land redistribution.

4. Effectiveness of Asset Integration and Access to Reform in Batu City

The effectiveness of asset integration and reform access in Batu City remains relatively low. This is evident in the weak cross-sectoral coordination between the land agency, the agriculture office, the cooperatives office, and the tourism office. Agrarian reform is still treated as a sectoral program, rather than an integrated cross-sectoral policy. Empirically, this weak integration is reflected in the absence of a mechanism to ensure that every recipient of reform assets automatically gains access to the reform. Consequently, agrarian reform stops at the legal aspect and fails to transform into an instrument for redistributing welfare.

To assess the effectiveness of asset reform, it is important to examine the socio-economic characteristics of the beneficiary communities. Most asset reform recipients in Batu City are smallholder farmers and rural communities who depend on the horticultural sector for their livelihoods. For these groups, land is not merely an economic asset but also a source of social identity and family sustainability.

Legal land rights provide a sense of security and legal certainty for communities. Land certificates protect communities from the threat of eviction, unilateral claims, or conflict with other parties. In many cases, land certificates are also seen as a symbol of state recognition of community rights to the land they have managed for generations.

However, in socio-economic realities, owning a land certificate does not automatically improve community welfare. Many smallholder farmers lack capital, technology, and market access. In these circumstances, land certificates are often the only valuable assets they possess,



making them vulnerable to being used as collateral for loans or even sold when facing economic pressure.

This phenomenon demonstrates that asset reform, if not accompanied by adequate access to reform, has the potential to create new vulnerabilities. Legalized land can easily change hands through market mechanisms, making the goal of agrarian reform to create a fair land tenure structure difficult to achieve.

One of the most crucial aspects in evaluating asset reform is the extent to which the policy effectively encourages land redistribution. In the context of Batu City, land redistribution faces several structural obstacles. First, the high economic value of land due to tourism development makes it a strategic commodity contested by various interests. Land with high economic potential tends to be controlled by investors or allocated for investment purposes.

Second, limited data and state land inventories hinder the determination of redistribution targets. Without accurate and comprehensive data, land redistribution efforts are difficult to implement effectively and transparently. This has resulted in asset reform being directed more toward legalizing land already held by the community rather than redistributing new land.

Third, political factors and regional policies also influence the implementation of asset reform. Local governments often find themselves in a dilemma between encouraging investment and protecting the interests of agrarian communities. Under these circumstances, land redistribution policies tend to receive less priority because they are perceived as potentially hampering the investment climate. As a result, asset reform in Batu City has not fully functioned as an instrument of structural change. Inequality in land ownership persists, and small communities remain in a relatively weak position within the agrarian structure.

5. The Principle of Agrarian Justice in the Implementation of Agrarian Reform in Batu

The principle of agrarian justice demands that agrarian reform not only provide legal certainty but also create a fair and sustainable distribution of benefits. In the context of Batu City, the implementation of the new agrarian reform reflects procedural justice, but has not yet fully achieved substantive justice.

Procedural justice is reflected in the relatively transparent and participatory implementation of the land certification program. However, substantive justice remains elusive due to unequal land ownership structures and limited community access to land-based economic resources. Thus, the effectiveness of asset integration and reform access in Batu City still requires strengthening policies, institutions, and cross-sector coordination so that agrarian reform truly reflects the principles of agrarian justice.

To assess whether asset reform in Batu City reflects the principles of agrarian justice, it is necessary to distinguish between procedural and substantive justice. Procedural justice relates to how policies are implemented, including aspects of transparency, participation, and legal certainty. Meanwhile, substantive justice relates to the final outcome of the policy, namely whether the policy is able to create a fair distribution of resources and improve community welfare.

From a procedural justice perspective, the implementation of asset reform in Batu City has been relatively successful. The land certification program is implemented through a clear mechanism and involves community participation. The resulting legal certainty provides protection for the community and reduces the potential for agrarian conflict.

However, from a substantive justice perspective, asset reform still faces serious limitations. The unequal land ownership structure has not undergone significant change. Land with high economic value remains concentrated in the hands of well-off groups, while smallholders only receive legal certainty over relatively small and less productive plots.

This situation indicates that asset reform in Batu City has only reached the stage of procedural justice, but has not yet fully realized substantive agrarian justice. To achieve substantive justice, asset reform must be firmly integrated with reform access and regional development policies that favor agrarian communities.

