

Food Security Policy in Indonesia: The Impact to Land Ownership and Farmers' Welfare

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ABSTRACT

Events such as the war between Russia and Ukraine are just one of many examples causing food crises across the globe, possibly leading to widespread famine. Given such a necessity, each state should make food security its main priority for development. An ideal food security policy must show an impact on agrarian reform or agrarian justice, particularly meant for improvement the welfare of small farmers. The agrarian reform may help to increase the welfare of the small farmers as a program that gives access to the control and ownership of agricultural lands. This paper studies on how far the effect of food policy against agrarian reform in Indonesia. The result of the research shows that the food security policy in Indonesia is not yet capable of increasing land ownership and the welfare of small farmers. Facts show that food security policy in Indonesia prioritizes allotment over agricultural and farming lands for big companies. The approach is claimed to entrust the role of food security development to the big companies or sometimes landlords. Only a small amount of access is granted to small farmers in terms of ownership and control over such lands. In facing such conditions, the authors come with a concept to transfer the Directorate of Agrarian Management from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning. This way, food security programs will have no choice but to have farmers' welfare to be included as one of their main objectives. A single chain of command will ease the process of implementation, and it will help the Government to have a better focus on achieving its goals, either for food security or the farmers' welfare. Massive, fair and equitable distribution of land ownership and land registration in every region with intensive assistance is a concrete solution to improve the welfare of small farmers.



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1. Introduction

A series of events such as a prolonged pandemic, extreme weather, and war between Russia and Ukraine, has been contributing to the price surge of various commodities worldwide. The chain eventually led to the weakening of global food security.¹ Amidst such a situation, Finland was considered as a state with the best food security in the world. Other countries such as Ireland, Norway, and Portugal were said to follow with strong food security. Food security is based on 4 (four) indicators, namely affordability, availability,

¹ Desmond Manatsa and others, 'Intersectional Vulnerabilities in Disaster Resilience', International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 129 (2025), 1-12 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2025.105771>

quality, and safety, as well as sustainability and adaptation. Several events such as the ongoing COVID-19 outbreak notably in countries with bad health services, extreme weather due to global warming, and continuous war between Russia and Ukraine have all capabilities to affect the four indicators mentioned above.

The global food crisis is a serious concern, with millions facing acute hunger due to conflict, climate change, and economic instability.² According to the latest report from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), more than 864 million people worldwide experience severe food insecurity, with Africa and Asia being the most affected regions. Food security needs to be a focus for improvement by realizing food sovereignty and resilience. Food insecurity is a highly sensitive issue in Indonesia's socio-political dynamics and can even bring down the ruling government. Therefore, it is crucial for Indonesia to achieve national food security.³ To put it simply, food security may be interpreted as the availability of food to a certain person along with the ability to access it. Yet normatively, the Law No. 18 of 2012 concerning Food defined food security as a condition where food necessity for every person in a state is already fulfilled. It is considered as fulfilled if the food is already sufficient in terms of amount, quality, safety, variety, nutrition, equitable, affordable, and does not contrary to the religion, beliefs, and culture of the community, to live healthy, actively, and productively in a sustainable manner. To better interpret this normative understanding, food security needs to be seen from a broad sense, including its relation with social, economic, and political fields, since food insecurity will closely relate to poverty and health problems.

Fuller's Principles, also known as the Internal Morality of Law or The Eight Ways to Fail to Make Law, are eight moral requirements that a legal system must meet to be considered legitimate and function properly. These principles include: laws must be general, publicly promulgated, not retroactive, sufficiently clear, not contradictory, readily enforceable, relatively constant, and there must be consistency between regulations and their implementation. These principles provide a framework for assessing the quality and legitimacy of a legal system. A legal system that adheres to these principles tends to be more just, honest, and well-functioning. Fuller emphasized that the integrity of a legal system depends on adherence to these moral principles.⁴ Law Number 18 of 2012 concerning Food does not comply with Fuller's principles, namely, there is a lack of consistency between the regulations enacted and the actions of law officials in everyday practice.

Dworkin's theory of integrity (Law as Integrity), expounded in his work Law's Empire, states that law should be viewed not as a set of isolated rules, but as a coherent, unified, and consistent system of principles reflecting a comprehensive set of moral values. Judges and legislators, according to Dworkin, must interpret the law constructively to create the most coherent legal narrative, ultimately providing the right and just answer in each case.⁵ In this case, it is clear that there is no coherence or alignment between regulations in the food

² Kasia Paprocki and James McCarthy, 'The Agrarian Question of Climate Change', *Progress in Human Geography Journal*, 48.6 (2024), 691-715 <https://doi.org/10.1177/03091325241269701>

³ Hari Hermawan and Harmi Andrianyta, 'Policy Responses to the Potential Global Food Crisis', *Journal of Public Policy*, 14.4 (2023), 400-406 <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8eb2/01d8f7f426573638c7b90e7121dff7c44eba.pdf>

⁴ Kristen Rundle, 'Fuller's Internal Morality of Law', *Philosophy Compass Journal*, 11.9 (2016), 499-506 <https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12338>

⁵ Muhamad Ibra Akbar Maulana and others, 'Dworkin Dan Tradisi Common Law: Implikasi Filosofis Dan Praktis', *Journal of Education, Art, Science, and Social Humanities*, 3.1 (2025), 1-13 <https://journal.forikami.com/index.php/nusantara/article/view/939>

sector and regulations in the agrarian reform sector; each operates independently without any integration.

Posner's economic analysis, also known as Economic Analysis of Law, is the application of economic principles to the analysis of law, viewing law as a tool for achieving economic efficiency and maximizing social welfare. Richard Posner argues that law, like other human actions, can be analyzed through economic rationality, with the goal of allocating resources efficiently to maximize the wealth and well-being of society through cost-benefit analysis. In relation to the regulations being discussed, the law on food has not maximized social welfare for small farmers. The law on food should contain material that regulates the state's obligation to provide land ownership to small farmers. Food shortages are one among other chronic issues in the world, around 870 million people worldwide 12.5 percent of the world population are suffering from chronic famine and malnutrition, most of which are from developing countries. As such, food safety gains international attention and becomes a priority across the world, as a method used to prevent food shortages. Global food shortages may cause worldwide chaos and open the possibility of a third world war.

