# COMMUNICATION OF PUBLIC POLICY IN HANDLING PROBLEMS OF PTPN II (PERSERO) EX-HGU LAND IN NORTH SUMATRA

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ABSTRACT. This research analyzes how communication between stakeholders is established in implementing policies for handling land issues in the former PTPN II HGU in North Sumatra. The research method uses a qualitative descriptive approach by tracing related Literature studies. The research results show that the media and communication carried out by the North Sumatra Provincial Government in handling land issues of the former PTPN II HGU is direct communication in the form of socialization and coordination in strategic and technical forms. The communication carried out by the North Sumatra BPN Regional Office is direct in the form of support to the North Sumatra Provincial Government. The BPN Regional Office plays a vital role because regulations related to HGU come from BPN RI. The policy public communication strategy is carried out by increasing the intensity of public policy communication, involving the public in policy-making, and conveying information through the media. Factors influencing policy include openness of information, credibility, and government authority in reducing uncertainty and risk in resolving former PTPN II HGU problems. This research provides insight into alternative policy models for the North Sumatra Provincial Government in handling land conflicts. This research helps to understand the typology of land conflicts handled by BPN RI. This also emphasizes the need to increase legal awareness among the community and overcome systematic acts of provocation that lead to conflicts over land rights in North Sumatra Province.

Keywords: land issues; media expression; public policy communication.

# KOMUNIKASI KEBIJAKAN PUBLIK DALAM PENANGANAN PERMASALAHAN LAHAN EKS HGU PTPN II (PERSERO) DI SUMATERA UTARA

ABSTRAK. Penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana komunikasi antar pemangku kepentingan terjalin dalam implementasi kebijakan penanganan permasalahan pertanahan di eks-HGU PTPN II di Sumatera Utara. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif dengan menggali data-data terkait. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa media dan komunikasi yang dilakukan Pemerintah Provinsi Sumatera Utara dalam penanganan permasalahan pertanahan eks HGU PTPN II adalah komunikasi langsung berupa sosialisasi dan koordinasi dalam bentuk strategis dan teknis. Komunikasi yang dilakukan Kanwil BPN Sumut bersifat langsung dalam bentuk dukungan kepada Pemerintah Provinsi Sumut. Kanwil BPN memegang peranan penting karena peraturan terkait HGU berasal dari BPN RI. Strategi komunikasi kebijakan dilakukan dengan meningkatkan intensitas komunikasi kebijakan publik, melibatkan masyarakat dalam pengambilan kebijakan, dan menyampaikan informasi melalui media. Faktor yang mempengaruhi kebijakan antara lain keterbukaan informasi, kredibilitas, dan kewenangan pemerintah dalam mengurangi ketidakpastian dan risiko dalam penyelesaian permasalahan eks-HGU PTPN II. Penelitian ini berkontribusi dengan memberikan wawasan alternatif model kebijakan bagi Pemerintah Provinsi Sumatera Utara dalam menangani konflik pertanahan. Penelitian ini membantu untuk memahami tipologi konflik pertanahan yang ditangani BPN RI. Hal ini juga menekankan perlunya meningkatkan kesadaran hukum di kalangan masyarakat dan mengatasi tindakan provokasi sistematis yang berujung pada konflik hak atas tanah di Provinsi Sumatera Utara.

Kata Kunci: ekspresi media; komunikasi kebijakan publik; masalah tanah.

### INTRODUCTION

In the agrarian and land context, Hak Guna Usaha/HGU refer to the right to cultivate land controlled by the state for farming, fishing, and animal husbandry, often leading to conflicts. HGU dominates agrarian conflicts for broad control. The Monitoring Directorate for the Komisi Pemberatasan Korupsi/KPK found that 8.3 million hectares (ha) of Cultivation Rights

(HGU) land remained unmapped, according to information provided by the organization. Because legal certainty and land rights are the starting points for agrarian conflicts, this situation can lead to agrarian conflicts (CNN Indonesia, 2023). The land has many values, not only economically but also philosophically, socially, politically, and culturally. It is not imaginable that land property always causes various complex and complicated social problems (Arisaputra, 2013).

