

## Community Preferences for Agrarian Reform in Kampung Reforma Agraria: A Case Study of Mekarsari Village, Banten

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**Abstract:** An agrarian reform program encompassing asset and access arrangement was implemented to address the inequality in land ownership. Furthermore, asset management and access management models are integrated in the same location to increase the effectiveness of the agrarian reform program. As a pilot project, the first *Kampung Reforma Agraria* (KRA) was implemented in Mekarsari Village, Panimbang District, Pandeglang Regency, by distributing land to 225 subjects. However, after five years of implementing agrarian reform, some subjects still have not occupied KRA locations. This condition indicates that some subjects are reluctant to live in the designated location. Therefore, this research aims to analyze the profile and characteristics of TORA subjects' residences who have yet to occupy the land granted in the KRA and the influence of these two factors on their spatial preferences regarding agrarian reform policies. By interviewing 23 TORA subjects who had yet to occupy the *Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria* (TORA) location and transfer their land rights, the results show that 52.5% wanted to move to KRA. In contrast, 47.5% did not want to occupy their land in KRA. Based on the analysis of the physical characteristics of the TORA subjects' residences, the relationship between the physical distance from the subject's current residence to KRA and the subject's preference to move to KRA was not very significant. The factors most influencing the subject's preferences are the residence's non-physical characteristics, the land's current legal status, and the socio-economic profile. Based on these findings, policymakers responsible for setting the criteria for land recipients should enhance the supervision system for subject selection from the outset. Furthermore, when designing access provision programs, it is essential to account for the diverse preferences and needs of each subject group.

**Keywords:** Agrarian Reform; Access Arrangement; Asset Arrangement; Kampung Reforma Agraria; Spatial Preferences.

### INTRODUCTION

Land encompasses a multifaceted concept. It not only refers to the physical substrate on which plants grow (soil) or the foundation of buildings but also includes the earth's surface and the space above it, encompassing how humans utilize land (Sandy, 1977). From a geographical perspective, land can encompass various aspects, primarily focusing on surface land use (King, 1977). Land's diverse and essential aspects often lead to conflicts over rights among stakeholders. These conflicts are frequently precipitated by public

officials granting land or natural resources permits, which belong to small groups, as significant concessions to companies (Rachman, 2013).

Based on this, efforts have been undertaken to distribute land more equitably, particularly to impoverished farmers, through land reform initiatives. Although definitions of land reform vary, they converge on a common objective: mitigating rural poverty by transferring ownership of extensive agricultural lands to the impoverished (Albertus, 2015). Individual land ownership is a crucial determinant of the success or failure of agricultural production, as secure land rights are anticipated to motivate families to invest in labor and adopt agricultural technologies to manage their land effectively (Bui & Preechametta, 2016). Fundamentally, land reform can transform the material and social conditions of the underprivileged (Albertus, 2015). Besley and Burgess (2000) assert a significant relationship between land reform and poverty reduction, indicating that land allocation enhances income in agricultural enterprises.

Land reform policies encompass a range of measures, including land redistribution, land tax reform, rent reform, negotiated transfers from private markets, colonization programs, land certification, the establishment of private land markets, collectivization and decollectivization, and land consolidation (King, 1977; Griffin et al., 2002; Lipton, 2009; Albertus, 2015). Over time, the definition of land reform has evolved into a broader policy concept, leading to the popularization of the term "agrarian reform" (King, 1977). Agrarian reform aligns with land reform, sharing the primary objective of rearrangement land ownership socially and politically justly (Sadyohutomo, 2018). Although various countries implement agrarian reform through different approaches, they share common principles to achieve justice and welfare for the people (Winoto, 2012). The fundamental difference between land reform and agrarian reform lies in the scope of their objectives, with agrarian reform encompassing a more comprehensive goal beyond mere land distribution.

In Indonesia, the predominant land reform model is land redistribution. This process officially began with the issuance of Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Principles (UUPA) and its derivative, Government Regulation Number 224 of 1961 concerning the Implementation of Land Division and Compensation. Agrarian reform was further clarified in Presidential Regulation Number 86 of 2018, which was later replaced by Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of Agrarian Reform Implementation. The agrarian reform initiative encompasses various programs, notably managed by the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency, through the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Land Objects (*Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria*, abbreviated as TORA) concept as an instrument to address agrarian inequality (Subarudi, 2021). While the provision of land certificates is a crucial initial step towards successful agrarian reform, additional efforts are necessary. These efforts include the provision of infrastructure, mentoring, access to markets, financial support, and technology

to enhance the capabilities of agrarian reform beneficiaries and ensure they benefit from the program (Herrayani et al., 2019). Therefore, in the context of agrarian reform in Indonesia, asset arrangement must always coexist with access arrangement as an integral component.

By integrating asset arrangement and access arrangement models within the same location, the concept of Agrarian Reform Village (*Kampung Reforma Agraria*, abbreviated as KRA) was developed, with the first location established in Mekarsari Village, Panimbang Subdistrict, Pandeglang Regency, serving as a pilot for KRA development across Indonesia. However, the development of KRA in Mekarsari Village faces several challenges, including the reluctance of some program beneficiaries to occupy the designated location (Ali, 2022). Although land distribution is considered a viable option for reducing poverty and land ownership inequality, the program's success depends on the personal preferences of the beneficiaries (Golledge & Stimson, 1997). Socio-economic conditions, alongside spatial dimensions such as place of residence, neighborhood, and length of stay, influence an individual's perspective in assessing residential location choices (Bunting & Guelke, 1979).

Ali (2022) conducted a study in KRA by emphasizing factors affecting agrarian reform implementation from the policymakers' perspective using SWOT analysis. However, the issue of beneficiaries' reluctance to occupy the designated locations has not been adequately addressed. Albertus (2015) asserts that the success of agrarian reform requires synergy among various actors, including the landowning elite, the ruling political elite, and the rural poor. As Golledge and Stimson (1997) observe, the success of a planned program still involves an element of personal preference from the beneficiaries. These preferences are influenced not only by the beneficiaries' profiles but also by how spatial dimensions shape their perceptions of place, thereby affecting their choices.

As explained by Olsson and Gale (1968), a person's choice of residence is influenced not only by economic factors but also by subjective aspects, including personal perspectives. Therefore, this research will examine the implementation of agrarian reform from the perspective of the poor rural population. Specifically, it will focus on TORA recipients who have not yet occupied their allocated land in the KRA since the distribution occurred. The aim is to understand the factors influencing their decisions regarding whether or not to occupy the land they have received. Consequently, the study will analyze the profiles and residential characteristics of TORA subjects who have not moved to the land provided in the KRA, and it will investigate how these factors influence their spatial preferences in the context of the agrarian reform policy.

