

**Working
Paper**

Spatial Politics and Natural Resources Management in Central Sulawesi

LA HUSEN ZUADA



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ABSTRACT

This article describes spatial management and natural resource management in Central Sulawesi. The discussion in this article covers three things. First, to describe the condition of spatial planning and natural resources. Second, spatial use policy and natural resource management. Third, explain the actors and spatial use domain. This article explains that in spatial management in Central Sulawesi, there are weaknesses in local government regulations and low integrity of state administrators. In addition, it is also found that there is a potential conflict of interest in the formulation and implementation of spatial planning policies, due to the involvement of businessmen and politicians who have positions in the executive, legislative and political parties.

Keywords: Politics, Spatial Planning, Natural Resources and Central Sulawesi.



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I. Introduction

Natural resources sectors contribute significantly to the national economy. A study by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) states that natural resources sectors contribute approximately 10.89% of Indonesia's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2019, or IDR 1.480 trillion. Of this figure, the mining sector was the largest contributor at 43%, followed by the plantations sector (27%), fisheries sector (24%) and forestry sector (6%). Natural resources sectors also employ around 37.31 million people.¹ The huge economic potential of natural resources sectors makes their management vulnerable to corruption, such as land transfer processes and ownership in violation of laws, licensing procedures being disregarded, excessive exploration, exploitation, illegal sales and exports of production yield, tax noncompliance, and various other transgressions.

Natural resources sectors have contributed to increasing gross regional domestic product (GRDP) and provided employment in Central Sulawesi province. In the mining sector, for example, the presence of PT International Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP) in Morowali district has transformed a remote, sparsely

populated rural area into a densely populated region with job seeker arrivals. Mining activities have slowly changed the livelihoods of the populace, with people who used to depend on agriculture and fisheries, now shifting to the industrial mining sector.² The mining boom in Central Sulawesi is apparent from the number of mining business licenses (IUPs). Based on Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources data to June 2017, the number of IUP licenses in Central Sulawesi had reached 337.³ In addition to mining, Central Sulawesi also has oil palm concessions. According to the Central Sulawesi branch of the Indonesian Forum for Environment (Walhi), by 2017, there were at least 103 plantation business license concessions in Central Sulawesi.⁴

Natural resources management provides economic benefits, but also leads to negative impacts that will reduce economic gain.⁵

¹ Hariadi Kartodihardjo, "Korupsi Sumber Daya Alam. Politik & Persoalan Perbaikan Kinerja Kelembagaan Negara", 6 May 2020. See <https://aclc.kpk.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/New-05052020-KORUPSI-SDA-hk.pdf>

² Abdul Kadir, et al. "Mining in Southeast Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi: Shadow Economy and Environmental Damage in the Regional Autonomy Era in Indonesia". International Conference on Social Studies and Environmental Issues, volume 404 (2019), pp. 24-25.

³ Maryati Abdullah, et al. "Koordinasi dan Supervisi Sektor Pertambangan Mineral dan Batubara: Temuan-Tindak Lanjut-Capaian". Report by KPK-Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, related institutions, regional governments, CSOs and stakeholders. Publish What You Pay Indonesia - Yayasan Transparansi Sumber Daya Ekstraktif: Jakarta, 2017, p. 69.

⁴ <https://regionsulawesi.walhi.or.id/mendesak-moratorium-perkebunan-sawit-di-sulawesi-tengah/>

⁵ Mumu Muhajir, et al. "Harmonisasi Regulasi dan Perbaikan Tata Kelola Sumber Daya Alam di Indonesia". Jurnal Antikorupsi: Integritas, 5 (2-2), (2019), p. 2

Introduction

Mining and plantation activities give rise to environmental degradation in Central Sulawesi. Mining operations violating rules and being excessively exploitative have led to reduced environmental carrying capacity and caused perennial flooding in Bahodopi subdistrict, Morowali district.⁶ In addition, mining and plantation operations have also given rise to land conflicts involving communities, companies and governments. The land conflict receiving the most attention in Central Sulawesi involved resistance from Toili villagers in Banggai district leading to the imprisonment of activist, Eva Bande.⁷ Another consequence of land use for plantation requirements was the corruption case

involving Buol District Head, Amran Abdullah Batalipu.⁸

This paper, which discusses spatial politics and natural resources management in Central Sulawesi, is divided into four sections: firstly, the introduction, which explains the background and writing systematics; secondly, a discussion about the theory of spatial politics; thirdly, findings from analyses describing spatial and natural resources conditions in Central Sulawesi, land use and natural resources management policies, as well as actors and arenas in spatial land use policies; and fourthly, the paper's conclusions and recommendations.

II. Theory: Spatial politics

Space, in addition to referring to material in a physical form, can also be closely related to social realities. Gottdiener⁹ and Lefebvre¹⁰ called space a product, a determiner of relationships and social behavior. In explaining space as a social product, Lefebvre¹¹ proposed three conceptual frameworks. *Firstly*, spatial practice covering production and reproduction, as well as specific locations and series of characteristics from every social formation, to ensure the continuation and unity of social relations. *Secondly*, representations of space, relating to production and order relationships forced openly by social relations through knowledge, signs, codes and relationships. *Thirdly*, representational space, containing the symbolic dimension of space, sometimes assigned codes, or not given codes to ensure secrecy.

As a social product, space involves social, economic and political actions.¹² In political studies, space can be seen as an arena and tool that functions to preserve the economic political order.¹³ Through political practices, space can be seen simultaneously as a political product and a political resource. *Space as a political product means the use, utilization and management of space is born from a policy/ political decision, that involves many political actors with different motives and interests.* Space as a political resource means control of space and the resources, particularly economic resources, contained therein for use as a source of political power. Charles F. Andrain identified five types of resources as instruments of power.¹⁴

Table 1. Types of resources

Type of resource	Examples of resources	Motivation for compliance
Physical	Weapons: guns, bombs, missiles, knives	B tries to avoid physical injury being caused by A
Economic	Wealth, earnings, control over goods and services	B tries to secure wealth from A
Normative	Morality, truth, tradition, religion, legitimacy, authority	B acknowledges that A has a moral right to regulate B's behavior
Personal	Personal charisma, attraction, camaraderie, affection, popularity	B identifies with — feels attracted — to A
Expert	Information, knowledge, intelligence, technical expertise	B feels that A have more knowledge and expertise

Source: Andrain, 1992.

