

# Resistance of Pesanggaran Village Residents to the Release of Forest Areas for Land Redistribution Activities in Banyuwangi Regency

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><b>Keywords:</b>                      Pesanggaran Village, PPTPKH, land redistribution, resistance</p> <p><b>Date logs:</b>                      Received: Nov 5, 2025                      Reviewed: Nov 20, 2025                      Accepted: Jan 3, 2026                      Published: Jan 9, 2026</p> <p><b>How To Cite:</b>                      Alvian, F., Salim, M.N., Mujiati (2026). Resistance of Pesanggaran Village Residents to the Release of Forest Areas for Land Redistribution Activities in Banyuwangi Regency. <i>Marcapada: Jurnal Kebijakan Pertanahan</i>, 5(2), 163-178  <a href="https://doi.org/10.31292/mj.v5i2.191">https://doi.org/10.31292/mj.v5i2.191</a></p>	<p>The Agrarian Reform policy in Indonesia aims to address land tenure inequality and alleviate poverty. This study examines the phenomenon of resistance among the residents of Pesanggaran Village, Banyuwangi Regency, to the Land Tenure Settlement Program for Forest Area Arrangement (PPTPKH), which was first implemented in Java. Using descriptive qualitative methods, data collection was conducted through observation, interviews, and document studies. The findings indicate that the main cause of resistance was community dissatisfaction because the forest area release policy only covered residential land (house sites) and did not accommodate their agricultural land. In addition, resistance was triggered by indications of local political interests, misunderstandings of information from Community Groups (Pokmas), and residents' concerns about land diversion for mining activities. Despite the resistance, the Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) successfully resolved the conflict through a persuasive approach, allowing the land redistribution program to continue. Following the resistance, the implementation of land redistribution in Banyuwangi Regency recorded achievements as a national model in the use of electronic certificates. A total of 10,323 electronic certificates were issued, covering 470 plots of land in Pesanggaran Village. This success was supported by the political will of stakeholders, including the regional government's policy of exempting Land and Building Acquisition Tax (BPHTB) for program participants. This study concluded that active community participation and transparent communication were key to the successful acceleration of agrarian reform in forest areas.</p>

## A. Introduction

Inequality and poverty alleviation are pressing issues facing many countries around the world, including Indonesia. The 2020-2024 Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) outlines the Indonesian government's efforts to address these issues. The 2020-2024 RPJMN states that agrarian reform aims to alleviate poverty by providing land for Agrarian Reform Objects (TORA), including land acquired through forest release, and then distributing it to the community.

Based on data from the Directorate General of Agrarian Planning, Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), from 2015 to 2025, land redistribution from the entire forest release program reached 879,942 hectares, encompassing 1.6 million plots of land for the community. Meanwhile, the government has issued 224 Blue Decrees (SK Biru) covering

373,979 hectares, legalizing settlements and community-owned land within forest areas, out of a target of 4.1 million hectares. According to Nurahmani (2024), the low achievement level of land redistribution from forest area releases is due to sectoral egos between institutions that assume "equal" status. Similarly, Salim et al. (2021) state that stakeholders have their priorities. It is hoped that the enactment of the Job Creation Law (UUCK) and its derivative regulations will support land redistribution activities under the PTPKH (Finance and Development Planning Agency) program. The enactment of the UUCK did not necessarily pave the way for resolving problems in the forestry sector but instead generated pros and cons within the community (Chamdani, 2021).

Zulfikri (2023) states that community control of land within forest areas has given rise to tenure conflicts stemming from differing perspectives. Efforts to reduce tenurial conflicts include the implementation of the first PTPKH (Reforestation and Land Reclamation Program) on Java Island, including in East Java Province. Various problems arising from forest release and land redistribution can be addressed through the government's commitment to issuing supporting regulations, securing community support, and ensuring optimal preparation (Alvian & Mujiburohman, 2022; Kurniawati et al., 2019; Salim et al., 2021). The implementation of the PTPKH in Banyuwangi Regency, specifically in Pesanggaran Village, faced resistance following the issuance of Decree Number SK.485/MENLHK/SETJEN/PLA.2/5/2023, hereinafter referred to as the Release Decree. Socialization is an important stage in the PTPKH; participatory mapping involving the community also supports the implementation of the PTPKH (Ekawati et al., 2019; Junarto et al., 2020; Salim & Utami, 2020; Salim et al., 2021).

Luthfi et al. (2020) stated that land ownership within forest areas in Banyuwangi Regency has been ongoing for over 50 years, yet the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) tends to favor social forestry schemes over forest release for most of the land controlled by the community. Furthermore, it is known that land conflicts within forest areas have long occurred in Banyuwangi Regency between residents and the government, residents and entrepreneurs, and residents and Perhutani (Luthfi et al., 2020; Syanurisma, 2022). The KLHK considers land ownership and use by the community as forest area occupation and must be resolved using the PTPKH approach because it can be done more quickly (Manik, 2022). Regarding this, according to Sirajuddin (2024), the implementation of PTPKH in Banyuwangi has complied with applicable regulations. Factors that significantly influence the implementation of the PTPKH program are communication and institutional factors, while resources and delegation also have an influence, although not significant (Manik, 2022). The PTPKH program, with its output of Land Objects of Agrarian Reform (TORA), involves the release of land from forest areas, followed by land redistribution to provide legal certainty.