Food shortages may cause famine and eventually raise health issues. Various countries are seeking solution to combat food shortages, one of which, is through agrarian reform. To put it simply, an agrarian reform (AR) is a sustainable effort to arrange a structure of control and management for people's welfare. The most important policy within agrarian reform is the distribution of land, mainly to the parties putting their livelihood on the land management, such as farmers. For such reason, agrarian reform may be used as a solution to take care of food shortages.⁶ The success of an agrarian reform program, however, is highly determined by the government's policies in politics imposed on farmers. Agrarian reform was defined broadly and placed as a development strategy with an access approach. Agrarian reform addresses not only the issue of land ownership inequality through land redistribution, but also through access to land management and utilization. Access programs must consider sustainable agricultural land management programs. Agricultural land management programs must consider the future generation without damaging the environment.⁷

In several countries, policies to strengthen food security are not intended to raise small farmers' welfare. For instance, India enacted a Food Security Law, which incited protests from farmers instead, due to its policy of opening as wide as possible opportunities for big private companies to manage agricultural land taken from small farmers.⁸ It is a losing game for the small farmers, they would not be able to compete with big companies with thick capital. Problems of many farmers in several countries lie in their impossibility to determine the price of their own produce, they must adhere to the decisions made by the collecting traders. Their produce is often sold at a very low cost, yet they are not exempted from the obligation to pay taxes. The condition worsened due to price surges of daily necessities caused by inflation.⁹ Some farmers, fed up with the hardship decided to seek job opportunities in big cities. Little did they know that big cities require costly abodes with

⁶ Rahayu Fery Anitasari, 'Agrarian Law: Perspective of Indonesian Agricultural Policies', *South East Asia Journal of Contemporary Business*, 20.4 (2019), 1-4 https://seajbel.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/SEAJBEL-20_22.pdf

⁷ Dalu Agung Darmawan and others, 'The History of Agrarian Reforms in Indonesia: A Sociological Perspective', *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development*, 11.11 (2023), 1-27 <https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v11i11.2196>

⁸ Lakhwinder Singh and Baldev Singh Shergill, 'Separating Wheat from the Chaff: Farm Acts, Farmers' Protest and Outcomes', *Millennial Asia Journal*, 12.3 (2021), 390-410 <https://doi.org/10.1177/09763996211063600>

⁹ Gunawan, 'Problems of Agrarian Reform As A Strategy For Implementing Land Reform Plus In Indonesia', *Legal Brief Journal*, 11.3 (2022), 1922-1940 <https://doi.org/10.35335/legal.v11i3.416>

high competition for the limited spaces of land. It leads to a new problem where big cities are becoming more and more chaotic with the growth of slum areas.

The issue actually falls on the government's responsibility, to ensure that the farmers are holding onto their professions instead of seeking new jobs in big cities, they must first have good welfare. Without a strong agricultural legacy, it will be hard for the state to uphold the importance of national food security. Agrarian reform was meant to give welfare to the farmers to help the state achieve food security and prevent food shortages. Likewise, Indonesia has been performing AR programs since 1960 at the birth of the Law concerning the Basics Regulations on Agrarian Principles (UUPA) and the Law concerning Land Reform along with the latter various rules and regulations arranging the same scope. Nonetheless, do such agrarian reform programs have an impact on food security? The authors will uncover the answer to that question in this article. The welfare of small farmers is the main key to producing surplus produce and achieving food security.¹⁰ Agrarian reform plays an important role as a program to provide welfare to small farmers by granting access to lands and resources, providing land certificates, know-how, access to the market, and capital.

This research was conducted both using primary data (field study) and secondary data (research of other parties) in Karawang Regency, and East Nusa Tenggara Province. The mentioned locations were chosen for their respective reasons, the Karawang Regency was selected due to the presence of food security programs there, such as eternal agricultural land and protected rice fields. It piques the authors' interest, whether the programs may actually affect small farmers' welfare? Were the small farmers given access to natural resources or did the local government simply give opportunities for the farmers to earn sufficient for their daily livelihood? One of the most popular options in giving access to natural resources to poor farmers is through agrarian reform program, and thus, it forms a very important role in village development and eradication of poverty.¹¹

Meanwhile, the reason why the authors selected NTT Province is due to the presence of the food estate program, which is expected to increase national food security. It is considered necessary for the research to review the success of such a program, particularly with respect to the agrarian reform, whether the owners and managers of the food estate programs' ownership and management are accessible to the small farmers or only obtainable by big companies. The results of such research shall be compared by the authors with the ones from Karawang Regency and NTT Province, bearing in mind that they bring similar characteristics. There are articles discuss food security, but there are no articles discuss the impact of food security on farmers' land ownership within the framework of agrarian reform. This article provides a new concept how food security can impact the increase in land ownership for smallholder farmers, thereby improving the welfare of smallholder farmers. Several articles discussing food security by Atmaezer H. Simanjuntak, who critiques the national food security policy that relies on smallholder farmers to weather the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Another article by Reni Chaireni and colleagues discusses the obstacles faced in building sustainable food security.

¹⁰ Joshua B. Forrest, 'Rural Development and Food Security in the 21st Century: A Review and Proposal', *Journal of Developing Societies*, 33.4 (2017), 448-68 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X17735239>

¹¹ Muhamad Rusliyadi and Wang Libin, 'Agriculture Development Programs for Poverty Reduction Evidences from Indonesia and China: Comparative Study Case', *Asian Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development*, 8.2 (2018), 104-118 <https://doi.org/10.22004/ag.econ.342170>

2. Research Method

The method used in this research is juridical normative, with secondary data used as main sources and supported by secondary data in the form of literature such as journal articles, books, rules and regulations, and many others. The primary data is used to strengthen or examine the initial assumption built based on the secondary data. The data that have been collected are then discussed in a descriptive-analytical manner by describing the relationship between agrarian reform and food security. The content will simultaneously elaborate on how the effect of the agrarian reform program on national food security. The method of research used in a comparative study with other countries that have been using the agrarian reform program to manifest food security in their own country may be used as a guideline for Indonesia to implement the agrarian reform program with food security as its orientation while incarnating welfare for the farmers. This research is based on accurate and factual data obtained through field observations and interviews with relevant parties, including farmers and government agencies in Karawang Regency and East Nusa Tenggara Province. This research includes field research funded by the Academic Leadership Grant (ALG) program at Padjadjaran University. The data in this study was also obtained from valid secondary data and credible sources.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 *Implementation of Agrarian Reform in Several Countries*