Spatial politics relates to the extent of State roles and policies, as well as power relations in spatial planning. According to Soltau, "The State is an agency or authority managing or controlling these (common) affairs on behalf of and in the name of the community".¹⁵

In spatial politics, the State executes a management function. The State has two traits: independent/autonomous and dependent/non-autonomous. Arief Budiman¹⁶ divides non-autonomous states into two types. *Firstly*, a pluralist state, i.e., a state that is not independent as it has a democratic nature, where the State accepts a variety of societal participation and proposals. *Secondly*, a Marxist state, where the State is not independent because it is used by a ruling class to realize their interests. In this regard, it is highly possible that policies produced by the State, including spatial land use

arrangement, can be autonomous, but can also be non-autonomous.

As a state activity, spatial planning is a form of public policy closely tied to regulation, technical aspects and spatial governance. However, as a political activity, planning incorporates various interests from many actors, particularly in spatial production processes.¹⁷ In this context, the management of spacial arrangement is never free of partisanship among the actors regulating spatial planning.¹⁸ All planning, utilization, and use of space gives rise to conflicts, consensus, contestation and negotiation between three parties; communities, the State and the private sector. This is because space is a limited resource.

Consequently, spatial politics is spatial planning or arrangement practice that reflects social, cultural, economic and political struggles.

¹⁵ Miriam Budiarto. *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik* (Revised Edition). Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2008.

¹⁶ Arief Budiman. *Teori Negara: Negara, Kekuasaan, dan Ideologi*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka, 1996.

¹⁷ M. Fajar Shodiq Ramadhan. *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁸ Siti Aminah. "Konflik dan Kontestasi Penataan Ruang Kota Surabaya". *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi*, Vol. 20, No. 1, January 2015, p. 61

Ramadhan formulated five things relating to spatial politics.¹⁹ *Firstly*, the process of contestation between parties occurring because space is a limited resource. This indication is apparent from the emergence of problems and conflicts in the utilization of space. *Secondly*, space that is available must function optimally. This means space not providing economic benefits is highly

likely to undergo a change in use. *Thirdly*, space is an instrument for increasing State/ regional revenues. *Fourthly*, space is a tool for political negotiations and transactions. *Fifthly*, in the contestation of space, the government is likely to side with capitalists and marginalize communities.

¹⁹ M. Fajar Shodiq Ramadhan. *Op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

III. Findings and Analysis

A. SPACE AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN CENTRAL SULAWESI

Central Sulawesi is the largest of six provinces on the island of Sulawesi. According to the Central Statistics Agency (BPS),²⁰ the terrestrial area of Central Sulawesi is 61,841.29 km², while its maritime area is 77,295.9 km². The combined area is 139,137.19 km², around 44% of which is terrestrial, and 56% maritime. The dominance of maritime area in Central Sulawesi

is reflected by its 6,653.31 km of coastline, and archipelagic regional geographical structure with 1,604 islands (Central Sulawesi Small Islands and Coastal Region Zonation Plan or RZWP3K).²¹ Central Sulawesi province is divided into 13 autonomous regions; 12 districts and 1 municipality.

Table 2. Autonomous regions in Central Sulawesi province.

No.	District/Municipality	Regional capital
1	Banggai district	Luwuk
2	Banggai Archipelago district	Salakan
3	Banggai Laut district	Banggai
4	Buol district	Buol
5	Donggala district	Donggala
6	Morowali district	Bungku
7	North Morowali district	Kolonedale
8	Parigi Moutong district	Parigi
9	Poso district	Poso
10	Sigi district	Sigi Biromaru
11	Tojo Una-Una district	Ampana
12	Toli-Toli district	Toli-Toli
13	Palu municipality	Palu

Source: Central Sulawesi BPS, 2020

²⁰ Central Sulawesi Central Statistics Agency. Central Sulawesi in Figures 2020. Palu: BPS, 2020, p. 3. See <https://sulteng.bps.go.id/publication/2020/04/27/c2401bb980423e15641d8332/provinsi-sulawesi-tengah-dalam-angka-2020.html>

²¹ Central Sulawesi Province Government. "Marine and Fisheries Business Potential and Investment Opportunities" Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Office, 2019, p. 2. See https://kkp.go.id/an-component/media/upload-gambar-pendukung/A_PDS/Potensi%20Usaha%20dan%20Investasi/Sulteng.pdf

Central Sulawesi has fewer autonomous regions than South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi provinces, despite them having smaller areas. Central Sulawesi extends from the peninsula in the eastern part of Sulawesi, to the northern part of the peninsula. The eastern coast of Central Sulawesi is lined with small islands, including the Togean Archipelago in the Gulf of Tomini, and islands in Banggai Archipelago in the Gulf of Tolo. The western part of the province faces the Makassar Strait, which lies between the islands of Sulawesi and Kalimantan. Starting from the western plain in Donggala district, which directly borders West Sulawesi province, it follows the coastline north-northeast, then turns south-southeast passing the Gulf of Palu. From the Gulf of Palu it extends north, passes the neck of Sulawesi, turns east and ends at the border between Buol district and North Gorontalo district in Gorontalo province.

As Central Sulawesi province is so large, it takes time to access all of its districts. The provincial capital, Palu, is located in the western part of Central Sulawesi, bordering the districts of

Donggala, Sigi, Parigi Moutong and Poso. The eight other districts: Toli-Toli, Buol, Tojo Una-Una, Banggai, Banggai Archipelago, Banggai Laut, North Morowali and Morowali are further from the provincial capital and, by land, take longer to access. Quicker access is from Palu's Mutiara airport which has air links to the airports of Pogogul (Buol district), Sultan Bantilan (Toli-Toli district), Kasiguncu (Poso district), Tanjung Api (Tojo Una-Una district), Syukuran Aminuddin Amir (Banggai district) and Maleo (Morowali district).

Central Sulawesi has natural resource potential in both terrestrial and maritime regions, in the agriculture, fisheries, marine, forestry and mining sectors. These natural resources are the mainstays of the Central Sulawesi economy. Based on gross regional domestic product (GRDP) data for Central Sulawesi, the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors contribute most to GRDP, followed by the mining sector, processing industries, construction and government administration.

Table 3. Five largest contributors to Central Sulawesi GRDP by sector 2015-2019.

