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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# DYNAMICS OF THE TORA PROGRAM AT 2015-2019 PERIOD IN INDONESIA AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

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## ABSTRACT

TORA (Land for Agrarian Reform Objects) is one of the programs that support agricultural development in the context of increasing the availability and use of land. The TORA program provides considerable support for agricultural development, such as expansion of plantations, printing of new rice fields, expansion of rice fields and people's ponds, and expansion of dryland agriculture, with a total redistribution of 9 million hectares. The target of TORA program until 2019 is 50%, but the realization only reaches around 25-30%. There are several main problems that obstruct the program, such as the conflict of dispute land between surrounding communities and plantations, problems in extending plantation business licenses, and gender issues. Therefore, government policy is needed in an effort to provide justice and legal certainty for people in the forest area, both those who will be the subject of TORA recipients and those who are not. Thus, the economic and social goals of the country, in this case agricultural development, are in accordance with the people's expectations.

## KEYWORDS

program, development, agriculture, government, region

## 1. INTRODUCTION

TORA (Land for Agrarian Reform Objects) which is one of the programs that support agricultural development in the context of increasing the availability and use of land. In connection with the plan, a distribution of 9 million hectares of land will be distributed to farmers, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning / BPN prepares an Agrarian Reform program, which consists of: Redistribution of land covering an area of 4,5 million hectares and originating from the legalization of assets whose subjects meet the conditions 4,5 million hectares.

The priority land to be converted into agricultural land is (1) permanent production forest, (2) limited production forest, and (3) protected forest. Optimizing the use of abandoned agricultural land which includes agricultural land that has not been cultivated (idle or buried land), and forest areas that have been released for agricultural purposes but not yet utilized, or agricultural land that is still in the forest area (authority of the forestry sector).

In accordance with the 2015-2019 nawacita in the administration of President Jokowi, TORA related to agricultural development in Indonesia is in the Ex-Hgu and forest areas with a total of 0.4 million ha and 4.1 million ha respectively. Instruction from BPN / ATR in collaboration with KLHK and Ministry of Agriculture based on TORA Decree Number 180 / MENLHK / SETJEN / KUM.1 / 4/2017 concerning "Indicative Maps of Forest Area Allocation for Provision of TORA Sources" are listed in Table 1 (KLHK, 2018) following:

Table 1: Indicative Maps of Forest Area Allocation for Provision of TORA Sources		
Numb.	Categori	Criteria
1.		TORA Allocation of 20% of Released Forest Areas for Plantations
2.	Non-Existing/Non-Inventarization and Verification	Convertible Production Forests (HPK) are not productive
3.		Government program to reserve new rice field printing
4.		Transmigration settlements and their social facilities which have obtained principle approval
5.	Existing/Inventarization and Verification (Inver) PPTKH	Settlements, social facilities and public facilities
6.		Arable land in the form of rice fields and ponds of the people
7.		Dry land agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the local community

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Judging from these criteria, the TORA program has quite a large support for rice fields, expansion of rice fields and people's ponds, expansion of dry land agriculture. As proof of the seriousness of the government in agricultural development through the TORA program, there is a change in

agricultural development such as expansion of plantations, printing of new indicative area that has been increasing until the end of December 2018 in detail Table 2 (KLHK, 2018):

Table 2: Agricultural development by TORA Program				
Numb	Criteria	SK. 180 /MenLHK/ Setjen/Kum.1/4/2017	SK.6979/MenLHK- PKTL/Kuh/Pla.2/12/ 2017	SK.3154 /MenLHK- PKTL/Kuh/ Pla.2/5/2018
1	TORA Allocation of 20% of Released Forest Areas for Plantations	437.937	719.636	417.485
2	Non-productive forest-convertible production forest (HPK)	2.169.960	1.587.421	1.834.539
3	Government program to reserve new rice field printing	65.363	71.027	67.028
4	Transmigration settlements and their social facilities which have obtained principle approval	514.909	516.533	502.382
5	Social facilities and public facilities	439.116	588.786	642.835
6	Arable land in the form of rice fields and ponds of the people	379.227	358.928	366.504
7	Dry land agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the local community	847.038	1.015.467	1.118.965
	Amount	4.853.549	4.857.798	4.949.738

In accordance with the elapsed time, it can be said that the realization of TORA has not gone smoothly. The TORA program (legalization and redistribution) is only limited to the aspect of land reform (land division), while the non-land reform aspect (access reform) has not yet been seen.

