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The Effectiveness of Agrarian Reform Policy in Improving the Welfare of Farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul

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Abstract

Farmers' poverty is a structural problem that still dominates rural areas, including Beji Village, Gunungkidul Regency. This study aims to analyze the factors that cause farmers' poverty and evaluate the implementation of agrarian reform policies in efforts to alleviate poverty in the agricultural sector. The research method used is legal sociology with a normative and empirical approach through interviews and field observations. The results of the study show that farmer poverty is influenced by the agroecological conditions of karst areas that are prone to drought, limited land ownership, low access to capital and technology, limited human resource quality, and weak management of agricultural production facilities. The implementation of agrarian reform policies in Beji Village has provided benefits in the form of land access for farmers, but has not been optimal in reducing poverty due to legal uncertainty over land and limited post-agrarian reform access regulations. Therefore, agrarian reform needs to be integrated

with farmer empowerment policies in order to improve sustainable welfare.

Keywords

agrarian reform, farmer poverty, Beji Village.

A. Introduction

Agrarian reform is a strategic policy of the Indonesian government in its efforts to achieve social and economic justice, especially for farmers in rural areas. As an agrarian country, land control and ownership are the main foundations of farmers' welfare, but agrarian structural inequality remains a fundamental problem that has yet to be resolved.¹ Agrarian reform policy in Indonesia is not only interpreted as land redistribution, but also includes asset restructuring through land redistribution and asset legalization, as well as structuring access to economic resources for beneficiary communities.²

Within the national legal framework, Law No. 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Principles (UUPA) serves as the constitutional basis for the implementation of agrarian reform. The UUPA positions land as a means to achieve social justice, emphasizing the importance of legal certainty regarding land control and ownership for the people, especially farmers.³ This principle is further reinforced by Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation, which explicitly mandates two main pillars of agrarian reform, namely asset restructuring through land redistribution and asset legalization, as well as access restructuring through

¹ Gunawan, Wiradi. 2009. *Reforma Agraria Perjalanan yang belum Berakhir*. Bogor: Sayogyo Institute, hlm. 45.

² Sidqi, Faris Ali. "Efektivitas Reforma Agraria Dalam Mencapai Keadilan Dan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat." *AL-MIKRAJ Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora* 4, no. 02 (2024): 2070-2079.

³ Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-Pokok Agraria, Pasal 2 ayat (3).

community empowerment.⁴

Land redistribution as regulated in Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 is interpreted as a series of policies implemented by the government through the determination and distribution of state land originating from redistribution objects to parties entitled to receive it.⁵ Recipients of Agrarian Reform Land (TORA) are no longer limited to farmers, cultivators, and farm workers, but also include small fishermen, fish farmers, salt farmers, and individual micro-businesses.⁶ Meanwhile, asset legalization is understood as a mechanism for determining and recognizing land rights through formal land registration procedures, which result in land certificates as strong evidence of rights.⁷

Gunungkidul Regency, including Beji Village, is one of the priority locations for agrarian reform due to the high poverty rate and land ownership inequality in the region. Based on data from Beji Village, the total area of TORA land that has been handed over to farmers reaches 942.6496 hectares.⁸ However, the implementation of asset redistribution and legalization policies at the local level still faces various challenges, both from a technical, administrative, and institutional perspective.

Gunungkidul Regency is located in the southernmost part of the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province with an area of 1,485.36 km², or about 46.63% of the total area of the province. This region is dominated by limestone mountains

⁴ Peraturan Presiden Nomor 62 Tahun 2023 tentang Percepatan Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria, Pasal 1 angka 1.

⁵ Triandaru, Lina, Muslih Amberi, Tomi Oktavianoor, and Mohammad Fajar Hidayat. "Kolaborasi Stakeholder Dalam Reforma Agraria Dengan Pola Redistribusi Tanah di Kabupaten Hulu Sungai Selatan." *Kolaborasi: Jurnal Administrasi Publik* 7, no. 2 (2021): 201-216.

⁶ Saimar, Hamda Afsuri, Azmi Fendri, and Titin Fatimah. "Jalan Terjal Redistribusi Tanah Menuju Pemerataan Kepemilikan Hak Atas Tanah di Kabupaten Pasaman." *Tunas Agraria* 7, no. 2 (2024): 183-200.

⁷ Medaline, Onny, and Juli Moertiono. "Legalisasi Aset Tanah Transmigrasi Dalam Rangka Penguatan Reforma Agraria di Sumatera Utara." *Jurnal Ilmiah Penegakan Hukum* 10, no. 1 (2023): 21-32.

⁸ Wawancara dengan Bapak Gandung Surani (Jagabaya Kelurahan Beji), 13 Februari 2026.

stretching from west to east, which influences the shape and use of land in this area. The characteristics of the soil, which is not very fertile, coupled with limited water resources, make Gunungkidul a region with a fairly high poverty rate. This condition is exacerbated by the fact that around 90% of the population works as smallholder farmers who still face various obstacles, both in terms of natural resources, technology, and capital availability.⁹

In an effort to reduce inequality and poverty, the Indonesian government has rolled out an agrarian reform policy. Theoretically, agrarian reform is rooted in the concept of land reform, which focuses primarily on restructuring land ownership for the welfare of small farmers, land tenants, and landless farm workers.

The issue of agrarian reform occupies a systematic position in efforts to realize social and economic justice in various countries, including Indonesia. As a country blessed with vast natural resources, agrarian reform policy in Indonesia is not merely about the transfer of land rights, but is an important instrument for ensuring the proportional and equitable distribution and utilization of resources to support the welfare of the wider community.¹⁰ In its implementation, agrarian reform is directed at restructuring the system of control, ownership, use, and utilization of land, accompanied by strengthening community access, so that it is expected to promote the sustainable improvement of the welfare of the Indonesian people.

