

Agrarian Reform and Land Redistribution in Palu City: Addressing Post-Disaster Challenges

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Abstract

This study investigates the implementation of agrarian reform policy in Palu City, Central Sulawesi Province. Adopting a qualitative research design, the study involved purposive sampling of five key informants. Data were collected through a combination of observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation, and analyzed descriptively. The findings, analyzed through the lens of Merilee S. Grindle's theory, identify two critical factors: the content of the policy and the context of its implementation. Regarding policy content: (1) The interests of both the implementers and the target groups—primarily the local community—were found to remain largely unaffected, socially and economically, as evidenced by the absence of opposition to the agrarian reform policy; (2) The benefits associated with the policy, particularly in enhancing community welfare through the establishment of agrarian reform villages, were perceived as significant; (3) The anticipated changes, such as the acquisition of new knowledge and skills by the community, were achieved; (4) The role of policymakers has been effectively institutionalized, as demonstrated by the Mayor's Decree on the Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA), which has successfully engaged relevant stakeholders; (5) Despite encountering some challenges, the implementation of the agrarian reform policy has progressed effectively; (6) The resources allocated, particularly those from the Palu City Land Office, have been utilized optimally. In terms of the implementation context: (1) The power dynamics,

interests, and strategies of the involved actors have been pivotal in driving the successful realization of the policy's objectives; (2) The characteristics of the institutions and authorities involved have provided robust support for the policy's implementation in Palu City; (3) Compliance and responsiveness within the implementation framework have been optimized, reflecting a strong commitment and support from the Palu City Government. The study concludes that the implementation of agrarian reform policy in Palu City has been effective and well-coordinated.

I. Introduction

The implementation of agrarian reform policy in Palu City, located in Central Sulawesi Province is a significant and complex endeavor that plays a crucial role in addressing long-standing land distribution issues and promoting social justice. Agrarian reform in Indonesia has deep roots in the nation's history, tracing back to the principles laid out in the 1945 Constitution. Specifically, Article 33, paragraph 3, emphasizes the importance of state control over land, water, and natural resources, with the ultimate goal of using these resources for the greatest welfare of the people. The Agrarian Reform policy is designed not only to redistribute land but also to rectify historical injustices and reduce the concentration of land ownership, which has often led to social and economic inequalities (Abou Zeid et al., 2020; Karreinen et al., 2023; Rahman et al., 2013, 2016; Terpstra & Fyfe, 2014; Ukpai, 2022).

The legal foundation for agrarian reform in Indonesia is enshrined in the Basic Agrarian Law (*Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria*, UUPA) of 1960 and has been long standing ever since. This landmark legislation was established to unify and regulate land ownership and usage across the diverse archipelago, reflecting the principles of national sovereignty, the social function of land, and equitable land distribution. The UUPA was intended to be the cornerstone of land reform in Indonesia, promoting a more just and equitable society by ensuring that land was accessible to those who needed it most. However, over the decades, the implementation of agrarian reform has faced numerous challenges. Various sectoral laws, often driven by specific economic interests, have emerged, creating a fragmented legal framework that complicates the reform process (Purwanto & Nasution, 2022; Sihombing, 2017). In regions like Palu City, this disharmony has manifested in conflicts between communal land rights and individual ownership, as well as disputes between local communities and other actors such as private companies and government agencies.

The urgency of agrarian reform in Palu City was brought into sharp focus by the

natural disaster that struck the region on September 28, 2018. The devastating earthquake and tsunami not only caused significant loss of life and destruction of property but also exacerbated existing land disputes and created new challenges for land management. The disaster underscored the vulnerabilities in the region's land governance systems, particularly in terms of land tenure security and the equitable distribution of land resources. In the aftermath of the disaster, the complexities of land disputes became even more apparent, involving a diverse range of stakeholders, including local communities, private companies, and various levels of government. The situation in Palu City serves as a stark reminder of the importance of resilient and adaptable land governance systems that can respond effectively to both natural and human-made crises. Indonesian agrarian reform acknowledge the land tenure owned by people who got affected by earthquake and the coordinate just need to be corrected as long as the “soil” stays (not loss such in a case od abrasion) (Nur Amrin et al., 2022).