Not a few, the need to endure is one that often occurs. The land is significant for production because it is the most critical agrarian resource. The land area that always stays the same is not proportional to population growth and the needs that accompany it (Zakie, 2017). Land and other natural resources have always been a "struggle" between various human interests. Unsurprisingly, land has been contested since ancient times, causing conflicts and disputes regarding land and its resources (Ngadimin et al., 2018).

Resolving conflicts and handling land issues with former PTPN II HGU in North Sumatra is an important issue that affects the interests and communities of the national strategy project in North Sumatra. Completion of the 5,873 hectare land took quite a long time involving various stakeholders. The contentious struggle over land is not only a regional problem, but also a provincial problem. The conflict over the former PTPN II HGU plantation land has been going on for a long time and involves various parties, such as group demands for basic community customary rights, the return of land cultivated by the people, and requests from retired PTPN II employees for land. This has driven conflict in the society of North Sumatra. It was recorded that the Agrarian Conflict in North Sumatra was the highest in Indonesia, which prompted the attention of the central government to encourage regional governments to resolve this problem. In fact, two cases of agrarian conflict in North Sumatra have become of great concern to the President, namely the Sarirejo land settlement case in Medan City and the former PTPN-II HGU case (Widyastuti, 2020). Under these conditions, it is interesting to see the efforts of local government public communication policies in resolving this conflict.

Environmental conflicts arise from community-based socio-economic, cultural, and ecological factors (Zikargae et al., 2022). Land conflicts are caused by unequal land tenure structures, ownership, use, and utilization, and inequality with other production sources (Rahman, 2017). Land conflict is a chronic and classic problem that occurs over years or even decades and is always present everywhere. Land disputes and conflicts are complex and multi-dimensional problems (Zakie, 2017; Koswara, 2016; Ramadhani, 2021). Therefore, efforts to prevent, handle and resolve must consider various legal and non-legal aspects (Marsella, 2015).

Settlement and handling of conflicts and land disputes are faced with dilemmas between

various interests that are equally important based on the 2022 Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) report, 212 agrarian conflicts occurred last year. This number increased by 2.36% compared to the previous year, which amounted to 207 incidents. The area of land experiencing agrarian conflicts is 1.04 million hectares (ha). Meanwhile, there were 346,402 heads of households who were affected by agrarian conflicts in 459 regions in Indonesia. The plantation sector experienced the highest number of cases, namely 99 incidents. The majority of 80 incidents occurred in oil palm plantations last year (Data Indonesia.id, 2022). The prevalence of these conflicts is considered to be weak in the handling of land conflict resolution. In order to create strategies and solutions for conflict, it is essential to understand the basics. By solving the fundamental problems, it is hoped that land disputes and conflicts can be avoided as far as possible, create a safe atmosphere, and realize prosperous agrarian justice (Susilo, 2020).

Land conflicts in North Sumatra Province have been going on for so long and involve many elements of society and such a large land area. The dispute/conflict is the former PTPN II HGU land. Disputes/conflicts on the former PTPN II HGU land began in 2002 through Central BPN Decrees No. 42, 43, and 44/HGU/BPN/2002 and Decree number 10/2004 concerning Granting of Expansion of Cultivation Rights Period. Through the National Land Agency (BPN), the central government issued a land area of 5,873.068 ha from the PTPN II HGU. Of the 5,873.068 ha, 3,366.55 ha are located in the Deli Serdang district, 1,210.868 ha in Langkat regency, and 238.52 ha in Binjai. These conditions mean that HGU conflicts in North Sumatra not only involve issues of land ownership, but also conflicts of interest and community trust in stakeholders. Conflicts that have occurred for decades have encouraged the importance of a public communication policy approach in encouraging trust and conflict resolution messages. The widespread condition of HGU conflicts in North Sumatra has given rise to horizontal conflicts for years, so it is important to look further at the public communication policies implemented (Pasaribu & Adhani, 2024).