## **METHODS**

The objective of this research is to study the subject of TORA, focusing specifically on the location of TORA and the distribution of subjects who have not occupied KRA. The research is centred on Mekarsari Village in Panimbang Sub-district, Pandeglang Regency, with data

collected on the criteria of TORA recipient subjects within the Mekarsari Village community (Figure 1).

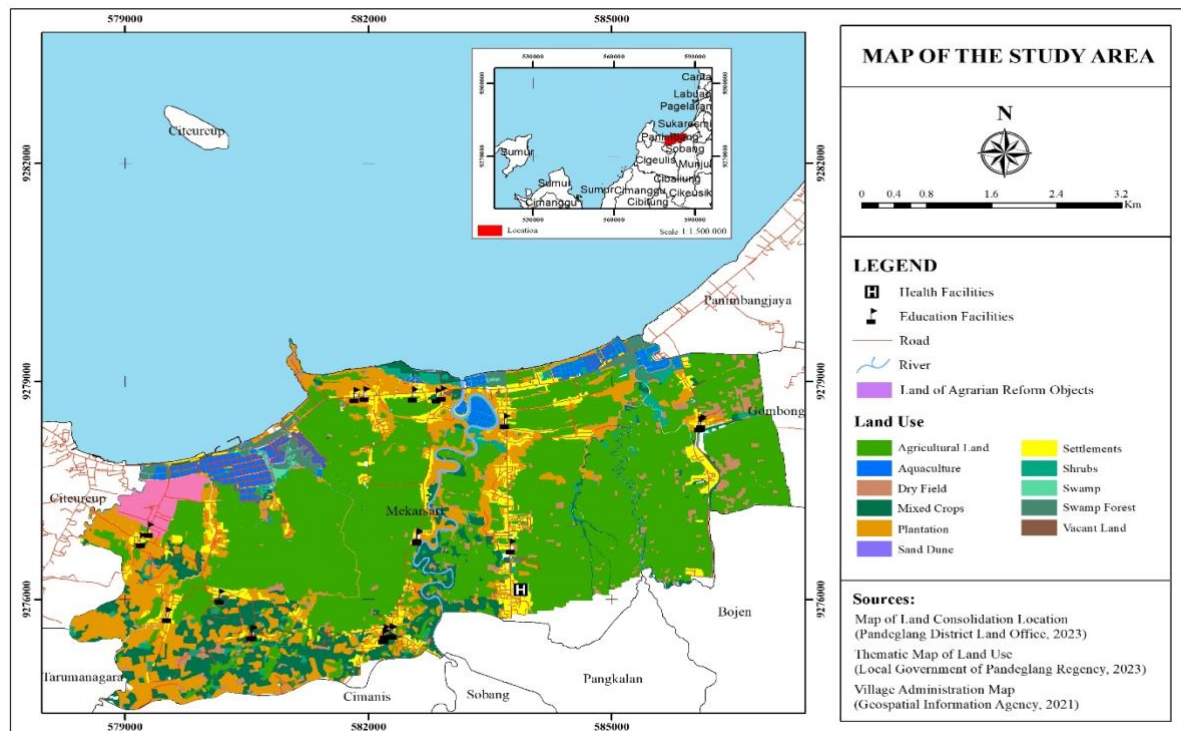


Figure 1. Study Area

Source: Processed Results, 2023

The research is divided into two main objectives: analyzing the profile and characteristics of the residents of TORA subjects and their spatial preferences for agrarian reform policies, which include asset and access arrangement. The profile and characteristics of TORA residents were examined using demographic variables, household socioeconomics, residential characteristics, and the legal relationship with the currently occupied land. Demographic variables such as age, education, and household size were chosen because these factors influence the residents' capacity and tendency to manage land and access economic opportunities provided through agrarian reform programs. Socioeconomic household variables, including income and employment, were selected to assess the residents' welfare conditions and how access to land through the TORA program could potentially improve their livelihoods. The characteristics of the residence and the legal relationship with the currently occupied land are critical variables for evaluating the appropriateness of the selection of subjects.

Subject preferences were analyzed to understand the tendency to move to KRA or remain in their current location and their propensity to utilize government-provided economic access. Interviews were conducted with 23 TORA subjects still residing in Mekarsari Village who had not yet transferred their land rights to others. The collected data

were processed by type, and data analysis was performed using descriptive statistics and spatial analysis, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Data Processing

No.	Data	Processing	Results
1.	Locations of TORA subjects' residences, KRA locations, and road data	Network analysis	Physical distance of subject TORA's residence to KRA
2.	Location of TORA subjects' residences and thematic map of flood vulnerability	Overlay	The flood vulnerability level at each subject's residence
3.	Results of stakeholder interviews regarding the control, ownership, use, and utilization (P4T) of KRA from 1980 to 2023	Transcription of interviews into written text (narrative form)	Transcript of P4T data from the time the land was designated as TORA until the KRA was constructed
4.	Demographic and socio-economic	Data grouping, percentages	TORA subject groups by profile
5.	Physical and non-physical aspects of the TORA subject's residence, as well as the legality of the currently occupied land	Data grouping, percentages	TORA subject groups based on residence characteristics
6.	Subject profiles, residential characteristics, and spatial preferences of TORA subjects	Cross-tabulation between profile data and residence characteristics with TORA subject preferences	Cross-tabulation between profile, residence characteristics, and preferences

Source: Author's processing, 2023.

Cross-tabulation was selected for this analysis due to the specific characteristics of the dataset and the research objectives. The sample size is relatively small, and the participant responses are semi-open, yielding a variety of answers that extend beyond simple numerical data. Utilizing cross-tabulation allows for a straightforward examination of relationships between variables without the necessity for complex scoring methods required by other quantitative techniques. This approach facilitates the interpretation of factors influencing subjects' preferences while preserving the richness and diversity of their responses.

Like any research study, the methods used in this research have certain limitations that need to be acknowledged. One of the primary limitations is the relatively small sample size, which may affect the generalizability of the findings. While this sample is representative for the specific context of Mekarsari Village, the results may not fully reflect the situation in other locations related to agrarian reform policies. Additionally, the data obtained from semi-open interviews relies on the accuracy and openness of the respondents. There is a possibility that some respondents may not have fully disclosed their

views due to personal or social reasons, which could impact the quality of the data. While efforts were made to ensure the accuracy of the information, external factors such as social-political dynamics in the area may also influence the subjects' perceptions and preferences, which are beyond the researcher's control.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Overview of Kampung Reforma Agraria (Agrarian Reform Villages)*

The TORA distributed to the Mekarsari Village community came from land previously held under Cultivation Rights Title (*Hak Guna Usaha/HGU*) permits, specifically No. 1/Tjiteureup covering 28,99 ha and No. 2/Tjiteureup covering 11,21 ha, which expired on September 24, 1980. An additional amount came from free state land, totalling 8,28 ha. Thus, the total area of TORA used as the object of agrarian reform reached 48,48 ha.