Studies related to land redistribution from forest area releases have primarily been conducted outside Java, Sumatra, and eastern Indonesia. These studies primarily focus on the preparation of inventories and mapping of potential RA objects, including the redistribution process (Salim et al., 2021). They also explore the government's authority, including regulations, policies, management, administration, and oversight (Doly, 2017). In principle, land redistribution from forest area release through the PTPKH project has done little to reduce inequality in land ownership, as the

redistribution mostly involves land already owned, controlled, and utilized by communities, some of which has been controlled by communities for decades before being released from forest areas (Pradipta et al., 2022; Syanurisma, 2022; Wahyuni et al., 2025). Other studies have also demonstrated that regulations and prevailing practices frequently clash during land redistribution from forest area release. This disparity is likely due to limited supporting resources and problems of overlapping subjects and objects, as well as injustice in the distribution patterns practiced (Dempo et al., 2021; Putri & Pandamdari, 2024; Trianassari & Pandamdari, 2022). On the other hand, some redistributions that are considered successful are primarily driven by community involvement (Nugraha et al., 2025), but often, PPTPKH policies often ignore field facts and community aspirations (Sirajudin, 2024). Meanwhile, this study will focus on how communities targeted by PTKH identification and verification (inver) then attempt to negotiate the inver policy that excludes the lands they control, resulting in rejection or resistance to the inver implementation, which leads to the failure of land redistribution. This investigation confirms that resistance is an action or activity to oppose or reject changes that occur because they are deemed inappropriate (Barnard and Jonathan in Komorina & Utami, 2017). In this context, this study will focus on the causes of Pesanggaran Village residents' rejection of the PPTPKH policy practices and the implementation of land redistribution, which is part of the PPTPKH activity package.

## **B. Research Methods**

The method used in this study is a qualitative research method with a descriptive approach. Data in the study were obtained through interviews and observations of the researcher during the fieldwork and supporting documents were obtained from various sources, both online and offline. The collected data were then categorized into primary and secondary data and processed based on the research needs. The data collection techniques used in this study included observation, interviews, and document studies (Creswell, 2012; Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019; Sugiyono, 2015). Document studies focused on the analysis of research-related documents, such as books, journals, and regulations or other documents issued by government agencies (Abdussamad, 2021). Observations and interviews were conducted with the community, the regional government, and the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office. The document studies referred to primary and supporting documents in the PPTPKH policy. The data sources used in this study were tailored to the needs of achieving the research objectives of understanding the causes and efforts to overcome resistance from Pesanggaran Village residents to the PPTPKH policy. Researchers collected data from the field using observation, interviews, and document studies, then analyzed it to draw conclusions (Nurfajriani et al., 2024; Sugiyono, 2015). The data analysis in this study used descriptive techniques, which are meaningful for explaining an event based on data obtained from the field. This research was conducted in Pesanggaran Village, Banyuwangi Regency. This village was the target location for PPTPKH activities for the first time in Java. The following is a map of the research location.