A central component of agrarian reform is land redistribution, which aims to address the historical inequities in land ownership by providing landless farmers and marginalized communities with access to land. In theory, land redistribution is a powerful tool for enhancing the livelihoods of rural populations, reducing poverty, and promoting more sustainable land use practices. In Indonesia, *Ruislag* (swap) is one way to redistribute the land into housing area (Imansyah et al., 2023). However, in Palu City, the practical implementation of land redistribution has been fraught with challenges. These include issues such as unclear land ownership, which often stems from a lack of comprehensive land records and legal documentation. Additionally, the process has faced resistance from powerful landholders who are reluctant to cede control over their land, as well as from local bureaucracies that may be slow to implement reform policies (preliminary study, 2024). These obstacles have significantly hindered the progress of agrarian reform in the region, leading to ongoing land disputes and tensions between different groups. Furthermore, the success of agrarian reform in Palu City depends on more than just land redistribution.

A comprehensive approach to agrarian reform must also consider other critical factors, such as access to resources, financial support, and market opportunities for farmers. These elements are essential for ensuring that agrarian reform leads to lasting economic development and social justice. For instance, providing farmers with access to credit and financial services can enable them to invest in their land and improve agricultural productivity. Similarly, improving access to markets can help farmers secure better prices for their products, thereby enhancing their income and overall well-being (Adha Fathiah et al., 2019). In Palu City, these broader aspects of agrarian reform are particularly important given the region's economic context and the need to support rural livelihoods in the aftermath of the 2018 disaster. The involvement of multiple government agencies, along with the active participation of local communities, is crucial for the success of these initiatives.

2. Research Method

This study adopts a qualitative research approach, engaged directly with participants. Study focused on the implementation of agrarian reform policies in Palu City, Central Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The selected study sites include Duyu and Kabonena Village, Ulujadi District. These locations were chosen due to their active involvement in the Agrarian Reform Program following the enactment of MPR Decree No. IX/MPR/2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management and Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform. These sites are representative of other regions in Palu City, making them ideal for examining the broader implications of the policy.

Sample was targeted to individuals who have a direct connection with the agrarian reform policy in the area. The criteria for selecting informants included stakeholders involved in agrarian reform, individuals with expertise in land management, and community members affected by the policy. This approach ensures that the data collected is relevant and provides insights from multiple perspectives.

The study was conducted over a three-month period, from December 2023 to February 2024. Data collected using a combination of semi administered interviews, observations, and document analysis. The interview focus is on understanding the roles, challenges, and perspectives of various stakeholders involved in the process, including government officials, local leaders, and community representatives. The interviews aim to explore the effectiveness of the reform policies, the collaboration among different levels of government, and the impact on local communities, as detailed on the table below.

Table 1. interview instrument matrix

Position/Role	Context/Topic	Sample Questions
Head of the Central Sulawesi BPN Office	Overview of Agrarian Reform Implementation and Strategic Importance	- How do you view the importance of agrarian reform in the context of national development? - What are the key challenges in implementing these reforms in Palu? - How does the BPN collaborate with local authorities?
Head of Land Arrangement and Empowerment, Palu BPN Office	Role of Local BPN in Addressing Land Disputes and Collaborating with Stakeholders	- What are the common types of land disputes encountered in Palu? - How does your office work with other stakeholders to resolve these issues? - What impact has agrarian reform had on local communities?

Mayor of Palu City	Local Government's Role in Supporting Agrarian Reform and Implementing National Policies	- How does the local government support the implementation of agrarian reform policies? - What are the specific local regulations that have been established to facilitate this reform?
Local Community Leaders	Impact of Agrarian Reform on Local Communities and Their Participation in the Process	- How has agrarian reform affected your community? - What are the main benefits and challenges you've experienced? - How involved is the community in the decision-making process related to land management?
GTRA Central or Regional Representative	Coordination Between National and Local Levels in Implementing Agrarian Reform	- How does GTRA ensure coordination between national and local government bodies? - What challenges have been faced in aligning national policies with local realities?
Legal Experts specializing in Land Law	Legal Frameworks and Regulations Supporting Agrarian Reform	- What are the key legal frameworks guiding agrarian reform in Indonesia? - How do these laws impact the implementation of policies at the local level? - What legal challenges are commonly faced in this reform?