Although the land rights had expired in 1980, the identification of the land only began in 2014, as it was considered not to contribute any land taxes to the village. As Albertus (2015) explains, land reform is often triggered by divisions within the coalition between the land-owning elite and the ruling political elite. In this case, the change of village head in 2014 marked the starting point for the investigation of the land. It was revealed that the landholder was a businessman living in Jakarta, who had controlled the land under a lease that had long expired. The businessman had been benefiting from the coconut plantation, which was harvested every three months, without making any official tax payments to the village. However, there were indications that during this period, unofficial transactions took place with the ruling political elite, leading to a neglect of formal tax payments.

In addition to conflicts between the political elite and landholders, widespread dissatisfaction among farmers with the existing agrarian structure, coupled with the bold actions of organizations responding to this dissatisfaction, serve as key triggers for land reform (King, 1977). In this context, the community of Mekarsari Village, through the Mekarsari Village Government, submitted a request for the distribution of the land for the community to the Pandeglang Regency Land Office, under letter No. 01/Ds-2009/I/2018, dated January 3, 2018 (Ali, 2022). Based on this request, the former HGU land was designated as an object of Agrarian Reform through the 2018 Land Consolidation initiative.

Asset arrangement was implemented through the Land Consolidation mechanism by distributing land into 225 parcels for individuals, eight parcels for government agencies, and two parcels for BUMDes. The criteria for obtaining land were set for poor individuals with Mekarsari Village ID cards who reside in the village and do not own land. Additionally, people with jobs vulnerable to economic instability were also eligible. The land consolidation design includes residential, local government land, and Village-Owned Enterprises (often abbreviated as BUMDes) (see Figure 2). The BUMDes land, which currently functions as a coconut plantation, is also designated as common agricultural land

for TORA subjects. This provision aims to provide alternatives to improve the community's economy, especially for those dependent on irregular sources of income. Communities are granted access rights to agricultural land between the 10-meter distances between each coconut tree. The community is given a land area of 3000 m<sup>2</sup> for each block, with management areas divided according to agreements between block residents.

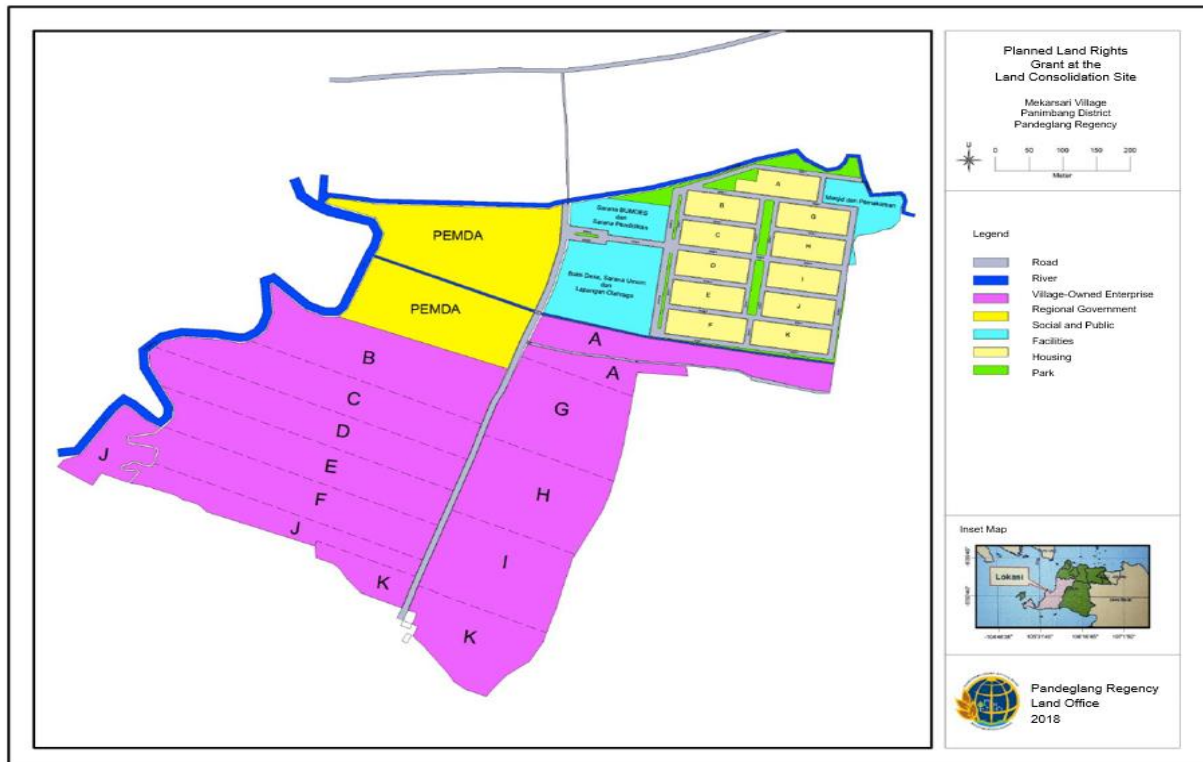


Figure 2. Plan for Granting Land Rights at Land Consolidation Sites  
Source: Land Office of Pandeglang Regency, 2018

To enhance the community's economy and support the economic independence of KRA residents, the local authorities, in collaboration with various agencies, have provided various training programs. One such program was training on making chips and other snacks in 2019, conducted through a synergy between the The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency, the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, and PNM Mekarsari (see Figure 3). This training aimed to improve women's resources and increase their household income. Women in the KRA mostly rely on their husband's income, with an average household income ranging from Rp.500.000,00 to Rp.1.000.000,00 monthly. Through this training, women in the KRA were trained to start home-based businesses with access to credit ranging from IDR 2-10 million per person (ATR/BPN, 2021).

While the training is expected to empower women in the KRA, there is currently a lack of sustainability in the implemented programs. One of the primary challenges is the limited availability of raw materials, which are not locally sourced by the community. For instance, in the case of cassava chip production, Mekarsari Village does not produce cassava



in sufficient quantities, creating difficulties in securing the necessary raw materials for processing. The history of agrarian reform in several countries has shown instances of failure, where the population became poorer after the reform was implemented (Dixon-Gough, 1999). This outcome is often linked to the political context in which the extent of redistributed land is regarded as the primary indicator of program success (Lanzona, 2019). However, without adequate support for the optimal utilization of redistributed land, such initiatives have led to a rise in cases of land transfers or sales, undermining the intended benefits of redistribution (Ali et al., 2014). Managerial constraints and limited access to credit hinder some agrarian reform beneficiaries from generating sustainable income from their land, thereby increasing the likelihood that farmers may sell their land (Drbohlav et al., 2017).