Sector/Industry	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	31.28%	29.61%	28.98%	27.84%	25.96%
Mining and excavation	10.25%	11.8%	12.83%	13.5%	15.13%
Processing industries	9.72%	11.87%	12.35%	12.66%	13.01%
Construction	14.26%	12.91%	12.53%	12.2%	12.63%
Government administration, defence, and mandatory social security	6.44%	6.26%	6.19%	6.50%	6.46%

Source: Central Sulawesi BPS, 2020.

Findings and Analysis

Over the last five years, GRDP from the agriculture (food crops, horticulture, estate crops), forestry and fisheries sectors had tended to fall. Meanwhile the mining sector has experienced increases and overtaken the construction sector. These increases in the mining sector have accompanied increases in numbers of mining business licenses following regional autonomy, and the onset of large-scale mining industries. Numbers of IUP mining licenses and area of IUP concessions in each district/municipality in 2020 are presented in the table below:²²

Table 4. Numbers of IUPs and area of IUP concessions by region in Central Sulawesi.

No.	District/ Municipality	Number of IUP licenses	Area (ha)
1	Palu municipality	16	34,208.69
2	Donggala district	47	152,844.30
3	Poso district	14	144,043.00
4	Buol district	12	65,612.74
5	Toli-Toli district	20	80,063.40
6	Parigi Moutong district	12	112,077.00
7	Tojo Una-Una district	24	252,325.20
8	Banggai district	67	194,757.00
9	Morowali district	112	315,456.10
10	North Morowali district	4	4,364.00
11	Central Sulawesi province	3	26,960
TOTAL		331	1,382,711.43

Source: Processed from Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 2021.

In addition to mining operations, space in Central Sulawesi is allocated to palm oil

plantation concessions. Data collected from a study by Sri Palupi *et al.*²³ and the oil palm map from the Central Sulawesi branch of Walhi²⁴, show oil palm concessions in eight districts: Morowali, Donggala, Banggai, North Morowali, Buol, Poso and Parigi Moutong.

Table 5. Distribution of oil palm plantation permits in Central Sulawesi.

District	Area (ha)	Permits
Morowali	39,234	13
Donggala	10,734	7
Banggai	9,578	4
North Morowali	4,268	13
Buol	4,563	5
Poso	562	1
Parigi Moutong	207	10
Toli-Toli	-	3

Sources: processed from The Institute for Ecosoc Rights & Norwegian Center for Human Rights and Walhi, Central Sulawesi, 2020.

Central Statistics Agency (BPS) data for 2015 showed the number of oil palm companies operating in Central Sulawesi had reached fourteen, namely: PT Kurnia Luwuk Sejati, PT Wira Mas Permai, PT Agro Nusa Abadi, PT Cahaya Idola Tunggal Rona Alam, PT Cipta Agro Nusantara, PT Kirana Sinar Gemilang, PT Rimbunan Alam Sentosa, PT Sawit Jaya Abadi, PT Sinergi Perkebunan Nusantara, PT Tamcho Graha Krida, PT Timur Jaya Indomakmur, PT Lestari Tani Teladan, PT Hardaya Inti Plantations and PT Sono Keling Buana.²⁵ The number of

²² Central Sulawesi Provincial Government. "Buku Data Status Lingkungan Hidup Daerah Provinsi Sulawesi Tengah Tahun 2009", p. 91

²³ Sri Palupi, *et al.* The Privatization of Transmigration and Plasma Partnerships Props Up the Palm Oil Industry. Jakarta: The Institute for Ecosoc Rights & Norwegian Center for Human Rights, 2017, p. 61

²⁴ <http://walhisulteng.com/>

²⁵ Central Statistics Agency. "Directory of Oil Palm Plantation

companies listed by BPS was far lower than the 54 companies listed in Central Sulawesi Provincial Estate Crops Office data in 2016.²⁶

B. LAND USE AND NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT POLICIES

• Policies

Regional Regulation No. 8/2013 on the Central Sulawesi Provincial Spatial Plan (RTRW) for 2013-2033 constituted the legal foundation for spatial planning, utilization and control in Central Sulawesi. The regulation referenced Law No. 26/2007 on Spatial Planning. The Annex to Regional Regulation No. 8/2013 includes maps of the spatial structure plan and spatial pattern plan, and a map of strategic estates. In 2017, the Central Sulawesi spatial plan regulation was reevaluated by the Central Sulawesi Provincial Government. This was made possible by Article 23 paragraph 4 of Law No. 26/2007 stipulating that revisions to provincial spatial plans can be conducted within five years if changes in national policy and strategy changes occur that affect the utilization of space.

In 2014, in the aftermath of the transfer of leadership from former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to President Joko Widodo, there was indeed a change in national policy. The election of President Joko Widodo, who brought his Nawacita nine development priorities program, influenced local political dynamics, including aspects of land use in Central Sulawesi. Nawacita priority programs, such as utilization of agrarian reform land (TORA), establishing special economy estates,

and development of industries in regions outside Java, affected spatial land use in Central Sulawesi. This encouraged regional governments in Central Sulawesi to try to synchronize central and regional development planning policies, a process which began with a review of Regional Regulation No. 8/2013.

As a steppingstone in carrying out the review, the Central Sulawesi Governor issued Gubernatorial Decree No. 650/198/Dis.BMPPR-G.ST.2017.²⁷ Activities in the review of the spatial plan decree covered: review, evaluation and assigning a score. The substance of the evaluations covered three things: a) the quality of the spatial plan; b) its consistency with regulations; and c) spatial use implementation. Based on the results of the review, Regional Regulation No. 8/2013 on the Central Sulawesi Spatial Plan was assigned a score of 43.81.²⁸ This score fell into the 'poor quality' category and was caused by the discovery of inconsistencies between land use plans laid out in Regional Regulation No. 8/2013 and implementation on the ground.

Output from the review was a recommendation that the spatial plan be revised. In practice, the revision process has been extremely slow. Commencing in 2017, a regional regulation on the final spatial plan had yet to be produced or approved by the end of 2020. Delays in the revision process were caused by two things. *Firstly*, the earthquake, tsunami and liquefaction that struck Central Sulawesi on 28 September 2018. Due to the natural disaster, the Central Sulawesi Provincial Government aligned the plan with the outcomes of an earlier review.

