



“Terusir dari Kampung Sendiri”: Political Ecology Study of Indigenous Communities Around Nickel Mining Project in central Halmahera

Andi Sumar Karman^{1*} Arlinah ² Irfan Ahmad³

^{1,2} Department of Social Anthropology, Faculti of Cultural Science, Khairun University

³Department of History, Faculti of Cultural Science, Khairun University

Corresponding Author: Andi Sumar Karman andisumarkarman@unkhair.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Nickel Mining, Political Ecology, Indigenous People Marginalization, Central Halmahera

Received : 20, July

Revised : 27, August

Accepted: 26, September

©2024 Karman, Arlinah, Ahmad
: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Atribusi 4.0 Internasional](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).



ABSTRACT

The complexity of problems caused by mining activities in North Maluku can be analyzed through the perspective of political ecology from anthropology, especially ecological anthropology. Through this perspective, the article describes three main problems related to mining business activities in relation to the conditions of indigenous communities around the mines. First, about the environmental perception of indigenous communities towards nickel mining activities in Central Halmahera Regency. Second, regarding the power gap and social injustice due to nickel mining activities towards local communities in Central Halmahera. Third, regarding access to natural resources and the marginalization of local communities in the context of the utilization of natural mining resources. The presence of nickel mining companies in Central Halmahera Regency does not have a positive impact on the lives of indigenous people living around mining activities. Their natural environment is damaged (polluted) and the main sources of livelihood of indigenous people are lost from their control. They no longer have access to the natural resources that they previously controlled before the arrival of the nickel mining company.

INTRODUCTION

The nickel downstreaming policy implemented by the government since 2015 has been declared successful in growing the economy of North Maluku by 23 percent. Ironically, the number of poor people in this province is still quite high. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the poor population in North Maluku in March 2023 was 83.80 thousand people (6.46 percent). Compared to September 2022, this number increased by 1.66 thousand people (0.09 percent). Likewise, in March 2022, this number increased by 3.93 thousand people (0.23 percent) (Malut Post, 2023).

Indonesia has the largest nickel reserves in the world with reserves of 23.7 percent of the world's total reserves (Azevendo et al., 2020). The three provinces in Indonesia whose regions have the largest nickel content are Southeast Sulawesi (32%), North Maluku (27%), and Central Sulawesi (26%) (Arif, 2018). Nickel ore exports, especially to China, are carried out through companies with nickel IUPs, the number of which reaches hundreds. This was done in line with the enactment of Law Number 4 of 2009 concerning Minerals and Coal. Four years after the Minerba Law was passed, the government became the peak value of Indonesian nickel ore exports, namely 64.8 million tons, or equivalent to USD 1.6 billion in 2013 (BPS, 2015). In that year, Indonesia supplied China's nickel ore needs by 50% for that country (UNCTAD, 2017). The Indonesian government has finally banned the export of low-grade nickel by enacting the Regulation of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 11 of 2019. This government step is intended to leverage the added value of nickel before export. This domestic processing process then requires the construction of smelters by nickel mining companies.

The reality of poverty in North Maluku, especially in areas where mining activities are taking place, and Jokowi's response to it can be stated in several ways. First, the government (Jokowi) wants support for the nickel downstreaming policy by ignoring its negative impacts as indicated by the increasing number of poor people. Second, Jokowi wants to avoid the reality of poverty and blames the local government for the lack or absence of networks between the local government and mining companies. Third, the participation of local communities as suppliers of food needs for mining companies is considered a weakness of the local government.

Unfortunately, mining management in North Maluku has not had a positive impact on improving the welfare of the people in this area. Socio-economically, the reality of poverty in North Maluku where mining business activities are very complex. The presence of mining companies does not immediately raise the standard of living of local people so that they become more prosperous. On the contrary, the community is increasingly entangled in economic difficulties. The government's implications for the problems faced by

the community clearly show the importance of conducting a study of nickel downstream policies with specific cases in various regions in Indonesia, including North Maluku.