Law No. 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Principles occupies a fundamental position as the main basis for regulating land tenure and protecting farmers' rights. Within this framework, protection efforts are not only realized

⁹ Widodo, Aris Slamet, and Retno Wulandari. "Analisis pola konsumsi dan tingkat kerawanan pangan petani lahan kering di Kabupaten Gunungkidul (Studi kasus di desa Giritirto, Kecamatan Purwosari, Gunungkidul)." *AGRARIS: Journal of Agribusiness and Rural Development Research* 2, no. 2 (2016): 161-167.

¹⁰ Kasman, Mochammad. "Integrasi Hukum Agraria dan Lingkungan: Pendekatan Baru untuk Pembaharuan Kebijakan Sumber Daya Alam." *Locus Journal of Academic Literature Review* 4, no. 3 (2025): 186-196.

through the recognition and legal certainty of land ownership, but also include the prevention of arbitrary land grabbing, the provision of access to financing, and the strengthening of farmers' economic capacity.

In addition to Law No. 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Principles, there is also Law No. 19 of 2013 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Farmers. Law No. 19 of 2013 serves as an important legal basis that comprehensively regulates efforts to protect and strengthen the capacity of farmers in Indonesia. The establishment of this regulation is a policy measure designed to address the structural vulnerability that has long been inherent in the farmer community, which is often at a disadvantage in the national development process. Through this regulation, farmers are positioned not merely as the targets of development programs, but as legal subjects with constitutional rights that must be protected, respected, and empowered by the state.

The Central Government, Local Governments, together with the Regional Offices of the National Land Agency and Land Offices, including those in Bantul Regency and Gunungkidul Regency, have a strong commitment to realizing the implementation of agrarian reform. These efforts are aimed at achieving a number of objectives, including reducing imbalances in land control and ownership in order to achieve justice; resolving agrarian disputes and conflicts; developing progress and community welfare based on agrarian matters through the structuring of land control, ownership, use, and utilization; creating jobs to reduce poverty; expanding community access to economic resources; strengthening food security and sovereignty; and maintaining and improving the quality of the environment, as stipulated in Article 2 of Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023.¹¹

Based on these considerations, in 2009, the Government together with the House of Representatives (DPR) enacted

¹¹ Nugroho, Aristiono, Suharno Suharno, Sri Kistiyah, and Setiowati Setiowati. "Problematika Reforma Agraria Di Kabupaten Bantul Dan Kabupaten Gunung Kidul, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta." (2020): 93-112.

Law No. 41 of 2009 concerning the Protection of Sustainable Food Agricultural Land (LP2B). This law aims to control the conversion of rice fields in order to maintain national food security. Law No. 5 of 1960 concerning Agrarian Principles (UUPA) and Law No. 41 of 2009 concerning LP2B are complementary, whereby Agrarian Reform regulates land ownership and control limits, while the LP2B Law focuses on protecting productive agricultural land from conversion to non-agricultural uses. Although land ownership and control may change, the main function of the land remains agricultural.

However, even though the agrarian reform policy has been in place for several years, its impact on alleviating poverty among farmers, especially in Beji Village, Gunungkidul Regency, is still considered suboptimal. Programs related to agrarian reform often face various challenges, whether technical, institutional, or social.

A number of previous studies have examined farmer poverty and the implementation of agrarian reform policies in various regions. In a study entitled *The Effect of Agrarian Policy on Farmer Welfare: A Case Study in East Java*, written by Normalia Sari, Rismayana Salsa Amini, Arya Genta Proma Ismeini, and Asnawi Mubarak, discusses the impact of agrarian policy on farmer welfare in East Java, emphasizing that agrarian policy has a strategic role in national development, particularly in efforts to improve the welfare of agrarian communities. The results of the study show that the implementation of agrarian policy in East Java has generally had a positive impact, such as increased farmer income, better access to resources, and improved social conditions. However, the study also found significant obstacles, such as complex bureaucracy and limited infrastructure support, which hamper the effectiveness of these policies.

Then, in a study entitled *Legality of Assets and Land Management as Strengthening Agrarian Reform: A Study of Improving the Welfare of Smallholder Farmers* written by Radhityas Kharisma and Padhina Pangestika Nuryasinta discusses the role of asset legality and land management in strengthening agrarian reform, particularly its impact on the welfare of smallholder farmers in Indonesia. The main

objective of this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of regulations that support farmer empowerment and formulate integrative strategies to promote sustainable agrarian justice. The results show that programs such as the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) play an important role in accelerating the legalization of land assets, but have not fully addressed the challenges of legal uncertainty and weak land management. Legal land ownership has been proven to increase smallholder farmers' access to financing and subsidies, while good land management contributes to increased productivity and sustainability. To realize inclusive agrarian reform, cross-sectoral synergy is needed through bureaucratic simplification, fair land redistribution, technical training, strengthening the role of the National Land Agency (BPN), and developing community-based land management models.

Unlike previous studies, this study focuses on the empirical conditions of farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul Regency, by critically examining the relationship between land tenure structures, the implementation of agrarian reform, and the reality of farmer poverty. This approach is important for understanding how agrarian policies work in local contexts with specific natural and social characteristics, as well as for assessing the extent to which agrarian reform functions as a substantive instrument for poverty alleviation.

This study applies a sociological-juridical approach, which is a research method that views law not merely as written rules, but as a social reality that functions and develops in the life of society.¹² In this study, sociological jurisprudence is used to assess how legal provisions such as Law No. 5 of 1960 concerning Agrarian Principles (UUPA), Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation, and several other regulations are actually implemented in the field. This approach allows researchers to see the extent to which agrarian reform policies are understood, implemented, and felt to be beneficial by farmers.