The release of 5,873.068 ha of land from the PTPN II HGU was, in fact, not a new milestone for the settlement of agrarian conflicts in North Sumatra, especially those related to PTPN II; on the contrary, it was the beginning of an expansion of conflicts that have not been resolved until now.

Table 1. Area Allocation and Use Plan

Land Use Allocation Plan	Deli Serdang Regency	Langkat Regency	Binjai City	Amount
People's Demands	909,72 Ha	467, 40 Ha	-	1.377,12 Ha
People's Garage	302,26 Ha	120,26 Ha	122,90 Ha	546,12 Ha
RUTRW non Agriculture	2.219,70 Ha	308,47 Ha	133,30 На	2.641, 47 Ha
Retirement Housing Employee	441,99 Ha	114,04 Ha	2,32 На	558,35 На
Malay Community	200,00 Ha	200,00 Ha	50,00 Ha	450,00 Ha
USU Development	300,00 Ha	-	-	300,00 Ha
			AMOUNT	5.873,06 Ha

Source: Biro Pemerintahan and Otda Setda Provsu, 2023

The emergence of a land release policy where the HGU was not extended turned out to be problematic because the release of land covering an area of 5,873.068 ha from the PTPN II HGU was not accompanied by a map of the position of the land in Central BPN Decree No. 42, 43 and 44/ HGU/BPN/2002 (MahkamahAgung.go.id, 2020; Ngadimin et al., 2018). The central government only mentions the area of land allocated and the amount of land in each region without mentioning the location (village, subdistrict, or easily identifiable land markers) (Kusmanto, 2017). The Governor of North Sumatra issued a decision by forming the B Plus Team by Governor's Decree No 593.4/065/K/2000 dated 11 February 2000 Jo No 593.4/2060/K/2000 regarding the settlement of problems/demands/people's work on PTPN II land. The B Plus team comprises the Provincial Government of North Sumatra, the District Government of Deli Serdang, Langkat, Binjai City, and North Sumatra's BPN. However, it did not involve PTPN 2 and the community because the B plus team was the Team tasked with carrying out inspections of the land being claimed and the land proposed for HGU extension by PTPN 2 (sumutprov.go.id, 2016).

There were 100 nominative list decrees signed by the Governor of North Sumatra and involving a land area of 892.5986 hectares out of a total land area of 5.873 hectares which had to be handled by the Team. In theory, determining the Nominative List by the PTPN II Ex-HGU Inventory Team was very complicated because the matriculation data set by the B Plus Team had not been executed for a very long time. The cultivators and entitled parties are dynamically changing, considering this process needs to be handled more quickly. Many have died and changed hands, and many illegal transactions have also been carried out.

the description above, implementation of handling problems on the ex-PTPN II HGU land cannot be separated from the communication process. Communicative behavior or miscommunication can cause fatal incidents that pose a risk to the organization (Nordin et al., 2014). Organizational commitment and trust are created by organizational actors (Harrison & Doerfel, 2006). The interaction that is carried out requires proper communication in it. The conditions are supported by explicit rules and regulations, instructions, group cohesiveness, and resources that minimize role conflict (Al-Kahtani & Allam, 2015). Inventory Team by the Governor of North Sumatra, cooperation between stakeholders is critical because it takes a shared vision to solve problems based on each party's main tasks and functions. This condition is critical so that policy actors understand the aims and objectives of public policy. Thus, the problem of ineffective communication will cause residents involved in the policy to need help understanding the aims and objectives of the Inventory and Identification Team for Handling PTPN II EKS HGU Land Problems. According to Nurati (2016), it was said that several dimensions need to be considered when conveying information about public policy. These dimensions include the dimensions of communication transformation or transmission, the dimensions of communication clarity, and the dimensions of communication consistency. Communication affects relationship between the parties involved in the conflict and can foster trust from the existing interactions (Overall & McNulty, 2017). Good communication can increase performance satisfaction (Caldarescu et al., 2022). Meanwhile, Public Policy communication is widely used in socializing with stakeholders through appeals and campaigns directly or through the media (Amin &

Khalida, 2021). However, policy communication can cause problems such as unclear information, understanding, and awareness (Ayuningtyas et al., 2019; Rangkuti & Rangkuti, 2021).