²⁶ *Companies 2015* Jakarta: BPS, 2016, pp. 375-380

²⁶ <https://sulteng.antaranews.com/berita/26316/izin-perkebunan-sawit-di-sulteng-capai-54-perusahaan>

²⁷ Central Sulawesi Provincial Government. "Paparasi Seminar Antara Revisi Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Provinsi Sulawesi Tengah 2018-2038". Roads and Spatial Planning Office. See <https://komiu.id/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Paparan-Antara-Revisi-RTRW-Sulteng-Edit-10.pdf>

²⁸ *Ibid.*

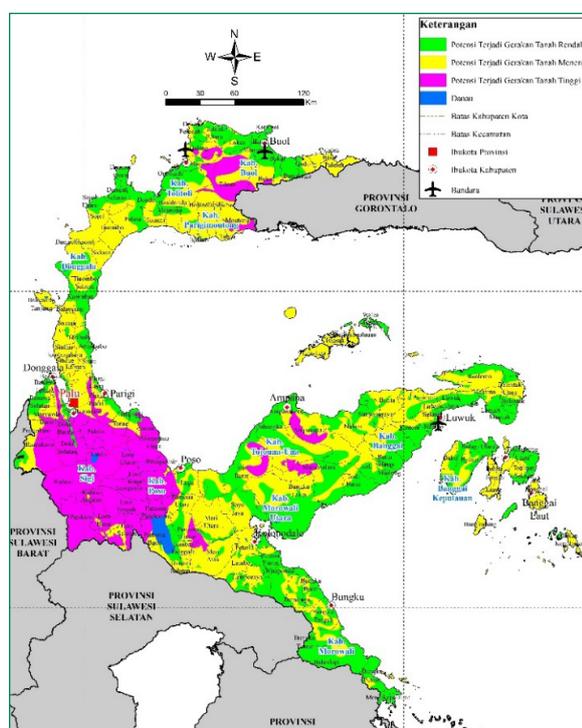
Findings and Analysis

The basis for alignment of the post-earthquake spatial plan referenced Gubernurial Decree No. 650/131/ Dis.BMPPR-G-ST.2017. *Secondly*, a lack of agreement from stakeholders involved in the discussion process, including the Region XVI Palu Forest Estate Gazettement Agency, Sulawesi III Region Rivers Agency, Palu-Poso Watershed Management Agency and PT Citra Palu Mineral. Among other things, this related to changes in forest status issued by the Minister of Forestry yet to be finalized, the status of mining operations in the Poboya Grand Forest Park (*Tahura*) region, and the Palu municipality and Sigi district regions being red zones in terms of vulnerability to ground movement.²⁹

Civil society groups, meanwhile, feel the spatial plan deliberation process has not been participatory, fails to include perspectives on disasters, particularly earthquake, liquefaction and tsunami prone regions, and includes several changes in forest estate allocation. In its argument, a civil society group fronted by Walhi took issue with three things: *Firstly*, the spatial plan being discussed while not including a perspective on disasters.³⁰ The group questioned the omission of the Poboya estate (a concession belonging to PT Citra Palu Mineral a Bakri Group mining subsidiary), as a disaster-prone area. Whereas, according to the Palu municipality spatial plan and the ground movement map in Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources Geological Agency letter No. 711/03/BGL.V/2020, Poboya ward in Mantikulore subdistrict is a landslide-prone area, and moreover Poboya is in an urban region adjacent to community settlements.

In the aftermath of the disaster in Central Sulawesi, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources Geological Agency released a ground movement vulnerability map. The map divides the region into three categories: green zones with low potential for ground movement; yellow zones with medium potential; and red zones with high potential.

Figure 1. Map of ground movement potential in Central Sulawesi



Source: Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources Geological Agency, 2020.

Based on these categories, red zones are distributed across some parts of Palu municipality and Donggala, North Morowali, and Parigi Moutong districts, a part of Buol district, and almost all of Sigi and Poso districts. Yellow zones, meanwhile, are distributed throughout ten districts. This zonation assigns 'not fit for habitation' status to red zone regions. On this

²⁹ *Ibid.*

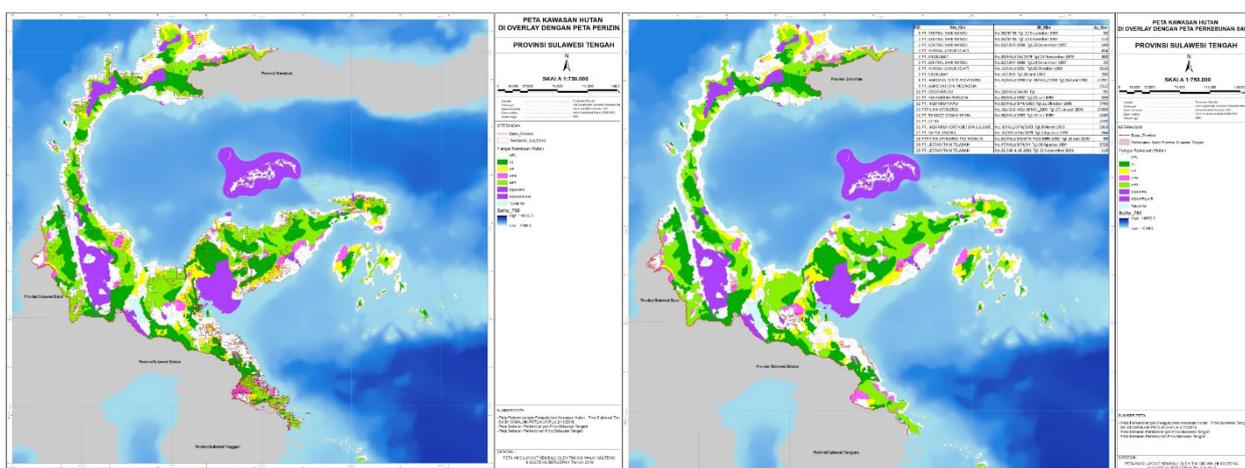
³⁰ Neni Muhidin. "Menyoal Konsistensi Arah Revisi Perda RTRW Provinsi Sulteng". Walhi, Central Sulawesi, 28 November 2019. See <https://walhisulteng.com/menyoal-konsistensi-arrah-revisi-perda-rtrw-provinsi-sulteng/>

basis, such conditions should be a consideration in preparing the Central Sulawesi provincial spatial plan.

In addition, the spatial plan should become a new legal basis for reorganizing and repositioning mining and oil palm plantation concessions that

overlap forest estates with nature reserve/nature conservation area (KSA/KPA) status. The left-hand image in Figure 2 below shows licensed mining operations (red boxes) overlapping with KSA/KPA status forest (purple), while the right-hand image displays plantation company concessions overlapping forest estates.