¹² Huda, Muhammad Chairul. *Metode Penelitian Hukum*. The Mahfud Ridwan Institue: Semarang. 2021. Hlm. 21

In this study, the data sources used consist of two main categories, namely primary data and secondary data, in accordance with the characteristics of the sociological juridical method, which combines normative studies and empirical findings in the field. Primary data in this study was collected through direct interviews with village officials and farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul, to find out how agrarian reform policies and provisions in Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Agrarian Principles (UUPA), Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation, and several other regulations are implemented and felt to be beneficial by the community. In addition, field observations were conducted to see the condition of the land, its utilization, and the real socio-economic situation of farmers. Secondary data in this study was collected through literature searches covering laws and regulations, reference books, and scientific journal articles relevant to agrarian reform and farmer welfare.

Data collection in this study was conducted using interviews and direct observation. Interviews were used to obtain information directly from village officials and farmers in Beji Village, so that researchers could understand their experiences, perceptions, and the obstacles they faced. Observations were made by observing field conditions, such as land use patterns, physical conditions of agriculture, and the socio-economic situation of the village community, so that researchers could see firsthand how policies were implemented.

Based on this background, the following research questions were formulated: what factors influence the poverty of farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul, and how are agrarian reform policies implemented and what role do they play in poverty alleviation programs in the agricultural sector?

B. Implementation and role of agrarian reform policies in poverty alleviation programs in the agricultural sector

Agricultural development plays a very strategic role in the national development structure, not only because of its role in

providing food, but also as a sector that is directly related to the livelihoods of most of the rural population. In the rural socio-economic structure, agriculture is the main foundation of community economic activity as well as a space for the survival of community groups with limited access to education, capital, and employment opportunities in the formal sector. Therefore, the condition of the agricultural sector often reflects the overall welfare of rural communities.

Although the role of the agricultural sector in gross domestic product formation tends to decline in line with economic transformation, its role in absorbing labor remains significant. This phenomenon shows a structural imbalance between the ability of the non-agricultural sector to create jobs and the socioeconomic reality of rural communities that are still highly dependent on agriculture. As a result, the agricultural sector often becomes the last resort for workers who have been excluded from other sectors, even though the income generated is only around Rp300,000 per harvest, which is relatively low and unstable.

Under these conditions, the issue of farmer poverty becomes inseparable from discussions on the agricultural sector. High dependence on natural resources, limited land ownership, and fluctuations in production make farmers an economically vulnerable group. When the agricultural sector functions more as an absorber of labor than as a source of welfare, the problem of poverty in rural areas tends to be structural and sustainable.

The agricultural sector still occupies a strategic position in the national employment structure, especially for people living in rural areas. For most rural residents, agriculture not only serves as the main source of livelihood, but also as a buffer for household finances when other sectors are unable to provide adequate employment opportunities. Data from the Central Statistics Agency in 2025 shows that the agricultural sector recorded the largest increase in the number of employed people, namely 0.49 million people in August 2025. Around 90% of the population work as farmers. This figure confirms that the agricultural sector is still the main source of employment, especially for groups with relatively limited

education and skills.¹³

However, the high contribution of the agricultural sector to employment is not always directly proportional to the welfare of those involved in it. Limited access to agricultural land is a fundamental problem faced by farmers and farm workers, especially in rural areas. Without adequate and sustainable land ownership, many farmers are in a vulnerable position, with unstable incomes that are highly dependent on the planting season. This condition causes farmers and farm workers to often be trapped in a cycle of recurring poverty and face the risk of seasonal unemployment, especially during times of famine or crop failure.¹⁴

The poverty of farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul Regency, cannot be understood in simple or partial terms, but must be viewed from various structural, ecological, and economic dimensions. Farmers say that one of the main factors exacerbating poverty is the natural environment, which is not conducive to farming.¹⁵ Geographically, Gunungkidul, including Beji Village, is located on karst terrain with highly porous soil, so rainwater quickly seeps into the ground and is difficult to store as surface water reserves.

This condition is in line with the findings of the Ministry of Agriculture, which show that areas with high dependence on rain-fed agriculture have a greater vulnerability to poverty due to climate fluctuations and the risk of crop failure. These agroecological conditions have a direct impact on the farming patterns and productivity of the community.¹⁶ Farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul, say that farming

¹³ Badan Pusat Statistik. 2025. Tingkat Pengangguran Terbuka (TPT) sebesar 4,85 persen. Rata-Rata Upah Buruh sebesar 3,33 juta rupiah. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/pressrelease/2025/11/05/2479/tingkat-pengangguran-terbuka-tpt-sebesar-4-85-persen-rata-rata-upah-buruh-sebesar-3-33-juta-rupiah.html>

¹⁴ Yudhi, Rifka, F. X. Sumarja, and Adam Muhammad Yanis. "Kebijakan Reforma Agraria Terhadap Potensi Keterserapan Angkatan Kerja di Sektor Pertanian." *Jurnal Terekam Jejak* 3, no. 2 (2025): 33-45.

¹⁵ Hasil wawancara dengan Ibu Purwanti, Ibu Karjiyem, dan Ibu Suparti.

¹⁶ Pusat Sosial Ekonomi dan Kebijakan Pertanian, Sekretariat Jenderal Kementerian Pertanian. 2019. *Permasalahan, Tantangan dan Kebijakan Pembangunan Pertanian 2020-2024*. Policy Brief.

activities are highly dependent on rainfall, meaning that planting can only be done during certain seasons, while during the dry season, agricultural areas tend to be underutilized. Recurring seasonal droughts not only reduce crop yields but also increase the risk of crop failure and crop loss.¹⁷ As a result, farmers' incomes become highly volatile and unable to sustain household economic needs. In the case of Beji Village, these agroecological conditions exacerbate the economic vulnerability of small-scale farmers who depend primarily on income from agricultural activities for their livelihoods. In this situation, in Beji Village, Gunungkidul, natural limitations often reinforce the structural vulnerability that farmers have experienced previously. Farmers with limited land and without the support of water management technology, such as irrigation or rainwater harvesting, find it increasingly difficult to increase land productivity.

