

A Systematic Literature Review of Land Bank Management Strategies, Agrarian Reform, and Land Governance

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ABSTRACT

Issues of unequal land ownership, protracted agrarian conflicts, and weak legal certainty constitute structural problems that continue to overshadow Indonesia's national development. In response, the government established the Land Bank through the Job Creation Law and Government Regulation No. 64 of 2021, granting it a strategic mandate to acquire, manage, and distribute land for public interest purposes and agrarian reform. However, its implementation has faced criticism due to its excessive centralization, limited space for public participation, and a tendency to favor investment interests. This study aims to analyze Land Bank management strategies from a land governance perspective using a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach. Data were collected from six international databases following the PRISMA framework, resulting in 22 selected articles published between 2020 and 2025 in reputable international journals and accredited national journals. The review identifies five main themes: institutional and regulatory frameworks, digitalization of land information systems, land distribution and agrarian reform, international lessons, and implementation challenges in Indonesia. Collectively, these themes represent the foundations, instruments, objectives, references, and practical realities of land policy. The study concludes that the effectiveness of strengthening the Land Bank hinges on its integration with fair, transparent, and participatory land governance principles. Its main contribution is the proposal of an integrated governance model for the land bank as both a conceptual and practical framework for land policy formulation.

A. Introduction

Land issues remain one of the most complex structural problems in Indonesia's national development, as they are closely intertwined with legal, economic, social, and political dimensions. High levels of inequality in land ownership, the continuous escalation of agrarian conflicts, limited land availability for public purposes, and weak legal certainty indicate that agrarian problems are not merely technical or administrative in nature, but rather reflect unresolved structural injustices (Widowati & Kamil, 2025; Saragih & Sumanto, 2023). This inequality is clearly reflected in the distribution of agrarian assets, where approximately 68 percent of land and natural resources are controlled by only 1 percent of elite groups, a condition that reinforces social exclusion and triggers prolonged conflicts at the local level (KPA, 2025).

In this context, the state has sought to introduce an institutional solution through the establishment of the Land Bank, regulated under the Job Creation Law (Law No. 11/2020) and operationalized through Government Regulation No. 64/2021 (Mertayasa & Komalasari, 2022). The Land Bank is designed as a special legal entity (*sui generis*) with a strategic mandate to acquire, manage, and distribute land for public interest purposes, agrarian reform, infrastructure development, and more equitable regional development (Simanjuntak, 2022). It is expected to serve as a key instrument for addressing structural inequality and accelerating equitable access to land (Wiyani, 2024).

However, criticism of the Land Bank policy is not merely normative but is deeply rooted in its legal foundations and constitutional legitimacy. The Constitutional Court Decision No. 91/PUU-XVIII/2020, which declared the Job Creation Law procedurally flawed, directly generated problems of legal legitimacy, as the government continued to enforce and operationalize derivative regulations that further strengthened the authority of the Land Bank, rather than undertaking substantive corrections to the legislative process (Ardhanariswari & Nursetiawan, 2023). This situation reinforces concerns that the institutional design of the Land Bank rests on a problematic legal foundation, making it vulnerable to neglecting the principles of the rule of law, legislative prudence, and public accountability. In line with this, various studies indicate that the Land Bank has been designed with a highly centralized structure, limited transparency in asset management, and weak accountability mechanisms, both administratively and democratically (Wardhani, 2025; Satrianty & Maulisa, 2024). The absence of meaningful public participation further strengthens concerns that the Land Bank may become a new instrument for consolidating state power over land, thereby reproducing patterns of unequal land control rather than realizing social justice as mandated by the Constitution (Alimuddin et al., 2024).

International studies provide valuable comparative perspectives. Land banking practices in the United States, Japan, and South Africa demonstrate that the success of similar institutions is determined by a combination of factors, including decentralization of authority, public data transparency, measurable performance indicators, and the existence of post redistribution support programs for beneficiaries (Fujii, 2021; Yin & Shimizu, 2025; Cousins, 2020). Unfortunately, these dimensions remain largely absent in both the Indonesian literature and policy frameworks (Rincón Barajas et al., 2024). Previous studies have tended to be predominantly normative juridical, limited to regulatory analysis, and rarely explore empirical field data (Kodiveri, 2022). To date, no research has formulated concrete performance indicators to assess the effectiveness of the Land Bank, such as the extent of land realized for agrarian reform, reductions in agrarian conflicts, or improvements in beneficiary welfare (Minner, 2023). Digital integration has also received limited attention, despite the proven transformative potential of initiatives such as the Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL) and the One Map Policy through spatial data digitalization (ATR/BPN, 2024; World Bank, 2023). Another unresolved gap in the literature is the absence of an integrated conceptual model that unifies legal, technological, social participation, and institutional accountability aspects within a single Land Bank governance framework (Winanda et al., 2024).

Against this backdrop, this study poses fundamental questions: how does the institutional framework of the Land Bank in Indonesia—both in terms of its legal basis, digital infrastructure, and governance mechanisms—contribute to, or instead fail to address, acute agrarian problems? What are the main gaps in land redistribution practices that allow conflicts to persist and inequality to remain unresolved? And how can principles derived from international practices be translated into a more democratic, accountable, and data driven institutional design in Indonesia? To address these questions, this research employs a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) of 22 selected articles published between 2020 and 2025 that examine the Land Bank, agrarian reform, and land governance.

The objectives of this study are to map the main themes emerging in the recent literature, compare international practices with the Indonesian context, identify conceptual and operational gaps, and formulate a new conceptual framework referred to as the Integrated Land Bank Governance Model. This model is expected to bridge existing weaknesses by emphasizing transparency, accountability, public participation, and the use of digital technology in land governance (World Bank, 2021; Bushman, Mallach, & Keating, 2023). In addition, the study aims to provide evidence based policy recommendations to strengthen the legal and operational framework of the Land Bank, including reinforcing the role of independent supervisory boards, opening public data portals, establishing community grievance mechanisms, and developing support programs for land redistribution beneficiaries (Subekti et al., 2023).

The contribution of this study is twofold, encompassing both theoretical and policy dimensions. Theoretically, it enriches land studies through an interdisciplinary approach that integrates public law, digital management, and agrarian justice studies (Widowati & Kamil, 2025). The proposed conceptual model constitutes a novel contribution to the land governance literature by integrating legal, technological, and social justice dimensions within a single governance framework (Setiawan & Silalahi, 2025). From a policy perspective, the study provides empirical and conceptual foundations for reforming Land Bank regulations, particularly Government Regulation No. 64/2021, to make them more responsive to societal needs and implementation challenges (Mujiono, 2024). By establishing clear performance indicators, this governance model may also function as a more objective monitoring and evaluation instrument, ensuring that the Land Bank genuinely serves as a solution to structural inequality and increasingly urgent agrarian conflicts in Indonesia (Kavuri & Ramanathan, 2024; World Bank, 2023).