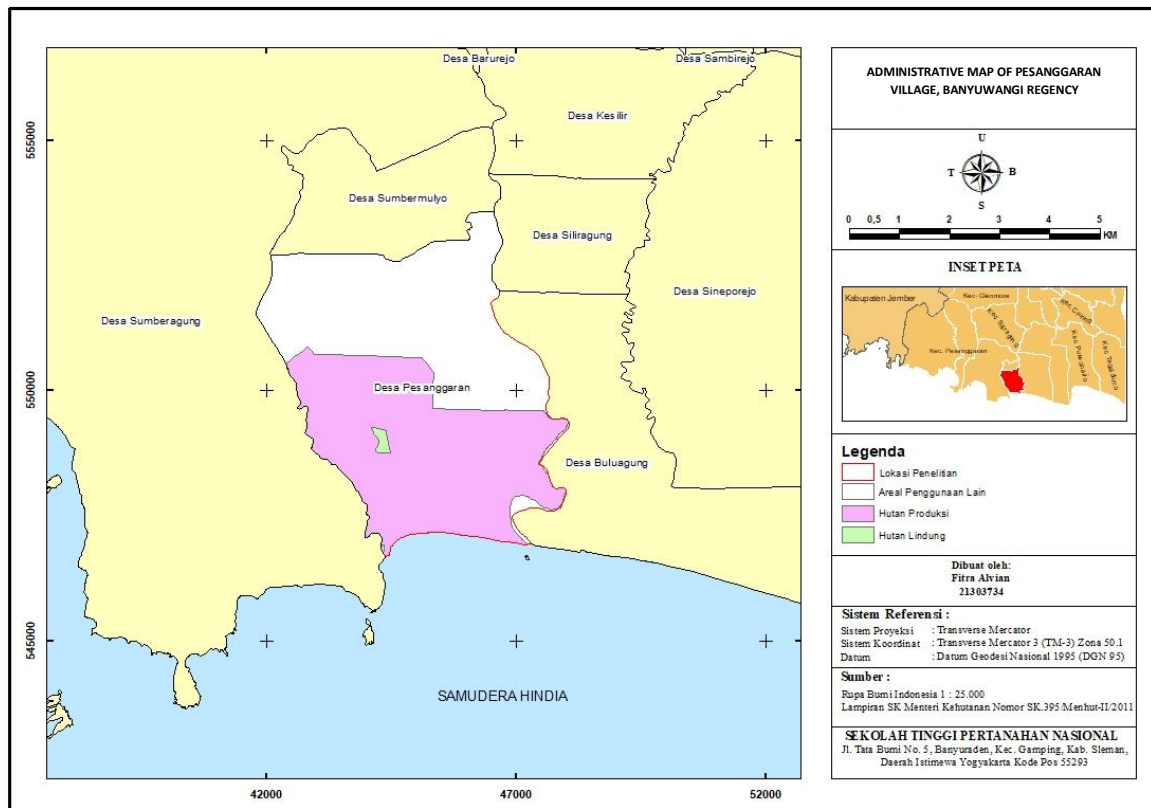


Figure 1. Research Location  
Source: Processed by Researcher, 2025.

## C. Results and Discussion

### 1. Community Resistance in Forest Areas in Pesanggaran Village

Although the formation date of Pesanggaran Village remains unknown, village data indicates a change in the village head prior to 1945 (Purwandini, 2022). Pesanggaran Village spreads its forest area across two hamlets, namely Ringinagung and Ringinsari. Land acquisition within the forest area began in the 1940s by immigrants from Yogyakarta, Kediri, Nganjuk, and Malang (Interviews with Ringinagung and Ringinsari residents, March 11, 2025). Ringinsari Hamlet is included in the Perhutani management area, so the immigrants are Perhutani workers who are given wages in the form of residence permits known as 'Bumi Persen.' This realization led to the imposition of no tax on the land (Interview with Ringinsari residents, March 11, 2025). Land acquisition in Ringinagung Hamlet began with his predecessor; it was stated that the land acquired was the result of a sale or inheritance transaction. As a result, taxes have been continuously paid on the land from 1953 to the present (Interview with Ringinagung residents, March 14, 2025). Tax collection in Ringinagung Hamlet is inconsistent with the imposition of taxes on land and buildings on taxable objects in areas with permits (Muamarah, 2024).

The Ringinagung community learned that their land was included in a forest area when the Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL) was implemented in Pesanggaran Village in 2021. In 1999, the forest area designation came into effect, and Decree (SK) No. SK.395/Menhut-II/2011 later amended it. The PTSL implementation in Pesanggaran Village encountered obstacles, leading to

demonstrations at the Pesanggaran Village Hall. The demonstrations occurred because the community's land could not be certified, as it was located within a forest area.



Figure 2. PTSL-Related Demonstrations in Pesanggaran Village  
Source: Youtube Beritalima Channel

The issuance of the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry (Permen LHK) No. 7 of 2021 concerning Forestry Planning, Changes in the Designation and Function of Forest Areas, and the Use of Forest Areas is a solution to the problem of land ownership in forest areas in Pesanggaran Village. Considering that land ownership has been going on for a long time, it has opened up opportunities for the implementation of agrarian reform policies through the PTPKH scheme (Khanifa et al., 2021, Syanurisma, 2022). This then initiated the formation of the Banyuwangi Regency Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) Team based on Banyuwangi Regent Decree No. 188/9/KEP/429.011/2025. The GTRA Team facilitates the Village Government and the Pesanggaran Village community regarding the preparation and implementation of PTPKH in Banyuwangi Regency. The files used as PTPKH submission materials include: 1) PTPKH Application Form; 2) Recapitulation of the Applicant List; 3) A collective land sketch depicting the detailed location of each applicant's land; 4) A Statement of Physical Control of the Land Plot (SP2FB); 5) An Integrity Pact; 6) Applicant's Identity; 7) A Certificate of Domicile; 8) A Sketch of the Land Plot (.shp); and 9) Coherence between the Plot and the Application. The GTRA Team then verified the subjects and objects proposed in the PTPKH (Interview with the Head of the Land Sub-Division, Banyuwangi Regional Secretariat, March 10, 2025).

The PTPKH proposal was addressed to the Minister of Environment and Forestry (LHK) through the regent. The minister then formed an integrated team to conduct research on the proposals submitted based on Memorandum No. M.39/MENLHK/PKTL/PLA.2/10/2022 to determine the appropriate scheme to resolve land control issues in Pesanggaran Village. The research conducted by the Integrated Team yielded the following points:

- 1) The Integrated Team's research area for PTPKH in East Java Province is located in 10 regencies/cities, covering an area of approximately 6,448.13 hectares;
- 2) The Integrated Team recommends an area of approximately 6,095.98 hectares, with the following mechanisms: Forest Area Release Approval for approximately 2,384.91 hectares, Forest Area Use Approval for approximately 213.54 hectares, Social Forestry for approximately

1,822.13 hectares, Conservation Partnership for approximately 2.06 hectares, Change of Function and Designation of Forest Areas for approximately 0.73 hectares, and the remaining area of approximately 1,672.61 hectares to be maintained as forest;

- 3) Land cover in areas recommended for forest area release includes residential areas, public facilities, and social facilities that have been occupied and intensively utilized for more than five years before the enactment of the UUCK.