In addition to natural factors, farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul, say that the structure of land ownership and the limited use of small agricultural plots also contribute to the poverty of farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul. Although 60% of 90% of farmers own or manage land from the government and forest areas (TORA), the limited land area and the production orientation that is still dominant for self-consumption result in relatively small economic returns. Jagabaya Kelurahan Desa Beji, Gunungkidul, said that the total area of TORA land that has been handed over to farmers is 942.6495 hectares.¹⁸ The percentage of certificate ownership among TORA recipient farmers is 1/3. However, the land managed by farmers generally varies in size, some large and some small, with an average of around 300 meters, but this is generally used to meet family needs, not as a main source of income through commercial production. Small land ownership without increased productivity and added value will result in what is known as a subsistence trap, a condition

¹⁷ Nurhaliza, Siti. 2025. Dampak Perubahan Pola Hujan di Indonesia, Apa Saja? <https://amf.or.id/2025/07/dampak-perubahan-pola-hujan/>

¹⁸ Hasil wawancara dengan Bapak Gandung Surani selaku Jagabaya Kelurahan Desa Beji, Gunungkidul.

in which farmers work continuously but are unable to escape poverty.¹⁹ This condition shows that land ownership or access alone is not enough to alleviate poverty if it is not accompanied by strategies to increase production capacity and farm management.

The next factor is the high cost of production and limited access to capital and modern agricultural technology. Farmers still rely on manufactured fertilizers that cost Rp. 135,000, which is relatively expensive, and simple agricultural tools, resulting in low production efficiency. With limited capital, 40% of farmers are forced to rely on loans from middlemen or loan sharks in Beji Village, Gunungkidul, which ultimately increases their economic burden and deepens their poverty. Limited capital and technology prevent farmers from expanding their businesses or increasing productivity, which ultimately reduces their net income.

From a social and human resources perspective, the low level of education among farmers, which only reaches elementary and junior high school levels, is an important factor that reinforces structural poverty. Most farmers in Beji Village only have a basic education, so their ability to access market information, agricultural technology, and government policies is relatively limited. The level of education has a direct impact on an individual's ability to increase productivity and adapt to change. Although there are training and assistance programs through farmer groups, their intensity and sustainability are still insufficient to significantly transform farmers' knowledge and skills.

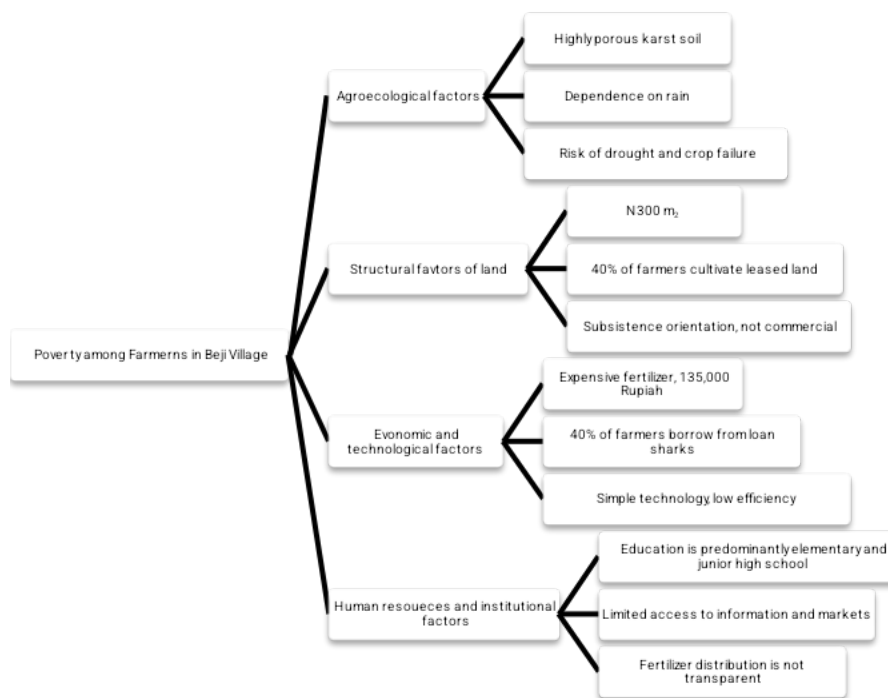
In addition, weak governance of the distribution of agricultural inputs, particularly fertilizers, has exacerbated the economic conditions of farmers. Field findings show problems such as farmers experiencing fertilizer shortages three years ago, non-transparent distribution, and the circulation of fake fertilizers obtained from middlemen, indicating institutional problems in the local agricultural

¹⁹ Mappatunru, A., and Sriwiyata Ismail Zainuddin. "Dari Primitive Accumulation ke Intimate Exclusion: Dinamika Kelas dalam Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit di Kabupaten Mamuju Tengah." *Journal of Humanity and Social Justice* (2025): 85-105.

system. Weak agricultural support institutions increase transaction costs and business risks, which ultimately further reduce the welfare of small farmers.

Overall, the poverty of farmers in Beji Village is the result of an interaction between natural factors, structural limitations on land ownership, low capital and technology, limited human resource quality, and weak agricultural governance. Therefore, the problem of farmer poverty cannot be overcome through a sectoral or partial approach alone. Comprehensive and integrated policies are needed, in which agrarian reform is not only interpreted as the restructuring of assets in the form of access to and legal certainty over land, but must also be followed by the restructuring of access through the strengthening of farmer institutions, increased production capacity, capital support, and improved governance of the agricultural sector. With this approach, agrarian reform can function more optimally as an instrument for alleviating farmer poverty and sustainable rural development.