B. Research Methods

Metodologi penelitian ini disusun menggunakan pendekatan *Systematic Literature Review* (SLR) dengan mengacu pada kerangka PRISMA (*Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta Analyses*), yang secara luas digunakan untuk meningkatkan transparansi dan akuntabilitas dalam penelitian berbasis literatur (Moher et al., 2009; Page et al., 2021). Pendekatan ini dipilih karena mampu memberikan landasan yang ketat dalam menyeleksi, menyaring, dan mengintegrasikan literatur akademik maupun laporan kebijakan yang relevan dengan isu Bank Tanah, reforma agraria, dan tata kelola pertanahan (Rincón Barajas et al., 2024; Kodiveri, 2022).

The methodology of this study was designed using a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach, guided by the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta Analyses) framework, which is widely applied to enhance transparency and accountability in literature based research (Moher et al., 2009; Page et al., 2021). This approach was selected because it provides a rigorous basis for identifying, screening, and integrating academic literature and policy reports relevant to land banking, agrarian reform, and land governance (Rincón Barajas et al., 2024; Kodiveri, 2022).

The literature search was conducted using major databases, including Scopus, Web of Science, ScienceDirect, Taylor & Francis Online, JSTOR, and Google Scholar, and was complemented by official policy documents from international organizations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank (FAO, 2022; World Bank, 2023). To ensure comprehensive coverage and consistency, structured keywords were employed, including "land bank," "bank tanah," "land banking," "land governance," "agrarian reform," "PTSL," "tenure Indonesia," and "PP 64/2021" (Winanda et al., 2024).

Clearly defined inclusion criteria were applied to ensure objectivity and focus. Selected publications were required to be published between 2020 and 2025, address core issues related to land banks, land governance, or agrarian reform, and appear in peer-reviewed journals, reputable legal journals, or official reports from international organizations (Subekti et al., 2023; Satrianty & Maulisa, 2024). Exclusion criteria included articles published before 2020 (except highly relevant classical references), popular writings lacking empirical data or academic methodology, and studies with country contexts or issues not aligned with the objectives of this review (Minner, 2023; Cousins, 2020).

Following the multi stage screening process in accordance with the SLR protocol, the initial identification yielded 1,254 articles from various scientific databases. After the removal of duplicates, 1,012 articles remained. Title and abstract screening subsequently excluded 802 articles deemed irrelevant, primarily because they did not directly address land banks or land banking, focused only on general land issues without institutional or governance dimensions, examined developed-country contexts not comparable to developing countries, or adopted purely technical spatial perspectives without links to public policy or agrarian justice. Additional exclusions were made for opinion based papers, non-academic policy reports, or thematically redundant studies with limited analytical contribution. As a result, 210 articles were retained for full text review. At this stage, methodological quality and analytical depth were assessed, leading to the exclusion of 185 articles due to weak research design, limited empirical evidence, or misalignment with the research objectives. Ultimately, 22 articles met the eligibility and substantive relevance criteria and were used as the primary analytical basis of this study (Bushman, Mallach, & Keating, 2023; Yin & Shimizu, 2025).

The selected articles were then categorized into five major themes to facilitate comparative analysis and synthesis. The first theme concerns Land Bank institutions and regulations, encompassing legal studies, normative analyses, and evaluations of Government Regulation No. 64/2021 (Mertayasa & Komalasari, 2022). The second theme addresses digitalization and land information systems,

highlighting the integration of technologies such as PTSL, the One Map Policy, and the potential application of the Land Administration Domain Model (LADM) (Kavuri & Ramanathan, 2024; ATR/BPN, 2024). The third theme focuses on land distribution and agrarian reform, examining the role of the Land Bank in improving equitable land access and reducing inequality (Widowati & Kamil, 2025; Setiawan & Silalahi, 2025). The fourth theme explores international lessons, drawing on land banking practices in the United States, Japan, India, and other countries for comparative insights (Fujii, 2021; Kodiveri, 2022). The fifth theme analyzes implementation challenges in Indonesia, including limited public participation, transparency, and institutional accountability (Wardhani, 2025; Mujiono, 2024).

Through this structure, the SLR methodology not only produces a systematic and comprehensive literature review but also enables the formulation of an evidence based and policy oriented Integrated Land Bank Governance Model, contributing to the advancement of agrarian governance theory and practice (World Bank, 2021; Alimuddin et al., 2024).

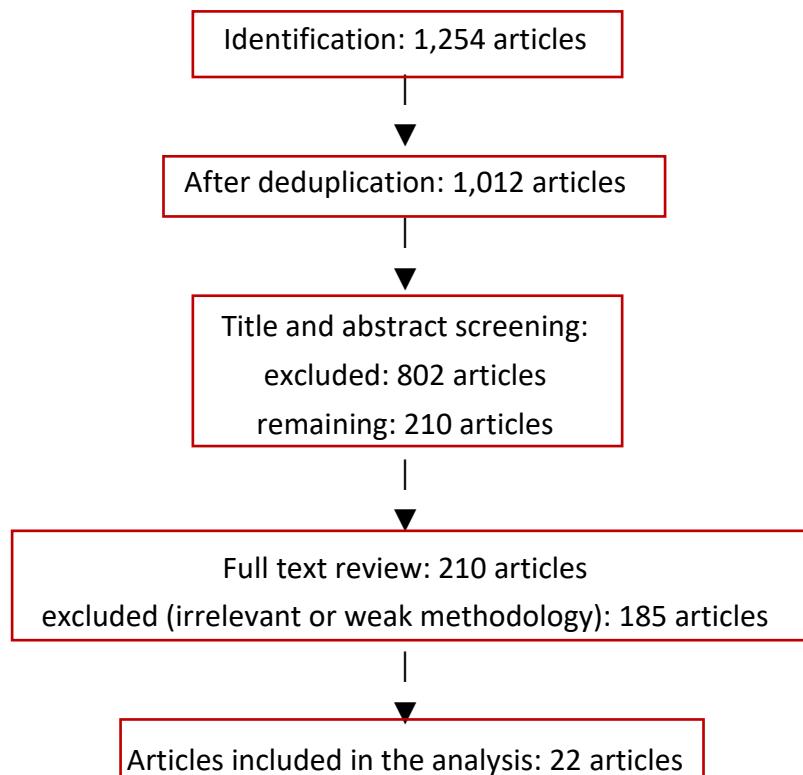


Figure 1. Structure of the SLR Method in This Study

Source: Author's analysis 2025

C. Result and Discussion

1. Thematic Findings

The issue of Land Bank governance in Indonesia during the 2020–2025 period has emerged as a significant topic in both academic literature and policy discourse, alongside the growing urgency of agrarian reform and land governance. This study examines 22 scholarly articles, international reports, and policy analyses using the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method. From the selected literature, five main themes are identified: institutional and regulatory frameworks, digitalization and land

information systems, land distribution and agrarian reform, international lessons, and implementation challenges in Indonesia.