In the last 20 years, the agricultural sector of Vietnam has been changing dramatically, either in terms of domestic or international aspects, offers, and demand. The increasing income per capita and rapid decrease in poverty have also made major changes to the dietary habits of Vietnamese people. Rice consumption per capita has been decreasing while simultaneously increasing the intake of meat, fish, horticultural products, and other supplies. The offering pattern in Vietnam has also shifted from a food-importing country in 1980 into a main exporting country for rice and fish. Its average annual growth of GDP in agriculture is 3.6 percent, this level has only been surpassed by China from other main agricultural producers. This impressive growth is supported by the agricultural TFP growth of 2.3 percent. Aside from increasing food safety, the health agriculture development has been causing a sharp decline in poverty in rural areas.¹²

Institute for Development on Economic and Finance (Indef) notes the three countries successfully implemented the agrarian reform, namely Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea. During the 1990s, before the enactment of agrarian reform program in Japan, about 40% parts of farmers' land were rented from certain lords. The farmers were forced to hand over half of their crops to the landlords in exchange for the rent. Because of this, Japanese farmers were not able to satisfy their livelihood. On the other hand, rice was considered exclusive due to the scarcity of its production as a consequence of World War I. It triggered strong protests from Japanese farmers.¹³ In overcoming such problems, the Japanese Government urged landlords to sell their lands to the farmers, through the government. The government bought the lands from the lords and handed them over for free to the farmers. This agrarian reform empiric history in Japan may be put into a good

¹² Amnon Golan and Harinder Kohli, 'Asean Dynamism: Agricultural Transformation and Food Security', *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, 5.1 (2013), 3-21 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0974910112469267>

¹³ Muhammad Pratama And Ferry Rustam, 'Motives for Implementing Japan's Agrarian Reform', *Multikultura Journal*, 1.2 (2022), 242-262 <https://doi.org/10.7454/multikultura.v1i2.1093>

example. The agrarian reform in Japan was exercised to lay down an economic basis in a democratic government. After the agrarian reform, almost all farmers owned land with no debt left to settle.¹⁴ The families of farmers which initially have no land for generations, can finally obtain proper income both as cultivators and owners. Aside from producing farmers who hold ownership over their lands, agrarian reform in Japan has also broken the dominance of landlords and transferred the power to poor and middle-class farmers.¹⁵

In the mid-20th century, farmers in Brazil found themselves facing a new challenge: the advancement of modern farming, which was marked by the presence of summits for agricultural and industrial systems. This process was the first stage of agricultural business development in Brazil. Denomination of 'conservative modernization,' worsening the extreme land concentration in Brazil.¹⁶ It widened the existing inequality between capitalistic agriculture and conservative farmers. Within the following decades, the market, finance, and technology system merged with the agricultural industry system, which consolidated agricultural business development as a model of capitalistic agriculture.¹⁷

The military regime has created a series of instruments to expand capitalistic agriculture, to help the institutionalization of various land-concession policies for big companies, mainly to snatch lands within Amazon regions. The annihilation of the farmers' movement happened at the same time as the establishment of trade for workers' unions maintained by Catholic Churches, political parties, and the federal government. The condition was orchestrated to institutionalize farmers' organizations and put them under the subordinate of the government's control.¹⁸ Based on the experience of such countries above in executing agrarian reform, a lesson is learned, the government needs to participate actively in the implementation of the agrarian reform itself. It can be started by reforming land ownership through a direct purchase of vast areas of lands owned by the lords, then distributed to the farmers without lands or the ones with imperfect ownership of lands to become their livelihood.

3.2 Relationship between the Agrarian Reform with National Food Security

Agrarian reform is expected to bring enhancement to the food security, revenue, and welfare of families from marginalized groups in village communities, including women and *adat* people. The legality and protection of land rights take part in strengthening local agriculture and a variety of cultures. The concept of agrarian reform is actually crafted to reduce inequality of control and ownership of agricultural land to achieve justice.¹⁹ Agrarian reform was further regulated in the President Regulation Number 86 of 2018 concerning Agrarian Reform, however, since its implementation was considered as not too

¹⁴ Shuji Hisano and others, 'Revitalising Rurality under the Neoliberal Transformation of Agriculture: Experiences of Re-Agrarianisation in Japan', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 61 (2018), 290–301 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jurstud.2018.01.013>

¹⁵ Philippe Ha-Vinh and others, 'Geographic Variations of Multiple Sclerosis Prevalence in France: The Latitude Gradient Is Not Uniform Depending on the Socioeconomic Status of the Studied Population', *Multiple Sclerosis Journal*, 2 (2016), 1-14 <https://doi.org/10.1177/2055217316631762>

¹⁶ Dylan Fitz, 'Evaluating the Impact of Market-Assisted Land Reform in Brazil', *World Development Journal*, 103 (2018), 255-67 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.10.007>

¹⁷ Estevan Coca and others, 'Imagining Agri-Food Futures across Digital Divides: Agribusiness and Family Farmers in Minas Gerais, Brazil', *Digital Geography and Society Journal*, 9 (2025), 1-11 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.diggeo.2025.100139>

¹⁸ Wilder Robles, 'Revisiting Agrarian Reform in Brazil, 1985–2016', *Journal of Developing Societies*, 34.1 (2018), 1-34 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X17749658>

¹⁹ Zhe Yu Lee, 'Implementation of Agrarian Reform in North Sumatra, Indonesia: The Productiveness of Institutional Fragmentation', *Politics and Space Journal*, 40.7 (2022): 1589-1605, <https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544221094912>

successful, the government expanded the coverage by categorizing the agrarian reform as a national strategic program. This was followed up by the revocation of the President Regulation No. 86 of 2018 and its replacement by the President Regulation No. 62 of 2023 concerning the Agrarian Reform Acceleration.

