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Climate Resilience Indonesia's National Strategic Program for Social Justice as a Paradox of Coloniality

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Abstract:
The National Strategic Projects (PSN) are designed to mitigate and adapt the impacts of climate change and safeguard essential environmental functions, due to emissions from the energy sector, the second-largest source of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions after land-use change and forestry. The rhetoric of sustainable development underlying a colonial rationality that reproduces extractivist regimes, the dispossession of Indigenous territories, and the subordination of local communities in favor of national elites and global markets. Law functions not as a protector of community rights but as a tool to legitimize green grabbing in the name of climate crisis mitigation. This study critically examines the climate law politics of Indonesia in framing National Strategic Projects as solutions for social justice. The research addresses how the coloniality of power operates within national climate law and explores how policy directions can be transformed toward decolonial climate justice grounded in self-determination. Methods used are an interdisciplinary socio-legal approach , global political ecology, and critical coloniality studies. The research analyzes the role of law in structuring and normalizing resource extraction under the narratives of energy transition. The main instrument is a critical legal-political analysis of climate resilience, focusing on legal frameworks, state-corporate actors, and the exclusion of local communities. The result of this research identifies practices of coloniality; power, being, and etymology, and the need for decolonial approaches to climate resilience. The recommendations are local needs-based policies that prioritize affected communities, self-determination through meaningful participation in planning and implementation, and corrective justice as a mechanism to review legal policies for adaptation, restore social rights, and ensure egalitarian knowledge.

Keywords:
adaptation; climate; decolonial; green extractivism; social justice.

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Introduction

Government Regulation No. 79/2014, Presidential Regulation No. 22/2017, and Presidential Regulation No. 12/2025 on the National Plan for 2025-2029 serve as the legal foundation for Indonesia's climate resilience programs. The programs are committed to achieving target emissions by 2060 and increasing the share of renewable energy to 31% by 2050. Starting 2015, the Indonesian government has tried to improve the national economic for development. After the release of Paris agrement, Indonesia tries to reconsruct economic plan, implementing climate-resilient and harmonization with global economic strategies, such as the nickel, food, green city, etc.[1] Legal policies related to these projects aim to support the

[1] Anis Hidayah et al., "Dampak Proyek Strategis Nasional Terhadap Hak Asasi Manusia," *Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia RI*, 2024.

national and global energy transition, such as geothermal and nickel smelters in Sulawesi and North Maluku.[2]

These facilitative measures directly legitimize the extractive nature that has been critically analyzed by scholars in the field of Global South studies.[3] Energy is a crucial system in which coloniality operates, particularly due to the extractive nature of energy production. Especially after disasters, when change is deemed "urgent," transformations may actually reinforce existing power dynamics and exacerbate inequalities.[4] This calls for sustainability transition studies to engage more deeply with post-colonial and decolonial thought.[5] McGowen and Antadzemere reflect on how attention to coloniality and the "dark side of transformation"[6] reshapes their previous analysis regarding sustainability transitions.[7] According to Global Forest Watch[8] and JATAM,[9] the downstream nickel industrialization in Indonesia has led to large-scale deforestation of hundreds of thousands of hectares, river pollution, clean water crises, and rising respiratory illnesses. Like Halmahera, nickel concentrations in water and poverty rates remain high in major nickel-producing regions, contradicting the state narrative of equitable economic benefit distribution.[10] This must be critically examined as a site of structural conflict between development and the principles of social justice.[11]

A paradox deepens the social gap and ecological destruction. Indonesia's climate resilience agenda, while rhetorically oriented toward sustainability and protecting climate justice as social justice.[12] But, Western Power and knowledge have dominated the structural, economic, and political position as the primary reference or international standardization of climate resilience, which continues as climate policy. Local and Indigenous communities are forced to adapt to top-down climate policies that can be described as climate apartheid, where access to resources, benefits, and environmental protection is unequally distributed.[13][14]. According to Araos and Peck, the heaviest burden of climate adaptation is borne by countries