Note: BPN – *Badan Pertanahan Nasional* (National Land Agency); GTRA – *Gugus Tugas Reforma Agraria* (Agrarian Reform Task Force); OPDs – *Organisasi Perangkat Daerah* (Regional Government Organization)

Data analysis followed the (Miles et al., 2022), which involves data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The process began with the transcription and coding of interview data, followed by the identification of themes and patterns. These themes were then compared and contrasted with observational data and document analysis to build a comprehensive understanding of the policy's implementation.

In this study, the author uses a normative and empirical juridical approach.

a. Normative Juridical Approach

The normative juridical approach is centered on the examination of legal

materials, which includes the analysis of theories, concepts, legal principles, and statutory regulations relevant to agrarian reform. This approach is fundamental for understanding the legal framework that governs agrarian reform in Indonesia. It involves a detailed study of the primary legal materials such as the Basic Agrarian Law, MPR Decree No. IX/MPR/2001, and Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018. By critically analyzing these legal sources, the research aims to uncover the underlying principles and legal concepts that shape the implementation of agrarian reform policies.

b. The empirical juridical approach

The empirical juridical approach complements the normative analysis by incorporating field research to gather primary data directly from the study's subjects. This approach involves conducting direct observations and interviews with key stakeholders involved in the agrarian reform process in Palu City.

3. Results and Discussion

Agrarian Reform Policy Implementation in Palu: Analyzing the Interaction Between Policy Content and Local Contexts

The implementation of agrarian reform policy in Palu has been critically examined through the lens of Grindle's model, which emphasizes both the content of the policy and the contextual factors influencing its execution. The content of the agrarian reform policy includes specific objectives, such as redistributing land to marginalized farmers, enhancing agricultural productivity, and reducing rural poverty. The policy also entails legal frameworks and institutional arrangements designed to support its enforcement. However, the effectiveness of these measures largely depends on how well they are communicated to and understood by local stakeholders. Grindle's theory (1999) includes both of these factors classified into 9 aspects. The content of the policy includes the following aspects: 1) Interests affected by the policy; 2) Type of benefits to be generated; 3) Degree of desired change (extent of change envisioned); 4) Position of policy makers (site of decision making); 5) (who) implements the program; and 6) Resources committed. Meanwhile, the context of policy implementation includes the following aspects: 1) Power, interests and strategies of actors involved; (2) Characteristics of institutions and rulers; and (3) Compliance and responsiveness of implementers.

In Palu, the policy implementation was heavily influenced by local socioeconomic conditions, such as: 1) the existing power; 2) level of community engagement; 3) local institutions capacity. The policy's success in Palu was also contingent upon the coordination between various governmental bodies, particularly the National Land Agency (BPN), which played a central role in the land redistribution process. The BPN's involvement was critical in ensuring that land titles were distributed fairly and that the bureaucratic process was streamlined to avoid delays and corruption. Despite these efforts, the implementation encountered several challenges as

mentioned below (interview, 2024):