There were two phenomena encountered, namely communication problems and achieving the objectives of handling the Ex-HGU PTPN II Land Problem in North Sumatra. The conflict over control over HGU that has been going on for a long time requires a special approach in handling it that does not only include regulations. These conditions encourage public communication policy to become an ideal approach in resolving conflicts amidst conflicts of interest that occur. These conditions make it important to know, how is Public Policy Communication in Handling Land Issues Ex-HGU PTPN II (Persero) in North Sumatra? and what strategies are used in communicating public policy in handling PTPN II (Persero) Ex-HGU Land Issues in North Sumatra and factors that can influence the effectiveness of public policy communication in Handling PTPN II (Persero) Ex-HGU Land Issues in North Sumatra.

#### **METHOD**

The research method used in this research is a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior (Moleong, 2017). According to Creswell & Poth, (2016) qualitative research is a type of research that explores and understands the meaning of a number of individuals or groups of people originating from social problems. Data sources were obtained from direct and indirect sources in the form of observation, interview, and documentation. Direct sources are researcher observations and interviews, while indirect sources are data documentation and official archives. The data collection technique is carried out by browsing related documents and then interpreting them.

In accordance with the Decree of the Governor of North Sumatra on Team B Plus No. 593.4/065/K/2000 on the Settlement of Problems/Claims/Community Work on PTPN II Land. Informants in this research Officials or staff from the North Sumatra Regional Office of the National Land Agency (BPN). Head of the National Unity and Political Agency of North Sumatra Province. Communities directly involved in land conflicts of the former PTPN II

HGU in North Sumatra, including landowners, entrepreneurs, environmental activists, and local residents. Experts in land and public policy who can provide additional insights and analyses related to policy implementation and communication dynamics between stakeholders. Local or national mass media that cover or have information related to PTPN II's former HGU land issues, to understand the media perspective and its impact on public communication.

Research steps: First, conduct interviews with related parties with the criteria of parties directly involved, such as the community, observers, and other stakeholders. Second, data collected through interviews is interpreted by looking at related documents. Third, interpret the results of interviews and document searches. The research was carried out in several cities in North Sumatra, focusing on the Ex-HGU PTPN II conflict areas, namely Deli Serdang Regency, Langkat Regency, and Binjai City.

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### **Public Policy Communications**

The research found three actors who collaborated in the implementation of the Inventory and Identification of Handling of PTPN II EKS HGU Land Problems in North Sumatra Province, which included the North Sumatra Provincial Government, the Regional Office of the North Sumatra National Land Agency, and PT. Nusantara Plantation II (Persero). Public policy communication is a complex process that involves various parties and objectives, ranging from the government, the public, and the mass media to civil society organizations. Public policy communication is essential in establishing harmonious relations between the government and society and ensuring the successful implementation of public policies. However, enforcement in place is inseparable from the need for more socialization and public communication approaches carried out by related parties.

Public policy communication planning is carried out by prioritizing direct communication in the form of carrying out tasks and socialization as a medium for providing understanding to the public. This planning includes strategic and technical steps to encourage coordination and cooperation from various stakeholders. Public policy communication planning plays an important role in ensuring the successful implementation of public policy. Effective communication can help overcome obstacles and

challenges in implementing public policies and increase community participation and support. Apart from that, public policy communication can also help strengthen transparency and accountability in public decision-making, thereby increasing public trust in the government. The strategic steps in implementing the handling of PTPN II's ex-HGU land issues provide results or output by looking at how the program creates a nominative list of parties entitled to the ex-HGU land. This strategy is applied in socialization to provide knowledge and resolve conflicts that may arise from conveying information.