Figure 3. Chips Making Training  
Source: Ali, 2022

In 2023, five years after the agrarian reform program's start, the KRA redistributed land had not been fully utilized for housing development, with 53 plots remaining vacant. Meanwhile, 172 housing units have been built (see Figure 4). 135 houses were built through government programs, while 37 were built independently by landowners. The houses built through the government program were not constructed from scratch but involved assistance to renovate uninhabitable houses. This program aims to improve the community's housing quality, ensuring they live in a comfortable, healthy, and decent environment. Based on land ownership, 178 parcels of land (79%) are still owned by TORA subjects, while 47 parcels (21%) have transferred ownership through sales. Information gathered from TORA subjects occupying the KRA, some subjects who have sold their land did so for various reasons, including financial needs, discomfort with residing in the area (having settled temporarily before choosing to leave), and other factors. Additionally, the lack of effectiveness in access assistance is a significant factor; many subjects did not



experience economic improvement within the KRA and had job locations that were far away, leading them to prefer selling their land.

The rights granted to the beneficiary subjects are ownership rights, which represent the highest form of land rights, and therefore the fundamental concept of ownership is inherently attached to them. The primary characteristic of individual ownership is complete control. Kasper and Streit (1998) argue that the ability to exclude others—referred to as excludability—is a fundamental aspect of property rights. Excludability serves as the foundation for Kasper and Streit's classification of different forms of ownership over an object. According to their framework, individuals who hold property rights have the authority to prevent others from utilizing the property, as well as the right to use, lease, or sell it to others. In practice, communities often understand the concept of ownership in a similar way to Kasper and Streit's framework. As a result, some individuals choose to sell their land, viewing it as a legitimate exercise of their property rights.

Although ownership rights have been granted, the stipulation that rights to land sourced from TORA cannot be without the permission of the head of the National Land Agency office, as stated in the issued land certificates, remains in effect. In an effort to uphold legal provisions and prevent further violations, the village authorities have drafted a statement prohibiting all forms of transactions related to the sale of the land, which has been signed on stamped paper by the TORA subjects. Nonetheless, this statement ultimately lacks strong binding force over the TORA subjects, given that several individuals have sold their land. This situation indicates that, despite agreements made on paper, the economic realities faced by individuals often act as a factor that shifts or weakens their commitment to such agreements.



Figure 4. KRA Occupancy Status  
Source: Field Survey, 2023

Of the 172 housing units constructed, 17 are currently unoccupied, as illustrated in Figure 4. The reasons for these unoccupied units are varied, reflecting the different challenges encountered by their owners. Some houses were initially occupied but later abandoned due to pressing circumstances. In certain cases, owners left to care for family members who remained in their previous locations, while others preferred their former residences and chose to return. Job relocations outside the area also contributed to the unoccupancy, as some owners needed to relocate to align with their new employment. Additionally, flood risk has been a significant factor for some residents, particularly in specific blocks prone to inundation during the rainy season, prompting them to vacate their homes in the KRA.

The construction of 172 housing units in the KRA, with 155 currently occupied, of which 25 are owned by buyers who acquired the rights from the original TORA recipients, reflects both the successes and limitations of the agrarian reform program. While 130 houses remain directly owned by TORA recipients, this accounts for only 57.8% of the total units, indicating that the program's effectiveness in achieving its settlement objectives is less than optimal. The remaining 42.2% of housing units are either unoccupied or have had their ownership transferred. This raises critical questions about the sustainability and impact of the reform program.

One possible explanation is that while agrarian reform policies aim to improve land access for beneficiaries, other factors—such as economic pressures, lack of access to services, or proximity to employment opportunities—can discourage recipients from fully

utilizing the land they receive. Additionally, the transfer of rights to non-TORA recipients suggests that some beneficiaries may prioritize immediate financial needs over long-term land ownership, undermining the program's goals of fostering equitable land distribution and economic empowerment.

### Profile and Residential Characteristics of TORA Subjects

As previously mentioned, 178 land parcels are still owned by TORA subjects, with the remaining 47 parcels transferred. Among the 178 parcels, 130 are occupied, and 48 remain unoccupied. The existence of unoccupied land warrants further understanding of the associated conditions (see Figure 5). Some subjects who did not occupy their land moved out of the city due to job relocations, others participated in the transmigration program, and some were influenced by family matters, such as caring for relatives outside the city. On the other hand, 23 subjects remained in Mekarsari Village and settled in their old location.



Figure 5. Number of Unoccupied Fields

Source: Field Survey, 2023

Among the 23 TORA subjects who participated in this study, the majority were men (74%), while women comprised 26%, with 87% married and 13% divorced. Agrarian reform focusing on individual households often negatively impacts women, especially wives (Jacobs, 2010). It occurs because households are regarded as single entities, and land certificates or licenses are often granted to men as heads of households. Social structures emphasizing men as "leaders" still influence decision-making, particularly in rural areas. Although women have formal legal rights to land, most still perceive land and property within the household as owned by their husbands (Djurfeldt, 2020). This situation is reflected among TORA subjects, where even if the land is in the wife's name, land-related decisions depend on the husband.

Agrarian reform holds significant potential to create equal opportunities for both women and men, not only in terms of property ownership but also in a broader context (Jacobs, 2010). However, a study conducted by Goebel (1998) highlights the existence of

strict gender-based divisions of labor within villages. These divisions encompass financial responsibilities, income, mobility, and other areas such as asset management, all of which have developed and become deeply rooted in the village’s social structure. This pattern is also evident in the selection criteria for TORA recipients, where gender plays a role in determining eligibility.

The age category of TORA subjects is predominantly between 30-50 years, providing greater opportunities to manage and cultivate land effectively, maximizing agricultural product potential or other land-related activities. Regarding education, the highest education level among TORA subjects is Senior High School (SMA) equivalent (17%), while the majority have an Elementary School (SD) education (52%). Education infrastructure may be limited in rural areas, with minimal school availability or poor teaching quality. Economic factors also impact access to education, with high costs being a barrier for underprivileged families.

Low levels of formal education, such as a primary school background of the majority of TORA subjects, may limit their ability to comprehend effective strategies for land management and resource utilization. Educational attainment also influences how individuals perceive and manage assets, such as land. Those with lower levels of education are more likely to adopt a pragmatic approach, prioritizing immediate daily needs over long-term considerations in land asset management. This may hinder their ability to fully realize the potential benefits of land ownership in the context of agrarian reform.