Table 1. Critical Review of 22 Articles (2020–2025)

Authors & Year	Original Title	Method	Main Findings	Limitations
Alimuddin et al. (2024)	Indonesia's Land Bank Authority: Aligning with Agrarian Law or Facilitating Land Grabbing?	Critical legal study	Indonesia's land bank policy, introduced under the Job Creation Law, risks facilitating land grabbing, adversely affecting indigenous communities and undermining agrarian justice due to its failure to align with existing agrarian laws and equitable land tenure principles.	No field based empirical data
Torosyan (2025)	The Historical Evolution of Agrarian Reforms, Their Features, and Their Role in the Development of Agriculture	Case study	Agrarian reform is closely linked to food security and agricultural development.	Limited geographical scope
Fujii (2021)	Tax Deed Sales and Land Banking to Reuse Vacant and Abandoned Properties	Qualitative	Land banking is more effective than tax deed sales in certain contexts for reusing vacant and abandoned land.	Strong economic focus
Yin & Shimizu (2025)	Innovative Land Bank Models for Addressing Vacant Properties in Japan: A Case Study of Six Approaches	Case study	The study highlights six land bank initiatives in Japan and emphasizes the importance of integrating land management with urban planning.	Urban focused analysis
Mertayasa & Komalasari (2022)	Implementation of Government Regulation No. 64 of 2021 (Job Creation Law) on the Position of the Land Bank in Indonesia	Normative legal analysis	The legal legitimacy of the Land Bank following the Job Creation Law remains weak.	Regulatory focus only
Mujiono (2024)	Evaluation of PTS and the Land Bank	Evaluative empirical study	Technical capacity in land administration remains weak.	Limited scope
Winanda et al. (2024)	The Role of the Land Bank in the Management and Development of Abandoned Land	Empirical–descriptive	The Land Bank plays an important role in managing abandoned land.	Emphasis on technical aspects
Subekti et al. (2023)	The Urgency of the Legal Strategy of Abandoned	Normative–juridical	Legal harmonization between the Land Bank	Limited analysis of potential

Satrianty & Maulisa (2024)	Land Use through the Formation of a Land Bank in Indonesia The Role of the Land Bank Agency as a Land Manager in Relation to the Social Function of Land	Policy analysis	framework and the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) is necessary. The Indonesian Land Bank functions primarily as a land manager.	conflicts with agrarian reform programs Limited assessment of effectiveness
Permadi (2023)	The Constitutionality of the Land Bank's Existence in State Control and Management of Land	Constitutional analysis	The concept of the State's Right to Control (HMGN) is used to legitimize the Land Bank.	Limited discussion of implementation
Mile (2024)	The Urgency of Land Banks in State Control of Land in Indonesia	Policy report	The Land Bank is presented as a response to land governance challenges in Indonesia.	Legal status and accountability are insufficiently explained
Bushman et al. (2023)	Associations Between Land Bank Ownership and Environmental Stewardship	Empirical study (United States)	Land banks improve environmental stewardship of vacant land.	Long term impacts are not explored
Minner (2023)	Do Land Banks Mean Progress Toward Socially Equitable Urban Development? Observations from New York State	Comparative case study	Land banks in New York State show potential to promote socially equitable urban development.	Lacks specific transferable strategies
Wiyani (2024)	Legal Certainty of Land Banking Institutions: Theoretical and Current Challenges	Legal research	The Land Bank is a <i>sui generis</i> institution managing land assets separately from state assets.	Limited evaluation of institutional effectiveness
Widowati & Kamil (2025)	Legal Study of Land Redistribution Policy as a Land Reform Object: A State Administrative Law Perspective	Agrarian legal analysis	Administrative legal mechanisms for land redistribution require improvement, particularly in inter-agency coordination and procedural transparency.	Bureaucratic complexity creates administrative challenges
Rincón Barajas et al. (2024)	Large-Scale Acquisitions of Communal Land in the Global South: Assessing the Risks and Formulating Policy Recommendations	Comparative study	Large-scale communal land acquisitions pose significant socio-economic and environmental risks.	Does not address the Indonesian context
Wardhani (2025)	Revitalizing Post-Mining Land: The Role of the Land Bank in Promoting Social Justice and Environmental Sustainability	Critical normative analysis	The Land Bank has potential to promote social justice in post-mining land revitalization.	Weak integration of sustainability and social justice principles

Novianti (2024)	Multisectoral Challenges in the Implementation of Land Redistribution	Literature study	Land ownership challenges remain central in Indonesia.	Does not address the Land Bank
Saragih & Sumanto (2023)	The Politics of Land Law and the Implementation of the Agrarian Reform Program in Indonesia	Legal research	Secure land tenure is a core element of agrarian reform in Indonesia.	Lacks analysis of socio-economic impacts
Kavuri & Ramanathan (2024)	Land: Governance, Digitization and Human Rights – A Comparative Study	Comparative study	Digital land records, including digital cadastral systems, improve land governance.	No application to Indonesia
Kodiveri (2022)	Our Land Is Banked: Forest Rights, Consent and the Invention of a Legal Exception as Land Banks	Case study	Land banks in Odisha bypass forest rights consent requirements, creating legal exceptions that undermine community rights.	Odisha-specific context
Kusuma et al. (2023)	Emergent Institutional Issues from New Tenure Reforms and Social-Forestry Initiatives in Indonesia: Notes from the Field	Policy research	Implementation of KHDPK reveals significant institutional barriers and risks of failure.	Gaps in understanding existing tenure arrangements and their complexity

Source: Author's analysis (2025)

This review finds that issues surrounding the Land Bank, agrarian reform, and land governance cannot be separated from the complexity of regulatory frameworks, digital transformation, land distribution, international learning, and implementation challenges in Indonesia. By analyzing 22 selected articles, the study seeks to map emerging patterns of findings, identify research gaps, and formulate a more comprehensive conceptual framework. Five main themes emerge from the literature: institutional and regulatory arrangements, digitalization and land information systems, agrarian reform, international learning, and implementation challenges in Indonesia.