Various regulations related to mineral and coal mining in Indonesia carry the main hope that the management of minerals and coal in Indonesia is basically to increase the quantity and quality of national human resources. Including to increase independence, resilience, role and economic benefits, which ultimately increase the welfare and prosperity of the people. This is a mandate from the constitution of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

The nickel industry in North Maluku is developing in two districts, namely South Halmahera and Central Halmahera. In South Halmahera district, precisely on Obi Island, it is carried out by the Harita Group through two companies, PT Trimegah Bangun Persada and PT Gane Permai Sentosa. The mining concession based on the IUP group is 5,524 hectares. Together with a Chinese company - (Zhejiang Lygend Investment Co.), Harita built a nickel-based battery component factory. In addition, Harita also operates a ferronickel smelter with the company Xinxing Ductile Iron Pipes Co. (Pratama, 2020).

In Central Halmahera Regency, the nickel industry is managed by the company PT Indonesia Weda Bay Industrial Park. (PT IWIP). IWIP is the result of investment cooperation between three companies from China, namely: Tsingshan Group, Huayou Group, and Zhenshi Group. The majority of shares are held by Tsingshan (40%) through its subsidiary (Perlux Technology Co.Ltd). Zhen shi and Huayou control 30 percent of the shares each (Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, 2019).

The PT IWIP industrial area processes nickel into three strategic stages. The first stage, PT IWIP focuses on developing ferronickel production through a pyrometallurgical smelter. This stage has a total investment of USD 2.5 billion. The second stage, PT IWIP focuses on developing nickel and cobalt products in the form of hydroxide through a hydrometallurgical smelter. The total investment in this second stage is USD 1.5 billion. The third stage focuses on developing electric car batteries with a total investment of USD 5 billion (Bank Indonesia, 2019).

Corruption related to mining permits was widely exposed to the public by the national media Tempo. Triggered by Tempo's reporting, the KPK leadership then asked for clarification from the Minister of Investment and Head of BKPM Bahlil Lahadalia, especially the IUP in North Maluku. Bahlil Lahadalia himself is the Head of the Land Use Arrangement and Investment Arrangement Task Force. Corruption related to the IUP mechanism in North Maluku was revealed after a series of examinations of the former Governor of North Maluku Abdul Gani Kasuba (AGK). The KPK suspected that the granting of the IUP was not in accordance with the rules and was based on orders from AGK. The results of the

examination of the Director of Downstream Minerals and Coal at the Ministry of Investment/BKPM Hasyim Daeng Barang strengthened the KPK's suspicions (LPP RI, 2024).

The complexity of the problems of the presence of mining activities in North Maluku can be analyzed through a political ecology perspective. Through this perspective, this article describes three main problems related to mining business activities in relation to the conditions of indigenous communities around the mine. First, regarding the environmental perception of indigenous communities towards nickel mining activities in Central Halmahera Regency. Second, regarding the power gap and social injustice due to nickel mining activities towards local communities in Central Halmahera. Third, regarding access to natural resources and the marginalization of local communities in the context of the utilization of mining natural resources.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach under the constructivism paradigm (Salim, 2006). Based on this approach and paradigm, ontologically, reality is understood to be in various mental constructions that are social and plural in nature in society. The social experiences of each informant are understood as local and specific. Epistemologically, the relationship between researchers and informants is interwoven into one unit and is interactive. The interaction between researchers and informants takes place collaboratively and without distance.

From a methodological perspective, this study attempts to capture the phenomenon as it is, comprehensively, without intervention and manipulation from the researcher. The study took place in a natural setting. The data collection method was carried out through a hermeneutical and dialectical process that focused on the construction, reconstruction, and elaboration of a social process (Salim, 2006: 90). The hermeneutical method means that the identification of truth is based on individuals (informants), while the dialectical process means that the researcher attempts to compare and cross-examine the opinions of individuals in this study.