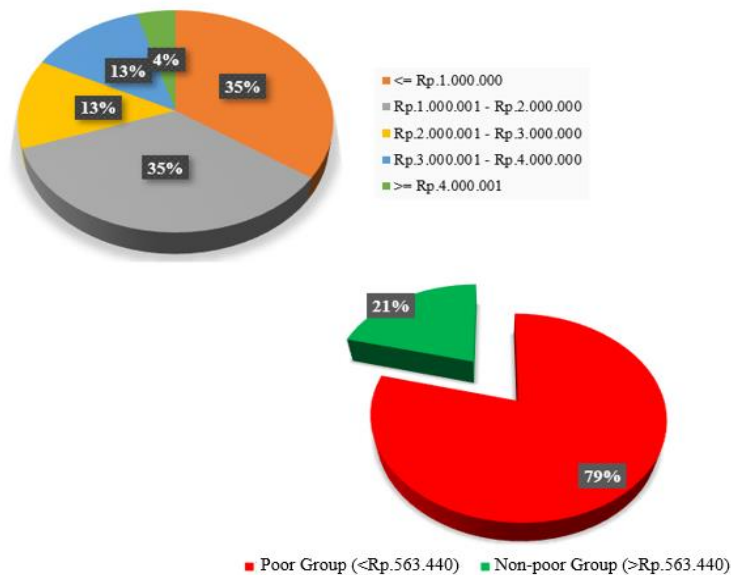


Figure 6. Household Income  
Source: Field Survey, 2023

Machira et al. (2023) emphasize that socio-economic and institutional factors, including age, gender, household size, education level, and access to credit, influence poverty dimensions. Regarding social conditions, education contributes to unstable

community income, as most KRA residents have only primary education. The household income of TORA subjects ranges from Rp. 50.000,00 - Rp. 150.000,00 per day, with a monthly average of Rp. 500.000,00 - Rp. 4.500.000,00. Figure 6 shows that 70% of TORA subjects' household income is less than or equal to Rp. 2.000.000,00. Households are categorized as poor if their income is below the poverty line (Meidiana & Marhaeni, 2019). According to the poverty line issued by BPS Pandeglang Regency in March 2023, the average rural poverty line in Pandeglang Regency is Rp. 563.440,00 per capita per month. Based on per capita income calculations and family member dependents, data analysis shows that 79% of subjects are still below the poverty line.

The demographic profile of TORA subjects plays a crucial role in understanding the socio-economic context, as highlighted by Khan et al. (2023). Variables such as age, gender, and education serve as foundational elements for analyzing the social and economic dynamics of a region. For example, the age distribution can reflect the productivity potential of a population, while education levels offer insight into the quality of human resources within an area. Gender is another crucial dimension of the demographic profile that influences socio-economic dynamics, as gender differences help explain variations in roles and access to resources, including land. Furthermore, a person's demographic profile plays a major role in their decision-making process. The combination of values shaped by one's profile influences how individuals perceive and evaluate situations, affecting their preferences and the decisions they ultimately make. This understanding of demographic characteristics is essential for interpreting the behavior and choices of TORA subjects in the context of agrarian reform, as previously discussed.

### **Characteristics of Residences of TORA Subjects Outside the KRA**

Bourdieu (1984) emphasizes that people's social and economic conditions are reflected in their living patterns. Social elite groups are often identifiable in society by larger dwellings with more rooms and complete entertainment facilities. In contrast, less affluent groups tend to have smaller homes with less adequate designs (Sommer, 1969). Based on the identified conditions of the subjects' houses, none of the subjects can be explicitly categorized as part of the social elite group. Most of the subjects' houses are simple in design, with a plot area smaller than or equal to 36 m<sup>2</sup> (6x6 m), accounting for about 83% of the subjects. The remaining 17% are medium-sized simple houses, approximately 49 m<sup>2</sup> (7x7 m). This indicates that most subjects own standardized houses of relatively uniform size, with no significant differences that would classify them as belonging to the social elite based on the physical characteristics of their residences. The uniformity in housing conditions implies the appropriateness of selecting TORA recipients based on their economic status, as none of the beneficiaries reside in homes that could be considered luxurious.

In addition to socio-economic conditions, inhabited buildings are closely related to a person's spatial behaviour and environment. This perspective argues that the physical features of an environment, especially houses, significantly impact a person's attitude and behaviour (Baldassare, 1978). Many houses are relatively small in size, and some are inhabited by more than one family, reducing the occupants' comfort. 57% of all respondents expressed discomfort with the size of their current homes and a need for more space. This percentage was particularly high among families with 5-9 members (more than one household) living in a 36 m<sup>2</sup> house. Baldassare (1978) explains that there is evidence of psychological stress or automatic responses to situations of very close individual proximity, territorial invasion, or crowded conditions in the study of human spatial behaviour. When people live in modest-sized houses, psychological stress often arises due to a lack of privacy and adequate personal space. Additionally, role conflict may occur, as Smith (1971) asserts that a lack of space in the household can trigger role conflict. When there is insufficient space or privacy to carry out roles, competition for space may ensue comfortably.

One of the criteria for selecting TORA subjects is that they do not own land at the time of criteria determination. However, some subjects already owned land before being designated TORA subjects (see Figure 7). As many as 39% of TORA subjects live on their own property, land and building. Land acquisition methods varied, including inheritance, buying, and selling. 78% of them acquired the land before being designated as TORA subjects, indicating discrepancies with the established criteria. Only 22% of the subjects acquired their residential land after 2018, and when the criteria were set, they did not yet own land.

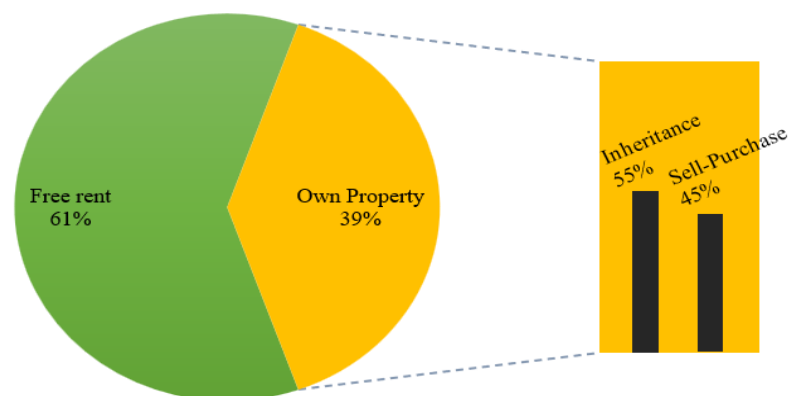


Figure 7. Land Ownership Status  
Source: Field Survey, 2023

TORA subjects residing on other people's land or "use-right holder" amounted to 61%, with the majority living in houses belonging to their parents or in-laws, accounting for 50% of the total use-right holder subjects. The remaining 50% live on land owned by relatives or other people, often in separate neighbourhoods, outside the city, or abroad. These subjects are allowed to occupy the land without any written agreement or payment

of rent, usually serving as "land guardians." However, when the landowner wants to reuse the land, the subjects are forced to move, creating anxiety and concern about the stability of their residence.