Agrarian reform is an effort to distribute control, ownership, use, and utilization of land evenly, as well as to resolve agrarian conflicts in order to achieve a fair economy. The government's current policy on implementing agrarian reform is very different from the agrarian reform implemented by the old and new orders, which focused on the amount of land distributed to small farmers as the measure of success. However, the government now interprets the distribution of land certificates as part of agrarian reform. The government interprets the distribution of free land certificates through the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) program as a success of the agrarian reform program,²⁰ even though no land is distributed in this program, rather the land belongs to the community and has not yet been certified, and the government then provides land certificates free of charge. The provision of free certificates is an indicator of the success of the land registration program and not the agrarian reform program. The indicators of the success of the agrarian reform program are how much land is given to small farmers and how much of an impact the land given has on improving the welfare of small farmers. The existence of land certificates can have a direct impact on farmers' involvement in cultivating their land because they have assets that need to be protected. However, this is not the core of the agrarian reform program.²¹

The execution of land reform in Indonesia during the 1960s, focused on the management of agricultural lands by providing layouts of provisions concerning maximum control a legal subject might own over agricultural land through a land re-distribution. Conflict of interests and values inconsistent with the philosophy and principles of the UUPA may be found through the assessment of the rules and regulations in agriculture, made as implementing regulations of the UUPA.²² In its development, this land reform program could not perform well since the politics of law during the New Order was not agriculture-oriented, it was focused on manufacturing based on the utilization of natural resources instead. It was seen from the developmentalism rules and regulations made during the New Order, putting much focus on natural resources.²³ Even though the main purpose of agrarian reform is to pursue equity, particularly for people to access the lands and other living resources, agrarian justice becomes the keyword. The essence of justice is distributing people's rights according to their respective capacities and necessities. Besides the dynamic nature of justice, many factors may affect the manifestation of justice, putting

²⁰ Fitri Wahyuni Fitri Wahyuni and others, 'The Sustainability of Agrarian Reform In A Macro Perspective (Comparative Study Between Target Areas of Complete Systematic Land Registration Program)', *Land Journal*, 14.1 (2024), 67-79 <https://doi.org/10.53686/jp.v14i1.238>

²¹ Hua Wen and Rijimoleng Si, 'Research on the Impact of Land Rights Certification on Farmers' Operating Behavior', *International Review of Economics & Finance Journal*, 96 (2024), 1-14 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.iref.2024.103679>

²² Retno Sulistyaningsih, 'Land Reform in Indonesia', *Journal of Perspectives: Study of Legal and Development Issues*, 26.1 (2021), 57-64 <https://doi.org/10.30742/perspektif.v26i1.753>

²³ Ida Nurlinda, 'Land Acquisition for Agrarian Reform Objects Originating from Forest Area: Problems and Regulation', *Veritas et Justitia Journal*, 4.2 (2018), 252-73 <https://doi.org/10.25123/vej.v4i2.2919>

it in endless motion among various factors, including equality itself, which makes the manifestation of agrarian justice challenging.²⁴

Agrarian justice is a condition where no meaningful concentration of power, ownership, use, and utilization of lands and other natural resources takes the role of people's livelihood.²⁵ It ensures certainty of rights either for control, ownership, use, or utilization of lands and natural resources for the people, particularly within the surroundings. The concept protects the continuity and advancement of people's production system (particularly the locals) where the lands and other natural resources sustain their livings. Agrarian reform is the existence of justice in land ownership and control, where land is not only controlled by a few people.²⁶ By promoting agrarian reform as a strategic program, the government aims to reform the imbalance of control, ownership, use, and utilization of lands; reduce poverty; create job vacancies; improve people's access to economic resources, particularly the lands; decrease land and agrarian disputes and/or conflict, improve and protect the quality of the environment, increase the food security of Indonesia's people and national energy security.²⁷

The purpose of agrarian reform holds a very significant meaning in enabling the creation of formidable food security. Advancement of food security, particularly in the agricultural liberalization era, must be seen from a certain point of view: food sovereignty must be considered as an effort to demonstrate the nation's identity and to strengthen its position as an agricultural country in the broadest sense.²⁸ The agrarian reform is construed as an effort to make structural changes, putting its pedestal on intra-relationships between agrarian subjects in terms of access (control and utilization) towards agrarian/natural resources. However, in reality, agrarian reform is instead directed to make structural changes to control lands and changes to the guarantee of certainty for people who utilize lands and the natural resources attached therein. As a huge agenda, the exercise of agrarian reform needs thorough planning to ensure its purposes are achieved. In general, the mechanism of agrarian reform covers four main activities, namely: determination of objects; determination of subjects; mechanism and delivery system; as well as access to the reform.

Indonesia is a country with abundant natural resources, one of which is its prime nature suitable for the agricultural sector.²⁹ Since agriculture has become one of its national development foothold, especially in terms of food provision, Indonesia is known as an agricultural country. In December 2020, the Indonesian population showed an increase of

²⁴ Mumu Muhajir and others, 'Harmonization of Regulations and Improvement of Natural Resource Governance in Indonesia', *Integrity Journal*, 5.22 (2019), 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v5i2-2.479>

²⁵ Eric T. Hoddy, 'Peasants' Rights and Agrarian Violence in Transitional Settings: From Transitional Justice to Transformative Agrarian Justice', *Journal of Human Rights*, 20.1 (2021), 91-109 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2020.1850242>

²⁶ Bhim Prakoso and others, 'Justice Perspective on Agrarian Reform in Realizing People's Welfare', *Notaire Journal*, 7.3 (2024), 325-338, <https://doi.org/10.20473/ntr.v7i3.58676>

²⁷ Jesse Heber Ambuwaru and others, 'The Politics of Land Law and the Implementation of the Agrarian Reform Program In Indonesia', *International Journal of Educational Review, Law And Social Sciences*, 3.5 (2023), 1443-1450 <https://doi.org/10.54443/ijerlas.v3i5.1013>

²⁸ Christopher B. Barrett, 'Overcoming Global Food Security Challenges through Science and Solidarity', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 103.2 (2021), 422-47 <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajae.12160>

²⁹ M. Faiz Syuaib, 'Sustainable Agriculture in Indonesia: Facts and Challenges to Keep Growing in Harmony with Environment', *Agricultural Engineering International Journal*, 18.2 (2016), 170-84 <https://cigrjournal.org/index.php/Ejournal/article/view/3747>

as much as 1.2 percent, in line with the development of technology and the growing population of humans; there is a shift of paradigm, which considers Indonesia as an industrial country and not as an agricultural country. Such a point of view regards that the paradigm of an agricultural country is not suitable for Indonesian people's needs. Whereas the two paradigms should not have been disputed, they could be harmonized with one another instead. On the other hand, the increase in the citizen population implicates people's growing needs, either in terms of housing, infrastructure, or industrial development. Yet, it may also be considered a benefit due to the fulfillment of qualified skills with lower costs. Growing population consequently increases the demand for housing, which incurs the necessity of expansion of land allocation for residency, agricultural lands are slowly shifting functions to become non-agricultural lands. It is recorded that the average shift of functions from rice fields to other functions is no less than 150 million hectares per year, while the formation of new rice fields is less than 60 million hectares per year.