This research will be conducted in Lelilef Village and Gemaf Village in North Weda District. These two villages are the villages most affected by nickel mining activities carried out by PT IWIP. These two villages are the company's operational areas. In fact, the areas of these villages are partly the construction areas of PT IWIP. Residents of both villages are affected in terms of land ownership and control.

Informants were determined intentionally (*purposive*) sampling) by considering its relevance to the research topic. Given that this research is mainly related to the socio-cultural conditions of the mining community and its relationship with the activities of mining business actors (mining companies), the

informants who have been determined are the community, local government, company employees, mass organizations, NGOs, activists, and mining companies. The community includes ordinary people and religious/traditional figures. The local government includes village heads. The identities of the company employees interviewed in this study were kept confidential at the request of the informants and in accordance with the ethics of this research itself. This research is a qualitative research with data collection techniques through three methods, namely observation, in-depth interviews, and document studies. The observation technique is carried out by directly observing residents living in the mining area, physical environmental conditions, settlements of residents around the mine, etc. All data collection activities are documented as part of the data collection technique.

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Political Ecology Theory used in this study sees the asymmetry of power and social inequality as an important starting point for researchers in this field to carry out a kind of emancipatory engagement with marginalized groups whose livelihoods depend on local resources. Karlsson (2015:350) asserts that political ecology is a transdisciplinary field of research that discusses the reciprocal relationship between nature and society. Political ecology is used as a perspective, approach, or research framework. Political ecology is particularly influential in the academic fields of anthropology and geography and has much in common with other social sciences and humanities that are preoccupied with questions about how humans shape and are shaped by the environment (e.g., environmental anthropology, human ecology, and environmental history). Political ecology is methodologically rooted in in-depth analysis of specific cases, often combining ethnographic methods with archival research, spatial techniques, and ecological analysis.

Political ecology focuses on disputes and struggles over land and natural resources. One of the questions that is often raised from this perspective is the environmental perceptions of local communities. Power gaps and social inequalities are therefore critical starting points and many scholars in the field pursue some form of emancipatory engagement with subaltern or marginalized people whose livelihoods depend on the local resource base. Mining, logging, nature conservation, plantations, dams and various forms of industrial enterprise tend to encroach on and dispossess these communities of land and resources, and this is also a theme that has been discussed by political ecologists since the early 1970s onwards. Capital accumulation and political economy in general provide an overall framework for understanding examples of dispossession and displacement of local communities by global forces of the state and the market.

However, political ecology has remained a rather loose field of inquiry from the beginning, lacking a coherent theory (Karlsson 2015:351).

Eric Wolf was the first anthropologist to use the term 'political ecology' in its contemporary sense, in his article *Ownership and Political Ecology* (Karlsson, 2015: 351). In this article, Wolf suggests the need to combine our investigations into local ecological contexts with a broader knowledge of social and political history, the study of intergroup relations in broader structural fields. Wolf also argues that social arrangements such as ownership regimes do not follow from or are adaptations to particular ecosystems, but need to be understood in relation to broader historical and political processes. Ecological factors are important, but to understand aspects such as access, control or ownership of land in emerging capitalist relations, the influence of non-local elites is crucial.

Referring to the theory of political ecology (Karlsson 2015), the findings of this study are described through three main discussions, namely: (1) local people's perceptions of their natural environment, (2) power gaps and power inequalities, and (3) access to local people's marginalization resources. To understand the context, the article begins by providing an overview of the local people, who are also indigenous people at the research location.

Sawai People: A depiction of Indigenous people around the mining area in Central Halmahera Regency

The population inhabiting the mining ring areas in Central Halmahera Regency includes the Sawai and Tobelo ethnic groups. The Sawai people cover the Weda and Patani areas in Central Halmahera, and the Maba people in East Halmahera Regency. As an indigenous community group in Central Halmahera, the Sawai people are united in a gam range, which means "three countries", including Weda, Patani, and Maba. The Tobelo people, also known as the Togutil people, are an ethnic group that inhabits the forests in Halmahera, both in the eastern and central parts of Halmahera Island. In addition to several groups that still live nomadically in the forest, there are Togutil (Tobelo) people who have settled in villages together with other communities from different ethnicities.