Based on the research results and recommendations of the Integrated Team, Decree No. SK.485/MENLHK/SETJEN/PLA.2/5/2023 concerning Approval of Forest Area Release in East Java Province was issued. The history and development of land ownership within forest areas are as shown in Figure 3 below:

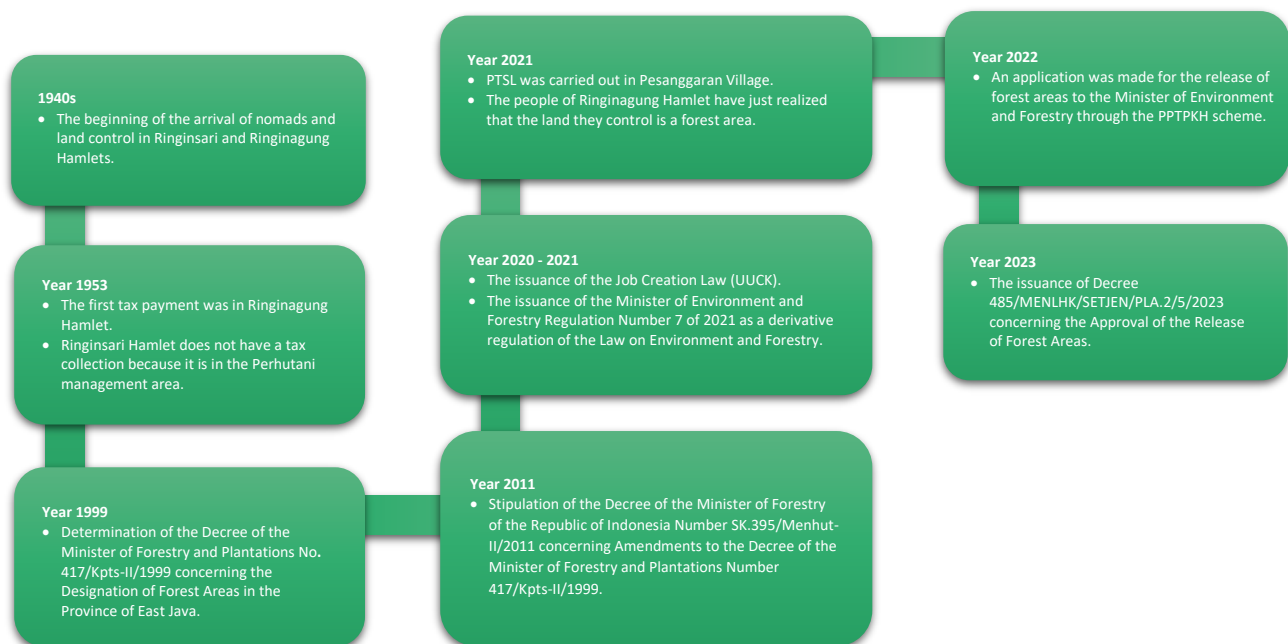


Figure 3. History and Development of Land Tenure in Forest Areas in Pesanggaran Village  
Source: Field data, processed by Researchers, 2025.

The issuance of Decree SK.485/MENLHK/SETJEN/PLA.2/5/2023, hereinafter referred to as the Release Decree, was followed by the establishment of the TORA Community Group (Pokmas) by the Pesanggaran Village Government. The Pokmas was formed to assist in the implementation of the PPTPKH (Farm and Land Use Development) program at the village level. The implementation of boundary delineation activities is based on Article 173 of Ministerial Regulation No. 7/2021, which mandates the Director General of Planning to implement boundary delineation for land parcels listed in the release decree.

The issuance of the Release Decree sparked controversy in the community, as approval for applications was only granted for residential land, while agricultural land was not released from forest areas. This change subsequently sparked resistance (Komorina & Utami, 2017; Pratama, 2021). These developments ultimately led to community resistance to the PPTPKH policy, as it did not align with the community's wishes and aspirations (Interview with Pesanggaran Village Residents, March 14, 2025).



The community assumed that agricultural land not listed in the Release Decree would be "taken" by the state, and coincidentally, there was a mining company operating in the area. This led people to perceive and suspect that the company would use agricultural land still within the forest area for mining (Interview with Pesanggaran Village Residents, March 11, 2025). Ministerial Regulation No. 7/2021, Article 163, Paragraphs 2 and 3, stipulates that the proposed land area should be agricultural, plantation, or fishpond land. Therefore, the settlement should be handled in accordance with these regulations to avoid questions and resistance from the community.