Complete dominion over space enables individuals to engage in desired activities with minimal interference. Conversely, incomplete dominion over space results in greater disturbances and inhibits the ability to carry out such activities (Baldassarre, 1978). In this context, the subject's control over a dwelling that they occupy but do not own restricts their freedom to utilize the space fully. The territorial rules that govern activities in a given location significantly impact life forms, illustrating how a place exerts power that influences interactions and space usage (Sack, 1993). For instance, one subject who resides in a house he owns, situated on land owned by his brother, expressed discomfort in making partial renovations to his home due to the necessity of obtaining permission from the landowner beforehand. This requirement to seek consent from the landowner highlights the limitations that impede the realization of personal desires without immediate constraints.

### **Profile and Residential Characteristics of TORA Subjects**

The subject profiles are generally divided into poor and non-poor groups, with household sizes of one household per house and more than one household per house. Property ownership (land and buildings) is divided into three groups, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Profile Group and Residential Characteristics of TORA Subjects

Profile group	Owned Land and House	Land and House Owned by Others	Other People's Land and Owned House	Total
Poor group with 1 household in 1 house	17%	17%	22%	56%
Poor group with >1 household in 1 house	4,5%	17%	-	21,5%
Non-poor group with 1 household in 1 house	13,5%	4,5%	-	18%
Non-poor group with >1 household in 1 house	4,5%	-	-	4,5%
Total	39,5%	38,5%	22%	100%

Source: Processed Results, 2023.

Table 2 shows that the percentages of houses on owned land and houses on land owned by others are nearly equal, while houses on land owned by others but with buildings owned by the subjects account for only 22%. The majority (56%) of houses are occupied by



the poor with one household per house, while the smallest percentage (4,5%) consists of non-poor households with more than one household per house. The poor tend to depend on properties not owned by them, indicating reliance on other parties for housing. In contrast, most owner-occupied houses belong to the non-poor, suggesting a strong correlation between economic status and property ownership, with the poor less likely to have access to stable assets such as houses they own.

### **Spatial Preferences of Subjects Toward Agrarian Reform Policy**

Every decision comes from responses originating in an individual's action space, which refers to the limited environment connected to that individual (Wolpert, 1955). In other words, the perceived environmental conditions constitute the domain where an individual chooses to remain or, conversely, decides to transition to another environment. Generally, in the decision-making process, there are various types of constraints that can influence a person's preferences and choices (Golledge & Stimson, 1997). Furthermore, Golledge and Stimson identify several of these constraints, including social constraints, income constraints, cognitive constraints, and attitudinal constraints. In addition, there is also the possibility of environmental constraints. Each of these constraints represents a portion of the obstacles that must be confronted and overcome when making a decision.

Based on the profiles and their residential characteristics described earlier, the subjects' preferences for this policy are influenced by several variables. Although each individual has a unique action space, there is often convergence into certain classes where factors such as family income, education, and employment form subgroups with similar action space characteristics (Wolpert, 1955). Among the subjects, 12 people (52%) planned to move to the KRA, while 11 (48%) chose to remain in their current location. Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the distribution of subjects who will move and those who choose to remain, showing their profile and residential characteristics. In Figure 8 below, it is evident that not all poor households choose to relocate. The decision to move is also influenced by the level of comfort within the home, with households containing more than one family being more likely to relocate to KRA. In contrast, the majority of non-poor households prefer to remain in their current residence, except for those living with more than one family, who are more inclined to move to KRA.

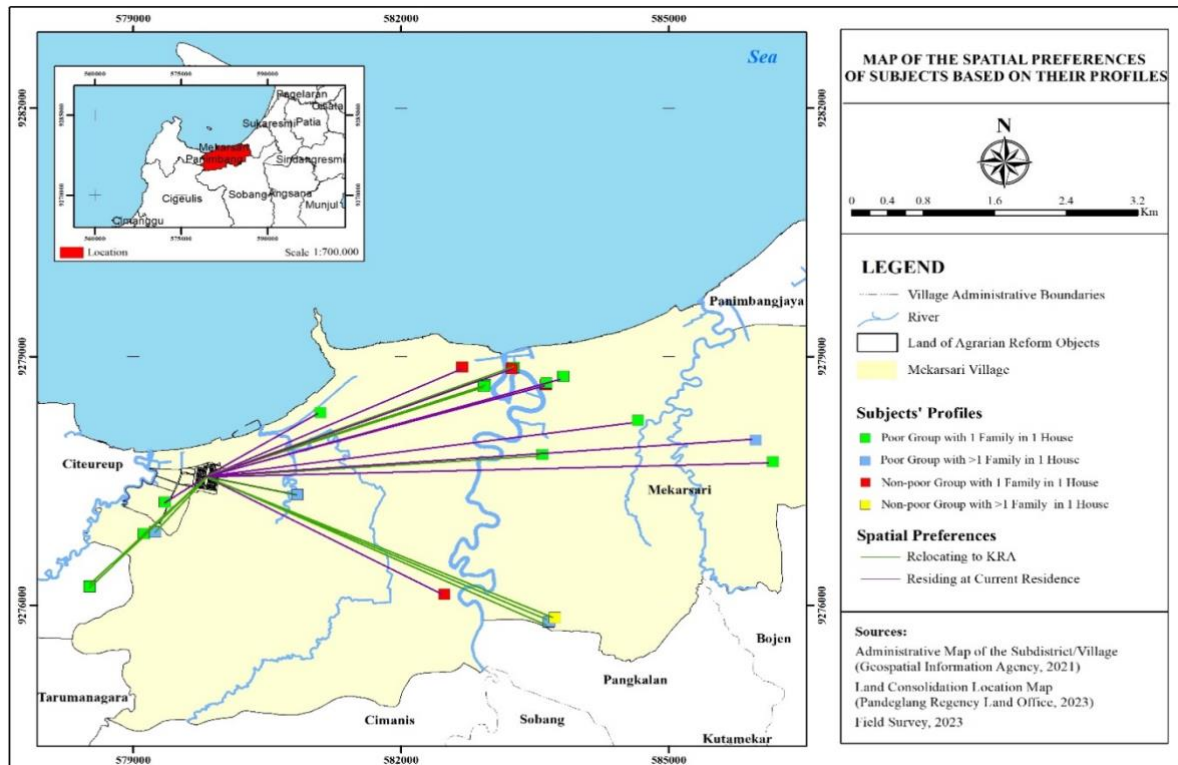


Figure 8. Spatial Preferences of TORA Subjects Based on their Profile  
 Source: Processed Results, 2023

Figure 9 shows that physical distance does not significantly influence the subjects' preference to move to the KRA. It is illustrated by the variation of the green line (preference to move) and the purple line (preference to stay) at distances of 2,5 km, 5 km, and 7,5 km. Some subjects near the KRA location choose to stay in their current place, while others 7,9 km away choose to move. Interestingly, flood vulnerability did not directly influence the choice of subjects in non-flood-prone locations not to occupy the KRA (see Figure 9). For example, in the southern part, subjects in higher, non-flood-prone areas still choose to move to the KRA, which is very prone to flooding due to its lower topography. It reflects the complexity of the factors influencing the subjects' decision to move to the KRA. It shows that other factors beyond physical distance and disaster vulnerability can have a more significant influence.