Figure 2. Forest estate map overlaid with IUP regions and oil palm estates in Central Sulawesi.



Source: Celebes Bergerak, 2020.

Secondly, discussions on the spatial plan being neither participatory³¹ nor transparent. The civil society group (Walhi) felt it had not been involved in spatial plan revision discussions, whereas the corporation, PT Citra Palu Mineral was involved in the Strategic Environmental Study Team (KLHS) from the outset. This has led to the impression that PT CPS dominated discussions, and suspicions that corporate interests are being prioritized over community safety. Further, discussions have not been transparent, and a draft decree has not been presented to the public and is difficult for the public to access.

Thirdly, proposals to change the status of nature reserve/nature conservation estates and forest estate to mining estates. The Forest Estate Allocation and Function Change Team, which reviewed the provincial spatial plan, received proposals for function changes for 34,427 ha of forest estates, and forest allocation changes for 240,916 ha. From these proposals, the government recommended function changes for 44,741 ha of forest estates, and allocation changes for 18,411 ha.

³¹ <https://kabarsultengbangkit.id/sulteng-bergerak-revisi-rtrw-tidak-partisipatif-dan-berbasis-mitigasi-bencana/>

Table 6. Proposed changes to forest estate allocation and function by region.

District/Municipality	Proposed function						Grand Total
	KSA/KPA	HL	HPT	HP	HPK	APL	
Banggai	1,015	3,228	11,655	3,013	36,429	-	55,340
Banggai Archipelago ^{*)}	-	3	24	-	-	-	27
Banggai Laut ^{*)}	-	-	10	-	-	-	10
Buol	-	-	875	2,136	3,346	-	6,357
Donggala	-	6,339	468	-	433	53	7,292
Morowali	-	7,001	9,262	-	4,401	-	20,665
North Morowali	7	6,203	1,154	20	-	-	7,384
Palu	2,676	298	2,623	-	-	-	5,598
Parigi Moutong	73	9,121	9	-	-	57	9,260
Poso	321	354	156	514	2	1,639	2,986
Sigi	67,358	42,662	28,944	1,009	8,555	-	148,527
Tojo Una-Una	110	1,953	5,361	952	725	-	9,101
Toli-Toli	21	4,513	4	8	-	-	4,546
Grand Total	71,581	81,674	60,544	7,652	53,891	1,748	277,092

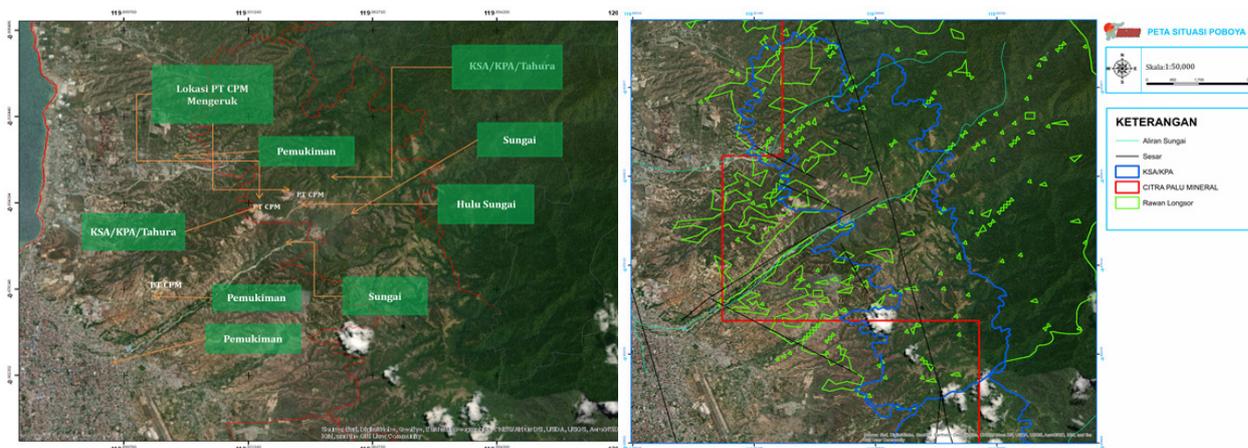
Note: KSA = nature reserve; KPA = nature conservation estate; HL = protection forest; HPT = limited production forest; HP = production forest; KHP = convertible production forest; APL = other land use area

Source: PPFKH Integrated Team, Central Sulawesi Spatial Plan Review, 2020.

Based on these forest estate function change recommendations, three companies have been recommended for concession area expansion: the oil palm plantation company PT Kurnia Luwuk Sejati and two mining companies (PT

Sumber Swara Pratama and PT Citra Palu Mineral). One KSA/KPA region with a status change is the Poboya *Tahura* for the purposes of PT Citra Palu Mineral mining operations, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. PT Citra Palu Mineral's IUP concession in Poboya ward, Palu municipality.



Source: Celebes Bergerak, 2019.

The left-hand image in Figure 3 depicts the location of PT CPM in KSA/KPA/Poboya *Tahura*, in the paths of rivers, and adjacent to community settlements. The right-hand image shows the PT CPM site has landslide prone regions (green outlines), the KSA/KPA estate (blue outlines), fault lines (black lines) and watercourses (light blue lines). In reference to the above images, there are five notable things relating to PT CPM operations: *First*, the location is in a landslide prone zone, which endangers miners and nearby communities. *Second*, the location is in a KSA/KPA zone, where mining activities are prohibited. *Third*, the location is in a highly hazardous fault zone. *Fourth*, the location includes the water source for communities in Palu municipality. *Fifth*, the location is near to community settlements, and has the potential to cause wellbeing and health issues.

• Poor implementation of policies

The unresolved spatial plan revision and the poor quality of the spatial plan decree have impacted negatively on the utilization of space in Central Sulawesi. The Representative Ombudsman for Central Sulawesi discovered abuse of authority in land use licenses and ongoing misapplication of land.³² The first issue was licenses being granted by government institutions that do not have the authority to do so. Such cases were found Donggala district, where IUP production license documents had been issued by the Donggala District Head in 2015. According to rulings, such licenses should be issued by governors as stipulated under Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Government. The second issue was licensing maladministration with licenses not following proper procedures, such as environment permits preceding mining business licenses, and mining production operations commencing before IUP Production licenses have been secured.