Such shift of functions in agricultural lands usually occurs due to economic factors, such as land rent, that may be obtained from the activities of non-agricultural sectors instead of the agricultural ones. The low incentives available for activities in agriculture are due to the comparably high cost of production to the relatively low and fluctuating costs of the produce. Besides, farmers may have families with urgent financial needs such as education; some others may also need capital to start occupations outside of agriculture. More often than not, it leaves the farmers with no choice other than selling a part or a whole of their agricultural land to investors to be shifted to non-agricultural lands. In settling the problem, the government as the authority to create a public policy, has issued Law No. 41 of 2009 concerning the Protection of Agricultural Land for Sustainable Food (LP2B Law). Its main purpose is to take care of issues on land conversion, fragmentation, and degradation, potentially threatening independence, sovereignty, and food security. According to the LP2B Law, the determination of agricultural land must be preserved and consistently developed to achieve national food security. People use various methods to increase agricultural productivity, including technology,³⁰ and systemization of lands claimed as effective and affecting the productivity of agricultural produce.³¹ In this sense, the government should have given technical guidance to farmers, bearing in mind that it should become a part of agrarian reform.

Determining the minimum measurement of agricultural land area a farmer should have is one of many programs an agrarian reform should exercise. Every State has a different policy, Indonesia determines that a farmer should possess at least 2 hectares of agricultural land. The implementation of such provision for current days, however, must be reviewed, as agricultural technology nowadays has developed rapidly, enabling smaller areas of land to generate larger quantities of produce. Nonetheless, it will still be necessary either way to regulate the minimum requirement of land possession for farmers to ensure that they can live properly by cultivating their lands. For this reason, food security has tenure-safety as one of important elements of food production. The effort to produce food to strengthen food security may be made through 2 methods: *first*, through the availability of land to

³⁰ Antoine Bernard De Raymond and Frédéric Goulet, 'Science, Technology and Food Security: An Introduction', *Science, Technology and Society Journal*, 25.1 (2020), 7-18 <https://doi.org/10.1177/097172181989916>

³¹ O. Svbure and others, 'A Quantitative Framework for Evaluating the Sustainability of Irish Potato Cropping Systems after the Landmark Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe', *Outlook on Agriculture Journal*, 45.1 (2016), 55-65 <https://doi.org/10.5367/oa.2016.0228>

generate agricultural production, and *second*, through granting access to farmers to agricultural lands. This means that food security will most likely to occur if tenure-safety for food production is guaranteed. Hence, agrarian reform programs of land redistribution hold a very important significance in supporting the exercise of food security.

3.3 Interferences in Achieving Food Security through Agrarian Reform

Indonesia is known as an agricultural country since the occupation of most of its people are farmers. Although the availability of land is one of farmers' primary needs, in reality, many shifts of land function to non-agricultural lands occur. The need for land for farmers is a primary need, limited land for farmers will trigger land disputes.³² The development of housing, industrial areas, service areas, infrastructures, and other economic activities trigger a massive and uncontrollable shift.³³ Aside from increasing people's needs in housing and the development of infrastructure or industrial areas, the growing population may also be seen as a benefit, as it may suffice for the growing necessity of human resources with competent skills at a lower cost.³⁴ The growing population and increase in demand for housing due to a surplus of citizens made the expansion of the land area for residency necessary.³⁵ Thus, some agricultural lands are slowly shifting their function to non-agricultural ones. It is recorded that the average shift of functions from rice fields to other functions is 150 million hectares per year on average, while the formation of new rice fields is less than 60 million hectares per year. Such shift of functions in agricultural lands usually occurs due to economic factors, such as land rent, that may be obtained from the activities of non-agricultural sectors instead of the agricultural ones.

The low incentives available for activities in agriculture are due to the comparably high cost of production to the relatively low and fluctuating costs of the produce. Besides, farmers may have families with urgent financial needs such as education; some others may also need capital to start occupations outside of agriculture. More often than not, it leaves the farmers with no choice other than selling a part or a whole of their agricultural land to investors to be shifted to non-agricultural lands.³⁶ An ideal agrarian reform shall be capable of achieving food security at the Government's disposal. It may also be used as an instrument that controls the shift of function of the lands. This means the government should have enacted certain requirements before redistributing the lands to the people, one of which is through restriction of shift of function beforehand.³⁷

Some concerns are that after the agrarian reform is executed, the function of lands given by the State to the farmers shall be shifted to non-agricultural lands. For this reason, after

³² Setiyo Utomo, 'The Application of Progressive Law in Resolving Agrarian Conflict', *Volksgeist Journal*, 3.2 (2020), 33-43 <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v3i2.3998>

³³ Gaiby Oktavia Pelleng, Denny B.A. Karwur, and Marnan A.T. Mokorimban, 'Spatial Planning Control, Shift of Agricultural Land Function', *Lex Administratum Journal*, 9.2 (2021), 222-229 <https://ejournal.unsrat.ac.id/index.php/administratum/article/view/33193>

³⁴ Stefan Horn and others, 'Meeting Housing Needs within Planetary Boundaries: A UK Case Study', *Ecological Economics Journal*, 230 (2025), 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2024.108510>

³⁵ Ulrich Liman and others, 'Between Household Structure, Urban Density, and Ecological Transition: Rethinking the Approach of Estimating Housing Needs in Switzerland', *Sustainable Cities and Society Journal*, 120 (2025), 1-12 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2025.106137>

³⁶ Rodrigo Simão Camacho and others, 'Evaluation of the Relationship between Education and Sustainability in Peasant Movements: The Experience of the National Education Program in Agrarian Reform', *Evaluation and Program Planning Journal*, 54 (2016), 152-161, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2015.07.009>