Public policy communication plays a significant role in ensuring the successful implementation of public policy. Effective communication can help overcome obstacles and challenges in implementing public policies and increase public participation and support. In addition, public policy communication can also help strengthen transparency and accountability in public decision-making, thereby increasing public trust in the government. The implementation of the handling of ex-PTPN II HGU land problems provides results or output by looking at how the program creates a nominative list of parties entitled to the ex-HGU land. An internal fact in the Team was the unification of various interests between the Provincial Government of North Sumatra, the Regional Office of the National Land Agency, and PTPN II (Persero), where years earlier, these three stakeholders "threw roles" to each other. This is inseparable from public policy communications that emphasize coordination and formal communication with the emergence of the Governor of North Sumatra Decree Number: 188.44/319/KPTS/2021 dated 4 June 2021 concerning Inventory and Identification Team for Handling Issues on Ex-PTPN II HGU Land in the Provincial Area North Sumatra. This coordination is important in encouraging the importance of communication planning. So far, direct communication approaches have often been hampered due to declining views and trust.

Aspects of public communication policy that are implemented in active coordination face challenges that are greatly influenced by information gaps that can be seen from differences in perception in understanding conflict resolution issues. With stakeholders' efforts to "cast roles", it can be seen that information gaps occur. These efforts cannot be separated from the inability to manage the messages conveyed to the public. As a result, there is a lack of coordination between institutions, distrust is generated by

the distortion of information that encourages, ineffective communication in coordinating between institutions that do not trust each other and have different interests. This is the reason that roles that have been formed over many years do not have an effective impact on network collaboration. In this case, the communication process that forms a collaborative network can support policy implementation. Changes in communication patterns that are formed from coordination between institutions do not provide changes to the communication strategy process in resolving conflicts.

## Communication of Public Policy in Handling Problems of Ex-PTPN II HGU Land

Communication by the Provincial Government of North Sumatra in handling the ex-PTPN II HGU land problems began in 1998; where before the PTPN II HGU expired, the community very often held rallies or demonstrations demanding the Governor to force PTPN II to return the land to the community. These demonstrations often involve large masses because the land the community requests is vast, namely thousands of hectares.

In order to respond to developments occurring in the area of PTPN II, with increasing demands from the community/community groups, public policy communication is carried out by sending assignment orders through formal communication. The Governor of North Sumatra issued Decree Number 593.4/065/K/2000 on February 11, 2000. No. 593.4/2060/K the year 2000, dated May 17, 2000, concerning the Committee for Settlement of PTPN II HGU Extension and Settlement of People's Claims/ Acts Issues for PTPN II Areas, called Committee B Plus.

In accordance with their authority, the B Plus committee took several steps. Carry out reviewing and recommending the extension of Cultivation Rights submitted by PTPN II for areas that are clear of people's claims/claims and conduct research on every claim/claim on the land requested. Furthermore, public policy communication was implemented in direct communication by holding meetings where one of the critical points of the meeting results was to cross-check the identification map of the 2008 North Sumatra BPN and PTPN II measurement results compared to the 1997 land plot map. The cross-check results were obtained from excess Team B Plus matriculation data compared to PTPN II HGU Land Treatise. However, efforts to resolve the problem of the former PTPN II HGU land have stalled. Public policy communication is implemented in the form of formal communication with letters. In 2017, the Governor of North Sumatra, through Governor Decree Number: 188.44/384/KPTS/2017 dated August 03, 2017, formed an Inventory Team for handling the Ex Area. HGU Covers an area of 5,873.06 Ha. According to Decree No. 188.44/604/KPTS/2017, dated November 02, 2017, the Governor of North Sumatra also formed a Secretariat and Working Team for Measurement and Mapping in the framework of an Inventory of Management of Ex Areas. HGU Covering  $\pm$  5,873.06 Ha. With the formation of the Team decided by the Governor of North Sumatra, the era began when the three interested elements, namely the North Sumatra Provincial Government, North Sumatra BPN Regional Office, and PTPN II (Persero) were united in a Team to resolve the land issues of the ex-PTPN II HGU. the formation of the Team is expected to form good interactions, coordination, and communication relationships in order to provide solutions.