In addition to the two ethnic groups mentioned above, residents in the mining area in Central Halmahera Regency also come from other ethnic groups. In Weda Tengah District, some of the residents are immigrants from other districts, but still within the Central Halmahera Regency. For example, they include the Weda people. In addition, there are also residents in Weda Tengah District who come from outside this district, both from within the North Maluku Province and from other provinces in Indonesia.

Currently, the population in the mining ring area in Weda Tengah District, Central Halmahera Regency, is becoming more diverse along with the operation of PT. IWIP. People from various regions, such as Tidore, Ternate, Bugis,

Sumatra, etc. migrate to this area with their respective motives. Some come to this area to become employees of mining companies, especially PT. IWIP. Some of these employees also live in the district town because of the difficulty of getting boarding houses in locations that are included in the mining ring area. A different motive related to the arrival of migrants from other ethnicities is to open businesses in the informal sector, such as opening stalls/kiosks, workshops, etc. The community sees that the operation of various mining companies in Weda Tengah, especially PT. IWIP, is a profitable economic opportunity.

With the increasingly diverse socio-cultural backgrounds of the population inhabiting the mining area in Central Halmahera Regency, the character of this community becomes diverse. This condition will have implications for the relationship between various ethnic groups that inhabit the living space together.

The majority of the population living in the mining area in Central Halmahera Regency are of the Sawai ethnic group. The history and culture of the Sawai ethnic group are closely related to the traditional ties known as Gam Range, which means 'three lands'. Gam range includes the areas of Weda, Patani, and Maba. These three groups are said to be the ancestors of the early inhabitants of Central Halmahera and East Halmahera. Weda and Patani inhabit Central Halmahera, while the Maba people are included in the current East Halmahera Regency. The term gam range for the Sawai people has been recorded since the 16th century. The naming of Sawai as an ethnic group was inherited from the ancestors of the Vedic people (Topatimasang, 2004) . This group belongs to the Austronesian race. The story begins with a man who was known to be very powerful named *Legae Cekel* or *Kapita Cekel*. It is said that Legae Cekel is the ancestor of the Vedic people. The Sawai people believe that their first settlement was located in a coastal area known as the "old village". This settlement, which is believed to have existed since BC, is now located in the village of Sawai Itope/Kobe Peplis/Kobe Pantai.

The division of territory among the Sawai people is passed down through their oral tradition (Latif, 2017: 211). This story also involves Legae Cekel as one of the characters. It is said that in the time of *the momole* , there lived two mighty men in the central part of Halmahera, each named Kapita Legae Cekel and Kapita Mon Takwai. Both of them loved hunting and often fought over hunting territory. Finally, they decided to fight to assert the boundaries of the hunting territory in question.

The Sawai people currently no longer live in the villages mentioned as the initial settlements of this community. This population migration was caused by the tidal flood that hit their village in 1949 (Hanafi, 2016:3). Some of these residents chose to move to the Kobe Gunung area. Some other residents still chose to live in the coastal area, although they moved far from the 'old village'.

They then moved to the villages of Kobe Peplis, Lelilef Woeibulan, and Lelilef Sawai which are currently inhabited by the Lelilef community. The data in this study involved the Sawai people in Lelilef Woeibulan and Lelilef Sawai.

Socio-cultural conditions of communities around mining areas in Central Halmahera Regency

Social Aspects

Natural resources, including mining, are an inseparable part of all aspects of the lives of the Central Halmahera community, especially those living in the mining area. The physical environment, where all natural resources are located, is integrated with the cultural environment of the community that inhabits or utilizes it. Thus, the management of natural resources in a particular environment absolutely must pay attention to the socio-cultural conditions of the surrounding community.

