



# REDD+ Update Report

## Agrarian Reform

Presidential Regulation No. 86 Year 2018 on Agrarian Reform

*Enacted September 27, 2018*

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### Introduction

- Agrarian reform is one of the landmark programs of President Joko Widodo’s administration under the Economic Equality program (of which social forestry is also a part). The target of agrarian reform involves allocation for social forestry with the size of 12.7 million hectares and land legalization and redistribution with the size of 9 million hectares (legalization of existing land with the size of 4.5 million ha and land redistribution of 4.5 million ha). Out of the 4.5 million ha of land that will be redistributed, the majority will come from forest area release (4.1 million ha). The rest will come from plantation concessions that have expired and abandoned land.
- Because Indonesia has a finite and even shrinking land reservoir and most of Indonesia’s land is legally classified as forest area, agrarian reform is closely linked to forest area release. It is also linked to the palm oil moratorium policy, which involves an evaluation of palm oil plantations that have not been developed or worked on (“abandoned”) to be redistributed to

communities as well as the 20% allocation rule. It also links to resolution of tenurial rights of communities inside forest area, which is regulated by Presidential Regulation No. 88/2017.

- **Forest area release for TORA.**
  - **Targets and realization.** Agrarian reform policy targets to release 4.1 million ha of forest area. The Minister of Environment of Forestry has allocated 4.8 million ha of forest area for TORA (agrarian reform object). Until the end of 2017, only 750,123 ha of forest area has been released for agrarian reform, merely 18.2% from the target of 4.1 million ha.<sup>1</sup> The target for forest area release in 2019 is also small, namely 111,305 ha in 7 provinces.<sup>2</sup> There is no public account on how much natural forests are contained in forest area allocated for TORA, especially the 2.1 million ha of Production Forest for Conversion (HPK) allocated and 437,937 ha of 20% of forest area released for plantations.
- **TORA from ex-plantation area.**
  - A part of agrarian reform land object (TORA) will be provided from taking ex-plantation area (HGU) and 20% of land from forest area released for palm oil plantations (from 2011 and beyond). The government has identified 375,123 ha that could be redistributed as TORA under this 20% scheme.<sup>3</sup> However, this 20% rule has not been enforced because the operational regulations and schemes are not firm enough.<sup>4</sup> The government has issued a list of companies, which HGU overlaps with TORA.<sup>5</sup>
- **Agrarian reform as a Priority Activity in Government Work Plan 2019.** Agrarian reform targets are firmly mentioned in Indonesia's Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2014-2019 that will end next year. In the 2019 Government Work Plan (RKP), the last one under President Joko Widodo's 2014-2019 tenure, agrarian reform becomes a Priority Activity (PA) under the Priority Program of Poverty Eradication.<sup>6</sup> With a status as a Priority Activity, agrarian reform actually fares better than other government programs, including Peatland Restoration, which has never held such status.
- **Presidential Regulation 86/2018.** Although agrarian reform has been a landmark program since the President took office in late 2014, It is only in September 2018, nearing the end of his Presidency, that he eventually enacted a legal basis for the implementation, namely through Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018. The 10-chapter regulation contains provisions for the following subjects:
  - Implementation of agrarian reform
  - Handling of agrarian dispute and conflict
  - Institutional setting for implementation
  - Obligations and prohibitions for TORA receivers
  - Funding
- **Objectives.** The stated objectives of agrarian reform are fourfold: (i) reduce inequality of land control and ownership, (ii) resolve agrarian conflicts, (iii) improve food security and food sovereignty, and (iv) improve and maintain the quality of the environment. The mention of both food security and sovereignty and maintaining the quality of the environment is

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<sup>1</sup> Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, Laporan Capaian Reforma Agraria 2017, Presentasi.

<sup>2</sup> Rencana Kerja Pemerintah 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, Laporan Capaian Reforma Agraria 2017, Presentasi.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

important because parts of land that will be redistributed to the landless will come from forest area and it is a possibility that some lands may be located on peatland ecosystem.

- This report highlights the contents of the newly enacted Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform (Perpres 86/2018), which includes institutional setting for agrarian reform implementation (actors), subjects, objects, process, and agrarian reform from forest and indigenous people rights protection.