The dominant implementation of asset reform, focused on asset legalization, has long-term implications for the sustainability of agrarian reform. Without strengthening access to reform and controlling land commercialization, asset reform has the potential to become a gateway for increasingly massive land commodification. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borras et al., 2012)

In Batu City, economic pressures and high land values have driven land conversion and intensive land trading. Under these conditions, land certificates generated through asset reform can easily change hands, making the goal of agrarian reform to create a fair land tenure structure difficult to achieve.

Therefore, asset reform needs to be placed within a broader policy framework, emphasizing not only legality but also community protection and empowerment. Without such an approach, asset reform risks losing its significance as an instrument of agrarian justice.

The Dynamics of Agrarian Reform Implementation Amidst Land Commercialization in Batu City and Local Policy Strategies Can Strengthen Sustainable and Inclusive Agrarian Reform

1. Land Commercialization as a Structural Phenomenon in the Development of Batu City

The dynamics of agrarian reform implementation in Batu City cannot be separated from the context of regional development, which has made the tourism sector a primary driver of



economic growth. Since its expansion and establishment as an autonomous city, Batu City has undergone a structural transformation from an agrarian region based on horticulture to a leading tourism destination. This transformation has had serious consequences for agrarian governance, particularly in the form of increasingly massive land commercialization. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012).

Land commercialization can be understood as the process of changing the function and meaning of land from a source of livelihood to an economic commodity traded for profit. In the context of Batu City, land is no longer viewed solely as a means of agricultural production, but rather as a strategic investment asset for the development of hotels, villas, tourist areas, and other commercial properties. This change has led to a significant increase in the economic value of land, particularly in areas with high accessibility and significant tourism potential. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012).

This phenomenon of land commercialization is not neutral. It operates within an unequal political-economic structure, where investors and business actors have greater access to information, capital, and power, while farmers and local communities are in a relatively weak position. As a result, land market mechanisms tend to favor the well-capitalized and marginalize agrarian communities. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012).

Under these conditions, agrarian reform in Batu City faces serious structural challenges. Agrarian reform policies aimed at creating agrarian justice must confront the logic of the land market, which encourages the accumulation and concentration of land ownership. Therefore, the dynamics of land commercialization are the primary context determining the direction and effectiveness of agrarian reform implementation in this region. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012).

Land commercialization in Batu City has triggered significant changes in the agrarian structure. Previously dominated by small-scale land ownership and control by local farmers, the agrarian structure is slowly shifting toward land control by non-agrarian actors, such as property developers and tourism industry players. This change occurs through market mechanisms that appear legal and legitimate, but have profound social implications. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012).

Many farmers in Batu City find themselves in a dilemma. On the one hand, rising land values offer short-term economic opportunities through land sales. On the other hand, selling land means losing long-term livelihoods. With limited access to capital, technology, and markets, high land prices often seem like a quick solution for farmers to meet their family's economic needs.



However, this decision ultimately leaves farmers vulnerable, as they lose their production base and rely on the informal sector or low-wage employment.

This change in the agrarian structure has had a direct impact on the implementation of agrarian reform. Land that should have been maintained as the basis for agrarian reform has instead been converted into an investment commodity. Consequently, the scope for agrarian reform policy has been increasingly narrowed, both in terms of land availability and the sustainability of land ownership by beneficiary communities.

From an agrarian justice perspective, this situation demonstrates a contradiction between the goals of agrarian reform and the realities of the land market. Agrarian reform aims to create a fair and sustainable distribution of land ownership, while land commercialization encourages the concentration of land ownership in certain groups. Without strong policy intervention, market mechanisms will continue to dominate and undermine agrarian reform. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borras et al., 2012)

2. Social Impact of Land Commercialization on Agrarian Communities

The impact of land commercialization in Batu City is not only economic, but also social and cultural. For agrarian communities, land holds more than just economic value, but also social, cultural, and identity. Losing land means losing living space, social networks, and agrarian traditions that have been passed down through generations. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borras et al., 2012).

Land conversion is often accompanied by changes in community lifestyles. Farmers who lose their land often switch professions to become construction workers, tourism workers, or informal business owners with unstable incomes. These changes create new social vulnerabilities, including economic uncertainty, reduced local food security, and weakened social solidarity at the community level.

In the context of agrarian reform, these social impacts demonstrate that policy success cannot be measured solely by legality or increased land value. Agrarian reform must be understood as a social policy aimed at maintaining the sustainability of agrarian communities. Therefore, uncontrolled land commercialization poses a serious threat to the goals of agrarian reform. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borras et al., 2012).