1.1. Institutional and Regulatory Framework of the Land Bank

The theme of institutional arrangements and regulation emerges as one of the most dominant discourses in the literature, as it concerns the juridical foundation and ideological orientation of the Land Bank within the national agrarian system. The legal basis of the Land Bank in Indonesia was established through the Job Creation Law (Law No. 11 of 2020) and operationalized by Government Regulation No. 64 of 2021. However, numerous studies indicate that this regulatory framework has not fully resolved fundamental debates regarding the position and legitimacy of the Land Bank within Indonesia's agrarian legal structure, particularly in relation to the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) of 1960. Prayogo, Sitorus, and Anwar (2023) emphasize the existence of overlapping authorities between the Land Bank and the mandate of the UUPA, especially with regard to the state's functions in regulating, managing, and distributing land.

Criticism intensifies as the Land Bank explicitly employs the concept of the State's Right to Control (SRC) as the primary basis for legitimizing land control and management. Simanjuntak (2022)

argues that the interpretation of SRC in the context of the Land Bank tends to shift away from its constitutional function as an instrument to ensure the greatest prosperity of the people, toward a justification for the expansion of administrative and centralized state control. Without clear limitations on authority and robust oversight mechanisms, the use of SRC risks widening the gap between state authority and citizens' land rights, while simultaneously creating opportunities for large scale land consolidation.

Several studies also warn that weak principles of accountability and transparency in the institutional design of the Land Bank may turn it into a new instrument for land accumulation by political elites and large corporations (Sari, Hidayah, & Widodo, 2022). This risk becomes increasingly pronounced when state authority over land, exercised through SRC, is not balanced by the recognition and protection of communal rights. Muthoharoh and Hidayat (2025) specifically highlight the potential for land grabbing, particularly affecting indigenous communities, given that many customary (ulayat) lands have yet to receive formal recognition within the state land administration system. In this context, SRC may function as a legal gateway for the appropriation of customary land in the name of public interest and development.

Overall, the literature concludes that the current institutional design of the Land Bank remains heavily inclined toward a centralized model, characterized by the dominance of central government control and limited space for community participation and local government involvement. The implications of these findings suggest that the success of the Land Bank is not determined solely by its operational flexibility in supporting development, but more fundamentally by the state's ability to restore SRC to its constitutional meaning. Data transparency, civil society engagement, protection of indigenous peoples' rights, and measurable performance indicators are essential prerequisites to ensure that the Land Bank does not evolve into an instrument of land accumulation, but instead genuinely functions as a tool for agrarian justice and equitable access to land resources.

1.2. Land Digitalization and Land Information Systems

Digital transformation is a fundamental prerequisite for modern land governance, and the literature consistently emphasizes that the Land Bank cannot be separated from the broader digitalization agenda. Kavuri and Ramanathan (2024) as well as Winanda et al. (2024) demonstrate that the adoption of the Land Administration Domain Model (LADM) can strengthen the interoperability of land data across institutions. This is particularly important given that the One Map Policy and the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) program have generated extensive land data repositories, which to date have not been fully integrated with the Land Bank's information systems.

The World Bank (2023) reports that by 2022, approximately 6.6 million land parcels had been successfully mapped out of the targeted 7 million through the PTS program. While this achievement is administratively significant, it raises critical questions regarding its tangible impact on resolving agrarian conflicts or accelerating the distribution of productive land. More accurate data can indeed reduce the potential for disputes, yet without direct integration with redistribution mechanisms,

digitalization risks functioning merely as an administrative exercise rather than a transformative policy tool.

Moreover, digitalization must also be understood within the framework of information openness. Most studies highlight that public access to land data remains highly restricted, thereby limiting the scope for social oversight. In the context of the Land Bank, digital transparency is a key source of legitimacy. If the public is able to monitor which lands are incorporated, their management status, and planned distribution schemes, the risk of misuse can be significantly reduced. Conversely, if digitalization only results in closed databases, it may instead generate new sources of conflict. Therefore, the digitalization of the Land Bank should be directed not only toward administrative efficiency, but also toward serving as an instrument for the democratization of land governance.

1.3. Agrarian Reform

One of the primary mandates of the Land Bank is to support the implementation of agrarian reform and to ensure that land is utilized for the greatest possible benefit of the people. However, the literature reveals a substantial gap between these normative objectives and their practical implementation on the ground. Widowati and Kamil (2025) argue that agrarian reform in Indonesia still tends to stop at the fulfillment of legal and administrative formalities, without ensuring the realization of substantive justice for farmers and rural communities. This critique is reinforced by Setiawan and Silalahi (2025), who emphasize that agrarian reform should be positioned as a foundation for national food security, achieved through land redistribution that strengthens the productive base of smallholder agriculture, rather than merely meeting asset legalization targets.

International perspectives indicate that the success of land redistribution is highly dependent on policy orientation and post redistribution support. Cousins (2020) and Rincón Barajas et al. (2024) underline that redistribution yields meaningful outcomes only when accompanied by access to finance, technical assistance, market integration, and production infrastructure. In the absence of such support, redistribution policies risk becoming mere asset transfers that fail to enhance productivity or improve livelihoods. In the Indonesian context, several studies instead observe that the Land Bank has thus far played a more dominant role as a land provider for national strategic projects, infrastructure development, and investment interests, rather than as an instrument for redistributing land to small farmers and indigenous communities. This pattern reflects a shift in policy orientation away from social justice and food security toward economic growth and investment facilitation.

These conditions suggest that the core problem lies not in the absence of an agrarian reform mandate, but in the priorities that shape policy implementation. The critical challenge ahead is to ensure that the Land Bank genuinely fulfills its redistributive function in a substantive, rather than symbolic, manner. The involvement of civil society, farmers' organizations, and local communities is essential in both the planning and oversight of land redistribution. Without participatory mechanisms and success indicators oriented toward welfare improvement and food security, agrarian reform through the Land Bank risks being reduced to policy rhetoric that fails to generate tangible change at the grassroots level.

1.4. International Lessons Learned

International experience with land banking provides both valuable points of comparison and strategic warnings for Indonesia in designing and implementing its Land Bank policy. Experiences from various countries demonstrate that land banks can function as effective policy instruments, yet they also carry serious risks when they are not grounded in strong principles of social justice and accountability.