TORA land optimization requires both of these aspects at the same time, where the Ministry of Agriculture as a technical ministry supports the provision of agribusiness infrastructure and business facilities ranging from the provision of irrigation water, farming inputs, technology, capital, and markets. The government has approved the Settlement of Land Tenure in Forest Areas (PPTKH) in 130 districts / cities throughout Indonesia with a total land area of 330,357 ha to support land supply for the Agrarian Reform Objects (TORA).

TORA is part of the Agrarian Reform which is one of the Nawa Cita mandates contained in the 2015-2019 development plan. The purpose of the TORA forest area is to provide legal certainty over community land ownership in the forest area and resolve disputes and conflicts within the forest area. The pattern of settlement includes the Approval of Settlement of Land Tenure in Forest Areas (PPTKH) covering an area of 330 thousand hectares with a scheme of releasing forest areas with changes in boundaries, granting of social forestry permits, and resettlement. Then the agreement to reserve the release of non-productive production forest area or unproductive HPK covering 978 thousand ha (Halim, 2018).

Pilar kebijakan program TORA dilakukan melalui 5 kegiatan utama, yakni: (1) Reforma Agraria dan Perhutanan Sosial melalui pendekatan kluster dan berbasis produk unggulan; (2) Redistribusi Lahan sebagai modal masyarakat menengah ke bawah; (3) Sertifikasi dalam rangka legalisasi asset; (4) Implementasi Kebijakan LP2B; (5) Menyediakan Hunian Penduduk Miskin Perkotaan (Tarigan, 2018).

The acceleration of the TORA program during 2015-2019 as summarized include: 1 (Tarigan, 2018). Accelerating synchronization of community proposals with priority areas of government; 2. Paying attention to areas proposed by the community; 3. Developing collective proposals based on the administrative area of government. The most possible and ongoing are district-based; 4. Strengthening the budget in the government (central and regional) and optimizing the use of village funds; 5. Work acceleration of conflict handling units in the Ministry / Institution / Regional Government; 6. Ensuring cooperation with the Ministry of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in particular, Ministry of ATR / BPN with civil society organizations; 7. Accelerate the work of the Social Forestry Acceleration Working Group in the province.

## 2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

This study was obtained from a literature review related to the TORA program specifically "How Dynamics of the TORA Program in Agricultural Development". Even with a small FGD with several stakeholders in the central government and related local governments. Supporting databases in this study were obtained directly from the Central Ministry related to the TORA Program, namely the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. The survey method was also carried out directly in several provinces in Indonesia, such as Riau, Sulawesi Tenggara, Kalimantan Tengah, Jawa Barat and Banten to complete this study.

## 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 TORA Program Performance

An increase in the area of TORA by 1.89% indicates the government's seriousness to pay attention to the needs of agricultural land in Indonesia. This should be supported by the community, especially the agricultural community in the local area (Kantor Staff Presiden, 2016). Like other agricultural development programs, such as the Alsintan program (agricultural tools), the UPSUS program (special effort) agriculture, the TORA program also has several obstacles and problems including: abandoned land that is technically available does not meet the requirements to be a place of business / settlement, due to several things like steep slopes, position on sea cliffs, in the middle of dense forests that are difficult to reach, dry and unproductive land conditions, and so on.

In addition, in lands such as ex HGU (private plantations), there is often unclear licensing rights for business use, for example land that has been abandoned for a long time because of the long-term occupation of local communities, but private use rights by private companies are unclear.

Extension of the permit, this also often causes polemics between the surrounding community and related companies. Even in some areas (Source: field survey of the "TORA" PSEKP 2018) such as in South-east Sulawesi, Central Kalimantan, and Riau, there are several villages where local communities already have ownership certificates, but they are still included in the TORA indicative map. Natural problems are faced in every government program (whoever the President is), but behind the existing problems need to be supported with high enthusiasm by all Indonesian people for government programs related to Indonesian development, in this case agricultural development (Paramitha, 2018). For this reason, despite various obstacles, the realization of TORA related to agricultural development up to October 2018 is attached in Table 3 (KLHK, 2018):