### Implementing actors and institutional setting

- The institutional setting for agrarian reform implementation is very important because it will determine not only the pace of implementation but whether or not civil society can have meaningful participation and engagement. With no strong mandate for civil society engagement and participation, especially at the national level, CSOs often relies on non-business as usual government actors as a bridge to channel their inputs and concerns.
  - **Full level of implementation.** With the issuance of this Regulation, both central and regional governments (down to district level) are now legally mandated to conduct agrarian reform, including solving agrarian reform disputes and conflicts, in a systematic manner. This involves two activities: (i) planning and (ii) execution.
    - **Planning.** the Regulation mandates central and regional government to integrate agrarian reform into their respective development planning and budget, including work plan of each government agency to ensure that it receives a budget. Planning must be conducted for the following elements of agrarian reform:
      - Asset reform
      - Access reform
      - Legalization of agrarian reform land (TORA)
      - Agrarian disputes and conflicts handling
    - **Execution.** National, provincial, and district governments are now mandated to carry out agrarian reform activities according to planning that has been conducted, with the bulk of implementation lying on the district/city level. Agrarian reform activities include the following elements:
      - Asset reform, further categorized into: (i) land distribution and (ii) asset legalization
      - Access reform (empowerment), and
      - Conflict/dispute resolution
  - **Structures.** The institutional setting for agrarian reform implementation includes the following four structures:
    - National Agrarian Reform Team
    - Agrarian Reform Task Force at Central Level
    - Agrarian Reform Task Force at Provincial Level
    - Agrarian Reform Task Force at District Level
- **National Agrarian Reform Team.** The Regulation establishes a National Agrarian Reform Team, which membership is broader than the 2017 Agrarian Reform Team set by the Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs. The Team involves 16 ministries and state agencies including the Military Chief, Police Chief, and Attorney General (see Table 1 below). The coordinator at the national level is the Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs.
- **Agrarian Reform Task Force.** The Regulation replaces the 2017 Agrarian Reform Working Groups with Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) established at three levels: national, provincial, and district/city level.

- **National level Task Force** – led by Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning
- **Provincial level Task Force** -led by Governor
- **District level Task Force** – led by District Head/Mayor
- Although the agrarian reform program is commanded from the central level, the bulk of execution resides at the Agrarian Reform Task Force at the district/city level. This includes proposing lands to be determined as TORA by Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning, implementation of both asset and access reform, legalization of TORA, and the first stage of resolving agrarian conflicts/disputes.
- At the national level, the bulk of implementation rests in the hands of Ministry of Agraria and Spatial Planning as the Head of Central Agrarian Reform Task Force, which authority includes determining land as agrarian reform object, enacting members of GTRA, and determining mechanisms and procedure for conflict/dispute handling.
- The institutional setting for agrarian reform implementation can be seen in the following Table:

**Table 1.** Institutional setting for agrarian reform implementation

<b>Before the Regulation (Agrarian Reform Team 2017)</b>	<b>After the Regulation (National Agrarian Reform Team)</b>	<b>Notes</b>
<p><b>Coordinator:</b> Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs</p>	<p><b>Coordinator:</b> Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Level: interministerial</li> <li>● Administratively housed in the Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs</li> <li>● Work mechanism will be regulated by Regulation of Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs</li> </ul>
<p><b>Members (7):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Minister of Home Affairs</li> <li>(ii) Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning</li> <li>(iii) Minister of Environment and Forestry</li> <li>(iv) Minister of Agriculture</li> <li>(v) Minister of State-Owned Enterprise, and</li> <li>(vi) Minister of Village,</li> <li>(vii) Head of Executive Office of the President.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Members (16):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning</li> <li>(ii) Minister of Finance</li> <li>(iii) Minister of Home Affairs</li> <li>(iv) Minister of National Development Planning</li> <li>(v) Minister of Environment and Forestry</li> <li>(vi) Minister of Agriculture</li> <li>(vii) Minister of State-Owned Enterprise</li> <li>(viii) Minister of Village</li> <li>(ix) Minister of Marine Affairs and Fishery</li> <li>(x) Minister of Cooperatives</li> <li>(xi) Minister of State Secretariat</li> <li>(xii) Cabinet Secretary</li> <li>(xiii) Head of Executive Office of the President.</li> <li>(xiv) Attorney General</li> <li>(xv) Indonesian Military Chief</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● The members of National Agrarian Team expanded from only 7 ministers/state agencies to 16 ministers/state agencies, including the Indonesian Military Chief and Police Chief as well as Attorney General.</li> </ul>