- a. Productivity of spatial planning and spatial planning guidelines, namely the availability of complete and accurate data; optimization of the use of information technology in data processing; quantity of spatial planning human resources (including spatial planning functions; assignment of regional civil servant that does not match the background study; and availability of spatial planning human resource competency standards;
- b. The main problems often faced in the implementation of land measurement and mapping, especially in the context of Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) are
 - i. Many landowners are not at the location of the land when it is measured so that land owners cannot carry out boundary designation in the field
 - ii. The boundaries of the land that is being measured have not been marked so that this hinders the process of implementing land measurement and mapping;
- c. In the context of the process of completing land measurement and mapping for land registration, if there is an indication of overlapping results of land measurement and mapping activities with registered land, with government asset land or with forest areas, further coordination, clarification, and verification are needed to ensure that the land does not overlap;
- d. There are still registered land areas that have not been mapped or have been mapped but in an incorrect position, so that data quality improvement activities are needed by carrying out work to improve the quality of registered land area data (K4);
- e. There are still some areas where the boundaries of forest areas and village boundaries are not clear;
- f. Land data of government agencies/assets (textual and spatial) used as analysis material in determining the direction and policy of land use of government agencies, both registered and unregistered, are currently incomplete;
- g. Holders of Land Rights/Land Control Basis (HAT/DPAT) are not yet aware of the fulfillment of obligations for the use and utilization of land;
- h. Conversion of agricultural land, especially rice fields, to non-agricultural land is still high;
- i. Facilitation and assistance in controlling the use of space in the regions are not optimal;
- j. Lack of quantity and competent Human Resources in their fields of work;

- k. Basically, the cost of implementing PTSL has been charged to the Budget Implementation List (DIPA) of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning.

Moreover, the effectiveness of the policy was also determined by the level of support it received from the local government and the degree of public awareness and participation (Cabioglu & Iseri, 2015). In many instances, the lack of adequate information dissemination led to misunderstandings and mistrust among the community members, who were supposed to be the primary beneficiaries of the reform. One of the local farmers interviewed expressed frustration over the slow pace of land redistribution, citing bureaucratic red tape and a lack of transparency as major hindrances. The farmer noted,

“We were promised land to cultivate, but the process has been so slow that many of us are losing hope. The officials say they are working on it, but we don’t see any progress. It feels like we are being left out of our own future.”

This sentiment was echoed by several other community members who participated in the interview, highlighting a broader discontent with how the policy was being rolled out on the ground.

Impact of Agrarian Reform on Target Groups: Examination of Effects on Stakeholders and Perceived Benefits

The National Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) plays a pivotal role in coordinating efforts at various levels, from the central government to local offices. The reform is supported by significant legal frameworks, such as the Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2018 and local regulations like the Mayor of Palu's decrees, which establish and empower GTRA at the city level. These frameworks are crucial for ensuring the consistent and effective implementation of agrarian reform policies across different administrative levels. The agrarian reform policy in Palu, aimed at redistributing land to marginalized farmers and improving rural livelihoods, has had a profound impact on various stakeholder groups, particularly the National Land Agency (BPN) and local communities. The BPN, tasked with overseeing the land redistribution process, found itself at the center of a complex and politically sensitive operation. For the BPN, the reform represented both an opportunity to address historical land injustices and a challenge in managing the logistical and legal aspects of land redistribution. The agency had to navigate a landscape marked by entrenched land ownership patterns, bureaucratic hurdles, and often, conflicting interests among different groups.

The reform's effects on local communities, especially smallholder farmers, were initially met with mixed reactions. For many, the promise of land ownership was a significant step towards economic independence and social equity. Farmers who previously worked as tenants or laborers on large estates were given the

opportunity to own the land they had cultivated for years, which was seen as a major victory for landless workers. However, the transition was not without its difficulties. The lack of clear communication and the slow pace of implementation created uncertainty among beneficiaries. Many farmers reported feeling uncertain about when, or if, they would receive their promised land parcels, leading to frustration and distrust towards the authorities.

Despite these challenges, the agrarian reform policy has begun to yield tangible benefits for some community members. For those who successfully received land titles, the reform has significantly improved their economic prospects. Ownership of land has enabled these farmers to invest in their properties, whether through improved farming techniques, better crop varieties, or access to credit. With secure land tenure, farmers have been able to take out loans to purchase necessary inputs, such as fertilizers and seeds, which has, in turn, led to increased agricultural productivity. The resulting boost in income has had a positive ripple effect, improving not just individual livelihoods but also contributing to the broader economic development of rural areas.