The existence of mining business actors (mining companies) to utilize mining potential is directly related to two things, namely the physical environment on the one hand, and the cultural environment on the other. However, the sustainability of the natural environment must be an important concern in the framework of natural resource management so that it can continue to be enjoyed by the children and grandchildren of this nation. Likewise, with the community around the mining management area, mining business actors absolutely pay attention to their existence. The relationship between the community, mining business actors (mining companies), and the government in the framework of mining natural resource management must be seen based on their respective positions, roles, and authorities. Unfortunately, local communities around mining activity areas often become victims of the dynamics that occur there.

Central Halmahera Regency has very high mining potential. This condition invites many investors to this area to invest their capital in order to reap great economic benefits. Companies in the mining sector ranging from local, national, to international scales have been officially present in this area. Of course, policy support from the central government and local governments smooth their way to manage mining businesses in this district.

Viewed from the perspective of political ecology, various government policies and mining company activities have certainly had an impact on local communities. As previously stated, although PT. IWIP is not the only company engaged in mining in Central Halmahera, this company is one of the most prominent. The prominence of this company can be seen from its role as an industrial area manager with infrastructure development and mining involving a lot of workers. In this context, the dynamics of the social life of local communities, especially those living in the mining area, will be studied from various aspects along with the impacts they cause.

In this study, the social aspects of society are seen based on the structure of society, social interaction, migration patterns, labor, cooperation and disputes. The presence of several mining companies in Central Halmahera, especially PT. IWIP, has an impact on changing the structure of the mining community. If previously the condition of society was still homogeneous, then after the presence of the mining company, the condition of society became increasingly heterogeneous. The level of

heterogeneity can be seen from the ethnicity, origin, religion, etc. Most people have a local ethnic background in North Maluku before the presence of PT. IWIP. Several ethnic immigrants from outside North Maluku, such as Bugis-Makassar, Java, Sumatra, have indeed existed although in relatively small numbers. After the presence of PT IWIP, the number of ethnic immigrants increased drastically.

The main factor that attracts the arrival of a number of people (migrants) from ethnic groups outside North Maluku is the opening of job opportunities by PT. IWIP. Of course this is not wrong. Job opportunities should be open fairly to those who meet the criteria according to the company's provisions. However, the arrival of people from outside Central Halmahera, including from outside North Maluku, will have an impact on changing the structure of society in the villages around the mine. This structural change will then have an impact on changes in the interactions, attitudes, behaviors, and actions of the local community.

Cultural aspects

Various social institutions and customs in the Central Halmahera community, especially the community in the mining area, which have been described in the previous section, are basically part of the culture of the community. These social institutions and customs cannot be separated from the daily lives of the mining community. The sustainability of a community as a social organization is only possible if it is guided by the values and cultural norms of the community. Without these values and norms, the community will lose their guidance in behaving and acting, thus causing disorganization and disharmony in the social order of life.

The presence of mining companies, including PT. IWIP, in the Central Halmahera Regency area has had a wide impact on the culture of the mining community. The various impacts include: (1) a shift in cultural values related to cooperation and mutual assistance; (2) the threat of losing traditions in the agricultural sector; (3) changes in cultural orientation regarding work. Although the habit of helping each other and mutual assistance is still practiced, its intensity has begun to decrease compared to the previous conditions when their villages were not as crowded as they are today. The community has begun to be more pragmatic by prioritizing the fulfillment of material needs rather than immaterial ones.

Cultural changes in mining communities can be found in agricultural traditions. The loss of production factors, such as agricultural land and productive resources (plants), labor, and production costs, has caused various traditions associated with this field to be threatened with loss.

Acculturation and integration are two concepts among the various important concepts in the study of culture towards a community group. Acculturation is the meeting of several cultural elements from community groups with different cultural backgrounds and then producing a new culture. Cultural changes through acculturation can occur in some or all of the universal aspects of the culture of the community group concerned.

The condition of the community after the presence of PT. IWIP in Central Halmahera Regency, especially in the villages around the mine, is very different from

before the presence of this company. The various ethnic groups represented by the newcomers to this area illustrate the diversity of cultural conditions created in this new atmosphere. In this condition, the local community inevitably has to accept the presence of a new culture brought by workers and other newcomers triggered by the presence of PT. IWIP.