Furthermore, the resistance or rejection arose due to alleged political manipulation, as it coincided with the village head election in Pesanggaran Village, further escalating the situation. Furthermore, information regarding the Community Group's boundary demarcation activities varied. Initially, the stakes were installed for road widening, not as part of the PPTPKH (Family Development Planning Agency) activities. Then the information changed again; the activity was a PPTPKH activity, but only for the house building. Then again, information emerged that the activity was for PPTPKH for all land controlled by the community. However, the final result of the PPTPKH identification only excluded community land from the forest area containing residential buildings. This situation caused the community, which refused, to be even more convinced of the rejection because they felt lied to by the Pokmas regarding the information. In Pesanggaran Village, approximately 150 people in 1 RW of Ringinagung Hamlet rejected the PPTPKH activity, as evidenced by the Minutes of Rejection and a statement confirming their opposition.

"In that neighborhood unit (RW), there tend to be certain figures who exert influence due to other interests. Meanwhile, in other areas, residents tend to be 'sami'na wa atho'na,' which in our language means they just go along with it." (Interview with H, Land Affairs Staff, Banyuwangi Regional Secretariat, March 10, 2025)

Based on the interview data, it was discovered that the rejection of the PPTPKH program was only in one RW (Community Unit) in Pesanggaran Village out of 17 villages participating in the PPTPKH program in Banyuwangi Regency. Within that one RW, approximately 150 plots refused to participate in the PPTPKH program.

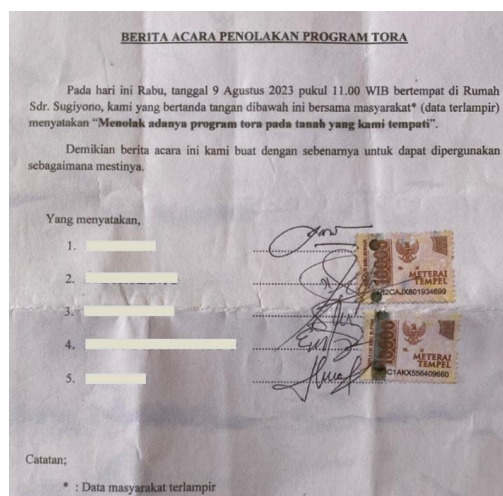


Figure 4. Minutes of Rejection of Pesanggaran Residents  
Source: Pesanggaran Village Community, 2025.

The emergence of resistance led to friction between those who accepted (participated in) and those who rejected the PPTPKH program. This tension was exacerbated by political interests, which at the time caused tension and created an unfavorable environment in Pesanggaran Village. To address this issue, the GTRA Team and the Pesanggaran Village Government employed a persuasive approach. The most appropriate approach to resolving forest-related issues is through non-litigation, such as mediation (deliberation), as it is easier and less expensive (Korneawan et al., 2020). However, differences arose in the resolution of this issue due to the limited timeframe for implementing the PPTPKH program in Pesanggaran Village. A deliberation by the GTRA Team and the Pesanggaran Village Government would be time-consuming and potentially hinder subsequent PPTPKH phases. This situation led some Pesanggaran Village residents (Ringinagung Hamlet) to refuse to be released from the PPTPKH program in phase I of 2023, hoping that this could be resolved in the next phase.

The resistance that occurred did not affect the community's enthusiasm for the PPTPKH activities in Pesanggaran Village. This was proven by the implementation of the Boundary Determination on July 31-August 15, 2023, in Banyuwangi Regency, while the installation of boundary markers in Pesanggaran Village was carried out on August 3, 2023, with the result being a Minutes of Boundary Determination of the Approval Area for the Release of Part of the Permanent Production Forest (HP) Area in the Alasbuluh/Gombeng Forest Section, the Licin Porolinggo Forest Section, and the Kalisetail Forest Section. The Genteng Forest Section and the Blambangan Forest Section on August 24, 2023, with a length of 306,401.14 meters and 725.81 hectares, which subsequently became one of the bases in determining the forest area release decree.