Table 3: Realization of TORA

Numb.	Criteria	Large Indocative Map (Ha)	of Target 2015-2019 (Ha)	Progress of the year (Ha)				Realization of TORA (Ha)	n% Realization
				2015	2016	2017	2018		
1	TORA Allocation of 20% Release of Kaw Forest for Plantations	437.936	437.936	0	341.731	33.392	54.235	429.358	98
2	Forest production can be converted (HPK) unproductive wooded	1.834.539	1.590.000	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Government program to reserve new rice field printing	67.028	67.028	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Settlement of transmigrant on and its social facilities which have already obtained principle approval	502.382	502.382	0	41.367	9.342	213.870	264.579	53
5	Social facilities and public facilities	642.835	642.835	0	307.516	0	0	307.516	48
6	Arable land in the form of rice fields and ponds of the people	366.504	366.504	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	Dry land agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the local community	1.118.965	590.000	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total amount	4.970.189	4.196.685	0	690.614	42.734	268.106	1.001.454	24

The table shows that the support of the TORA program for agricultural development deserves "thumbs up". In the first criterion, support for plantations that are part of agricultural development has reached even 98%, as well as support for transmigrants as well as social facilities for less than 50%. Why are transmigrant areas and social facilities mentioned as part of agricultural development. Where according to sources from; it was concluded that the benefits of transmigration caused cultural assimilation of the two ethnic groups (indigenous people and migrants) in supporting development activities, one of which was economic benefits: the growth and equity of the agricultural sector, the home industry and services (which are primarily sourced from agriculture) (Akmal and Frinaldi, 2000; Ariono, 2009; Demakota et al., 2016). It was concluded that social organizations in the transmigrant area of the paddy field irrigation system functioned well in accordance with their functions and roles.

Overall, judging by the type of work, the majority of transmigrant residents work as farmers, even reaching more than 50%. From this explanation, it is clear that the TORA program participated in supporting agricultural development in Indonesia, with a significant contribution to the development of agriculture in transmigrants by 50% and agricultural development in plantations which reached 98%. For this reason, in the future, the TORA continuation program within the transitional framework above, it is necessary to harmonize the contents of the Presidential Regulation on the Review of Regional Spatial Planning and the Draft Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform with negotiations on Agrarian work agreements and Natural Resources management as listed in MPR Tap No. IX / MPR / 2001.

Considering that the largest area of land that is a priority TORA source of land within forest areas (4.1 million ha), the role and synergy (specifically) between the ATR / BPN Ministry and the LHK Ministry are important in creating a program on the one hand, but at the same time requires caution and carefulness to decide that the area of Indonesia's forests has diminished over time.

Good because of encroachment, rather than the function of the forest itself (Presidential Staff Office, 2016). To obtain access arrangements need to be built together with asset management, in agrarian renewal. Structuring of access needs to be supported by good interrelated institutions. In this case, coordination is interpreted as a safety performance process carried out within the framework of unification / fusion / equality of views / motivation. Therefore, coordination is carried out by involving two or more institutions whose duties and authorities are interrelated, such as the Ministry of ATR / BPN, KLHK, the Ministry of Agriculture and the local Local Government Service (Pemda). Related, programs that have been made very well on the seven criteria can be agreed on in the next governance period (KLHK, 2018).

### 3.2 Implications of the TORA Program for Agriculture

Agricultural development requires sufficient land for extensification, especially for staple food crops. A group researchers analyzed the food needs for rice, corn, soybeans, cassava and sugar in 2045, which were 46.8 million tons, 23.6 million tons, 3 million tons, 12.6 million tons and 3, respectively. 7 million tons (Sudaryanto et al., 2010). To achieve self-sufficiency and position Indonesia as a food exporter, it takes around 10.1 million ha of standard paddy fields by 2045 (Kementerian Pertanian-Kementan, 2016). This means that there needs to be an addition of 2 million ha from the current area of paddy fields to around 8.1 million ha, assuming the conversion of paddy fields can be controlled (Suharjito, 2018).