³² Ombudsman RI Central Sulawesi Representative. "Ombudsman Brief: Mining Licenses". 17 January 2018.

Table 7. List of company licenses not following proper procedures.

No.	Company name	Environment Permit	Mining Enterprise License Region (WIUP)
1	PT Radar Stone 68	188.45/0102/BLHD/2015 dated 8 January 2015	540/622/DISEDM-G.ST/2016 dated 15 September 2016
2	PT Balikpapan Ready Mix	188.45/0630/BLHD/2013 dated 201 August 2013	540/104/WIUP/DPMTSP/2017 dated 13 February 2017
4	PT Sinar Mutiara Megalithindo	660.183/BLHD-VII/2012 dated 12 July 2012	540/623/DISESDM-G.ST/2016 dated 9 September 2016

Source: Central Sulawesi Representative Ombudsman Brief, 2018.

The third issue was IUPs overlapping forest estate, other mining company concessions, sea, and roads, while the fourth was ownership of mining land by individuals and companies. Companies and individuals were purchasing and controlling land containing mineral deposits with tenure based on SKPT land certificates, which allow them permanent ownership, as opposed to IUP licenses, which are only valid for specific periods of time. The fifth issue was mining operations damaging the environment, and the sixth was mining operations taking place outside IUP concession boundaries.

The discovery of problems with IUPs in Central Sulawesi were reinforced by coal and mineral mining sector coordination and supervision reports. In 2014, 109 IUP licenses in Central Sulawesi were recorded as having non clean and clear (non-CNC) or problematic status. These reports classified four problems with IUPs: overlapping with other licenses for the same commodities; overlapping with different commodities; authority overlapping; and administrative problems. The dominant issue with IUP licenses in Central Sulawesi was administrative problems at 88%, followed by authority overlapping at 11%, and overlapping with the same or other commodities at 0.5% each.³³

C. LAND USE AND NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT ACTORS AND ARENAS

According to Bailey,³⁴ the actors with the largest roles in natural resources management are the State, businesses and communities. So, who has the greatest power over space and natural resources in Central Sulawesi? Referencing the constitution, the answer to this question is the State, as laid out in Article 33 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution, where: "The land, the waters and the natural riches contained therein shall be controlled by the State and exploited to the greatest benefit of the people". The next question is whether the State is autonomous in nature, like Ralph Miliband's concept, in making policies, or whether it is subservient, like the pluralist and Marxian perspective.

Pluralists feel the State only implements the diversity of interests in society. If the nature of a state is like the pluralist understanding, then the processes of formulating state policy are certain to pass through a contest between diverse interests (business owners, laborers, farmers, etc.). Whoever wins this contest will mold state

³³ Maryati Abdullah, et al. "Koordinasi dan Supervisi Sektor Pertambangan Mineral dan Batubara: Temuan-Tindak Lanjut-

Capaian". Report by KPK-Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, related institutions, regional governments, CSOs and stakeholders. Publish What You Pay Indonesia - Yayasan Transparansi Sumber Daya Ekstraktif: Jakarta, 2017, p. 50.

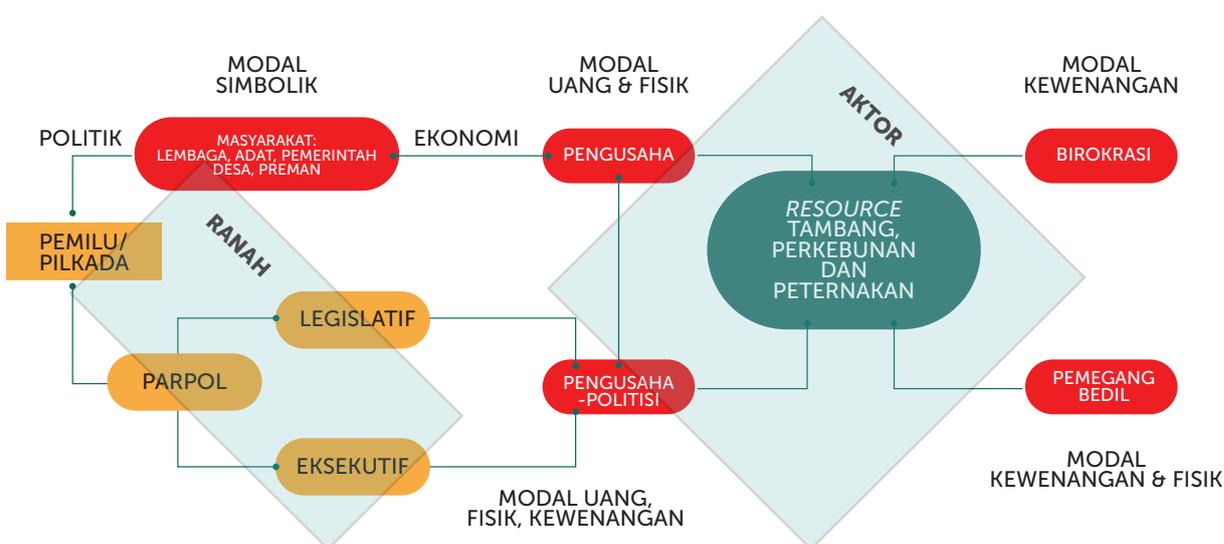
³⁴ Raymond L. Bryant, and Sinead Bailey. Third World Political Ecology. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.

policy. The Marxist view, meanwhile, is that the State is controlled by the most dominant (power) group, i.e., capitalists.

In order to identify which groups exercise control over space and play roles in natural

resources management in Central Sulawesi, it is necessary to outline which actors are involved in formulating State policies and have the ability to influence state actors (executive and legislative). Additionally, it is necessary to identify arenas where state policies are contested.

Figure 4. Power relations in the utilization of space and natural resources management in Central Sulawesi.



Source: processed by the author, 2020.

The figure above outlines two things. *Firstly*, the “ACTORS” square on the right shows the actors playing roles in the utilization of space and natural resources in Central Sulawesi, namely: business-owning politicians, businesspeople, bureaucrats and the police/security forces. *Secondly*, the “ARENAS” box on the left shows the arenas for contests involving four institutions, namely: the legislature, executive, political parties and communities (customary institutions, village governments and private individuals). Contests between these actors take place through democratic mechanisms such as elections (conventional participation) and action/demonstrations (non-conventional

participation). Conventional participation involves four institutions: the executive, legislature, political parties and communities (customary institutions, village governments and private individuals). Whereas non-conventional participation only involves community institutions, like in the demonstrations rejecting gold mining in South Tinombo subdistrict, Parigi Moutong district on the one hand,³⁵ or the Poboya community in Palu municipality demonstrating against the closure their

³⁵ <https://kailipost.com/2020/12/petani-tinombo-selatan-tolak-tambang-legal-apalagi-ilegal.html>

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community mines on the other.³⁶ This kind of participation takes place if the executive, legislature, or political parties produce policy contrary to community interests.