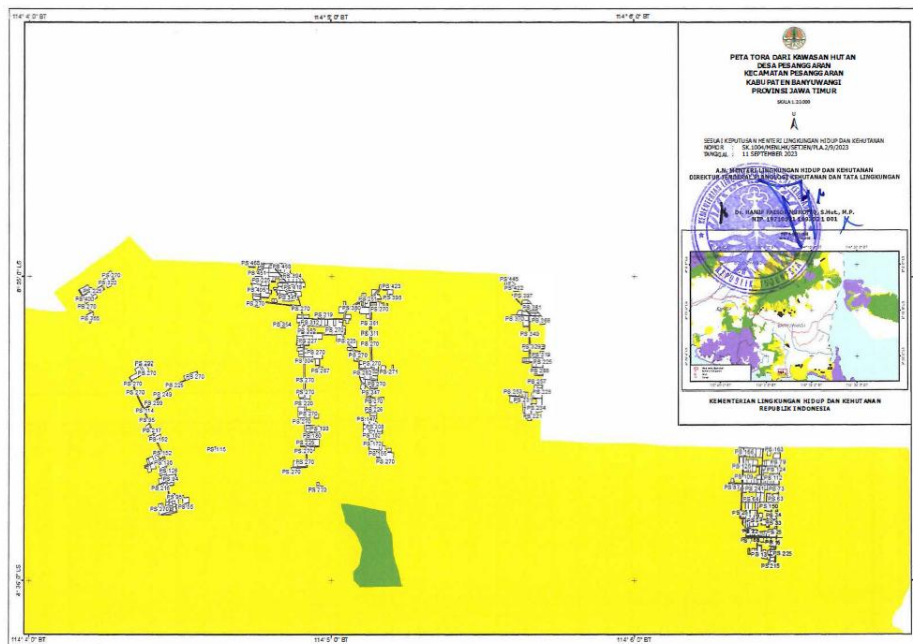


Figure 5. TORA Map of Pesanggaran Village Forest Area  
Source: Attachment SK.1004/MENLHK/SETJEN/PLA.2/9/2023

The issuance of the Minutes of Area Boundary Determination for the Approval of Partial Release of Permanent Production Forest (HP) Areas in Banyuwangi was followed up with the issuance of



Decree SK.1004/MENLHK/SETJEN/PLA.2/9/2023, hereinafter referred to as the Blue Decree. The Blue Decree lists 17 villages participating in the PPTPKH, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 1. Villages Listed in *SK Biru*

No.	Village	Districts	Number of Land Plots	Land Area (ha)
1	Banyuanyar	Kalibaru	599	40,52
2	Bayu	Songgon	749	29,06
3	Bumiharjo	Glenmore	2.130	115,02
4	Jambewangi	Sempu	997	71,78
5	Kalipait	Tegaldlimo	1.001	82,23
6	Karangdoro	Tegalsari	763	67,49
7	Kedungasri	Tegaldlimo	380	45,53
8	Kendalrejo	Tegaldlimo	180	16,84
9	Margomulyo	Glenmore	247	13,18
10	Pesanggaran	Pesanggaran	470	44,43
11	Purwoagung	Tegaldlimo	55	6,57
12	Seneporejo	Siliragung	353	54,52
13	Sumberasri	Purwoharjo	159	12,54
14	Sumbergondo	Glenmore	162	7,23
15	Temuguruh	Sempu	422	18,98
16	Temurejo	Bangorejo	668	58,87
17	Watukeyo	Wongsorejo	393	41,02
Banyuwangi Regency			9.728	725,81

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2025.

Following the issuance of the Blue Decree, the Banyuwangi Regency Government held a forum to discuss the steps to be taken after the TORA was implemented in Banyuwangi Regency, along with relevant agencies. The forum was attended by the Banyuwangi Regency Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) and relevant officials at both the sub-district and village levels in the 17 villages (Wahyuni et al., 2025).

Furthermore, the persuasive efforts undertaken by the GTRA Team and the Pesanggaran Village Government to overcome resistance yielded results. Several residents who initially rejected the program later withdrew their objections, based on written statements affirming their acceptance of the PPTPKH program and revoking their previous rejection letters. This statement subsequently served as the basis for submitting an application to the Minister of Environment and Forestry for the second phase of the PPTPKH program in 2023.

## 2. Land Redistribution After Community Resistance

Presidential Decree Number 62 of 2023 defines land redistribution as "a series of activities initiated by the government to distribute and grant land rights derived from the TORA to Agrarian Reform Subjects, accompanied by the issuance of land title certificates." Land redistribution involves the acquisition of all or part of a landowner's land, which is then distributed to farmers with tiny land holdings, who are then granted agricultural land under private or communal ownership (Isnaeni, 2018).

The East Java Provincial Land Agency (BPN) Regional Office, as the budget user, determined the land redistribution locations based on Decree No. 20/SK-35. NP-02.03/I/2024, which stipulates that land redistribution will be carried out in 17 villages across 12 sub-districts in Banyuwangi Regency. The land redistribution locations correspond to those covered by the Blue Decree. This measure demonstrates a follow-up to the release of forest areas by providing legal certainty through land title certificates to the community.

The implementation of land redistribution in Banyuwangi Regency, according to the Head of the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office, explains that the collection of physical and legal data is carried out by several land offices from other regencies in accordance with Decree of the Head of the East Java Provincial National Land Agency (BPN) No. 20/SK-NP.02.03/I/2024 concerning the Appointment of Land Redistribution Implementing Officers for the 2024 Fiscal Year. A team from the Tuban Regency Land Office is carrying out the land redistribution in Pesanggaran Village.

Presidential Decree No. 62 of 2023 and the Implementation Guidelines for Land Reform Activities explain that the stages of land redistribution are divided into seven stages: counseling/socialization, inventory and identification of land redistribution subjects by the Land Office that have been designated as agrarian reform objects, land measurement and mapping, determination of land redistribution objects, determination of land redistribution subjects, granting of land rights, and issuance of certificates. Figure 6 illustrates the process of land redistribution in Pesanggaran Village.