Chart 1 Factors Contributing to Poverty in Beji Village



Source: Researcher Analysis

Based on the responsive law theory developed by Philippe Nonet and Philip Selznick, the success of a legal policy is measured by its ability to respond to the substantive needs of society.²⁰ The finding that agrarian reform has not significantly improved the welfare of farmers indicates that policy implementation has not been fully responsive to the

²⁰ Ulum, Wizdan. 2025. *Pembentukan Hukum yang Responsif Terhadap Perubahan*. <https://stekom.ac.id/artikel/pembentukan-hukum-yang-responsif-terhadap-perubahan#:~:text=Konsep%20Hukum%20Responsif%20Hukum%20responsif%20merupakan%20teori,dan%20penerapan%20hukum%20untuk%20mencapai%20keadilan%20substatif>.

socioeconomic conditions of farmers in Beji Village.

Uncertainty regarding land tenure also hinders the achievement of welfare objectives, because without clear legal guarantees, farmers do not feel secure in managing their land productively.

C. The Role of Agrarian Reform Policy in Poverty Alleviation in Beji Village, Gunungkidul

Agrarian reform or land tenure reform is seen as a strategic instrument in promoting successful development, given that land tenure and access to land play a crucial role in supporting social and economic development, poverty alleviation efforts, and the sustainability of environmental functions.²¹ Land not only functions as a primary means of production, but also has inherent social value as a source of wealth, a symbol of social status, and a basis of power in community life.²²

Based on the provisions of Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 62 of 2023, agrarian reform is understood as a comprehensive effort to reform the system of land control, ownership, use, and utilization in order to create justice.²³ This process does not only focus on the restructuring of land assets, but is also accompanied by strengthening community access to supporting resources, so that land can be optimally utilized to achieve the welfare of all Indonesian people.²⁴

According to Krishna Ghimire, agrarian reform or land

²¹ Yudhistira, Aldo Putra, Lego Karjoko, and I. Gusti Ayu Ketut Rachmi Handayani. "Implementasi Kebijakan Reforma Agraria di Kelurahan Mojo, Kecamatan Pasar Kliwon." In *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Program Doktor Ilmu Hukum*, pp. 223-232. 2025.

²² Tarfi, Akhyar. "Reforma agraria sebagai jalan menuju perdamaian yang berkelanjutan di Aceh." *BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria dan Pertanahan* (2022): 210-225.

²³ Peraturan Presiden Nomor 86 Tahun 2018 tentang Percepatan Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria.

²⁴ Sihaholo, Martua, and Rai Sita. "Hubungan Reforma Agraria dengan Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Rumah Tangga Petani." *Jurnal Sains Komunikasi Dan Pengembangan Masyarakat [JSKPM]* 5, no. 3 (2021): 433-449.

tenure reform is a fundamental transformation of the agrarian system that aims to expand opportunities for small and poor farmers to obtain and control land securely. This change does not only concern land ownership, but also includes strengthening management rights and supporting farmers' access to agricultural production facilities, marketing networks, support services, and various other forms of assistance needed to improve their welfare.²⁵

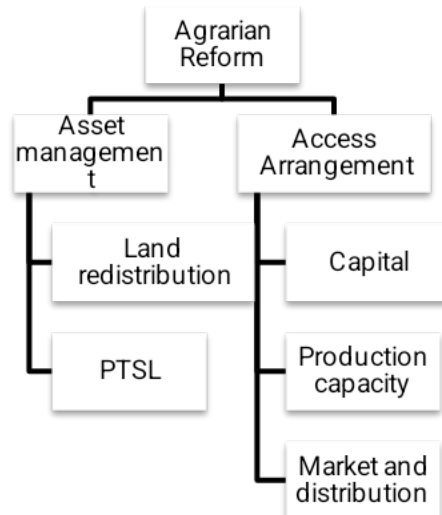
Agrarian reform is essentially not only interpreted as the redistribution of land, but also as a comprehensive effort to improve unequal access to and rights over land. This strategy is expected to be a solution in realizing a more equitable distribution of land as the basis for creating prosperity and social justice.²⁶ The Agrarian Reform Policy was formulated as an instrument to alleviate poverty in rural areas, encourage improvements in people's living standards, and ensure clear legal recognition of land management and control, whether privately owned, controlled by the state, or public land used for common purposes.²⁷

²⁵ Wicaksono, Arditya, and Yudha Purbawa. "Hutang negara dalam reforma agraria studi implementasi mandat 9 juta hektar tanah Indonesia." *BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria dan Pertanahan* 4, no. 1 (2018): 24-38.

²⁶ Krismantoro, Damianus. "Kebijakan Pencegahan dan Pemberantasan Mafia Tanah: Reforma Agraria di Indonesia." *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan* 6, no. 3 (2022): 6031-6042.\

²⁷ Sulistyaningsih, Retno. "Reforma Agraria di Indonesia." *Perspektif* 26, no. 1 (2021): 57-64.

Chart 2 Agrarian Reform Framework



Source: Researcher Analysis

The agrarian reform policy, as mandated in Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023, has three main pillars. The first pillar is land redistribution, which is a series of policies implemented by the government through the determination and distribution of state land originating from redistribution objects to parties entitled to receive it. The Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform expands the criteria for agrarian reform subjects as recipients of Agrarian Reform Land (TORA).²⁸ TORA recipients are no longer limited to farmers, cultivators, permanent farm workers, and permanent workers, but also include other professional groups, such as small-scale fishermen, traditional fishermen and fishing workers, small-scale fish farmers, cultivators of cultivated land, small salt farmers, workers in the salt industry, individual micro-businesses, and other types of work determined by the minister as chair of the national agrarian reform acceleration team.