Furthermore, the Team worked produced extraordinary output, namely establishing the Namonative List by the Governor of North Sumatra according to Letter No. 181.1/13294/2017 dated December 21, 2017, regarding the Nominative List of Proposals for the Write-Off of PTPN II's Former HGU Land to PTPN II Shareholders covering an area of 2,216.2855 Ha. This Nominative List will then be submitted to the shareholders of PTPN III Holding for a release permit. Shareholders approve by Letter No. S-555/MBU/08/2018 and 3.00/KPPS/15/VIII/2018 dated August 24, 2018, regarding the Approval of the Write-off and Transfer of Ex. HGU area of 2,216.2855 Ha. So the next step is to write off assets by providing the value of the land by appraisal for payment of compensation to the state by cultivators who have been determined in the previous Nominative List. That is the importance of communication in ensuring the successful implementation of public policies. Routine communication between stakeholders is needed to avoid differences in perceptions and understandings that can widen conflicts.

Public policy communication cannot be separated from efforts to form interactions between government parties. Although the government interprets communications through command messages. This effort provides an open space for public consultation efforts. Public

consultations that are not widely interpreted, starting from public meetings or discussion forums to receive input and opinions from the public. So the effectiveness in assisting in making better decisions is contradictory and does not find mutual agreement. Public communication efforts to increase public participation, and strengthen relations between government and society, encourage public participation in the public policy communication process, so that the public feels involved and has a better understanding of the policies being implemented. However, in its implementation it often faces obstacles caused by limited space for carrying out participation and procedures for conveying participation. As a result, people tend to hold demonstrations rather than dialogue in formulating ideal policies.

### **Strategy in Public Policy Communication**

Lack of effective message delivery often leads to disputes. When conveying public policy messages, they are often not conveyed clearly and measurably. This condition creates misunderstanding and decreases public trust in the government. This condition is one of the problems that occurs in resolving the problem of the former PTPN II HGU area. Government efforts with a nominative list reduces the problem of the ex-PTPN II HGU area to be resolved. However, it raises new problems, such as the appraisal value of the land in question, which is beyond the capacity of the person registered on the nominative list. Hence, the payment of compensation to the state could be faster. Then, the emergence of a legal lawsuit by a party dissatisfied with the determination of the Nominative list by the Governor of North Sumatra, including a lawsuit by PT. Suryamas Deli Kencana. The lawsuit from PT. It turned out that Suryamas Deli Kencana was successful in winning up to the Inkrah stage, where one of the dictums of the decision was to cancel the Nominative List Decree No. 181.1/13294/2017 dated December 21, 2017, which the previous Governor of North Sumatra determined. With this permanent legal decision, all the results of the work of the PTPN II ex-HGU land management team are null and void.

Several strategies can be used in communicating the above public policy issues:

1. The importance of providing precise and detailed information about the public policies taken. Clear and detailed information will make it easier for the public to understand the public policies taken and can help reduce uncertainty and confusion that can occur in the community.

- 2. The importance of involving the community in the public policy-making process. Involving the community in the public policy-making process can increase community participation and support for these policies, help identify problems the community faces, and develop appropriate solutions.
- 3. The importance of using the mass media to convey public policy information.
- The mass media has a significant role in shaping public opinion and can help increase public understanding and support for public policy.

The success of communication transmission is further evidenced by the participation of the community in the implementation of the handling of the ex-PTPN II HGU land problems. Community participation in the settlement process was carried out from the interview stage to land measurement before the nominative list was determined. So that the community understands the problems and the process of writing off the ex-PTPN II HGU assets in their area, reviews them, and makes decisions and solves the problem. However, the lack of further coordination in conveying public policy messages gives the public the impression of inconsistent and confusing communication. As a result, effective message delivery is still a problem.

# Factors Influencing the Effectiveness of Public Policy Communications

The current implementation of the handling of ex-PTPN II HGU land problems has provided results or output by looking at how the program created a nominative list of parties entitled to the ex-HGU land. An internal fact in the Team was the unification of various interests between the Provincial Government of North Sumatra, the Regional Office of the National Land Agency, and PTPN II (Persero), where years previously, these three stakeholders shifted roles to one another. These three stakeholders have committed to immediately solving the problem of the ex-PTPN II HGU land because all stakeholders from the regional level to the main level have put their emphasis on it, even President Joko Widodo on March 11, 2020, ordered directly to accelerate the settlement of the ex-PTPN II land dispute.