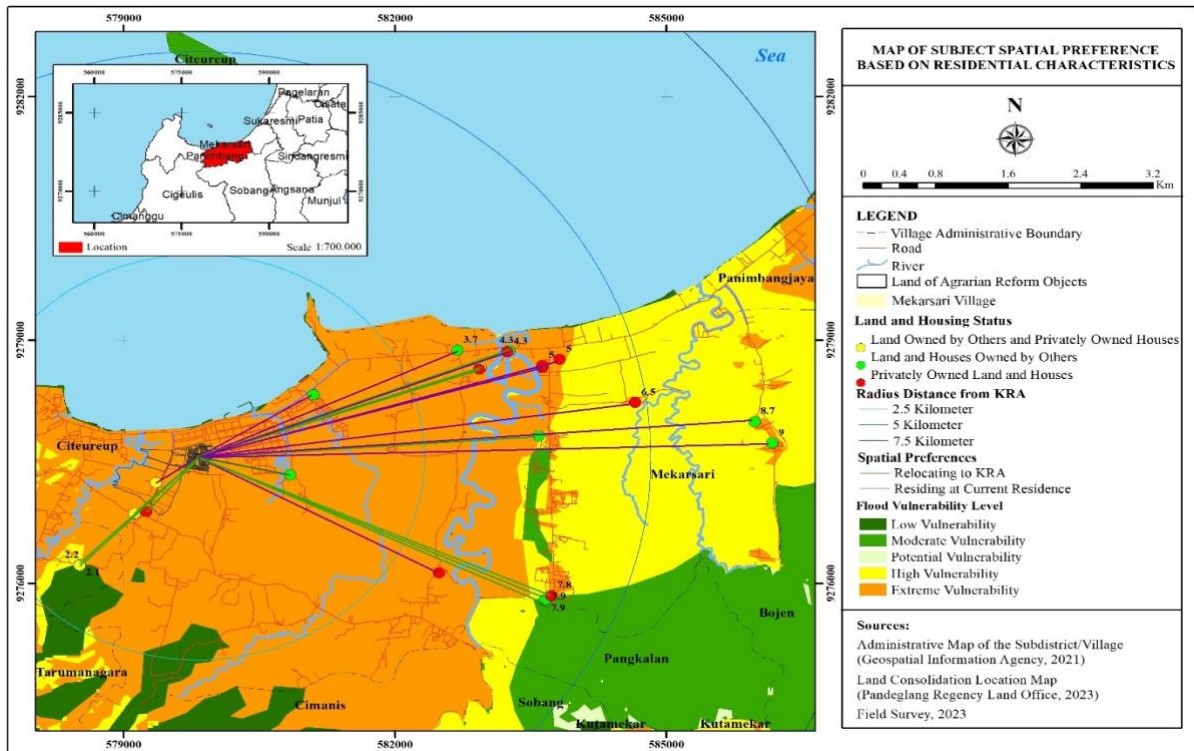


Figure 9. Spatial Preferences of TORA Subjects Based on Characteristics of Their Residence

Source: Processed Results, 2023

Several factors influence TORA subjects' preferences in utilizing the land they have obtained in the KRA based on their profile and characteristics of their current residence. Based on the profiles of gender, age, and education level, there is no consistent pattern in similar action spaces among the subgroups of individuals. The data shows considerable variation and does not indicate any specific or consistent patterns among the subgroups. However, when examining economic aspects, household size, and land ownership, patterns emerge regarding preferences for staying or relocating to the KRA. Among the poor group, 47.5% chose to relocate, while only 4.5% of the non-poor group preferred moving. This tendency is influenced by household size, particularly where multiple families share a house. In the non-poor group, single-family households largely prefer to remain. This indicates that economic factors and household size play a significant role in their decision to relocate.

Table 3. Subject Preferences Based on their Profile

No	TORA Subject Profile	Preferences		Total
		Move	Settle	
1	Poor group with 1 household in 1 house	30%	26%	56%
2	Poor group with >1 household in 1 house	17,5%	4,5%	22%
3	Non-poor group with 1 household in 1 house	-	17,5%	17,5%
4	Non-poor group with >1 household in 1 house	4,5%	-	4,5%
Total		52%	48%	100%

Source: Processed Results, 2023.

From Table 4, it can be seen that subjects with self-owned property status (both land and house) are more inclined to choose to stay in their current residence, while subjects who live on use-right holder land have a higher tendency to move to the KRA. In the context of land law, there are two principles: the principle of accession or attachment and the principle of horizontal separation. In Indonesia, land law adopts the horizontal principle, which considers that buildings and plants on land do not become part of the land. As shown in Table 4, some subjects own the building but not the land. Although the subject owns the building, another party owns the land.

Table 4. Subject Preferences Based on Land Ownership Status

No	Land Ownership Status	Preferences		Total
		Move	Settle	
1	Self-owned property (land and house)	13%	26%	39%
2	Land owned by others, house owned	21,5%	17%	38,5%
3	Use-right holder land status	17%	4,5%	21,5%
Total		52,5%	47,5%	100%

Source: Processed Results, 2023

A significant proportion (52,5%) of TORA subjects preferred to move to the KRA for various reasons. Notably, 38,5% of these subjects, currently occupying land they do not own, expressed a desire for greater control over their physical environment. This group of TORA subjects aspired to have increased authority over their houses and land, seeking long-term security in their residential situation. Despite 17% of the subjects having constructed houses on land they do not own, they felt they lacked full control over their living arrangements due to the separation between land ownership and building ownership. Complete control over a residence fundamentally begins with land ownership, as encapsulated in the phrase "*cuius est solum eius est usque ad coelum et ad inferos.*"

Of the 47,5% of subjects who wished to remain in their current residences, 54,5% were owners of both land and buildings at their current locations. For this group, land in the

KRA is considered an asset or second home and is not an urgent priority for immediate occupation. These subjects preferred to stay because they deeply understood the local community, including interactions with neighbors, daily routines, and movement patterns. Bunting & Guelke (1979) and Golledge & Stimson (1997) explain that perception and interpretation of previous experiences and knowledge about the environment play a crucial role in the decision-making process regarding where to live. Long-term familiarity with the environment strengthens the attachment to the place and significantly influences the decision to remain there.