	(xvi) Indonesian Police Chief	
<b>Tasks of Agrarian Reform Team</b> (i) Coordination and synchronization (formulation, issuance, and implementation) of policies related to agrarian reform (ii) Control of policy implementation related to agrarian reform (iii) Monitoring, analysis, evaluation, and reporting of agrarian reform (iv) Other functions given by the President	<b>Tasks of Agrarian Reform Team</b> (i) Making policies and plans about agrarian reform (ii) Coordination and troubleshooting in terms of agrarian reform implementation (iii) Monitoring and reporting of agrarian reform implementation	<b>Entry point for NGO involvement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The new National Agrarian Reform Team can seek cooperation with other ministries/state agencies, regional government, academicians, and other stakeholders.</li> </ul>
<b>Working Groups:</b> (i) Working Group on Forest Area Release and Social Forestry, (ii) Working Group on Land Legalization and Redistribution (TORA), and (iii) Working Group of Community Economic Empowerment	<b>Agrarian Reform Task Force (<i>Gugus Tugas Reforma Agraria</i>)</b>  <b>National level</b> <b>Head:</b> Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning <b>Deputy:</b> Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs, Deputy III <b>Daily Implementation Chief:</b> Ministry of Agraria and Spatial Planning, Director General of Agraria Restructuring <b>Members:</b> (to be enacted by Ministerial Decision/SK) (i) Ministry of Home Affairs (ii) Ministry of Agraria and Spatial Planning (iii) Ministry of Environment and Forestry (iv) Ministry of Village (v) Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fishery (vi) Ministry of Public Work (vii) Ministry of Cooperatives (viii) Ministry of Industry (ix) Ministry of Trade (x) Ministry of State-Owned Enterprise (xi) Ministry of Finance (xii) Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (xiii) Ministry of National Development Planning (xiv) Ministry of State Secretariat (xv) Cabinet Secretary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>GTRA must be established at the latest 3 months after the Regulation (on December 27, 2018)</li> </ul> <b>Entry point for NGO involvement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No mandate for civil society participation in GTRA at central level</li> <li>GTRA can appoint work partners to assist agrarian reform subjects in their empowerment – this can be CSO’s role.</li> </ul>

	<p>(xvi) Executive Office of the President</p> <p><b>Tasks of GTRA at the central level:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Coordinating TORA provision at the central level (asset reform)</li> <li>2. Coordinating implementation of access reform at the central level</li> <li>3. Coordinating the integration of asset reform and access reform at central level</li> <li>4. Reporting agrarian reform implementation to the National Agrarian Reform Team</li> <li>5. Coordinating and facilitating agrarian reform disputes and conflicts</li> <li>6. Monitoring implementation of provincial and district GTRA tasks</li> </ol>	
	<p><b>GTRA Provincial level</b>  <b>Head:</b> Governor  <b>Deputy:</b> Regional Secretary  <b>Daily Implementation Chief:</b> Head of Regional Office of National Land Agency  <b>Members:</b> (to be enacted by Governor Decision Letter)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Highest ranking officials of regional services in charge of the following issues: public work, environment, forestry, transmigration, housing/settlement, cooperatives, small-medium scale business, industry, trade, energy and mineral resources, land, finance, planning, investment</li> <li>2. Officials of BPN Regional Office</li> <li>3. Officials of Forest Area Gazettement Office (BPKH)</li> <li>4. <b>Community elements and/or academicians</b></li> </ol> <p><b>Tasks of GTRA at the provincial level:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Coordinating TORA provision at the provincial level (asset reform)</li> <li>2. Facilitating access reform at the provincial level</li> <li>3. Coordinating the integration of asset reform and access reform at provincial level</li> </ol>	<p><b>Entry point for NGO involvement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a mandate for civil society participation in GTRA provincial level as a member of GTRA (community elements and/or academicians)</li> </ul>