In fact, paddy printing is only capable of around 20,000- 30,000 ha / year (Kementerian Pertanian-Kementan, 2013). The agrarian reform program by distributing 9 million ha of TORA rests on President Jokowi's Nawacita (titled The Road to Change to Sovereign, Independent and Personality). Syahyuti explain that agrarian reform activities include five main components that have implications for agricultural development, namely (Syahyuti, 2004; Syahyuti, 2019):

- (1) Strengthening the Regulatory Framework and Settlement of Agrarian Conflicts, aimed at providing an adequate regulatory basis for implementing agrarian reform agendas and providing justice through tenure certainty for community lands in agrarian conflicts; in agriculture, many land conflicts are disputed with plantations.
- (2) Arrangement of Land Ownership and Ownership of Objects of Agrarian Reform, aimed at identifying recipient subjects and objects of land to be rearranged the relationship of mastery and ownership; in the aspect of agriculture, many farmers get a TORA program to improve the welfare of farmers.
- (3) Legal Certainty and Legalization of Land Rights for the Object of Agrarian Reform, aimed at providing legal certainty and strengthening rights in an effort to overcome economic disparities by redistributing land into people's property; Land certification for farmers has been carried out in various provinces in Indonesia.
- (4) Community Empowerment in the Use, Utilization and Production of Land for Agrarian Reform Objects, aimed at reducing poverty by improving land use and utilization, as well as the formation of new productive forces; many farmers have been given assistance in the use of TORA land that they have acquired, which has an impact on increasing farmers' incomes.
- (5) Institutional Implementation of Central and Regional Agrarian Reform, to ensure the availability of institutional support in the central and regional governments, and enable villages to regulate the control, ownership, land use and utilization, natural resources, and village management areas.

### 3.3 Obstacles of the TORA Program

One period has ending, Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's government. Nawacita, one of the priority programs is agrarian reform. Unfortunately, from the point of view of civil society, there is still considerable disparity between plans and realization. Various input regarding the implementation of agrarian reform came from various parties. One of the realization of the Tora program is still top-down, not in accordance with the principles and main objectives of agrarian reform. The locations designated by the government through KLHK as TORA have not targeted locations that have been experiencing agrarian conflicts and overlapping communities with claims to forest areas (Nurlinda, 2008). KPA data states, from 2015-2019 there were almost 1,000 agrarian conflicts in an area of around 1.8 million hectares and sacrificed about more than 200 thousand farming families.

Criminalization also occurred in that period, causing around 600 farmers to be detained, around 300 people experienced violence and around 30 people were killed. Thousands of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are neglected and have not become part of the implementation of agrarian reform. This has an impact on violating community rights and continuing criminalization (KPA, 2018a). Jamal said that the conflicts that occur are generally due to expropriation of agricultural land or customary land rights owned by indigenous peoples by investors (Jamal, 2000). In the process of expropriation, community land is often valued very low, and this is related to the problem of land rent. From this condition it is difficult to change the function of paddy land to non-agricultural use, and the conversion function is a rational decision of farmers amid the strong urban pull due to the rapid development of the city (sinclair's urban fringe phenomena).

Another obstacle is the issue of establishing the TORA program, still using the Forestry Law to Java, Bali and Lampung, tightly closed from the path of agrarian reform. Under the government's pretext, the three regions have the same or less 30% forest cover. Then, large-scale plantations including SOEs that have been in dispute with the community have not been a priority for agrarian reform. In terms of legalizing assets, the government has been intensively certifying land. The political communication that the President is about to show to the public is as if it is just "giving away certificates". Other minuses include post-certification support programs such as structuring production and economic development of farmers, promoting opportunities for collateral certificates to banks as if showing the government is supporting inequality, supporting liberalization and the land market (Syahyuti, 2004; Supriyanto, 2018).

Other obstacles in terms of institutional, so far there is no clarity about the lead-sector implementing agrarian reform. Decree of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy No. 73/2017 regarding the formation of an agrarian reform team with three working groups is seen as unclear in the context of the national agrarian reform agenda, systematic and authoritative. Until now the Perpres on Agrarian Reform has not been signed by the President (Kantor Staf Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2017). The agrarian reform of the Jokowi-JK administration is still lacking in the context of protecting women. Inequality in the structure of agrarian reform in Indonesia has greatly affected women. Inequality in agrarian structures, not only looking at the state system but also socially from a patriarchal perspective. In the matter of land ownership and control, for example, because of patriarchy 80% of ownership is in the name of men (KPA, 2017; KPA, 2018b).