[2] Laporan Tahunan Jatam, "Bara Perlawanan Warga Biasa Melawan Mesin Ekstraktivisme," 2024.
[3] Benjamin K. Sovacool, "Expanding Carbon Removal to the Global South: Thematic Concerns on Systems, Justice, and Climate Governance," *Energy and Climate Change* 4 (December 2023): 100103, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.egycc.2023.100103.
[4] Kerstin Reibold, "Settler Colonialism, Decolonization, and Climate Change," *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 40, no. 4 (August 8, 2023): 624–41, https://doi.org/10.1111/japp.12573.
[5] Bipashyee Ghosh et al., "Decolonising Transitions in the Global South: Towards More Epistemic Diversity in Transitions Research," *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 41 (December 2021): 106–9, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2021.10.029.
[6] Katharine McGowan and Nino Antadze, "Recognizing the Dark Side of Sustainability Transitions," *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences* 13, no. 2 (June 11, 2023): 344–49, https://doi.org/10.1007/s13412-023-00813-0.
[7] Michael Simpson and Alejandra Pizarro Choy, "Building Decolonial Climate Justice Movements: Four Tensions," *Dialogues in Human Geography* 14, no. 2 (July 8, 2024): 269–72, https://doi.org/10.1177/20438206231174629.
[8] Global Forest Watch, "Forests in Indonesia," n.d., https://www.globalforestwatch.org/dashboards/country/IDN/?lang=id.
[9] Laporan Tahunan Jatam, "Bara Perlawanan Warga Biasa Melawan Mesin Ekstraktivisme."
[10] Climate Rights International, "Nickel Unearthed: The Human and Climate Costs of Indonesia's Nickel Industry Report," 2024, https://cri.org/reports/nickel-unearthed/.
[11] Simpson and Pizarro Choy, "Building Decolonial Climate Justice Movements: Four Tensions."
[12] Alice Venn, "Social Justice and Climate Change," in *Managing Global Warming* (Elsevier, 2019), 711–28, https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-814104-5.00024-7.
[13] Venn.
[14] Venn; Jamie Haverkamp, "The De-Coloniality of Global Climate Governance and Indigenous Politics within the UNFCCC," in *Confronting Climate Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2024), 45–61, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003465973-4.

in the Global South,[15] including Indonesia, which remains entangled in enduring structures of coloniality and is subjected to control by the Global North.[16]

Based on the explanation above, the research proposes some questions. First, how does climate resilience policies serve as social justice protection? Second, how does climate resilience through Indonesia's National Strategic Programs deepen the social justice gap for local and Indigenous communities as a continuation of coloniality? The research aims first to analyse how Indonesia's climate resilience policies under the National Strategic Programs are normatively designed as instruments for protecting social justice, especially vulnerable communities. Indonesia, like other Global South countries, suffers the heaviest consequences of climate change than the Global North countries, which are the primary beneficiaries of industrialisation. The second research purpose is to, with a decolonial perspective, analyze how the social justice goal is realized in enforcing the National Strategic Program (PSN) as climate resilience, particularly for vulnerable groups such as indigenous communities, coastal communities, women, and the impoverished. This perspective is needed because Indonesia, as a country that has a colonial experience, formally ended its colonial period in 1945. Nearly four centuries of formal colonialism created a vulnerability to the trap of coloniality, leading to a dependency on colonial powers, as explained by scholars like Mignolo, Maldonado-Torres, Quijano, Spivak, Escobar, Said, and Fanon. Indonesia and other southern countries are dependent on and controlled by the epistemologies, being, and power of northern countries.[17]

This research has a different perspective from previous studies on climate resilience like Nurhidayah et al.,[18] Jazuli, Roll, & Mulugetta,[19] Fahmi,[20] Mehta et al,[21] which primarily focus on the threats of climate change. Research by Nurhidayah et al. examines how climate disasters threaten economic, social, and environmental stability, thereby requiring adaptive and mitigative responses through governmental restructuring. Research by Fahmi addresses climate governance from the perspective of international legal regimes, emphasizing their mandate to protect communities during climate-related disasters. Mehta et al., on the other hand, explore these challenges from the standpoint of communities in South Asia. Sumarno and Setyowati's research reviewing Indonesia's JETP highlight the issue of climate change through the lens of energy justice, particularly advocating for equitable access to renewable energy.