Positively, the acculturation process has an impact on the enrichment of the local community's culture. For example, in the villages around the mine, there are many clothing stores, kiosks selling mobile data credit, mobile phones, food stalls, and workshops. The presence of these things will change the lifestyle and consumption patterns of the local community. If initially they had to get various things provided by the sellers in the district town (Weda), for example, or to Ternate, now they can get them in their own village. The same goes for the food and drink menus prepared by the stalls in the village. In addition to being more diverse, the way of cooking and serving them is also different from the habits of the local community. The presence of motorcycle workshops will also change the views and behavior of the community towards motorized vehicles, especially motorbikes. Parts of the motorbike that were previously left damaged as long as they could still be used will be maintained. However, after that, the increasing number of motorcycle workshops, the culture of the community in maintaining vehicles changed for the better.

Indigenous People's Perceptions of The Environment

One of the sources of environmental problems faced by mining communities in Central Halmahera Regency is the problem of waste. The waste problem that has been shown above is closely related to the sustainability of the physical environment in this area. According to local community observations, the scattered waste is located not far from the beach. When it rains, this waste will be carried by water until it ends up on the beach and then enters the sea. Most of the waste is plastic which of course is not easily destroyed.

The presence of mining companies in Central Halmahera Regency has an impact on the declining quality of the physical environment. Air conditions in this area tend to be polluted due to the large amount of dust. The threat of damage to the land and sea environment also lurks with the lack of proper handling of household waste or garbage. Garbage is left scattered on the streets without any effort to provide storage by the community, government, or mining companies. In addition, mining activities have certainly had an impact on changing the landscape due to land clearing in the company's area.

Environmental pollution is also perceived by the indigenous people as having occurred in the rivers and beaches in their area. The change in the color of the river water to become cloudy brownish is a sign that pollution has occurred. Residents know very well that their river water is clear and colorless. Residents use the river as a source of clean water for drinking, bathing, and washing. The same goes for the water in the wells owned by residents. The wells no longer function as a source of water because they are cloudy and dusty. The same is true for the beaches around their village. The physical change in the color of the beach water to become brownish is the basis for residents' knowledge that pollution has occurred. In addition, residents can no longer catch fish near their beaches. They have to go far out to sea to catch fish. To convince the company

(PT IWIP and the district government, residents collaborated with researchers from Khairun University. They studied the condition of the Sagea River water and found chemical content in the river water that indicated pollution from hazardous chemicals. This is suspected to be due to nickel mining in the upstream and around their rivers.

Power Gaps and Social Inequality

In simple terms, the actors involved in mining management in Central Halmahera are the government, mining corporations, and the community. The government includes the central government, provincial government, and district government. Mining corporations include mining companies operating in Central Halmahera district, including PT IWIP as a large company. The community element includes the indigenous people, namely the Sawai people. This includes civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and environmental organizations such as the Environmental Forum (WALHI), the Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM).

In the context of the relationship between the actors above, corporations together with the government seem to control the local communities below them. Although the community filed a demonstration by mobilizing the masses in front of the PT IWIP office, it seems that the action did not produce significant results. The action was triggered by the issue of environmental pollution. There was no real follow-up to the actions carried out by indigenous people against the company and the district government. Mining companies and district governments and provincial governments are under the control of the central government through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. Legally and formally, mining and mineral resource affairs are indeed under the control of the central government through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.

The power relations that occur between the actors above occur in an unequal atmosphere. The community is always in a losing or subordinate position. The customary institutions of the indigenous community are not even able to pressure corporations and the government (central, provincial, and district) to save their lives and environment.

Access to resources and marginalization of indigenous peoples

Political ecology, one of which focuses on resource access and marginalization of indigenous people in managing their natural resources. North Maluku Province is known as the largest mining producer in Indonesia. Central Halmahera Regency is the largest contributor of Nickel together with South Halmahera Regency from North Maluku. However, indigenous people whose settlements are right next to nickel mining locations do not experience an increase in economic welfare from the use of their natural resources. On the contrary, they are limited in access to the resources they previously controlled, and continue to marginalization processes against them.