Further explanation KPA (2018) that the decision-making process in determining the management, control and utilization of women was not involved (KPA, 2018). Only the views of men are put forward. In fact, in speaking of the agrarian system, women can have a significant role in ensuring the management of agrarian resources. Regarding the resolution of agrarian conflicts, it has not yet seen aspects of women's interests and needs. In fact, in agrarian conflicts, it is not only seizes the source of life, political and cultural destruction, also destroys the body of women (KPA, 2018; Ratnasari, 2018). Agrarian conflicts are a lot of intimidation and layered burden experienced by women. This is what the state never calculated. Then, in determining the selection of subjects and objects of agrarian reform, it is seen as not making women a subject (KPA, 2018; Ratnasari, 2018).

### 3.4 TORA Program Strategy in the Future

The Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) highlights that only a small number of customary forests have been turned over. In fact, in agrarian reform, the surrender of customary forests is very important. Bureaucracy that is clean, straight and as one of the conditions, is still questionable. At the presidential level it is believed that he has good

intentions, even at the ministerial level. However, what happened at the lower levels is unknown. If it look at the composition of indigenous forests as agrarian reform, that is still far from expectations. The government must have the courage to break down policy barriers (KPA, 2017). For the true reform agenda to occur, the president must immediately make a policy move. In order for the TORA program to run. If not, it will still be like now, becoming like fake agrarian reform. Agrarian reform, but actually not (Rachman, 2017).

It is important to continue conveying it to the Jokowi government if it wants to continue, agrarian reform must be gender equitable. Five years of TORA implementation was quite good in preparing planning documents (Firdaus, 2018). However, the relevant ministries must be coordinated with each other. Infrastructure development such as toll roads, airports, power plants, etc, should not result in the people's land being seized. If it is needed, must consider the ideal composition in converting paddy to non-paddy fields, because it will have an impact on farmers become farm laborers (Arisaputra, 2015). The determination of the main objectives of agrarian reform is specifically important at the outset, is it to increase agricultural or non-agricultural land? In addition, the implementation of TORA must also be accompanied by conflict resolution. Limiting company plantation permits should also be limited. The need to highlight agrarian reform on the coast and small islands. There should be efforts to strengthen and empower coastal communities and small islands.

So, in the end in carrying out the agrarian reform agenda already has a clear program (Syahyuti, 2019). Agrarian reform consists of two sides, namely: (1) the mastery and ownership side, and (2) the use and utilization side. These two sides are clearly different. The first side concerns the legal relationship between humans and land, while the second is about how land is physically utilized. In other words, agrarian reform consists of two main problems, namely "control and ownership" on the one hand, and "use and utilization" on the other (Syahyuti, 2004). The aspects of mastery and ownership are called land reforms, other aspects which are non-landforms must also be implemented (Dewi, 2018). Because both sides must be done simultaneously in agrarian reform. The role for fulfilling the nonlandreform aspects comes from the relevant technical ministries. To be more successful, a genuine TORA program needs to be carried out in a participatory manner from planning, implementation, to monitoring and evaluation (Diantoro, 2018). The related technical ministry must of course be more proactive from the Central to the Regional level, so that this program can be effective and have an optimal impact on agricultural development goals (Syahyuti, 2019).

### 4. CONCLUSION

The TORA program as well as the Approval of Land Settlement in Forest Areas (PPTKH) as an effort to resolve conflicts are an important part of economic equality policy. "The PPTKH approval will be followed up with a Decree submitted to the community. Hopefully it can be more productive in doing business. The purpose of the TORA from the forest area is to provide legal certainty over land ownership by the community in the forest area and resolve disputes and conflicts within the forest area. To that end, the government will immediately complete and provide legal protection for the rights of the people who control or utilize plots of land in the forest area. Communities who control land in forest areas will be given ownership rights, if they meet certain criteria.

For this reason, the drafting of norms and procedures that form the basis of forest area policies as a source of TORA must be prepared with efforts to provide justice as well as legal certainty for the community in the forest area, both those who will be the subject of TORA recipients and those who are not. This also includes resolving disputes and / or conflicts that may occur in forest areas with the existence of this policy, as the responsibility of realizing one of the basic tasks of good governance, namely realizing the economic and social goals of the country in this case development agricultural in accordance with the people's expectations. Which in this case, many occur in agricultural areas.

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