In the United States, Fujii (2021) shows that land bank programs in Detroit have succeeded in increasing surrounding property values while also improving urban environmental conditions. These findings are reinforced by Bushman, Mallach, and Keating (2023), who highlight the contribution of land banks to environmental stewardship, including increased vegetation cover, the reduction of abandoned areas, and the mitigation of negative social impacts associated with vacant properties. Nevertheless, Mallach (2023) cautions that the benefits of such policies are often disproportionately captured by middle class groups. Without policy designs that explicitly protect vulnerable populations, land banks may instead reproduce existing social inequalities.

Japan offers a different perspective. Yin and Shimizu (2025) document a range of innovative land bank models based on public private partnerships for managing distressed land assets. These models demonstrate that private sector involvement does not necessarily lead to land commodification, provided it is framed by clear regulations, strict accountability mechanisms, and a strong public interest orientation. The Japanese case illustrates that institutional flexibility can coexist with the protection of social interests, as long as the state retains firm regulatory control.

By contrast, the experience of India provides a stark warning for developing countries. Kodiveri (2022) shows that the implementation of industrial land banks has facilitated large scale land concessions for industrial purposes, resulting in the marginalization of local communities, the weakening of communal land rights, and the erosion of indigenous living spaces. In this context, land banks have shifted from instruments of land management into tools of industrialization that neglect social justice considerations.

The key lesson drawn from these international comparisons is that data transparency and community participation are absolute prerequisites for the legitimacy and fairness of land bank policies. Without open access to information regarding land origins, acquisition mechanisms, designated uses, and beneficiaries, land banks are easily perceived as opaque and elitist instruments of asset accumulation. Moreover, in the absence of meaningful community participation in planning and decision making, the Indian experience demonstrates that land banks risk becoming mechanisms of land control that systematically marginalize society.

Therefore, Indonesia must place transparency and participation at the core of the design and implementation of its Land Bank. Lessons from international practice—both successes and failures—indicate that administrative effectiveness must go hand in hand with social justice and constitutional conformity. Without these prerequisites, the Land Bank risks losing public legitimacy and drifting away from its original purpose as an instrument of equitable distribution and agrarian justice.

1.5. Implementation Challenges in Indonesia

The final theme that emerges from the literature concerns implementation challenges. Mertayasa and Komalasari (2022) find that following the enactment of Government Regulation No. 64/2021, the legal position of the Land Bank remains fragile because it is not fully harmonized with the existing agrarian legal framework. Mujiono (2024) and the IOSR-JHSS report (2022) emphasize technical obstacles on the ground, including limited staff capacity, inadequate resources, and the slow resolution of land disputes. Meanwhile, Wardhani (2025) highlights that the Land Bank is often perceived as a technocratic instrument that is detached from the broader ideals of agrarian reform.

Beyond technical constraints, the most fundamental issue lies in weak political will. Civil society studies indicate that the Land Bank has been directed more toward providing land for national strategic projects than toward functioning as an equitable redistributive instrument. As a result, there is a growing risk that the Land Bank will merely serve as an extension of investment oriented policies, without genuinely addressing the structural inequalities in land ownership.

To respond to these challenges, several studies recommend the establishment of clear and measurable performance indicators, such as the proportion of Land Bank land allocated to smallholder farmers, indigenous communities, or agrarian reform programs. Without such specific indicators, the Land Bank is difficult to evaluate objectively and remains vulnerable to politicization.

2. Discussion

The discussion in this study focuses on how the findings from the 22 selected articles (2020–2025) can be connected to theoretical frameworks of public governance, agrarian policy, and the practical implementation of the Land Bank in Indonesia. This discussion not only outlines the relationships among the themes but also elaborates on existing research gaps and the theoretical as well as practical contributions that can be offered.

2.1. The Institutional Design of the Land Bank: Between Centralized Control and Participatory Governance

The review results indicate that institutional aspects lie at the core of many debates surrounding the effectiveness of the Land Bank. Normatively, the Land Bank is positioned as a *sui generis* legal entity endowed with strategic authority, ranging from the acquisition of abandoned land to its distribution for public purposes. However, several studies (Prayogo et al., 2023; Simanjuntak, 2022) emphasize the existence of overlapping mandates with the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) of 1960, which ultimately creates legal dilemmas and ambiguity of authority. From the perspective of public governance theory, this condition reflects problems of institutional fragmentation and weak inter authority coordination, where checks and balances do not function optimally and institutional control tends to be centralized (Peters, 2018; Pierre & Peters, 2020).

From the standpoint of good governance theory, public institutions should be built upon the principles of transparency, accountability, participation, effectiveness, and equity (UNDP, 1997; Kaufmann et al., 2011). However, the reviewed literature shows that the Land Bank still provides very

limited space for public participation, both in determining which lands are acquired and in designing distribution schemes. This pattern reflects an exclusive, top down governance model which, according to new public governance theory, risks neglecting the interests of non-state actors and undermining policy legitimacy (Osborne, 2010). When society is positioned merely as an object of policy rather than as a subject actively shaping land management decisions, substantive justice becomes difficult to achieve.

These findings become even clearer when compared with international practices. Studies from Japan (Yin & Shimizu, 2025) and the United States (Fujii, 2021; Bushman et al., 2023) demonstrate that the success of land banks is not determined solely by the strength of state authority, but by the presence of community participation mechanisms, data transparency, and measurable performance indicators. Within the framework of collaborative governance theory, the involvement of multiple stakeholders government, communities, and non-state actors is viewed as a prerequisite for managing complex and conflict prone public resources such as land (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

Therefore, conceptually, the institutional discourse on the Land Bank needs to be directed toward integrating state operational flexibility with effective public oversight. The Land Bank should not be understood merely as a technical instrument for land acquisition, but as a political arena for the distribution of strategic resources, as emphasized in the political economy of land theory (Deininger & Feder, 2009). Accordingly, future research and policy should develop a hybrid governance model based on multi stakeholder governance, in which the central government retains a strategic role while oversight and decision making are conducted through transparent and participatory collaborative mechanisms. Such a model aligns with the demands of agrarian reform that are not only legal administrative in nature, but also democratic and socially just.

2.2. Digitalization and Transparency: Between Administrative Efficiency and Social Legitimacy

Digital transformation in the land sector is often positioned as a solution to slow bureaucracy, overlapping data, and low legal certainty. The Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL) and the One Map Policy have become important milestones in efforts to build an integrated land data infrastructure. However, as shown by Winanda et al. (2024) and the World Bank (2023), digitalization has not automatically produced substantive outcomes, such as a reduction in agrarian conflicts or improvements in equitable land distribution. These findings indicate a gap between technological modernization and governance transformation.