The second pillar is asset legalization. Based on the

²⁸ Nurhamani, Aditya. "Reforma Agraria Dan Tembok Ego Sektoral: Merumuskan Alternatif Penyelesaian." *Bina Hukum Lingkungan* 8, no. 2 (2024): 189-213.

provisions of Law Number 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration, the concept of legalization is understood as an official action taken by a government agency or official to certify copies of government administrative documents so that they are legally valid.²⁹ In the implementation of agrarian reform, the concept of asset legalization is understood as a mechanism for determining and recognizing land rights through a formal land registration procedure.³⁰ Through this process, rights holders will obtain land certificates issued by the National Land Agency as the institution authorized to carry out the registration and legalization of land rights.

Based on field research, the implementation of agrarian reform policies in Beji Village, Gunungkidul Regency, shows a discrepancy between the established legal regulations and their actual application. The Basic Agrarian Law No. 5 of 1960 explicitly positions land as a means to achieve social justice, emphasizing the importance of legal certainty regarding land control and ownership for the people, especially farmers. This principle should be realized through the restructuring of land ownership and the provision of clear legal guarantees for land managed by the community.³¹ However, the findings reveal that many farmers in Beji Village still access land through short-term or annual lease mechanisms. The number of farmers who lease land is around 40% of the 90% of the population of Beji Village, Gunungkidul, who work as farmers. This pattern of land control places farmers in an unstable position, because the sustainability of land management is highly dependent on lease agreements that can end at any time. This condition indicates that the normative objective of the Basic Agrarian Law to create certainty and protection of land rights is still only partially implemented effectively at the local level.

²⁹ Undang-Undang Nomor 30 Tahun 2014 tentang Administrasi Pemerintahan.

³⁰ Iyrodiah, Nufkah, and Asmarani Ramli. "Indikasi Mafia Tanah Pasca Pelaksanaan Pendaftaran Tanah Sistematis Lengkap (PTSL) di Kota Pekalongan." *Bookchapter Hukum dan Lingkungan 1* (2025): 1258-1284.

³¹ Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 tentang Pokok-Pokok Agraria.

Based on data obtained from the Beji Village Office through an interview with Mr. Gandung Surani as Jagabaya on February 13, 2026, the implementation of land redistribution in Beji Village has been ongoing for the past few years. The total area of land designated as Agrarian Reform Object Land (TORA) in Beji Village reaches 942.6496 hectares. The details of the redistribution and legalization of assets in Beji Village are presented in the following table.

Table 1 TORA Land Redistribution Data

Indicator	Total	Data Sources
Total area TORA	942,6496 Ha	Beji Village Data
Number of TORA beneficiaries	503 people	Estimate based on formula: $166 \div 33\%$
Average land area per beneficiary	1,87 Ha/person	Calculation: $942.6496 \text{ Ha} \div 503 \text{ people}$
Certified land parcels	166 parcels	Interview with Mr. Gandung Surani
Percentage of certificate	33%	Calculation: $(166 \div 503) \times 100\%$
TORA beneficiaries without certificates	337 people	Difference: $503 - 166$

Source: Data from Beji Village and interview with Mr. Gandung Surani (Head of Beji Village), February 13, 2026³²

Based on the data in Table 3, it can be seen that although the area of TORA land distributed is quite significant (942.6496 hectares), the achievement of asset legalization through land certification is still limited. Only about one-third of the total TORA recipients (166 out of 503 people) have obtained land certificates, while the remaining 337 people (67%) are still in the process or facing administrative obstacles. This shows that the asset structuring pillar of agrarian reform, particularly asset legalization, has not been optimally implemented at the local level.

³² Peneliti tidak memperoleh data absolut jumlah penerima karena keterbatasan akses terhadap dokumen administratif di tingkat BPN maupun Kelurahan. Angka yang disajikan merupakan estimasi berdasarkan data yang tersedia dan wawancara dengan perangkat desa.

From the perspective of Gustav Radbruch's theory of legal certainty, legal certainty requires clear, consistent, and enforceable rules.³³ The slow process of land certification in Beji Village indicates that the goal of legal certainty over land tenure as mandated by the Basic Agrarian Law has not been fully realized. As a result, TORA beneficiary farmers do not yet have strong legal guarantees over the land they cultivate, which in turn hinders their willingness to make long-term investments in agricultural businesses.

In addition, the study also shows that the process of land redistribution and certification in Beji Village has been relatively slow. Land data collection and administrative control were only carried out three months ago, even though some of the land, covering an area of approximately 500 meters, has long been managed by farmers. To date, the farmers who manage the forest have still not received their certificates. This situation means that legal certainty over land has not been fully realized by farmers as cultivators or landowners. This uncertainty has a direct impact on farmers' reluctance to make long-term investments in agriculture, such as improving land quality, using agricultural technology, or developing higher-value commodities. Without clear legal guarantees, farmers tend to manage their land minimally and focus on the short term to avoid the risk of losing the land they have cultivated.

Furthermore, the existence of Law No. 19 of 2013 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Farmers provides a solid legal basis for the role of the state not only in protecting farmers from structural vulnerabilities, but also in empowering them through the provision of access to means of production, financing, assistance, and guarantees for farming businesses. Farmers say that the agrarian reform policy has opened up farmers' access to agricultural land, but the empowerment aspect as mandated by the law is still

³³ Aulia, Keysha Nashwa, Ayu Lestari, Lika Mulki Latief, and Noerma Kurnia Fajarwati. "Kepastian hukum dan keadilan hukum dalam pandangan ilmu komunikasi." *Journal Sains Student Research 2*, no. 1 (2024): 713-724.

limited. The limited intensity of assistance means that farmers have not yet fully received adequate technical and managerial support in managing their land productively. In addition, problems in fertilizer distribution, such as scarcity and distribution practices that are considered lacking in transparency, also hamper agricultural productivity. This condition shows that agrarian reform that only focuses on asset restructuring without being balanced with optimal access restructuring has not been able to provide maximum impact on improving farmers' welfare.