Interviews with key officials such as FAK, Head of the Central Sulawesi BPN Office, and LB, Head of Land Arrangement and Empowerment at the Palu BPN Office, shed light on the challenges and importance of collaboration in this reform process. FAK emphasized the strategic significance of agrarian reform as a national priority, highlighting the need for a *shift in public mindset and coordinated efforts across sectors*. Meanwhile, LB pointed out the critical role of addressing land disputes in Palu through *cross-sectoral cooperation*, which serves as a benchmark for the reform's success.

The policy's impact on the broader community has also been noteworthy. As land ownership began to spread more equitably, there was a noticeable shift in the social dynamics of rural Palu. For example, the local government built vineyard in Duyu Village and freshwater aquaculture in Kabonena Village as the form of agrarian reforms by providing employment opportunities.



Figure 1. Vineyard (left) and freshwater aquaculture (right) as the innovative implementation of agrarian reforms

The reform contributed to a reduction in social tensions and conflicts over land, which had previously been a source of significant unrest. By addressing long-standing grievances and redistributing resources more fairly, the policy helped to foster a greater sense of community and cooperation among previously divided groups (Macke et al., 2019). However, this shift was not uniform, and in some areas, resistance from powerful landowners who were reluctant to part with their land created pockets of tension that threatened to undermine the reform's objectives, as noted by the interview:

"On the one hand, we are dealing with the expectations of the farmers who have been promised land, and on the other, we are trying to navigate a system that was not designed for such large-scale redistribution. The pressure is immense, and while we are making progress, it's clear that more needs to be done to streamline the process."

This sentiment was echoed by a community leader from one of the affected villages, who noted,

"The reform is a good thing, but it's moving too slowly. People are growing impatient, and if we don't see results soon, the frustration could boil over into something more serious."

Furthermore, the agrarian reform policy has had varying impacts on different demographic groups within the community. For example, women, who traditionally have had limited access to land ownership, have been some of the primary beneficiaries of the reform. In many cases, land titles have been issued jointly in the names of both husbands and wives, marking a significant step towards gender equity in rural areas. This move has empowered women, giving them a more significant role in decision-making processes related to land use and household income management by Community Guidance Activities related to the socialization

and creation of Business Identification Numbers (NIB) as well as the socialization of Home Industry Food (P-IRT) carried out by the Palu City Investment and One-Stop Integrated Service Office (PTSP). However, challenges remain in ensuring that these gains are sustained and that women continue to have access to the resources and support needed to fully benefit from land ownership.

In addition, the reform has led to an increase in access to credit for farmers. With land titles in hand, farmers can use their property as collateral to secure loans from banks and other financial institutions, as it viewed as one of the immediate act to do, as SA stated:

“The changes to be achieved through the implementation of agrarian reform policies are to improve community welfare by overcoming various existing problems such as inequality in control, ownership, agrarian disputes and conflicts, social inequality, poverty and unemployment. This activity is expected to have an impact on changing the behavior of the community receiving access and increasing interaction between other stakeholders so that it can open the mindset of the community to be able to support and participate in Agrarian Reform Access Handling activities so that the community is able to know the potential, optimize information accessibility and form networks, especially in supporting the development of ongoing businesses. One of the successful implementations in the implementation of agrarian reform in Palu City is the success of the Duyu Bangkit Agrarian Reform Village in Duyu Village. This success can be seen from the Duyu Bangkit Grape Farmer Group which already has 1.5 Hectares of land for vineyards and has successfully conducted a study tour in South Korea to improve quality and improve the system in processing vineyards. This cannot be separated from the results of the intervention of the Palu City Land Office and the Regional Government in Palu City.”

This access to credit is crucial for purchasing high-quality seeds, fertilizers, and farming equipment, all of which contribute to higher productivity and income. Previously, without land as collateral, many farmers were either unable to access formal credit or were forced to rely on informal lenders who charged exorbitant interest rates.