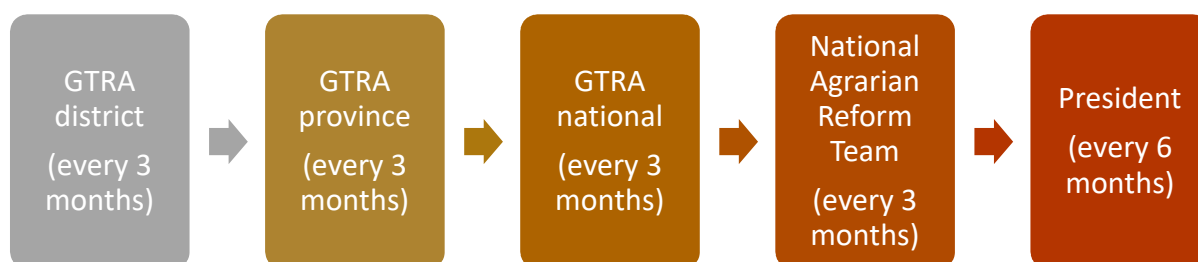
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Reporting agrarian reform implementation to the Central Agrarian Reform Task Force</li> <li>5. Coordinating and facilitating agrarian reform disputes and conflicts at the provincial level</li> <li>6. Monitoring implementation of district/city GTRA tasks</li> </ol>	
	<p><b>GTRA District level</b>  <b>Head:</b> District Heads/Mayors  <b>Deputy:</b> District Regional Secretary  <b>Daily Implementing Agency:</b> Head of Land Office (district level)  <b>Members</b> (to be enacted through District Head/Mayor Decision Letter):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Highest ranking officials of district regional services in charge of the following issues: public work, environment, forestry, transmigration, housing/settlement, cooperatives, small-medium scale business, industry, trade, energy and mineral resources, land, finance, planning, investment</li> <li>2. Officials of district land office</li> <li>3. <b>Community figures</b></li> <li>4. <b>Academicians</b></li> </ol> <p><b>Tasks of GTRA at district level:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coordinating TORA provision as a part of asset reform at the district/city level</li> <li>• Proposing recommendations to Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning/appointed official regarding lands to be affirmed as State Land and determined as TORA</li> <li>• Implementing/executing asset reform and ownership of TORA</li> <li>• Providing legal certainty of and legalization of rights to agrarian reform land</li> <li>• Implementing access reform</li> <li>• Integrating asset reform and access reform at district/city level</li> <li>• Submitting report of agrarian reform implementation to GTRA at the provincial level</li> <li>• Coordinating and facilitating agrarian disputes and conflicts at district/city level</li> </ul>	<p><b>Entry point for NGO involvement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a mandate for civil society participation in GTRA district level as a member of GTRA (community figures and academicians)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monitoring implementation of asset legalization and asset redistribution</li> </ul>	
<b>Secretariat:</b> Agrarian Reform Secretariat (housed in Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs)	?	

## Transparency and participation

- Looking at the structure, it can be said that the non-business as usual elements of the agrarian reform Presidential Regulation are there but quite few.
  - Participation.**
    - The Regulation mandates the implementing structures to *involve community* based on existing laws and regulations, but there is no institutionalized participation of community/civil society/indigenous people at the national level. This makes things seem like business as usual at the national level. However, GTRA at the provincial and district level reserve seats for civil society elements, namely community elements, community figures, and academicians, which reflect a degree of institutionalized partnership more progressive than the national level.
    - The Regulation explicitly mentions the need of the National Agrarian Reform Team and Agrarian Reform Task Force at all levels to involve the communities in agrarian reform planning and implementation, at least in the four following activities:
      - TORA proposal
      - TORA subject proposal
      - Types of access reform
      - Inputs in conflict/dispute resolution
    - The participation will most likely be done in the form of socialization and consultation workshops/meetings in accordance with the laws and regulations. A more institutionalized participation is not mandated in the National Agrarian Reform Team but is mentioned in GTRA at provincial and district level.
      - Central level.** There is no mandated community or civil society participation in the structure of the National Agrarian Reform Team and Agrarian Reform Task Force, but there is an entry point for civil society involvement in the clause that the Team can seek cooperation with “stakeholders”.
      - Provincial level.** There is a wording for a seat for community elements and/or academicians in Agrarian Reform Task Force at the provincial level, if CSOs count as “community elements.”
      - District level.** There will be seats for “community figures” and “academicians” at the district level Agrarian Reform Task Force. It is uncertain, however, whether CSOs can count as community figures.