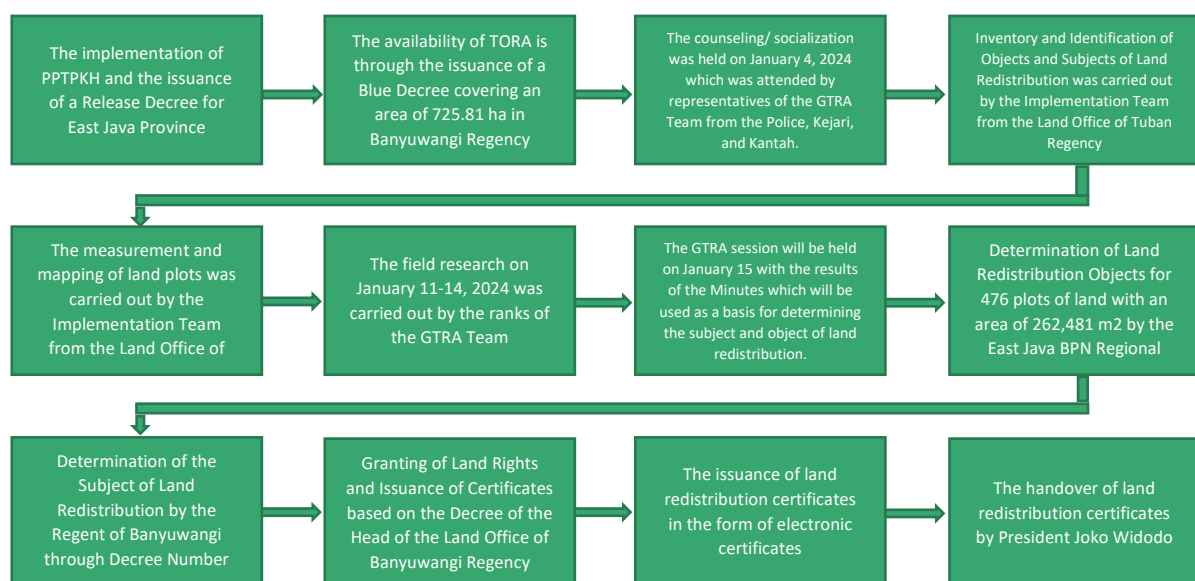


Figure 6. Land Redistribution Flow in Pesanggaran Village

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2025.

The inventory and identification of objects and subjects of land redistribution, as well as the land mapping and measurement phase, were carried out by a team from the Tuban Regency Land Office, consisting of 11 personnel: 4 surveyors, 5 legal officers, and 2 Substantive Group Coordinators in the Arrangement and Empowerment Section and the Survey and Mapping Section (Interview with Tuban Regency Land Office Employees, March 4, 2025).

The field study was attended by representatives from the East Java Provincial National Land Agency (BPN) Regional Office, the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office, and relevant Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD). The four-day field study resulted in the identification of 476 land plots totaling 262,481 m<sup>2</sup>, originating from forest area releases in accordance with the Blue Decree (SK Biru), with the land use being residential. A GTRA hearing was subsequently held on January 15, 2024, at the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office. Following the GTRA hearing, it was discovered that the land controlled by the prospective redistribution subjects was state land originating from the PTPKH (Regional Spatial Planning Agency). Based on the Regional Spatial Plan, it was a production forest area, not in dispute, and the prospective subjects had been actively controlling and cultivating the land since 1948. Based on these findings, the GTRA Team recommended determining the object and subject, which would then be redistributed in accordance with applicable regulations.

The determination of the Land Redistribution Object begins with a proposal letter from the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office to the East Java Provincial National Land Agency (BPN) Regional Office, accompanied by several supporting documents: 1) Minutes of the GTRA Hearing; 2) Land History in Pesanggaran Village; 3) Location Map; 4) Surrounding Map; 5) Spatial Plan Map; and 6) Land Use Map. The Determination of Land Redistribution Subjects is similar, but the application is sent to the Banyuwangi Regent, the GTRA head.

The Banyuwangi Regency Land Office handled the final stage, which involved granting land rights and issuing certificates. This land redistribution program issued certificates that were electronic in nature. According to the Head of the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office, interviewed on March 5, 2025, information on the use of electronic certificates was received during the land redistribution process, necessitating the availability of resources to implement the program. Thanks to collaboration between the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office, the East Java Provincial National Land Agency (BPN) Regional Office, and the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), this challenge was resolved within one month. The Ministry of ATR/BPN implemented this redistribution process remarkably quickly, making it the fastest event in its history.

The land redistribution in Banyuwangi Regency serves as a pilot project for the application of electronic certificates within the Ministry of ATR/BPN's strategic program. This is proven by the number of electronic certificates issued from land redistribution, 10,323 certificates, which places the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office in first place in issuing electronic certificates in Indonesia in 2024 (Wahyuni et al., 2025).