From the perspective of digital governance theory, a fundamental distinction must be made between efficiency driven digitization and transparency driven digitization. Janssen and Estevez (2013) and Dunleavy et al. (2006) explain that many developing countries still interpret digitalization primarily as an instrument to enhance administrative efficiency—accelerating services, reducing costs, and improving internal bureaucratic coordination. This pattern appears dominant in Indonesia's land governance policies, where digitalization is oriented more toward the interests of the state as an administrator than toward society as rights holders. As a result, the social legitimacy of the digital

systems developed remains weak, since the public continues to lack adequate access to strategic information.

The open government literature emphasizes that transparency and data accessibility are fundamental foundations of public trust and policy accountability (Meijer, Curtin, & Hillebrandt, 2012; OECD, 2017). In the context of land banks, Bushman et al. (2023) and Mallach (2023) demonstrate that social legitimacy is strongly influenced by the extent to which communities can access information regarding land origins, legal status, management mechanisms, and beneficiaries. Without such openness, digitalization risks reinforcing information asymmetries and deepening public suspicion toward land governance institutions.

These findings open avenues for further research and policy development on the role of open land data in strengthening social oversight. Within the framework of social accountability theory, data openness enables civil society, the media, and local communities to conduct horizontal oversight of public policies (Fox, 2015). Open access to land data allows the public to track acquired land, assess the appropriateness of its designated use, and monitor distribution processes. This model has been tested in several countries in Southern Africa and Latin America, where data openness has proven effective in reducing corruption and abuse of authority in the management of public land (Rincón Barajas et al., 2024).

Therefore, the direction of land digitalization policy in Indonesia needs to shift from a narrow focus on administrative efficiency toward the democratization of information. Within the framework of digital era governance (Dunleavy et al., 2006), technology should not only strengthen state capacity but also expand spaces for public participation and oversight. Looking ahead, the Land Bank has the potential to become a pioneer in developing an open data based land administration system that not only enhances bureaucratic performance but also strengthens social legitimacy and advances sustainable agrarian justice.

2.3. Agrarian Reform: Substantive Justice as the Ultimate Goal

One of the main critiques in the literature indicates that Indonesia's Land Bank tends to function as a land provider for investment and national strategic projects rather than as an agrarian reform instrument that prioritizes the interests of marginalized groups (Widowati & Kamil, 2025; Setiawan & Silalahi, 2025). This orientation raises fundamental normative questions regarding the alignment of the Land Bank with the mandate of the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) of 1960, which explicitly places social justice and equitable land tenure as the core objectives of national agrarian policy. In this context, the shift in the Land Bank's function from a redistributive instrument toward a facilitator of land accumulation for investment interests reflects a clear case of policy goal displacement.

Within the framework of distributive justice theory, Rawls (1971) argues that the distribution of resources should benefit the least advantaged members of society (the difference principle). Land, as a strategic resource, cannot be treated merely as an economic asset, but rather as a foundation for the fulfillment of basic rights. This perspective is further elaborated by Fraser (2009) through the concept of justice as redistribution, which emphasizes that social justice requires corrective measures

to address economic structures that produce systemic inequality. Accordingly, land redistribution through the Land Bank should be oriented toward improving the structural position of smallholder farmers, agricultural laborers, and Indigenous communities, rather than merely creating land security for market actors.

Furthermore, the capability approach developed by Sen (1999) and applied to agrarian contexts by Cousins (2020) provides an important analytical framework for assessing the effectiveness of agrarian reform. From this perspective, land redistribution should not be measured solely by the formal transfer of rights, but by the extent to which land enhances the capabilities of beneficiaries to live with dignity, engage in sustainable production, and escape poverty. Cousins (2020) clearly demonstrates that redistribution without post redistribution support risks resulting in an “asset transfer without transformation,” where land remains unproductive or is eventually lost again by marginalized groups.

Consequently, the Land Bank needs to be designed as a comprehensive agrarian reform instrument that integrates aftercare policies, including access to finance, technical assistance, agrarian entrepreneurship training, and the provision of production and distribution infrastructure. From the perspective of agrarian political economy, agrarian reform can only succeed when asset redistribution is accompanied by a restructuring of production relations and sustained state support (Bernstein, 2010). Without such a framework, the Land Bank risks becoming a technocratic instrument that fails to deliver substantive justice.

These findings also reveal a significant research gap. Most studies on Indonesia’s Land Bank remain focused on institutional, legal, and normative conflict dimensions, while empirical research on the impacts of land redistribution on beneficiaries’ welfare and the effectiveness of post redistribution policies remains very limited. Therefore, future research agendas need to shift their focus from how land is acquired to how redistributed land transforms livelihoods, so that evaluations of the Land Bank are truly aligned with the constitutional mandate of agrarian reform and social justice.

2.4. Lessons from International Experience: Adaptation Rather Than Adoption

The international literature on land banking provides important references for Indonesia; however, from a theoretical standpoint, it cannot be treated as a set of models that can be adopted directly. From the perspective of policy transfer theory, Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) emphasize that cross national policy adoption that ignores social, political, and institutional contexts risks leading to policy failure. The success of land banking in Detroit in increasing property values and revitalizing urban areas (Fujii, 2021), for example, emerged from a post industrial urban context characterized by a high concentration of vacant land—conditions that differ fundamentally from Indonesia’s rural agrarian structure, which is deeply embedded in communal land rights, customary relations, and strong dependence on land as a primary livelihood source.

A similar consideration applies to the Japanese experience. The public–private partnership–based land bank innovations documented by Yin and Shimizu (2025) reflect the application of network governance, in which the state, the market, and society interact within a relatively stable regulatory

framework and a high level of public trust. However, in the context of developing countries, the political economy of development literature cautions that such partnerships are prone to elite capture if not accompanied by strong accountability mechanisms (Evans, 2004). Therefore, regulatory adaptation is a crucial prerequisite to ensure that private sector involvement does not shift the orientation of the Land Bank toward a pro investment bias.

By contrast, the Indian experience offers a highly relevant negative lesson. Kodiveri (2022) demonstrates that the implementation of industrial land banks has accelerated land consolidation for industrial interests, while simultaneously marginalizing local communities and weakening communal land rights. From the perspective of spatial justice theory, this phenomenon reflects unequal spatial distributions produced by state policy (Soja, 2010). For Indonesia, the Indian case serves as a warning that the Land Bank risks transforming into an instrument of land industrialization if it is not explicitly framed as a tool for agrarian reform.