Based on the data obtained by the Inventory Team, as of December 23, 2022, 100 Nominative List Decrees have been issued, which were signed by the Governor of North Sumatra and involve an area of 892.5986 hectares of a total land area of 5873 that the Team must handle. At the verification

and identification stage, the community prepares personal data, files, and the basis for rights that the local Village Head knows. The community also deliberated in planning the installation of physical land tenure stakes and assisted when surveying officers came to the field. While at the implementation stage, the community also assists the appraisal team of land assessors who work independently in the field. When the value of the land has been determined, the community will make payments to the government account number that has been determined.

Several factors can affect the effectiveness of public policy communications. First is the importance of openness and transparency in the public decision-making process. Openness and transparency can increase public trust and support for public policies and strengthen government accountability. Second is good command of language. Good command of the language is essential in public policy communication. The government must be able to convey information and policies in a language easily understood by the public. Complex and difficult-to-understand language can make people distrustful or disinterested in the policies being conveyed.

Third is Adequate Resources. Adequate resources are essential in public policy communication. Governments must ensure that they have sufficient resources to facilitate the communication of public policies with the public. For example, the government must have a sufficient budget to carry out campaigns or outreach to the public. Fourth is Community Participation. Community participation land conflict resolution is vital in public policy communication. The government must allow the community to be involved in the process and provide input and suggestions. With community participation, the government can find out the perceptions and needs of the community in conflict resolution. Fifth, Credibility and Government Authority. Government credibility and authority are significant in public policy communication. The government must have strong credibility and authority so that people can trust the information and policies conveyed by the government. This can be achieved through consistency and public trust in the government. In handling land conflicts, the effectiveness of public policy communication is significant in overcoming these conflicts. Therefore, the government must pay attention to the factors that influence the effectiveness of public policy communication to build good communication with the public and correctly resolve land conflicts.

### **Media Expression in Land Conflict**

expression in Media land conflicts refers to using social media and other online platforms to fight for or advocate for land rights or share information and views about land conflicts (Figure 1). Government openness and transparency are essential in public policy communication. Communities will more readily accept information and policies from the government if the government can provide clear, accurate, and open information. In handling land conflicts, the government must be transparent in providing information regarding the conflict resolution process so that the community can understand and be involved. So far, the people involved in the HGU conflict have experienced information difficulties ranging from certainty and disclosure of information on the development of the situation.

### Konflik Agraria Eks HGU PTPN di Sumut Kerap Memicu Bentrok



Figure 1. Media reported the HGU conflict.

Source: TribunMedan.com, 2023

Social media can help mobilize the masses, build public support, and strengthen public opinion in land conflict. Activists, journalists, and civil society organizations can use online platforms to promote their agenda and fight for land rights. However, using social media in the context of land conflicts can also trigger greater polarization and conflict. For example, people who support land rights can use social media to post information and evidence about crimes committed by other parties, such as forced evictions. In contrast, those interested in the land can use social media to attack and humiliate activists and supporters. Therefore, all parties involved in land conflicts need to use social media wisely and responsibly to avoid the emergence of hate speech which can have legal consequences and ultimately harm us all.

Land conflict is a complex and sensitive issue that can arise in society. This conflict can occur between individuals or groups with

different land tenure and use interests. In handling land conflicts, hate speech is often a challenge that must be overcome because it can exacerbate the situation and trigger greater tension. In the context of land conflicts, hate speech can be directed at groups considered to monopolize or control land or at those fighting for rights over the land. Hate speech in handling land conflicts can deepen conflicts and weaken the possibility of resolving conflicts peacefully. Hate speech can increase tensions between conflicting groups and disrupt conflict resolution processes. This can adversely affect relations between individuals or groups involved in the conflict and exacerbate the situation.

There are several forms of hate speech in handling land conflicts: First, statements that attack or harass certain groups, for example, "They are heartless landlords and must be expelled from this area." Second, provocative and demeaning language, for example, "Those people only seek personal gain and don't care about the interests of the surrounding community." Propaganda or narratives that discredit and discredit one particular party, for example, "They want to monopolize all of this land and make us homeless.". Third, acts of intimidation or physical violence, such as throwing stones or damaging the property of other parties, force other groups to surrender or yield.