Technological and Economic Interventions

The introduction of biofloc technology in Kabonena has marked a significant shift in the practices of freshwater fish farming. This innovative approach to aquaculture has been widely recognized for its potential to enhance productivity while maintaining environmental sustainability. Biofloc technology revolves around the cultivation of microbial communities within the water, which helps in recycling nutrients and maintaining water quality. By doing so, it reduces the need for frequent water changes and minimizes waste, making it a cost-effective and eco-friendly solution for smallholder fish farmers. The adoption of biofloc technology in Kabonena Village has been particularly transformative for local farmers who have

struggled with the limitations of traditional aquaculture methods. Many of these farmers had been grappling with issues such as poor water quality, high feed costs, and diseases, all of which significantly hampered their productivity and profitability. The introduction of biofloc technology provided a viable alternative, allowing them to increase their fish yields without incurring substantial additional costs. This technology not only improved the efficiency of fish farming operations but also contributed to better environmental management, aligning with broader goals of sustainable agriculture.



Figure 2. Biofloc implementation in Kabonena Village (the village currently has 25 ponds)

The perceived benefits of biofloc technology among the fish farming community in Kabonena are numerous. For many farmers, the most immediate advantage is the reduction in feed costs, which traditionally represents a significant portion of the operational expenses in aquaculture. By fostering the growth of beneficial microbes that serve as an additional food source for the fish, biofloc systems decrease the reliance on commercial feeds. This cost-saving aspect has been crucial in making fish farming more accessible and profitable for small-scale operators, as one farmer noted in an interview,

"Before we started using biofloc, we were spending so much on feed that it was hardly worth it. Now, with biofloc, our costs have gone down, and our fish are healthier and growing faster."

Moreover, the introduction of biofloc technology has been supported by various economic interventions aimed at bolstering the overall sustainability and profitability of freshwater fish farming in the region. These interventions have included training programs to educate farmers on the effective use of biofloc systems, as well as financial support in the form of microloans and grants to help them set up the necessary infrastructure. Local government and non-governmental organizations have played a key role in facilitating these initiatives, recognizing that technological advancements must be accompanied by financial and educational

resources to ensure successful adoption (Grillos et al., 2021).

Another critical aspect of the economic interventions has been improving market access for fish farmers in Kabonena. Historically, smallholder farmers in the region faced significant barriers to accessing larger markets, often having to sell their produce at low prices to middlemen or local markets with limited demand. Recognizing this challenge, several initiatives have been launched to connect farmers directly with buyers, including restaurants, supermarkets, and fish processing companies. These efforts have been facilitated by the establishment of cooperatives and marketing networks, which have empowered farmers to negotiate better prices and secure more stable income streams. The local government has also invested in infrastructure development to support the fish farming industry. These investments have been instrumental in enabling farmers to scale up their operations and reach more lucrative markets, which in turns, improved their standard of living and contributed to the economic development of the region (Syafingi et al., 2020; Weaver et al., 2021).

Challenges and Solutions in Policy Implementation

The implementation of agrarian reform in Palu has been met with a range of challenges that have tested the resilience and adaptability of both the policymakers and the local communities. These challenges stem from various factors, including bureaucratic inefficiencies, resistance from powerful landowners, and logistical difficulties in land redistribution.

One of the primary challenges encountered during the implementation of the agrarian reform policy has been the bureaucratic complexity associated with land redistribution. The process of identifying eligible beneficiaries, verifying land ownership records, and issuing land titles has been slowed by outdated and often incomplete land registry data. This has created significant delays, leading to frustration among farmers who are eager to secure their land rights. Additionally, the centralization of decision-making processes within government agencies has further complicated the implementation, as local officials often lack the authority or resources to address issues as they arise on the ground.

In response to these bureaucratic challenges, there have been efforts to decentralize certain aspects of the land redistribution process. By empowering local governments and community leaders to play a more active role in identifying and verifying beneficiaries, the process has become more responsive to local needs. Moreover, the use of technology, such as digital land registries and GPS mapping, has been introduced to streamline the verification process and reduce the time required to issue land titles. As a local government official remarked during an interview,

"We realized that the central government alone couldn't handle everything. By involving local authorities and using technology, we've managed to speed up the

process and address issues more effectively."