³⁷ Ibrahim Bahati and others, 'The Implications of Sugarcane Contract Farming on Land Rights, Labor, and Food Security in the Bunyoro Sub-Region, Uganda', *Land Use Policy Journal*, 122 (2022), 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2022.106326>

the redistribution, the lands were enacted as Agricultural Land for Sustainable Food by the government.³⁸ If such shifts were unable to be controlled; it may threaten the capacity of food provision and may lead to a social catastrophe of food insecurity in the long run. Agricultural land is a very strategic sector sustaining the national economy and human survival on earth after all. The use of natural resources, particularly in the food sector, is still unable to provide a comprehensive benefit equally. Most of the benefits are still hoarded by a small portion of people within a certain group of interests.³⁹ Likewise, a significant gap is also found in control over natural resources, such as the land. According to the report from the Central Bureau of Statistics, in 2013, the ratio of land control in Indonesia was 0.68, or in other words, only 1% of Indonesian people controlled the land from the total of almost 68% area of land within. Conversely, this means only 0.5 ha of land was controlled by small communities such as the farmers across 15.8 family cards.

The gap in control, ownership, use, and utilization of lands (P4T), often triggers disputes and/or conflicts, affecting the availability of lands allocated for food crops as the main sector in fulfilling people's needs. Based on the data from the Consortium of Agrarian Reform (KPA), in the course of 2023, 241 agrarian conflicts across 33 provinces in Indonesia were found. Ten provinces with the highest agrarian conflicts were North Sumatera, South Sulawesi, Riau, Jambi, Bengkulu, East Kalimantan, East Java, West Java, Riau Archipelago and East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). The description of the 10 provinces with the highest agrarian conflict in 2023 may be seen as follows. Land for food crops in North Sumatra since most of the people there work as farmers for livelihood. Despite the presence of purpose to overcome conflict in the control and use of natural resources, the implementation of agrarian reform policy still needs more attention from the government.⁴⁰ Its implementation still focuses on strengthening or recognizing existing rights over land, such as through the distribution of land certificates to people in various areas. The government, however, still has not touched the matter of land redistribution, which has become the main core of the agrarian reform program to this date. Land redistribution becomes the main core of the agrarian reform program due to the fact that it has the possibility to grant ownership of lands to farmers who previously did not have any sufficient control over lands to cultivate for their source of living. The land redistribution program as a part of agrarian reform is meant to increase people's welfare.

However, in reality, the exercise of agrarian reform, notably in terms of land redistribution programs, has been facing many challenges. One of which is the determination of lands that will become the agrarian reform objects (TORA) as affirmed in Article 7 of President Regulation No. 86 of 2018 concerning Agrarian Reform. The results

³⁸ Siti Chadijah and others, 'Agrarian Reform Policy Against Agricultural Land in Tulungagung Regency', *Journal of Legal Scholars*, 6.1 (2020), 91-103 <https://doi.org/10.33760/jch.v6i1.286>

³⁹ Teboho E. Masupha and others, 'Assessing the Effectiveness of Drought Disaster Policies in South Africa: A Focus on Implementation in the Agricultural Sector', *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 127 (2025), 1-4 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2025.105684>

⁴⁰ Hariadi Kartodiharjo and Eko Cahyonob, 'Agrarian Reform in Indonesia: Analyze Concepts and Their Implementation from a Governance Perspective', *Journal of Tropical Forest Management*, 27 (2021), 1-8 <https://doi.org/10.7226/jtfm.27.te.1>

of the study made by the authors in Karawang Regency have proven that the government seemed only capable of distributing free land certificates to the community, with no access to natural resources attached therein. Broad access to natural resources, particularly for small farmers, will not only increase their respective welfare but, in turn, will also help the government to attain more force in achieving success over food security of the State.

3.4 Food Security Policy in Karawang-NTT and Its Effect on Agrarian Reform and Farmers' Welfare

The implementation of LP2B regulation requires Local Governments to determine Agricultural Areas for Sustainable Food, particularly in village areas where the lands for such purposes are spread. In Karawang Regency, the real-life challenge is, however, the decreasing number of rice field areas, which indicates a shift in agricultural land functions.⁴¹ Shift of land functions usually have high economic and industrial activities as a background; they need lands in a quiet huge area. On the other hand, the number of existing lands available to cover both such activities and housing is utterly limited. Hence, the massive shift of land functions from agricultural to non-agricultural ones. This needs to be prevented as it will impact food security.⁴² It is undeniable that the massive shift of land functions from agricultural to non-agricultural lands occurs in Karawang Regency. Albeit the massive shift of land function, Karawang Regency is still capable of maintaining its excellence as the largest rice-production regency or national granary. It appears that the fact was made possible since the shift only occurred around the central or City area of Karawang, which is passed by Jakarta-Cikampek highway, while other areas remain unscathed, particularly around the North Karawang.

Protected Rice Fields (LSD) is a policy formed with the intent to maintain functions on the road to food security. It is also enacted by Karawang's government to determine agricultural lands' boundaries. Nonetheless, the delineation of the LSD in Karawang often collides with the housing area in the map constructed based on the Local Regulation of Karawang Regency Number 2 of 2013 concerning the Spatial Planning of Karawang Regency Area of 2011-2031. To avoid a collision between policies, the local government makes an approach to require a permit for a shift of land functions after determining the LSD area. This approach is made in the spirit of increasing their attention to the shift of land functions, especially after the settlement of Area Spatial Planning (RTRW) revision. The government expects that it may become one of many provisions accommodating the shift of land functions by requiring people to get a Conformity of Spatial Utilization Activity (KKPR) permit to use lands. The provision shall also apply to businessmen who intend to commit industrial activities; they must first adhere to the surrounding RTRW. The land agency of Karawang Regency made an internal agreement among themselves that in the event a businessman exercising business activities in the housing field expresses his intention to commit his business activities on a rice field, then he must previously hand over a Pact of Integrity. The document must be attached with a proposal elaborating his

⁴¹ Dhani S. Hudaya, Budiman Rusli, and Slamet Usman Ismanto, 'Factors Influencing the Implementation of Sustainable Food Agricultural Land Protection Policy (PLP2B) in Karawang Regency', *Journal of Non-Formal Education Science*, 9.2 (2023), 909-922 <http://dx.doi.org/10.37905/aksara.9.2.909-922.2023>

⁴² Ricky Kyei-Baffour, 'Agricultural land conversion to non-agricultural use and its impact on farmers' income: A study of farmers in an agricultural area in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Estonian University of Life Sciences*, (2023) 1-99 <https://dspace.emu.ee/server/api/core/bitstreams/fe6166cf-4dbd-4dd5-b4ac-13b4be5ff05a/content>

plan to develop the housing area on the rice field, and subject to approval from the local government.