The implementation of agrarian reform in Batu City is amidst a tension between the interests of economic development and the protection of community agrarian rights. The local government faces pressure to increase regional revenue through tourism and investment, while simultaneously maintaining social and environmental sustainability.

In practice, development policies often favor investment interests because they are perceived as providing significant short-term economic contributions. Meanwhile, agrarian reform is viewed as a policy that requires a long time to be implemented and does not immediately produce measurable economic benefits. This view often results in agrarian reform being marginalized among regional policy priorities.

This situation demonstrates that the dynamics of agrarian reform implementation in Batu City are heavily influenced by the orientation of regional development policies. Without a strong political commitment to making agrarian reform an integral part of development strategies, this policy will continue to be marginalized by market and investment logic.

3. Local Policy Strategies in the Context of Agrarian Reform

Facing pressures from land commercialization and cross-sectoral policy disharmony, strengthening agrarian reform in Batu City requires a progressive, contextual, and agrarian justice-oriented local policy strategy. While the national agrarian reform policy provides a fairly comprehensive normative framework, it will be ineffective without being operationally translated into regional policies that are responsive to local social, economic, and ecological characteristics. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borras et al., 2012)

Batu City is unique as an agricultural region that also serves as a leading tourism destination. This uniqueness demands an agrarian policy approach that is not generalistic, but rather based on local realities. Local policy strategies are a key instrument for bridging the interests of agrarian reform with the dynamics of regional development.

The local policy strategy in question extends beyond formal regulations to include institutional design, community participation mechanisms, and economic and social instruments that support the sustainability of agrarian reform. Thus, agrarian reform can be positioned as an integral part of an inclusive and sustainable regional development strategy.

The first and most fundamental strategy is to reorient spatial planning policy by incorporating agrarian reform as a key principle. Spatial planning should not be positioned solely as a tool for physical and economic development planning, but also as an instrument of social and agrarian justice.

The Batu City Government needs to critically evaluate the RTRW (Regional Spatial Plan) and detailed spatial planning (RDTR) to ensure that strategic agricultural areas are protected from excessive land use conversion. The designation of sustainable agricultural zones must be strengthened, not only through normative measures but also through effective control mechanisms. These zones should be treated as agrarian reform areas protected from land market pressures.

Integrating agrarian reform into spatial planning also means ensuring that land resulting from agrarian reform is not located in areas vulnerable to land conversion. This way, beneficiaries of agrarian reform gain spatial certainty that supports sustainable land ownership and use. Local policy strategies must prioritize agrarian reform as a sustainable development agenda. Agrarian reform concerns not only land distribution but also environmental sustainability and social resilience. In the context of Batu City, which faces ecological vulnerability, agrarian policies must be sensitive to environmental carrying capacity.

Regional governments need to ensure that land use during agrarian reform aligns with conservation and environmental protection principles. This approach not only maintains the sustainability of natural resources but also strengthens the legitimacy of agrarian reform as a long-term policy.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion of the two research questions in this study, it can be concluded that the implementation of agrarian reform in Batu City faces significant structural and policy challenges. First, the integration of reform assets and reform access within agrarian reform policies has not been effective. Agrarian reform implementation is still dominated by a legal-formal approach, such as the structuring and legalization of land rights, while aspects of reform access, including economic empowerment, institutional strengthening, and protection of sustainable land tenure, have not been fully integrated. As a result, agrarian reform has not fully realized substantive agrarian justice, but remains limited to procedural justice. Second, the dynamics of agrarian reform implementation in Batu City are heavily influenced by the massive commercialization of land driven by the orientation of tourism- and investment-based regional development. Land commercialization has changed the agrarian structure, narrowed the space for agrarian reform, and increased the vulnerability of agrarian communities to land loss. The disharmony between agrarian policies, spatial planning, and investment permits demonstrates weak cross-sectoral integration, resulting in agrarian reform often being subordinated to short-term economic development interests. To strengthen sustainable and inclusive agrarian reform in Batu City, a comprehensive local policy strategy is needed. This strategy includes a reorientation of spatial planning based on agrarian reform, strengthening regional regulations to protect agrarian reform land from speculation and uncontrolled land conversion, integrating agrarian reform with local economic development based on sustainable agrarian and tourism potential, and strengthening institutions and active community participation. By positioning agrarian reform as an

integral part of the regional development agenda, it is hoped that this policy will not only create legal certainty over land but also ensure social, economic, and environmental sustainability, and realize true agrarian justice. (Suhendar & Kasim, 1996; Borrás et al., 2012)

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