Another significant challenge has been the resistance from powerful landowners who are reluctant to cede their land. In many cases, these landowners have held large tracts of land for generations and view the agrarian reform as a direct threat to their economic interests and social status. This resistance has manifested in various forms, from legal battles and lobbying against the reform to more covert actions, such as intimidating potential beneficiaries or obstructing the redistribution process. The influence of these landowners, often backed by political connections, has been a formidable barrier to the reform's progress.

To counteract this resistance, the government has employed a combination of legal and diplomatic strategies. On the *legal front*, measures have been taken to ensure that the land redistribution process is carried out transparently and in accordance with the law, minimizing opportunities for corruption and manipulation. Additionally, the government has sought to engage with landowners through dialogue and negotiation, offering compensation and incentives to encourage voluntary land cessions. While these strategies have had some success, the issue remains a persistent challenge that requires ongoing attention and adaptation. A community leader involved in the negotiations noted,

"It's not easy dealing with landowners who have so much power and influence. But by focusing on dialogue and showing them that the reform is not just about taking away land, but about creating a more just and prosperous community, we've made some progress."

Logistical challenges have also played a significant role in complicating the policy implementation. The geographical diversity of the region, coupled with inadequate infrastructure, has made it difficult to access remote areas and ensure that all eligible beneficiaries are reached. The lack of resources, such as trained personnel and necessary equipment, has hindered the efficient execution of the reform. These logistical issues have been particularly problematic in areas with poor road networks and limited communication channels, where even basic administrative tasks can become time-consuming and costly.

To address these logistical challenges, the government has invested in improving infrastructure and enhancing the capacity of local administrations. This includes building new roads and bridges to improve access to remote areas, as well as providing training and resources to local officials tasked with implementing the reform. Partnerships with non-governmental organizations and international donors have also played a crucial role in supplementing government efforts, providing additional expertise and funding to support the logistical aspects of the reform, as an NGO representative working in the region observed,

"Infrastructure development is key to making this reform work. Without it, we're just spinning our wheels. That's why we've been focusing on supporting

the government with resources and training to help overcome these logistical hurdles."

For instance, PTSL activities (first-time land registration carried out simultaneously for all unregistered land registration objects throughout Indonesia) in 2019 with an achievement of 265 land plots and PTSL in 2020 with an achievement of 438 land plots, as well as Land Redistribution Program Activities in 2021 carried out on the former Building Use Rights (HGB) land of PT. Duta Dharma Bakti which is intended for the construction of permanent housing for victims of the 2018 disaster.

Lastly, one of the critical challenges in the policy implementation has been ensuring the sustainability of the reforms. While land redistribution is an important step, it is not sufficient on its own to achieve the broader goals of poverty reduction and rural development. Beneficiaries need ongoing support in the form of access to credit, agricultural inputs, and markets to fully realize the potential benefits of land ownership. Without these complementary measures, there is a risk that the reform could fail to deliver lasting improvements in livelihoods, leading to disillusionment and possibly even the reversal of gains made.

To address this, the government, in collaboration with various stakeholders, has developed a comprehensive support package for beneficiaries of the agrarian reform. This package includes training programs in sustainable farming practices, access to microfinance, and initiatives to link smallholder farmers with markets. By providing these resources, the aim is to ensure that beneficiaries are not just landowners but also successful and sustainable farmers who can contribute to the overall economic development of the region. A farmer who benefited from these programs expressed their gratitude, saying,

"Getting the land was just the first step. The real challenge was making it productive. Thanks to the training and support we've received; I've been able to improve my farm and secure a better future for my family."

Normative Judicial Approaches Supporting Agrarian Reform in Palu

The implementation of agrarian reform in Palu has been deeply influenced by a series of normative judicial approaches that provide a legal foundation for the redistribution of land and the protection of beneficiaries' rights. These approaches are enshrined in both national statutes and international agreements, which collectively shape the judicial roadmap for agrarian reform in Indonesia.