- To anticipate these openings, CSOs must consolidate and create a forum for coordination and communication to formulate inputs and provide reactions to agrarian reform implementation.
  - **Transparency.** There is an interesting clause in the Regulation regarding transparency. It says that the periodic reports regarding agrarian reform implementation can be accessed by the public in accordance with laws and regulations (the Public Information Disclosure Law). The reporting stages are as follows:



## Scope of agrarian reform

### Asset reform and access reform

- Agrarian reform consists of two major elements: asset reform and access reform. **Asset reform** is restructuring of land control, ownership, use, and utilization. **Access reform** is giving access to capital/finance and other assistance to agrarian reform subjects based on land utilization (community empowerment).
  - **Asset reform** consists of two activities, namely land redistribution and asset legalization.
    - **Land redistribution** is giving land to the landless
    - **Asset legalization** is legalization of existing lands already controlled by communities.

**Table 2.** Asset reform subject, object, and process

No.	Category of Asset Reform	Subjects	Objects	Process
1.	Land redistribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individuals</li> <li>• Community groups (holders of communal ownership rights)</li> <li>• Legal entities (cooperatives, limited liability companies, foundations, village-owned enterprises)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. HGU (land use right for plantations) and HGB (building use right) that have expired and not been renewed in the period of 1 year after the expiration date.</li> <li>2. 20% of HGU that changes into HGB (building use right) due to spatial planning change</li> <li>3. 20% of state land given as HGU (plantations) (link to Palm Oil Moratorium) – 20% of HGU given to palm oil companies must be developed as community plantation.</li> <li>4. Land from forest area release</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) <b>Inventory</b> of land control, ownership, use, and utilization</li> <li>(ii) <b>Analysis</b> of physical and juridical data of the land,</li> <li>(iii) <b>Release</b> of land rights from the State Land (for certain objects)</li> <li>(iv) <b>Designation</b> as land</li> </ol>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Forest area release allocated for TORA (4.8 million ha of allocation by MoEF, more than the target of 4.1 million ha)</li> <li>ii. Forest area land that have been occupied/controlled by communities and resolved in accordance with Perpres 88/2017 <b>Note:</b> How much forests are contained in the 4.8 million ha forest area allocated for TORA, especially 2.1 million ha of Production Forest for Conversion is unknown.</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Abandoned (state) land that is decided to be used for community and public interests through agrarian reform program</li> <li>6. Land made available by agrarian conflict resolution</li> <li>7. Ex-mining land located outside forest area</li> <li>8. Resurgent land</li> <li>9. Land from strengthening people's right to land <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I. Land granted by companies as part of CSR</li> <li>II. Land from land consolidation</li> <li>III. Land from land gifts</li> <li>IV. State land that has been occupied/controlled by communities</li> </ul> </li> <li>10. Ex-erpacht, partikelir, and eigendom</li> <li>11. Land exceeding the maximum size of land that can be owned, absentee land, ex-autonomous regions land</li> </ul>	redistribution object (by Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning)
2.	Asset legalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individuals</li> <li>• Community groups (holders of communal ownership rights)</li> <li>• Legal entities (cooperatives, limited liability companies, foundations,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transmigration lands that have not had land certificates</li> <li>2. Lands already owned/controlled by communities.</li> </ul>	

		village-owned enterprises	
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- **Access reform** is done with the following modes and process:
  - **Modes.** Access reform can be given directly by the government or through two other modes: (i) partnership between individuals and legal entity (probably referring to corporations), and (ii) cooperation between holders of communal ownership rights and legal entity (corporations) through land as capital investment.
  - Access reform is done in cluster.
  - **Process.** The process of implementing access reform is as follows: (i) social mapping, (ii) improving institutional capacity, (iii) assistance to develop business, (iv) skill development, (v) application of technology, (vi) business diversification, (vii) facilitation of access to finance, (viii) facilitation of access to marketing (offtaker), (ix) strengthening database and information of commodities, and (x) provision of supporting technology.