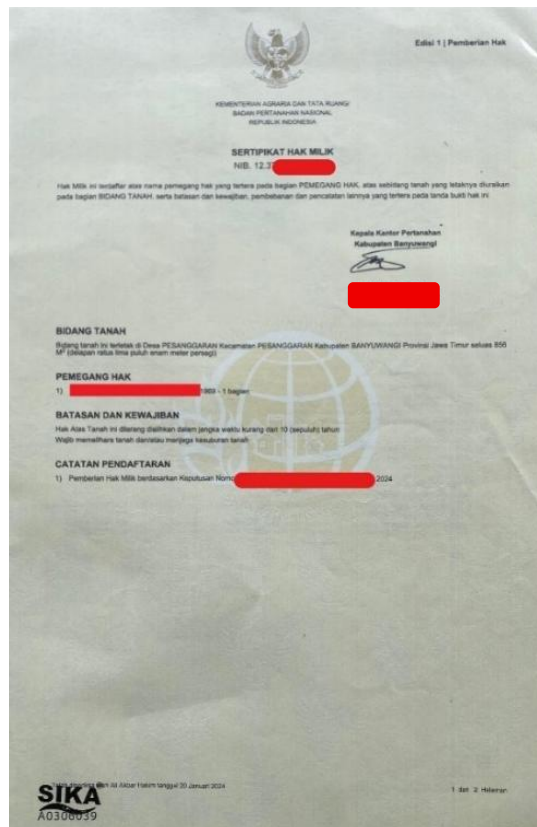


Figure 7. Certificate of Land Redistribution Results  
Source: Research Documentation, 2025.

The implementation of land redistribution in Banyuwangi Regency aligns with Borrás and Franco's opinion in Sirait (2017), stating that the majority of land redistribution in Indonesia involves rights enhancements. This is because the recipients are often individuals who already own the land but lack legal proof. Such situations can lead to legal uncertainty (Pradipta et al., 2022). Post-land redistribution, communities experience legal uncertainty because some of their land, particularly land used for community livelihoods, is not part of the redistribution scheme.

According to a resident of Pesanggaran Village, the PPTPKH program and land redistribution have significantly assisted the community in securing legal ownership rights to their land, a long-held dream. The land they previously owned could not be certified due to its designation as a forest area. However, only a portion of the community's land, particularly the land used for housing, has been successfully certified. The success of land redistribution is influenced by the political will of relevant stakeholders, including the absence of personal interests other than implementing policies for the community, and the active participation of residents involved in the process (Kurniawati et al., 2019). Similarly, the land redistribution in Banyuwangi Regency is inseparable from the role of relevant stakeholders, namely the GTRA Team, the Banyuwangi Regional Government (Pemda), the Prosecutor's Office, and the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI/Polri).

The Head of the Arrangement and Empowerment Section and the Head of the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office expressed their appreciation for the active role of the regional government. According to the Head of the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office, one of the regional government's active roles is the issuance of Decree No. 188/9/KEP/429.011/2024 concerning the Exemption from

Land and Building Acquisition Tax (BPHTB) for National Strategic Projects for Participants in the Redistribution of Land Objects during Agrarian Reform. The enactment of this decree alleviates the burden on the community by eliminating the BPHTB tax on land resulting from the redistribution.

The 2024 land redistribution program in Banyuwangi Regency prioritized community-owned residential land, leaving some community-owned land behind. Subsequently, the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office implemented land redistribution in 2025 in the same 17 villages, focusing on public and social facilities, as well as community-owned land that had been left behind the previous year.

The government's appreciation for the success of the land redistribution in Banyuwangi Regency was demonstrated by the handover of land certificates by President Joko Widodo on April 30, 2024, at the Tawang Alun Sports Center in Banyuwangi. A total of 5,000 certificates were handed over directly to the community, while 5,323 were handed over by the Banyuwangi Regency Land Office at their respective village halls.



Figure 8. Submission of Land Redistribution Results Certificates  
Source: Banyuwangi Regency Land Office, 2024.

#### D. Conclusion

The resistance of the Pesanggaran Village community to the Land Acquisition Settlement for Forest Area Arrangement (PPTPKH) policy was primarily driven by a sense of injustice, as only residential land was approved for release from the forest area, while agricultural land remained as forest. This situation was exacerbated by inconsistent information from village-level implementers (Pokmas), local political interests, and residents' concerns that their agricultural land would be diverted for mining purposes. Although resistance from approximately 150 residents initially led to social tensions, the persuasive approach employed by the Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) successfully mitigated the conflict, allowing some residents to withdraw their objections and participate in the next phase of the program.

Following the resolution of this conflict, land redistribution in Banyuwangi Regency progressed very progressively and became a national pilot project for the implementation of electronic certificates. Through cross-sectoral collaboration involving the regional government, the National Land Agency (BPN), and law enforcement officials, the government successfully issued 10,323

electronic certificates to residents in 17 villages, including Pesanggaran. This success was also supported by the regional government's policy of exempting Land and Building Acquisition Tax (BPHTB), which significantly eased the economic burden on beneficiary communities.

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