At the national level, the agrarian reform in Palu is primarily guided by the Basic Agrarian Law (Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria, UUPA) No. 5 of 1960, which serves as the cornerstone of land law in Indonesia. This statute establishes the principle that all land within the country is under the control of the state, which has the authority to allocate land use rights to individuals and communities. The Basic Agrarian Law also emphasizes the social function of land, stating that land must be used in a way that benefits the welfare of the people. This legal framework has been instrumental

in justifying the redistribution of land from large landowners to smallholder farmers, who are seen as key to achieving social justice and reducing inequality in rural areas.

In addition to the Basic Agrarian Law, the implementation of agrarian reform has been supported by various other legal instruments, including the Presidential Instruction No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, which outlines the government's commitment to accelerating land redistribution and ensuring that land rights are secured for marginalized communities. This instruction provides a clear mandate for the relevant government agencies to prioritize agrarian reform in their agendas and allocate the necessary resources to achieve these goals. It also highlights the importance of collaboration between different levels of government and civil society organizations in the implementation process.

One of the key normative judicial approaches that has supported agrarian reform efforts in Palu is the recognition and protection of customary land rights (*hak ulayat*) under Indonesian law. Customary land rights, which are held by indigenous communities, are recognized in the Basic Agrarian Law and further protected by subsequent regulations, such as the Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PUU-X/2012, which reaffirmed the legal status of customary forests as part of customary land. This legal recognition is particularly important in the context of agrarian reform, as it ensures that the land redistribution process respects the traditional rights of indigenous communities and prevents conflicts over land ownership.

At the international level, Indonesia's commitment to agrarian reform is also supported by its adherence to various international agreements and conventions. One such agreement is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), to which Indonesia is a signatory. The ICESCR obliges states to ensure that everyone has access to adequate food, clothing, and housing, which includes the right to land. This international covenant provides a legal basis for the agrarian reform, reinforcing the idea that land redistribution is not only a matter of national policy but also a human rights obligation, as stated by interviewee from government representative,

"Without a strong legal foundation, agrarian reform efforts would be vulnerable to legal challenges and could easily be derailed. The Basic Agrarian Law and other supporting statutes give us the legal authority to redistribute land and protect the rights of beneficiaries. At the same time, international agreements like the ICESCR provide an additional layer of legitimacy, aligning our efforts with global human rights standards."

In Palu, these normative judicial frameworks have played a critical role in legitimizing the agrarian reform process and providing a clear legal pathway for its implementation. They have helped to establish the parameters within which land redistribution can occur, ensuring that it is carried out in a manner that is consistent with both national laws and international obligations. Moreover, these frameworks have provided the necessary legal tools to address challenges related to land

disputes and the enforcement of land rights, which are common issues in the implementation of agrarian reform.

4. Conclusion

The conclusions of this study are as follows:

- a. The successful implementation of agrarian reform in Palu requires a nuanced understanding of how national policies interact with the local context. The adaptation of policy content to address the specific needs, social dynamics, and geographical realities of the region is crucial for ensuring that reform efforts are both relevant and effective.
- b. Agrarian reform has brought significant benefits to target groups, particularly in terms of land ownership and economic empowerment. However, the perceived benefits vary among stakeholders, with some experiencing more pronounced improvements in their livelihoods than others. Continuous monitoring and tailored support are essential to maximize the positive impact across all beneficiary groups.
- c. Technological and economic innovations in Duyu and Kabonena Village have significantly contributed to enhancing the productivity and sustainability of freshwater fish farming. These interventions, which range from advanced farming techniques to improved access to markets and financial resources, demonstrate the potential of integrating modern innovations with traditional practices to create more sustainable and economically viable aquaculture systems.
- d. The implementation of agrarian reform in Palu has encountered various challenges, including bureaucratic inefficiencies, resistance from powerful landowners, and logistical obstacles. Through a combination of decentralized decision-making, legal strategies, and infrastructure development, these challenges are being addressed, allowing the reform to progress and achieve its intended goals.

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