#### Conflict and dispute handling

- Agrarian conflict resolution, including resolution of tenurial rights in forest area, is an important element of agrarian reform and it is stated as one of the four objectives of this Regulation.
- Legal certainty and social justice are cited as principles for conflict/dispute handling. Legal certainty is often used by corporations in agrarian conflicts to assert their interests and social justice by the communities.
- This Regulation mandates agrarian conflict and dispute resolution to the Agrarian Reform Task Forces (GTRA), which is established at central level (led by Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning), provincial level (led by Governor), and district level (led by District Head/Mayors). The first level for conflict resolution is at the district level and it can progress up to the highest level. This is why the district level mechanism is very important.
- The mechanism of conflict and dispute handling/resolution will be further regulated by Regulation of Ministry of Agraria and Spatial Planning.

#### Agrarian reform from the perspective of forest and peatland protection

- The need to balance rights and environment protection is acknowledged in the objectives of this Presidential Regulation of which one is “improving and maintaining the quality of the environment.” The notion regarding environment is reflected in the following clauses:
  - Redistributed land is used for agriculture and non-agriculture based on land capacity, land suitability, and spatial plan.
  - Receivers of redistributed land must maintain soil fertility and productivity, protect and preserve natural resources above ground, and use the land in accordance with its capacity.
- However, other than the above clauses, there is no explicit environmental safeguards in the implementation of agrarian reform. Environmental concerns, especially regarding forest and peatland protection, may arise in two elements of agrarian reform: (i) determination of agrarian reform object (TORA), especially land for redistribution and (ii) what happens after the land is redistributed.
  - Determination of land to be redistributed originating from forest area is done by the Ministry of Environment of Forestry. It has issued an indicative map of forest area allocated for agrarian reform, which will be revised every 6 months. Half of the

indicated areas are land already controlled by communities, but around 2.1 million ha are HPK, which may or may not contain intact forests. Normatively, they shall release only HPK that does not contain intact or productive forests, but without spatial analysis of the maps, it is difficult to tell. In reality, many forest area lands that still contained intact natural forests were given away to palm oil plantations, as one example, although normatively it should not.

- Ex-plantation area that becomes agrarian reform object may include peatland, even deep peatland. How it is utilized after land redistribution will determine its contribution to environmental protection or environmental damage. There are opportunities to change the land use for the better after the land is redistributed to communities, for example using 20% of palm oil HGU allocated for communities to develop other, more environmentally friendly, commodities.

### Agrarian reform from the perspective of indigenous people rights

- From the perspective of indigenous people rights protection, there are concerns that the agrarian reform program leaves out indigenous people:
  - There is no mention of indigenous people as one of the agrarian reform subjects. According to one analysis, although community groups holding communal rights are mentioned as one of the agrarian reform subjects, by definition they do not refer appropriately to indigenous people because it is artificial and not reflecting the organic social entity of indigenous people.<sup>7</sup>
  - The Regulation states that agrarian reform object does not include indigenous people land. However, ex-plantation or HGU land, ex-use right land (erfacht) and land from forest area release have a high risk of overlap or conflict with indigenous people land. Unclear about agrarian reform objects that are not clean and clear poses risk that the agrarian reform may create new conflicts.<sup>8</sup>

### What to expect in the following months:

- Establishment of Agrarian Reform Task Force at central, provincial, and district level (at the latest on December 27, 2018).
- Issuance of ministerial regulation on the work mechanism of the National Agrarian Reform Team by Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs.
- Issuance of ministerial regulation on the mechanism of agrarian conflict and disputes resolution by Minister of Agraria and Spatial Planning.

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<sup>7</sup> Nurul Firmansyah, "Perpres Reforma Agraria Tanpa Masyarakat Adat," <http://www.mongabay.co.id/2018/11/05/perpres-reforma-agraria-tanpa-masyarakat-adat/>

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

## References:

Presidential Regulation No. 86 Year 2018 on Agrarian Reform

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Decision of Minister of Environment and Forestry No. 180 Year 2017 on Indicative Map of Forest Area Allocation for Agrarian Reform Object Provision

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