In LSD policies, the government still opens possibilities for a housing developer to open housing areas within LSD boundaries, provided that they have adjusted their operation to the applicable provisions. According to the Technical Guidance on Settlement of Non-Conformity of Protected Rice Fields with Spatial Planning, as long as the developer activities confirm to the space utilization and previously obtained permit, concession and/or other rights over lands, then they might be good to go. Aside from LSD, based on Local Regulation Number 21 of 2018, Karawang Regency also has LP2B. Yet, with the new LSD policy, the areas will need renewal, thus leaving the LSD published without a description from a map. Karawang Regency is currently verifying the delineation of lands between LSD and LP2B, in their calculation, there is a margin of 8,000 between the two, which will need reconciliation by the local government. Although widely known as a national granary, Karawang has been facing issues concerning the shift of land functions and the terrible welfare level of farmers. With respect to agrarian reform, it is apparent that the majority of farmers in Karawang are hedges, not landlords. Hedges in Karawang earns far under the minimum wage of factory employees; insufficient to fulfill daily necessities. However, even as landlords, cultivating their lands will not provide them with a normal livelihood since their lands are very cramped. This matter highly affects food security in Karawang Regency.

By issuing the land redistribution program, the government expects to prevent the shift of functions in agricultural lands. It aims to ensure the farmers' welfare even when they hold onto their occupations instead of changing jobs. Issues on farmers' welfare are a very crucial matter in Karawang Regency. Many farmers in Karawang live below the poverty lines; their income is below Rp 2,000,000.- (two million Rupiah) per month, although the minimum wage there was Rp 4,798,312.-. Even if a farmer owns agricultural land, it shall be far from 2 hectares as stipulated in Article 8 of the PRP Law. Farmers without or with very small ownership of land are a common sight in Karawang Regency, leaving them unproductive most of the time. There are indeed some people who hold ownership over a huge area of agricultural land, exceeding the maximum permissible amount, this, however, is a product of underhand transactions. A legal transaction will require people to appear before a notary to sign an authentic Sale and Purchase Deed and process land certificates through land deed officials and land agencies. Transactions exceeding the ownership limit will surely be left unprocessed, which deducibly argued that ownership of land exceeding the maximum permissible amount would most likely be illegal. Such an issue adds to the list of the injustices in the implementation of agrarian law, which should be the main purpose of why the agrarian reform is required. Nonetheless, a real-life implementation has no one solution that fits all, for instance, the problems of farm workers in Karawang extend to both LSD and LP2B, which makes it nearly impossible for the implementation of redistribution of TORA there.

A similar case occurred in NTT, where the agrarian reform is exercised through a food estate program. Agricultural lands in NTT are mostly owned by big companies, consisting of specific persons such as regional or central officials. The food estate program is considered a national strategic project, entitling the government to use national or regional state budget to develop various infrastructures to expedite the program implementation. Challenges in agrarian reform for NTT are the difficulties for the government to seek clear and clean TORA to be distributed to the farmers in need of land. For instance, lands

previously owned under cultivation rights are, more often than not, snatched by local people instead of the government. It is simply a matter of speedy occupancy where a safe land might turn into a disputed area and become unable to be distributed. From the 2 (two) research locations in Karawang and NTT, it may be concluded that the food security implementation in the two areas is not paying too much attention to agrarian reform policies. The government tends to focus on food production as its desired goal instead of an aspect of justice in the agrarian law in terms of ownership and control of the agricultural land to achieve national food security. Such a condition and problem possibly also occur in other locations in Indonesia.

Agricultural lands are protected by local laws concerning the surrounding RTRW and local spatial planning (RDTR). A shift of land function from agricultural land to other purposes is not impossible, provided that it is direly necessary for infrastructure development and public interests, such as for schools, government offices, hospitals, etcetera. For private interests, the shift of land function will need very stringent permission, a shift of agricultural lands to factories or housing may be made, provided that it has a positive impact on people's economy.⁴³ The government considers that the continuously occurring shift of agricultural land function by far leaves no significant effect on the national food security policy as in, against the government's target. Such a point of view is putting a pedestal on agricultural lands in Indonesia that cover much larger areas compared to those that have their functions already shifted. On the contrary, the authors view that the occurrences related to the farmers' welfare, such as in Karawang Regency and NTT Province as the objects of this research, are highly affecting the food security program instead. The issue is the most serious threat that the government might have against its food security program. If the government takes strategic policy-making to increase farmers' welfare seriously, then the shift of agricultural land functions will take control of its own course like wonders.

Agrarian reform principles may become one of many solutions available to increase the farmers' welfare. This means the rules and regulations concerning agrarian reform should have been etched with norms and principles of agrarian reform as affirmed in Article 5 of the Decree of People's Consultative Assembly No. IX of 2001.⁴⁴ All this while, the government is, in fact only focusing on achieving food security targets without including agrarian reform policies within. The authors consider that food security policy and agrarian reform should have integrated one another. As such, the ideal condition where food security is achieved through the execution of an agrarian reform program may be achieved. The two policies tend to run as separate entities all this time.⁴⁵ The government is more eager to take a quick and pragmatic approach to achieving food security without paying much attention to people's access to the ownership and control of agricultural lands. For such reasons, the authors view that it is necessary to craft a unification concept between food security and agrarian reform in one Ministerial department, particularly to eradicate sectoral ego and impediments from poor coordination. In that sense, the National Food

⁴³ Rofi Wahana and others, 'Public Participation by Optimizing Rural Spatial Planning to Prevent Functional Conversion of Agricultural Land to Non-Agricultural Use', *Universal Journal of Agricultural Research*, 9.5 (2021), 149-55 <https://doi.org/10.13189/ujar.2021.090501>

⁴⁴ Slamet Widodo, 'A Critical Review of Indonesia's Agrarian Reform Policy', *Journal of Regional and City Planning*, 28.3 (2017), 204-218 <https://doi.org/10.5614/jrcp.2017.28.3.4>

⁴⁵ Maribeth Cuevas Jadina and others, 'The Unfinished Implications of 'Finished' Land Reform: Local Experiences of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program in Leyte, Philippines', *Land Use Policy Journal*, 157 (2025), 1-11 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2025.107658>

Security Program will pay more attention to farmers' welfare. The authors consider that farmers must become their own landlords instead of just becoming farm workers. For the aforementioned reasons, the government must be capable of increasing the welfare of small farmers through the exercise of the agrarian reform program.