Furthermore, Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2023 on the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform emphasizes that agrarian reform must be implemented through two main pillars, namely asset restructuring and access restructuring. Asset restructuring is realized through land redistribution and asset legalization, while access restructuring includes post-agrarian reform support in the form of capital facilitation, capacity building, institutional strengthening, and access to markets. The findings of the study in Beji Village show that policy implementation is still more dominant in the aspect of land tenure, while access management has not been optimally implemented. The slow process of land certification and limited economic support mean that agrarian reform has the potential to stop at the administrative level and has not yet fully functioned as an instrument for poverty alleviation.

In 2022 and 2023, a total of 166 plots of land were distributed to the community under the PTSL program. However, the Beji sub-district office encountered technical and administrative obstacles, such as difficulties in tracing the origin of the land or tracking letter C due to damaged books, as well as land data that had not been entered into register C. Another obstacle was the multiple transfers of ownership prior to the certification process, which also made it difficult to trace the origin of the land. The final obstacle is incomplete documentation, such as when heirs need ID card data but are located outside the city and are difficult to contact.

Farmers with less than 0.5 hectares of land still dominate both before and after agrarian reform. There has been no change in the status of farmers who do not own land,

nor has there been a significant increase in land area for smallholder farmers after the policy was implemented. Thus, agrarian reform in this case has not been able to change the unequal structure of land ownership. The distribution of land ownership and use in the community remains relatively the same, with corn and cassava plantations accounting for about 50% of the land, rice fields accounting for about 30%, and vacant land accounting for about 20%.

On the other hand, the results of the study also show that the agrarian reform policy has provided tangible benefits for farmers in Beji Village. Access to agricultural land, both privately owned and government-owned, provides opportunities for farmers to continue their agricultural production activities and earn an income. Farmers said that the existence of cultivated land plays an important role in supporting their daily needs and helping to improve their families' welfare, even though this improvement has not been able to lift them out of poverty completely. Farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul, also said that underprivileged families receive assistance from the government amounting to Rp. 300,000 per month.

The use of land for cultivating food crops such as rice, corn, beans, and coconuts allows farmers to not only meet their household consumption needs but also earn additional income from the sale of their harvest. The existence of farmer groups and technical assistance, although still limited, contributes to developing farmers' capacity by strengthening their understanding and technical skills in the use and management of agricultural land. This shows that agrarian reform in Beji Village has basically been implemented and its benefits have been felt by the community, especially in maintaining the sustainability of agricultural activities and farmers' livelihoods.

Thus, it can be concluded that the implementation of agrarian reform policies in Beji Village has provided a basis for improving farmers' welfare, although it has not been fully optimal in alleviating poverty. However, strengthening legal certainty regarding land control and ownership, accelerating the process of land redistribution and certification, and improving access through continuous assistance and more

transparent management of production facilities are important steps that need to be taken. Without strengthening these aspects, agrarian reform risks only producing short-term benefits and failing to drive sustainable structural change for the lives of farmers in Beji Village.

Table 2 Normative vs Empirical Comparison of Agrarian Reform Policy Implementation

Aspects of Study	Normative Provisions	Empirical Findings in Beji Village	Implementation Gap
Land tenure	Legal certainty through redistribution and certification	40% of farmers still rent land; slow certification (3-month data collection process)	Legal uncertainty hinders long-term investment
Policy objectives	Improving welfare and social justice	Income is fluctuating; has not yet emerged from structural poverty	Agrarian reform is not yet optimal as an instrument for poverty alleviation
Asset structuring	Redistribution and PTSL	166 certified plots (2022-2023); many administrative obstacles (damaged Letter C, incomplete documents)	Coverage is not yet evenly distributed; bureaucratic processes are complicated
Access Arrangement	Facilitation of capital, technology, markets, assistance	Fertilizer distribution is not transparent; assistance is limited; 40% of farmers borrow from loan sharks.	Access after agrarian reform is weak.
Institutional coordination	Cross-sector integration (BPN,	Fragmentation of authority; communication	Overlapping policies and procedures

	Agriculture Office, Village Administration)	between agencies is not optimal	
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Source: Researcher Analysis

The uneven distribution of assets shows that agrarian reform policies have not been fully responsive to smallholder farmers, who are precisely the group most in need of legal protection and access to agrarian resources.

D. Policy Integration and Strategic Recommendations

The implementation of agrarian reform policies in efforts to alleviate farmer poverty essentially requires the integration of policies that are not partial in nature, but rather complementary between legal, economic, and social aspects. Agrarian reform as a structural policy cannot be understood merely as a reorganization of land control and ownership, but must be positioned as a gateway to sustainable improvement in farmer welfare. Land, as the main asset in the agricultural sector, has interrelated economic, social, and legal values, so the success of agrarian reform is largely determined by the extent to which this policy is able to address the structural issues that have long shackled farmers' lives.

The economic empowerment of rural communities is directed as a strategy to strengthen the economic capacity and independence of villagers through the provision of opportunities, knowledge enhancement, and utilization of various resources needed to optimize local economic potential. Economic empowerment is not only related to increasing income, but also includes strengthening the knowledge, skills, and capacity of communities in utilizing and managing available resource potential. Through providing access to capital, technology, market information, and business assistance, local economic potential can be optimized more effectively. Essentially, the economic empowerment of rural communities is aimed at reducing poverty, expanding employment opportunities, and creating

sustainable improvements in the quality of life of the community.³⁴

In Beji Village, Gunungkidul Regency, land tenure reform through redistribution and asset legalization needs to be accompanied by supporting policies that can address the fundamental problems faced by farmers, such as limited capital, low land productivity, poor access to agricultural markets, and a lack of business assistance, which remain major obstacles to improving farmers' welfare. Without the integration of these policies, agrarian reform has the potential to stop at the administrative level and not fully impact the improvement of farmers' socioeconomic conditions.