Before the presence of mining companies in their area, indigenous people had agricultural lands and forests as their main source of livelihood. Once the mining company was present, the community's agricultural land was claimed by

the company and became a mining concession area. Indigenous people were prohibited from accessing their lands again, even though the agricultural and plantation crops that were their source of livelihood were in that location. The community lost their land and the crops in it. Indigenous people saw that although the mining company provided compensation for the residents' land and crops, it was often not worth the value. The district government was also seen by indigenous people as not being present in defending their rights.

The loss of land and access to land for indigenous people brings suffering to the present and future generations. People feel that there is no more life in their village. The environment has been polluted by water and dust. Daily food needs that were previously cultivated by themselves from their gardens, are finally bought at high prices. Meanwhile, sources of income are now increasingly limited. New employment sectors in the informal sector are not ready to be faced by indigenous people because of limited financial capital and knowledge and skills in that field.

Some residents stated that they felt like they were being evicted from their own village. Sooner or later, they had to leave the village because there was no longer any or no longer feasible way to maintain or continue living there. The indigenous people, in their helplessness, were on the verge of surrender because they felt that their aspirations to maintain life in their village at this time did not know who to rely on. The local government that should have defended them, was considered as if it did not care or only sided with the interests of the mining company.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The presence of nickel mining companies in Central Halmahera district does not have a positive impact on the lives of indigenous people around mining activities. Their natural environment is damaged (polluted) and the main sources of livelihood of indigenous people are lost from their control. They no longer have access to the natural resources that they previously controlled before the arrival of the nickel mining company.

This study suggests that the state, through the central government and local governments (provinces and districts) supervise mining activities so as not to damage the environment. The government must also ensure that the presence of mining activities does not have a negative impact by marginalizing indigenous people from their natural resources.

REFERENCES

- Arif, I. 2018, Indonesian Nickel, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Azevedo, MN, Goffaux, and K. Hoffman, 2020, How clean can the nickel industry become?. McKinsey & Company.
- Bank Indonesia, 2019, Economic Report of North Maluku Province November 2019, Ternate: Bank Indonesia.
- Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015, Economic Indicators: December, Jakarta: BPS.
- UNCTAD. 2017. Using trade policy to drive value addition: Lessons from Indonesia's ban on nickel exports. Geneva: UNCTAD.
- Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, 2019, COMPANY PROFILE PT INDONESIA WEDA BAY INDUSTRIAL PARK .
- Hanafi, MN 2016. "Religious Life in Lelilef Village, Weda Tengah District, Central Halmahera Regency, North Maluku Province", *Holistic Journal* , Year X No. 18
- Karlsson, BG, 2015. Political Ecology: Anthropological Perspectives. In: James D. Wright (editor-in-chief), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, Vol 18. Oxford: Elsevier. pp. 350-355.
- Latif, Rainannur A. 2017. *Exploring Oral Literature of North Maluku* . North Maluku Provincial Archives Office. (Unpublished).
- LPP RRI. Edition 5 March 2024. "KPK Investigates Ministry of Investment/BKPM Officials Related to Malut IUP", page: <https://www.rri.co.id/hukum/581168/kpk-dalami-pejabat-kementerian-investasi-bkpm-terkait-iup-malut>. Accessed 14 June 2024 .
- Malut Post Daily, "President Responds, Malut's Poor Population Increases", Tuesday Edition, August 1, 2023.
- Pratama, G., 2020, Four Lines of Surya Pertiwi's Megah Smelter Start Operating, Kontan, [online], (<https://industri.kontan.co.id/news/empat-lini-smelter-megah-surya-pertiwi-start-up>, accessed June 15, 2024).

Karman, Arlinah, Ahmad

Salim, Agus. 2006. *Theory and Paradigm of Social Research*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.

Topatimasang, Roem (*ed.*) . 2004. *The Losers* . Yogyakarta: INSIS Press.