Meanwhile, 45,5% of subjects had a boarding status, with the land belonging to their family members. Despite their living status, these subjects felt comfortable because their parents owned the land, with the hope of future inheritance. As Berry (1989) explains, land rights usually derive from membership in a hereditary group through birth, marriage, or other social arrangements. Inheritance (of both physical property and values) plays an important role in shaping family identity and stability. Heritage property, such as land or a house, can provide security and a strong emotional connection for individuals who feel historically tied to the property.

Regarding the land allocated to the KRA, the government is committed to supporting the economy of TORA subjects by providing access to shared agricultural land and various business development training programs. A survey of TORA subjects revealed that 47,5% were aware of access to agricultural land that could be jointly cultivated, while 52,5% had not received information about this. This finding indicates deficiencies in the socialization of policy implementation during the early stages of land consolidation. Of the 52,5% of subjects who preferred to move and build a house in the KRA, 58,3% expressed readiness to use agricultural land as a source of additional income. This condition was driven by the employment status of 50% of these subjects, who worked as freelancers. However, cultivating agricultural land was considered a supplementary activity, with subjects expressing their intention to continue seeking freelance work, such as joining construction projects, working as farm laborers, and other seasonal jobs.

In addition to access to agricultural land, various types of training to support the economy of TORA subjects have been provided by different agencies. However, only 30% of the subjects were aware of this access. Among the 52,5% who preferred to move and build a house in the KRA, only 25% expressed willingness to participate in business development training to improve their economy. In contrast, the majority (75%) were not interested in business development. Unlike agricultural land use, preferences for business development training were more influenced by the subject's gender. Among those interested in business development training, 25% were women, with 16,7% unemployed and 8,3% working as traders. On the other hand, male subjects, despite lacking permanent work, generally expressed disinterest in business development training.

## CONCLUSIONS

The implementation of the first KRA in Indonesia still faces various obstacles, one of which is the transfer of land rights, despite legal provisions prohibiting the sale of land obtained through the TORA program. This indicates that the legal framework has not been effectively implemented and continues to face enforcement challenges. Factors such as a lack of understanding of legal provisions among the public, limited oversight by authorities, and pressing economic conditions may contribute to violations of these regulations. As a result, the primary goals of agrarian reform—namely, to achieve social welfare and justice—have not yet been fully realized.

Among the 23 TORA subjects who have not yet occupied their land in the KRA, only 52,5% expressed their readiness. Based on the analysis of the physical characteristics of the TORA subjects' residences, the relationship between the physical distance from their current residence to the KRA and their preference to move to the KRA is not significant. The preference to choose between their current residence or the new location in the KRA tends to be influenced by the non-physical characteristics of their residence and the legal status of their currently owned land. Subjects who already own land tend to prefer staying in their long-occupied locations. Another spatial characteristic influencing their choice is the condition of residential density, which often creates conflicts over the use of space in the house and triggers subjects to move to the KRA in hopes of gaining greater spatial freedom. Regarding the provision of access to improve economic welfare, the type of occupation and gender of the subject significantly influence their preference in utilizing such access. When agricultural land is provided, subjects interested in its management tend to be those without stable jobs, such as freelancers. Conversely, regarding access related to business development training, female subjects tend to show more interest in involvement.

This study has several limitations that need to be addressed in future research. Firstly, the small sample size focuses only on subjects who have not yet occupied the land or transferred their rights in Mekarsari Village, limiting the generalizability of the findings. Additionally, subjects who have sold their land have not been examined in depth, which restricts a comprehensive understanding of the broader impacts of land redistribution. Given that 21% of the subjects have already sold their land, it is crucial for future research to investigate the conditions or reasons that led to these sales. Understanding these motivations is essential to assess the sustainability and long-term success of land redistribution policies, as well as to identify any potential barriers or challenges that might prompt recipients to sell their land prematurely. Secondly, due to time constraints and insufficient information on the whereabouts of other subjects, this research has not included responses from those who have moved out of town, nor has it examined the transfer of rights from deceased subjects. Investigating the conditions of subjects who have relocated or passed away is essential to understanding how land distribution is affected by these

factors, especially in terms of land ownership transitions and policy effectiveness. Addressing these gaps in future studies will offer a more comprehensive perspective on the outcomes and challenges of land redistribution.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

There are several practical suggestions to enhance the implementation of agrarian reform in the future. To address the issue of land rights transfer in the implementation of the KRA, a more flexible policy is needed that acknowledges the needs of vulnerable communities. Although current legal provisions prohibit the transfer of land obtained through the land redistribution program, the government could consider allowing transfers under specific conditions. For example, transfers could be permitted in urgent circumstances related to basic needs, such as healthcare, education, or other pressing necessities that vulnerable communities are unable to meet. However, these transfers must be closely monitored by authorities and conducted through mechanisms that ensure the land continues to serve the welfare of its beneficiaries. This approach would not only maintain the original objectives of agrarian reform but also adapt to the economic and social realities faced by vulnerable groups, thereby furthering the goals of achieving social welfare and justice.

Regarding asset arrangement, the selection of subjects should be approached with greater care and consideration. Given the findings, the selection of subjects of land redistribution should go beyond the current government criteria, which largely emphasize proximity to the land in question (particularly for fresh land not previously occupied by the community). Instead, future selection processes must incorporate a broader range of both physical and non-physical variables. Notably, non-physical factors, such as the legal status of ownership and socio-economic conditions, have been shown in this study to have a greater influence on relocation decisions than physical distance alone. Therefore, these factors should be given greater consideration in the selection of land recipients to ensure the success of land redistribution efforts. Additionally, for land intended for occupation by subjects facing economic difficulties, it is essential to ensure its effective utilization to prevent the risk of abandonment. Furthermore, any land that is not planned for occupation should be returned to the state and redistributed to individuals in greater need.

Additionally, it is recommended that the provision of access for improving economic welfare be tailored to the specific needs and preferences of different subject groups. For agricultural land management, priority should be given to individuals with unstable employment, such as freelancers, who demonstrate a higher interest in utilizing such opportunities. Moreover, programs related to business development training should actively engage female participants, as they tend to show greater interest in this area. By prioritizing a careful selection process for land recipients and ensuring that access



provisions are tailored to the specific needs of diverse subject groups, policymakers can foster more sustainable and equitable outcomes. This comprehensive approach not only addresses the immediate challenges faced by subjects but also contributes to the long-term success of land redistribution efforts, ultimately promoting economic welfare and stability within the community.

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