Accordingly, international experiences should be positioned as sources of policy inspiration rather than policy adoption. This approach aligns with the concept of glocal governance, which emphasizes the need to combine global principles with local practices and contextual sensitivity (Swyngedouw, 2004). Indonesia can adopt general principles such as data transparency, measurable performance indicators, and public participation, but their implementation must be tailored to national socio agrarian realities. Without such an adaptive approach, the Land Bank risks replicating failures observed elsewhere and losing its social legitimacy at the local level.

2.5. Implementation Challenges: Political Will and Bureaucratic Capacity

The implementation theme indicates that the main obstacles facing the Land Bank are not merely technical administrative in nature, but are largely determined by the political configuration and the institutional capacity of the state. Several studies (Mertayasa & Komalasari, 2022; Mujiono, 2024) identify persistent issues such as weak regulatory harmonization, limited human resource capacity, and slow resolution of land disputes. However, these findings point to a more fundamental problem: the lack of political will to position the Land Bank as an instrument of agrarian reform, rather than merely as a provider of land for national strategic projects and investment.

From the perspective of policy implementation theory, this condition reflects what Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) describe as an implementation gap, namely the distance between the normative objectives of a policy and its actual outcomes on the ground. The longer and more complex the chain of actors, interests, and political decisions involved, the greater the likelihood that the original policy goals will be distorted. In the case of the Land Bank, the policy orientation has shifted from a mandate of agrarian justice toward an economic growth agenda, thereby weakening its redistributive function. Wardhani (2025) critically characterizes the Land Bank as operating more as a technocratic instrument of the state than as a tool for social transformation.

From the standpoint of state capacity theory, the implementation of redistributive policies requires not only formal authority, but also strong administrative capacity, cross sectoral coordination, and robust political legitimacy (Evans, 1995; Fukuyama, 2013). Without consistent political support,

bureaucracies tend to implement policies in a minimalist and politically safe manner, prioritizing projects that are easily measurable in physical and economic terms over agrarian reform agendas that are conflict prone and face elite resistance. This condition helps explain why the Land Bank has been relatively swift in supporting infrastructure projects, yet slow in redistributing land to smallholders and Indigenous communities.

The implication is that evaluating Land Bank policies cannot rely solely on quantitative indicators such as the number of land parcels acquired or the total area under management. Drawing on performance based governance theory (Bouckaert & Halligan, 2008), substantive indicators are required that directly reflect social justice objectives, such as the proportion of land allocated to small farmers, Indigenous peoples, or food security programs, as well as their impact on reducing agrarian conflicts. Without such indicators, the Land Bank risks continuing to operate as an elite oriented instrument that is legally valid but weak in terms of social legitimacy.

2.6. Synthesis and Research Gaps

The synthesis of all findings indicates that the Land Bank in Indonesia is situated within a structural dilemma between two policy rationalities: as an instrument of economic development and as a mechanism for achieving agrarian justice. From the perspective of policy dualism theory, this condition reflects the tension between growth oriented policies and redistributive policies that commonly characterizes developing countries (Mkandawire, 2001). The five main themes reviewed—*institutions, digitalization, land distribution, international lessons, and implementation challenges*—consistently demonstrate that the effectiveness of the Land Bank is not determined by a single factor, but rather by coherent governance integration and sustained political support.

Theoretically, these findings align with the integrated governance approach, which emphasizes the importance of cross sectoral coordination, multi level governance, and the involvement of non-state actors in managing strategic resources (Kooiman, 2003; Ansell & Gash, 2008). The weaknesses of the Land Bank in participation, transparency, and accountability indicate that the prevailing governance model remains hierarchical and technocratic, and thus has not been able to bridge development interests with demands for social justice. This also confirms the thesis of institutional misalignment, whereby institutional design is not fully aligned with the normative objectives of policy (North, 1990).

Nevertheless, the review also reveals significant research gaps. First, there is still a lack of quantitative studies that empirically measure the impact of land redistribution on welfare improvement, poverty reduction, and food security. Yet, within the framework of impact evaluation and results based governance theories, quantitative evidence is crucial for assessing the effectiveness of redistributive policies (White, 2009). Second, research on aftercare policy design following land redistribution remains largely unexplored, despite the capability approach emphasizing that asset ownership is only meaningful when accompanied by enhanced capacities and real opportunities for beneficiaries (Sen, 1999). Third, the linkages between the Land Bank and cross sectoral issues such as gender, the environment, and sustainability are rarely examined, even though political ecology and

feminist political economy literature demonstrate that agrarian policies have differentiated impacts across social groups (Agarwal, 1994; Robbins, 2012).

Based on this synthesis, the main scholarly contribution of this study is the development of the Integrated Land Bank Governance Model, a conceptual framework that integrates public governance principles (good and collaborative governance) with an agrarian justice perspective. This model positions the Land Bank not merely as a technical instrument for land acquisition, but as a strategic governance arena that must balance administrative efficiency, social legitimacy, and substantive justice. Practically, the model can serve as a reference for policymakers in designing a more transparent, participatory, and accountable Land Bank system, while also opening avenues for further empirical and multidimensional research agendas.

2.7. Conceptual Model: Integrated Land Bank Governance Model

This conceptual model was developed through a synthesis of findings from 22 reviewed articles and the integration of public governance theory, critical agrarian theory, and development policy theory. The Integrated Land Bank Governance Model offers a holistic approach to addressing the dual dilemma of the Land Bank in Indonesia as an instrument of economic development and as a mechanism for achieving social justice. From the perspective of multidimensional governance theory, the governance of strategic resources such as land cannot be reduced solely to legal or administrative aspects; rather, it must be understood as an arena of interaction among institutions, technology, and socio political relations (Kooiman, 2003; Ostrom, 2010).

The model is grounded in the theoretical assumption that land governance constitutes embedded governance, meaning that it is deeply embedded in legal structures, information systems, and social power dynamics (North, 1990; Robbins, 2012). Accordingly, Land Bank governance is positioned across three core dimensions legal institutional, digital informational, and socio economic political which interact within a continuous policy cycle. This approach aligns with systems thinking in public policy, which emphasizes the interdependence of subsystems in producing policy outcomes (Meadows, 2008).

The first dimension, the Legal Institutional Core, serves as the normative and structural foundation of the model. The Land Bank must operate within a legal framework that is harmonized with the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 (UUPA) and other sectoral regulations to prevent jurisdictional conflicts. In institutional governance theory, clarity of formal rules is a prerequisite for stability and legal certainty; however, it must be accompanied by effective checks and balances to avoid excessive concentrations of power (North, 1990; Bovens, 2007). Accordingly, this component positions oversight by civil society, academia, and independent institutions as integral to the institutional legitimacy of the Land Bank.