Bentrok dengan PTPN II Terkait HGU, Warga Langkat Dipukuli



Figure 2. Media reported about clashes between Langkat Residents and PTPN II

Source: CNN Indonesia, 2020

Fourth, using social media or online platforms to disseminate narratives and propaganda that incites hatred, provokes other groups, or reinforces intolerant and bigoted views. The four utterances of hate can deepen the conflict and cause greater tension between conflicting groups. Therefore, all parties involved in the conflict must prevent hate speech and promote respectful dialogue and understanding.

To overcome hate speech in handling land conflicts. The three interested elements, namely the Provincial Government of North Sumatra, North Sumatra BPN Regional Office, and PTPN II (Persero), are united in a team to solve the problem of the ex-PTPN II HGU land; it is necessary to take a wise approach and promote dialogue and mutual understanding. The parties involved in the conflict must try to understand each other's perspectives and interests and find a fair and beneficial solution for all parties. In addition, community leaders and figures can also play an essential role in encouraging dialogue and promoting a tolerant and inclusive attitude in handling land conflicts. The public must also understand the negative impact of hate speech in handling land conflicts and try to prevent them. In this case, social media and online platforms can promote tolerance and strengthen public opinion, promoting dialogue and understanding.

Overall, the reality of public policy communication that is developing in society is carried out by stakeholders in resolving the former PTPN II HGU conflict. First, the communicator's ability and the quality of the communication message are the main problems. Openness and distrust between stakeholders makes it difficult to provide space for balanced participation. This attitude of distrust cannot be separated from the ability to convey messages and the quality of the communication process which is an obstacle in itself. Each stakeholder is very careful in conveying the message. Second, lack of increasing public participation. Public communication is closely related to the extent to which the public is interested and conveys messages, this can encourage public participation and increase coordination to decide on the public policy communication process. As a result, conflict resolution policy decisions are still very limited. Third, a fragmented public: Communities around conflict areas are vulnerable to distrust of the government and related parties. This is inseparable from the failure of society to capture accurate information, causing dependence on uncertain sources of information. This condition creates physical conflict and distrust of the parties involved in resolving the conflict. As a result, each group has its own justification. These conditions make public policy communication less effective in resolving conflicts.

### **CONCLUSION**

Communication by the Provincial Government of North Sumatra: Communication by the Provincial Government of North Sumatra in handling issues of the ex-PTPN II HGU land is using direct communication in the form of Socialization, Coordination in strategic and technical forms. The communication carried out by the Provincial Government of North Sumatra has been proven by the flow of correspondence, coordination, hearings, and even strategic policies with the issuance of a Governor's Decree to encourage the resolution of land issues ex PTPN II HGU. Even the North Sumatra Provincial Government led the settlement efforts by communicating directly and in the form of support for the North Sumatra Provincial Government. Meanwhile, the communication carried out by PTPN II (Persero) is by offering data assistance to the North Sumatra Provincial Government and North Sumatra BPN Regional Office. Hate speech that appears in the context of media expression is an attitude or action that shows injustice or intolerance. Hate speech can trigger or deepen conflict because it impedes the progress of dialogue and negotiations and disrupts the conflict resolution process.

It is important to look at future research by looking at efforts to increase the effectiveness of public communication policies, the use of digital communication technology in public communication and the ability and quality of communication in increasing collective awareness of resolving the former PTPN II HGU conflict. Public policy communication has an important role in implementing PTPN HGU conflict resolution policies. This study contributes to the field of public policy communication by providing insight into the North Sumatra Provincial Government's policy model in resolving land conflicts over former PTPN II HGU. This research finds an alternative policy model for the North Sumatra Provincial Government in dealing with land conflicts. This research helps to understand the typology of land conflicts handled by the Indonesian National Land Agency; it also emphasizes the need to increase legal awareness among the community and overcome systematic acts of provocation that lead to land rights conflicts.

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