Furthermore, the integration of agrarian reform policies with farmer empowerment and agricultural sector development programs is crucial to achieving the goal of poverty alleviation. Asset restructuring in the form of providing legal certainty over land through certification must be followed by access restructuring, such as capital facilitation, technical agricultural training, strengthening farmer institutions, and opening access to the distribution and marketing chains for agricultural products. At this point, coordinated cooperation between the national government and local governments plays a strategic role, especially in ensuring that national agrarian reform policies can be implemented in accordance with the characteristics and needs of local communities. Cross-sector and cross-agency coordination, such as between the National Land Agency, the Gunungkidul District Office, and village officials, is key to avoiding policy overlap and ensuring that agrarian and agricultural programs run effectively and on target.

The division of authority is often not optimally coordinated between government agencies. In practice, land management and regulation involves many institutional actors, ranging from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, local governments, to other institutions that have sectoral authority. This condition often causes

³⁴ Putri, Lisa Aulia, and Sam'un Mukramin. "Kemiskinan Masyarakat Petani di Desa Bone, Kec. Bajeng, Kab. Gowa." *TUTURAN: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, Sosial dan Humaniora* 1, no. 3 (2023): 102-121.

overlapping policies and administrative procedures, which ultimately creates uncertainty for farmers and hinders the effective implementation of land redistribution.³⁵

Therefore, strengthening governance that emphasizes the principles of coordination, integration, and accountability is an urgent need in the implementation of agrarian reform. Clarity in the division of authority, synchronization of regulations, and continuous communication between agencies are key to ensuring that agrarian reform policies are not implemented in a sectoral and fragmented manner. With solid coordination between the central and regional governments, agrarian reform can not only provide legal certainty over land, but also serve as an instrument for empowering farmers and promoting equitable and sustainable rural development.

Based on these conditions, a more comprehensive policy strategy oriented towards empowering farmers as the main subjects of agrarian reform is needed. The post-agrarian reform stages need to be strengthened through continuous assistance so that farmers who receive land are able to manage their land optimally and independently. In addition, the active involvement of the community and local institutions in the planning, implementation, and supervision of agrarian policies is important so that the policies implemented are not merely top-down, but truly reflect the needs and socio-economic realities of farmers. Thus, agrarian reform not only functions as an instrument for equitable land ownership, but also as a strategic means of reducing poverty, increasing farmer independence, and promoting equitable and sustainable agricultural development.

In the responsive law perspective developed by Philippe Nonet and Philip Selznick, the effectiveness of law depends heavily on the ability of institutions to translate norms into

³⁵ Ramadhan, M. Arif, Muhammad Akbar Azhari, Muhammad Fikri, Reksi Satriawan, and M. Yamani. "Tinjauan Yuridis Reforma Agraria dalam Perspektif Perlindungan Hukum Petani." *J-CEKI: Jurnal Cendekia Ilmiah* 3, no. 6 (2024): 8699-8705.

concrete actions that meet the needs of the community.³⁶ Policy fragmentation and weak inter-agency coordination indicate that the implementation of agrarian reform has not been supported by responsive governance.

Weak policy coordination also results in unclear administrative procedures, which ultimately prolongs legal uncertainty for farmers regarding the status and rights of the land they manage.

E. Conclusion

Referring to the overall results of the study and the discussion presented, it can be concluded that the poverty of farmers in Beji Village, Gunungkidul Regency, is a multidimensional and structural problem. This poverty is not solely determined by economic factors, but is also influenced by natural conditions, land ownership and utilization structures, limited capital and technology, low quality of human resources, and weak governance of the agricultural sector. The characteristics of the Beji Village area, which is located in a karst region with high dependence on rain-fed agriculture, result in relatively low agricultural productivity and unstable farmer incomes. This condition is exacerbated by the narrow area of cultivated land, production orientation that is still predominantly for household consumption, high production costs, limited access to production facilities and capital, and problems with fertilizer distribution, thereby strengthening the economic vulnerability of small farmers.

Regarding the implementation of agrarian reform policies, this study shows that these policies have benefited farmers, particularly in terms of opening access to agricultural land and maintaining the sustainability of production activities. Based on field data, the total area of TORA land distributed in Beji Village reached 942.6496 hectares, with an estimated 503 recipients and an average land ownership of 1.87

³⁶ Nonet, Philippe dan Philip Selznick. 2018. *Hukum Responsif*. Bandung: Nusa Media.
https://lib.ummetro.ac.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=10795#:~:text=Hukum%20responsif%20adalah%20teori%20hukum,terhadap%20kebutuhan%20dan%20aspirasi%20sosial.

hectares per person. When compared to the national average (0.25 hectares per household), this area is relatively large and shows that the land redistribution pillar of agrarian reform has been quite successful in terms of quantity.

However, the pillar of asset legalization still faces serious challenges. Of the 503 TORA recipients, only 166 people (33%) have obtained land certificates through the PTSL program, while the other 337 people (67%) still do not have legal certainty over the land they cultivate. The slow certification process, administrative obstacles such as damaged letter C books and incomplete documents, and the practice of land management through short-term lease systems indicate that farmers do not yet fully enjoy legal certainty over land tenure and ownership.

Therefore, agrarian reform cannot be understood solely as the administrative restructuring of assets, but must be integrated with the restructuring of access through farmer empowerment, institutional strengthening, capital support, increased production capacity, and accelerated land certification. The integration of synergistic policies between the central and local governments, accompanied by the active involvement of the community and local institutions, is a prerequisite for agrarian reform to truly function as an instrument for poverty alleviation and equitable and sustainable agricultural development.

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