The second dimension, the Digital Backbone, functions as the infrastructure of modern governance. Drawing on theories of digital governance and open government, digitalization is understood not merely as a tool for administrative efficiency but also as an instrument of transparency and public accountability (Dunleavy et al., 2006; Janssen et al., 2012). The integration of the One Map

Policy, the Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (Pendaftaran Tanah Sistematis Lengkap/PTSL), and the Land Bank database enables the creation of open land data, providing public access to information on land origins, legal status, and distribution plans. Within this theoretical framework, digital technology serves as a means of democratizing information and strengthening the social legitimacy of land policies.

The third dimension, Social Safeguards and Inclusion, emphasizes the protection of the rights of smallholders, indigenous communities, and vulnerable groups. This component is rooted in theories of distributive justice and the capability approach, which assert that asset redistribution is meaningful only when accompanied by tangible improvements in beneficiaries' capacities (Rawls, 1971; Sen, 1999). Consequently, land redistribution must be complemented by post distribution aftercare policies, including access to finance, technical assistance, and productive infrastructure. This approach is consistent with the agrarian political economy literature, which underscores that agrarian justice concerns not only land ownership but also production relations and overall welfare (Bernstein, 2010).

The fourth dimension, the Performance and Accountability Loop, functions as a mechanism for continuous evaluation. From the perspective of results based governance and policy evaluation theory, the performance of public institutions should be assessed based on substantive outcomes rather than merely administrative outputs (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; White, 2009). Accordingly, the success of the Land Bank should be evaluated using indicators such as reductions in agrarian conflicts, improvements in food productivity, and decreases in land ownership inequality, with findings reported periodically to the public as a form of democratic accountability.

The relationships among these components are cyclical and adaptive. The Legal Institutional Core provides the regulatory framework, the Digital Backbone ensures information transparency, Social Safeguards and Inclusion secure substantive justice, and the Performance and Accountability Loop generates feedback for regulatory refinement and implementation improvement. In this way, the Integrated Land Bank Governance Model reflects an adaptive governance approach that positions policy learning and public participation as central to the sustainability of land governance (Folke et al., 2005).

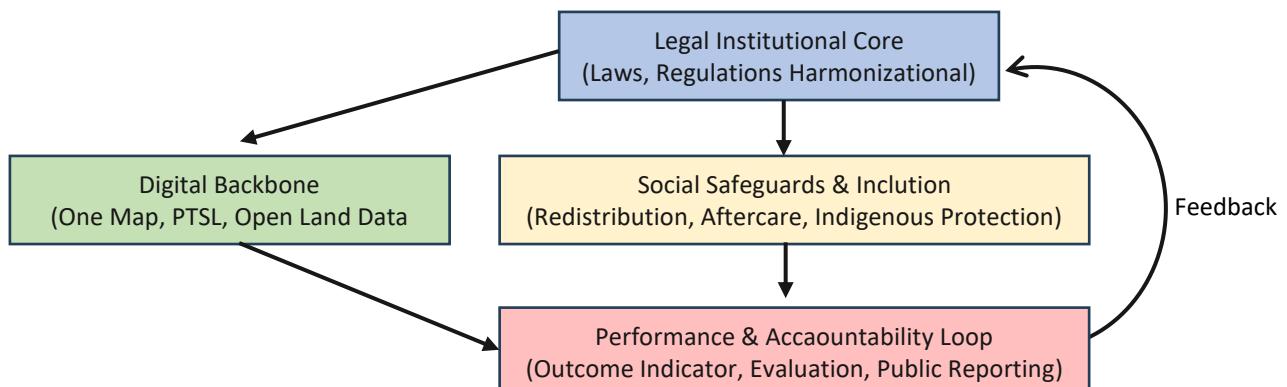


Figure 2. Integrated Land Bank Governance Conceptual Model

Source: Author's elaboration, 2025

D. Conclusion

This study underscores that the Land Bank in Indonesia stands at a critical crossroads that will determine the future direction of national land governance. Based on a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) of 22 articles published between 2020 and 2025, the Land Bank emerges as a strategic institutional innovation that simultaneously carries two major agendas: accelerating infrastructure development and investment on the one hand, and addressing structural agrarian inequality and conflicts on the other. The tension between these two agendas is not merely a technical issue but a matter of policy politics namely, whether the Land Bank will be consolidated as a technocratic state instrument for land provision to support development, or directed as a redistributive instrument that genuinely realizes agrarian justice for the people.

Theoretically, the findings indicate a paradigm shift from state led land administration toward integrated land governance, in which legal frameworks, digitalization, social participation, and performance evaluation must be understood as an integrated whole. Theories of distributive and recognition based justice (Rawls, 1971; Fraser, 2009) remain relevant for assessing whether Land Bank policies fulfill the principles of substantive justice, but they must be complemented by perspectives from modern public governance and digital land governance. In this context, this study contributes by proposing an Integrated Land Bank Governance Model as a conceptual framework that unifies legal-institutional, digital informational, socio economic, and accountability dimensions within an adaptive and sustainable governance cycle.

From a practical perspective, this study emphasizes that the success of the Land Bank cannot be measured solely by administrative outputs such as the number of land parcels acquired but must instead be evaluated through substantive outcomes: the reduction of agrarian conflicts, the strengthening of food security, the protection of Indigenous peoples' rights, and improvements in the welfare of farmers and vulnerable groups. Land digitalization through the integration of the One Map Policy, the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL), and the Land Bank information system is a crucial technical prerequisite, yet it will only be meaningful if accompanied by open land data principles that enable public oversight and reinforce social legitimacy.

At the policy level, this study recommends four key agendas: (1) harmonizing Land Bank regulations with the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 (UUPA) to avoid dual authority and a crisis of legitimacy; (2) strengthening transparency and participation through open access to land data; (3) institutionalizing aftercare policies following land redistribution to ensure that land is genuinely productive and contributes to welfare; and (4) developing a public accountability system based on substantive indicators that are reported periodically. These four agendas will determine whether the Land Bank functions as an instrument of social justice or instead deepens agrarian inequality under a new institutional guise.

In conclusion, this study affirms that the Land Bank is not merely a technical land management issue, but a fundamental question concerning the direction of development, democracy, and social justice in Indonesia. In line with the mandate of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, the Land Bank should be positioned as a constitutional instrument aimed at achieving the greatest possible

prosperity for the people, rather than merely serving as a land provision mechanism for national strategic projects. This strategic choice will ultimately determine whether the Land Bank becomes a solution to Indonesia's agrarian crisis or a new symbol of institutionalized inequality.

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