• Actors

Firstly, business-owning politicians are those involved in or with ties to political parties while simultaneously owning businesses. These include leaders and members of political parties, members of the legislature supported by political parties, and executive leaders elected based on recommendations from political parties. Business-owning politicians

play important roles in the utilization of space and natural resources in Central Sulawesi, in the formulation and implementation of policies. In addition, these politicians are also owners of businesses that utilize large areas of land, such as those operating in the mining and plantations sectors. The financial and authority capital held by these business-owner politicians makes it easy for them to influence other groups, either through persuasion or physical force. Therefore, the business-owning politician group has three simultaneous forms of power capital: financial (economic), physical and authority. This is the most powerful group influencing policies of the State.

Table 8. Business-owning politicians in Central Sulawesi.

Name	Political career	Business group
Ahmat Ali ³⁷	Former member of Morowali District DPRD / former Treasurer of the Nasdem Party Regional Leader Council / Vice Chair of Nasdem Party / Nasdem Party representative in DPR RI / Chair of the DPR-RI Nasdem Party Fraction	Owner of: - PT Graha Mining Utama - PT Graha Agro Utama - PT Graha Istika Utama - PT Oti Eya Abadi - PT Tadulako Dirgantara Travel
Nilam Sari Lawira ³⁸	Chair of Central Sulawesi Provincial DPRD / Nasdem Party	Nilam Sari Lawira's husband (Ahmat Ali, a Nasdem politician) is owner of: - PT Graha Mining Utama - PT Graha Agro Utama - PT Graha Istika Utama - PT Oti Eya Abadi - PT Tadulako Dirgantara Travel
Hadiyanto Rasyid ³⁹	Chair of Hanura Party Regional Leader Council Central Sulawesi / former member of Palu Municipality and Central Sulawesi DPRD / elected as Mayor of Palu in 2020	- PT Rasma Muliah (owns IUPs in Palu municipality and Donggala district). - PT Taipa Jaya Mandiri (Taipa Beach)

³⁶ <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/263930/warga-poboyo-tolak-penutupan-tambang>

³⁷ <https://www.dpr.go.id/blog/profil/id/1582>

³⁸ <http://dprd.sultengprov.go.id/profil/hj-nilam-sari-lawira-sp-mp/biodata>

³⁹ <https://palumantapbergerak.com/speaker/michael-doe/>

Name	Political career	Business group
Murad Husein ⁴⁰	Former treasurer of Golkar Party Regional Leader Council Central Sulawesi / former MPR member	Owner of oil palm plantation company: - PT Kurnia Luwuk Sejati
Firman Lapide ⁴¹	Gerindra Party politician / Chair of PD Tidar Central Sulawesi	Director of mining companies: - PT Bintang Alfath Mulia, - PT Xin Liu Fu Corp, - PT Hongthai, - PT Multi Kembang Indonesia, - PT Bestone Indonesia, Commissioner of PT RPS Indonesia

Source: processed from various sources, 2020.

The simultaneous involvement of business-owning politicians in political and economic spheres shows they are not merely politicians. The unification of political and economic roles is a concept Jeffrey Winters calls oligarchy, where actors who control political resources also control economic resources.⁴² The presence of oligarchs who utilize space in Central Sulawesi is a challenge in its own right to producing a pro-public spatial plan. The operations of companies owned by these oligarchs have been sources of complaints from communities and environmental activists, including farming communities in Morowali district rejecting the presence of PT Graha Istika Utama⁴³, resistance from the Toili community in Banggai district to oil palm plantation expansion involving PT Kurnia Luwuk Sejati⁴⁴, and mining operations by companies owned by oligarchs in disaster prone red zones in Palu municipality.

Secondly, businesspeople – this group includes those who own businesses but are not involved in politics. This group possesses financial and physical capital, but its influence is weak compared to the group above. As members of this group only have two forms of capital, their power fades if they no longer have riches. Accordingly, their influence is highly dependent on the riches they possess.

Equipped with wealth, businesspeople have social relationships with community members who need employment as laborers, and with surrounding communities who secure benefits from their business activities. These business-community relationships are particularly visible in mining business operations. In Central Sulawesi, the emergence of mining has created mining communities that secure legitimacy from customary institutions, village governments, and private individuals involved in protecting companies from threats from the State and critics. Their lives are highly dependent on mining businesses. Losing mining means losing their livelihoods, so efforts to enforce order become more difficult as they are ready to die to maintain their livelihood sources.

Thirdly, bureaucrats act as public servants and policy implementers and have authority to

⁴⁰ Mohammad Syaifei T. Tama, *Perluasan Sawit Berbuah Petaka. Sketsa Perlawanan Petani atas Penyingkiran dan Peningkatan Hak atas Sumber Daya Agraria di Dataran Toili Kabupaten Banggai*. Working Paper Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 2010, p. 4

⁴¹ <https://www.kabarselebes.id/berita/2019/08/16/incar-kursi-walikota-palu-pengusaha-muda-ini-jajaki-sejumlah-parpol/>

⁴² Jeffrey Winters, *Oligarchy*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 2011, p. 14

⁴³ <https://sultengraya.com/read/97819/warga-morowali-tolak-pt-giu-beroperasi/>

⁴⁴ Mohammad Syaifei T. Tama, *Op. cit.*

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influence the planning, utilization and control of space. The authority bureaucrats have is frequently misused with maladministration and proper procedures not being followed in license issuing processes. Such practices, in addition to being a result of poor understanding of administration, are also due to rent seeking by individuals within the bureaucracy. On the other side, businesspeople use their closeness to government officials, including bureaucrats to accumulate wealth by securing licenses, and through ineffective oversight and weak law enforcement.