3.5 The Impact to Land Ownership and Farmers' Welfare for Food Security Policy in Indonesia

Why should the state grant land ownership rights to smallholder farmers? This is because, based on the concept of a welfare state, the state must expand its responsibility to improve public welfare.⁴⁶ In the context of agrarian reform, this involves granting land ownership rights for farmers to manage to improve their standard of living. Indonesia has chosen the concept of a welfare state as its national goal, as stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution. The measure of agrarian reform's success is the amount of land allocated to farmers and the extent to which this land has improved public welfare. The government should not be stingy in giving land to small farmers, as giving land to small farmers will improve their welfare, which in turn will support food security programs. Based on research, the Food Security Policy has not had a positive impact on smallholder land ownership and their welfare. The government focuses solely on increasing food production, while paying little attention to the distribution of agricultural land ownership to improve the welfare of smallholder farmers. Agricultural production is largely controlled by large farmers, landlords, capitalists, and large corporations. Smallholder farmers tend not to own agricultural land; their status is limited to farm laborers or simply cultivating other people's land. This is due to the failure to implement a fair and equitable distribution program for agricultural land within the framework of agrarian reform.

Based on field observations and interviews with farmers in Karawang Regency, agricultural land is predominantly controlled by landlords. Landowners purchase land from farmers without registering it or by not applying for land ownership certificates. This is done underground and without using the services of land deed officials. Even if a deed of sale is obtained, agricultural land is not registered. Thus, the state cannot detect landowners who exceed the maximum land ownership limit. Even if agricultural land purchased by a landlord is registered, it is registered in the company's name. As is known, in Indonesia there are no regulations governing the maximum land area a company can own. Land sales and purchases are conducted undercover to prevent landlords who own land exceeding the maximum land ownership limit from being detected by the government. A concrete solution is needed through digital mapping of agricultural land. Unregistered land will be visible on the digitally integrated land map. The government needs to establish an agrarian reform task force. The government, through the agrarian reform task force, can investigate landowners, both registered and unregistered. If the investigation reveals that the land is owned by a landlord who exceeds the maximum land ownership limit, the state can seize the land with compensation. Land acquisition with compensation can be applied to both registered and unregistered land, which is then distributed to smallholder farmers.

The task force can coordinate with the village, as it is the village that best understands the owners of agricultural land. Villages should accurately record land ownership, whether certified or not, and be aware of all land title transfers. The maximum agricultural land ownership limit is 20 hectares in rural areas. This is stipulated in Law No. 56/Prp/1960

⁴⁶Ahmad Siboy and others, 'Legal Social Justice in Appointment Non-Definitive Regional Heads toward Welfare State', Bestuur Journal, 11.1 (2023), 144-170, <https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v11i1.71055>

concerning the Determination of Agricultural Land Area. However, given Indonesia's increasingly dense population, there is a need to revise the maximum agricultural land limit in rural areas, for example by reducing it to 10 hectares. This is necessary to ensure fairness and equality in land ownership and control. This would eliminate the issue of farm laborers or farmers being left without agricultural land. Regulations are needed regarding the limits on land ownership by companies with building use rights or cultivation use rights. This means that if a company's land ownership exceeds the maximum limit, it can be expropriated by the state. Land allocation to smallholders could be made on unclaimed state land or on land with *Hak Guna Usaha* abandoned by its rights holder. Land distribution policies will increase land ownership for smallholders and ultimately impact their welfare.

Farmers' average monthly income should not be lower than that of factory workers; at a minimum, it should be equal to that of factory workers. If farmers earn less than factory workers, they will tend to sell their farmland and switch professions to become factory workers. This poses a serious threat to food security. Therefore, an effective solution to increase farmers' income is for the government to provide agricultural land to small farmers and assist in increasing agricultural production and marketing agricultural products. The government purchases agricultural products at high prices so that farmers can reap large profits. In welfare state theory, subsidies and market intervention are essential to improve farmers' welfare.

The government designates land given to farmers as permanent agricultural land, so it cannot be converted to non-agricultural use. When granting agricultural land, a letter of agreement must be provided stating that the farmer will not sell the agricultural land within a certain period of time, for example within ten years. Farmers promise to continue cultivating their agricultural land. Farmers also promise not to convert agricultural land to non-agricultural use. If the agreement is violated, the government has the right to take back the agricultural land that has been granted. The sale of agricultural land can only be carried out after the period specified in the agreement has expired and with the permission of the Ministry of Agriculture. Agricultural land can only be sold to small farmers at affordable prices.

4. Conclusion

Indonesia's current food security policy does not have a significant effect on the land ownership and welfare of the small farmers. The government wishes to achieve national food security through the increase of food production targets should also to pay attention to the aspect of justice in agrarian law, particularly in terms of the ownership and control of agricultural lands. Food security policies such as the food estate program, Protection of Agricultural Lands for Sustainable Food, and Protected Rice fields are only available to be controlled by big companies or landlords. Meanwhile the small farmers are left as workers without access to control and ownership of agricultural lands. This research comes with a concept that may resolve the issue by transferring the Directorate of Agrarian Management from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency to the Ministry of Agriculture. It will leave food security programs with no choice but to make farmers' welfare as its orientation. Such a single chain of command in the Ministerial department will ease the achievement of both food security and increase of people's welfare for the government. Issuance of land certificates shall still be under the authority of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency, yet the

determination of the subject to accept the lands and the one responsible for the increase of farmers' welfare shall be the Ministry of Agriculture. This is due to the fact that the management of access to increased productivity and marketing of agricultural produce are under the competency of the Ministry of Agriculture. The government must have the courage to take land from companies and landlords who own excess land beyond the maximum limit, or from unclaimed state land, and then give it to smallholder farmers. This is a concrete and implementable solution, so that food security programs can also impact land ownership and the well-being of smallholder farmers.

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