Fourthly, the police play an important role in law enforcement against spatial utilization and natural resources management violations. In addition, the police also play a role in maintaining security to ensure political and economic stability. With mining management in Central Sulawesi, the police are faced with a dilemma between enforcing the law and maintaining a stable security situation. The police, in their efforts to shut down illegal mining and enforce the law, are frequently confronted by resistance from communities who depend on mining for their livelihoods. Community groups have become braver, particularly if they are legitimized by customary institutions. This happened with the conflict between the Kambuno 'customary' community in Poboya and the Palu Municipal Government.⁴⁵ The Poboya community, which included the community's customary institution, wanted mining activities to continue, while the Palu Municipal Government wanted them shut down. The Palu Municipal Government's stance triggered demonstrations involving thousands of Poboya residents. Addressing the

issue, the police took a softer stance, acting to maintain stability, rather than taking a strict law enforcement stance against miners who broke rules. Through this security stability approach, the instruction to shut down mining was softened to become secure mining (limiting mining activities).

- **Arenas: the existence of three democratic institutions**

Arenas for political contestation in the utilization of space and natural resources management in Central Sulawesi involve four actors, namely bureaucrats, businesspeople, politicians and law enforcers (the police). However, actors in three democratic institutions (political parties, the executive and legislature) also have highly dominant roles, such as in regional policymaking. This happens because actors in these three institutions have interests in the utilization of space, either as mining or plantation company businesspeople. Meanwhile, community roles are extremely minimal.

First, political parties – these function as the means for recruiting the political executive leadership (regional heads) and legislature (councilors) and become spheres for various interests to coincide. In Central Sulawesi, the chairs and organizers of some political parties are also businesspeople, some of whom own businesses in the mining sector.

Second, the executive – as the implementer and maker of policies, including land use policies, the executive has ties to political party institutions. Executive heads hold positions as local-level political party chairs. Further, the executive also underlies the bureaucracy with the authority to issue licenses and conduct oversight, including acting against the misuse of space.

⁴⁵ Zainuddin, Sulthan. 2012. *Berebut Otoritas: Antara Kilau Emas versus Konservasi (Studi Kasus Penambangan Emas Tradisional Pada Komunitas Masyarakat "Adat" Kaili di Tahura Poboya, Kota Palu, Provinsi Sulawesi Tengah*. Dissertation: Bogor IPB University Postgraduate School.

Third, the legislature – as the maker of policies, the legislature also has ties to political parties. Several members of legislative assemblies are mining sector businesspeople.

Fourth, communities – community involvement roles are played by village governments, customary institutions and private individuals. These are generally divided into two groups; those who support and those who reject the utilization of space for mining and plantations. Rejection actions are usually based on concerns over environmental degradation, disasters, or loss of community land. Meanwhile, those who provide support usually do so based on economic motives. Several findings show land use and natural resources management activities having support from communities, such as mining operations in Poboya securing support from the local customary council.⁴⁶ In addition, private individuals or hired thugs play an important role in securing land use activities

by companies owned by businesspeople and are used to intimidate communities that reject company land-based activities.

The misuse of space in Central Sulawesi is fertile ground for the growth of a *shadow economy* in natural resources management. Dell'Anno⁴⁷ says the *shadow economy* involves economic activities and earnings secured by those who evade or avoid government regulations, taxes or monitoring.

Coal and mineral mining sector coordination and supervision reports in Central Sulawesi province have found non-tax state revenue (PNBP) arrears amounting to IDR 111 billion,⁴⁸ IUP license holders not submitting SPT annual tax returns,⁴⁹ IUP companies not being transparent in their allocation of reclamation guarantee funds,⁵⁰ and mining companies not submitting production report data.⁵¹

Table 9. Shadow economy practices in natural resources management in Central Sulawesi.

Type of activity	Monetary transactions		Non-monetary transactions	
Illegal activities	Fuel smuggling, mercury and cyanide trading, sales of illegal mining materials		Purchasing / controlling land with mineral deposits, illegal labor	
Legal activities	Tax fraud	Tax evasion	Tax fraud	Tax evasion
	Unreported sales (mining product sales volumes)	Employee discounts (companies not having mining chief technicians), unclear provision and amounts of CSR.	Company assets not reported	Company goods used not passing through customs.

Source: Processed by the author, 2020.

⁴⁶ Sulthan Zainuddin, et al. *Kontestasi dan Konflik Memperebutkan Emas di Poboya*. Sodality, Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan. Vol. 06, No. 2, September 2012, p. 155.

⁴⁷ Dell'Anno, R. 'Estimating the shadow economy in Italy: A structural equation approach', Working Paper 2003–7, Department of Economics, University of Aarhus.

⁴⁸ Maryati Abdullah, et al. *Op. cit.*, p. 78

⁴⁹ Maryati Abdullah, et al. *Op. cit.*, p. 83

⁵⁰ Maryati Abdullah, et al. *Op. cit.*, p. 93

⁵¹ Maryati Abdullah, et al. *Op. cit.*, p. 98

IV. Conclusions

Firstly, a root cause of spatial utilization and natural resources management issues in Central Sulawesi is poor and weak regional government policies, as illustrated by the results of the Spatial Plan Regulation No. 8/2013 evaluation. Meanwhile, efforts to improve the regulation of spatial planning have yet to find agreement or approval. Other problems include alleged rent seeking by bureaucrats and crony capitalism in the utilization of space. These are illustrated by the predominance of administrative problems surrounding license provision. Low levels of integrity among the state apparatus (bureaucrats and police) are the factor underpinning various rule-breaking land use activities, ineffective oversight, and various procedural violations in the issuing of land use licenses. These issues necessitate three things: 1) regulatory improvement or rearrangement; 2) improvements to licensing governance; and 3) improvements to oversight and law enforcement.

Secondly, actors involved in the utilization and management of space include business-owning politicians, businesspeople, bureaucrats, and

police/security forces. The involvement of business owners who also hold positions in executive, legislative and political party institutions, has the potential to lead to conflicts of interest between the businesses they operate and spatial planning policies in Central Sulawesi. Therefore, transparency and public participation in policymaking are essential as mechanisms for control.

Thirdly, democratic institutions (the executive, legislature and political parties) constitute institutions with strategic roles in spatial planning policymaking, implementation and oversight. However, some of these institutions are filled with businesspeople with interests in the utilization of space, so it is a challenge to make a pro-public spatial plan policy. It will require a healthier political order to produce pro-public policies and ensure democratic processes (election and party-political systems) and democratic institutions (the executive, legislature and political parties) function the way they are meant to. The processes necessary for such efforts are complex and not at all easy.

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