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[15] Diego Andreucci et al., "The Coloniality of Green Extractivism: Unearthing Decarbonisation by Dispossession through the Case of Nickel," *Political Geography* 107 (November 2023): 102997, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2023.102997.

[16] Carlos Tornel, "Decolonizing Energy Justice from the Ground up: Political Ecology, Ontology, and Energy Landscapes," *Progress in Human Geography* 47, no. 1 (February 10, 2023): 43–65, https://doi.org/10.1177/03091325221132561.

[17] Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, and Jade Nixon, *New Approaches to Inequality Research with Youth* (New York: Routledge, 2023), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003303800.

[18] Laely Nurhidayah et al., "Indonesia's Just Energy Transition: The Societal Implications of Policy and Legislation on Renewable Energy," *Climate Law* 14, no. 1 (January 24, 2024): 36–66, https://doi.org/10.1163/18786561-bja10047.

[19] Muhamad Rosyid Jazuli, Kate Roll, and Yacob Mulugetta, "A Review of Indonesia's JETP through the Dynamics of Its Policy Regime," *Global Policy* 15, no. 5 (November 18, 2024): 989–1006, https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13452.

[20] Chairul Fahmi (Acehnese), "The Application of International Cultural Rights in Protecting Indigenous Peoples' Land Property in Indonesia," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 20, no. 1 (March 8, 2024): 157–66, https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801241235261.

[21] Lyla Mehta et al., "Transformation as Praxis: Responding to Climate Change Uncertainties in Marginal Environments in South Asia," *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* 49 (April 2021): 110–17, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cosust.2021.04.002.

The colonial frameworks of climate change have been theoretically and normatively elaborated in previous scholarship, Bhambra & Newell,[22] Sultana,[23] and Tornel.[24] The decolonial lens shows how ontological and epistemological power hierarchies shape climate governance, influence recognition of marginalized groups, and affect corrective mechanisms, while also violating national constitutional norms and international obligations under the UDHR, ICCPR, ICESCR, UNFCCC, and Paris Agreement. Communities in the Global South, particularly in Indonesia, bear the heaviest burden of adaptation, frequently experiencing maladaptation as extractive activities, top-down regulatory measures, and industrial projects degrade ecosystems and marginalize Indigenous and local populations. Criticisms of current adaptation approaches, including overreliance on technological solutions, conflation of development and adaptation, and competing interests, highlight the need for context-sensitive, socially just policies. Empirical findings from Indonesia, alongside critiques of anthropocentrism and the political ecology of law, demonstrate how the centralization of Northern perspectives on sustainability and development can exacerbate inequities. This study contributes to the international community by providing insights for designing climate resilience policies that are equitable, inclusive, and responsive to the lived realities of marginalized populations, particularly in Global South contexts.

Method

This research is a qualitative socio-legal research employing an interdisciplinary approach that integrates doctrinal legal analysis with sociological analysis. The focus of the colonial object is on how government product regulation, as a response to climate change, can produce deepening social injustice. This object is different from other research before, which focuses on the recognition of climate disasters and risks for vulnerable communities' rights. Doctrinal legal or systematic analysis is applied to examine the legal texts and regulatory frameworks governing PSN and energy transition policies, including laws such as the Energy Law, Mining Law, Environmental Protection Law, Presidential Regulations on PSN, and various climate policy documents. Sociological analysis complements this by engaging empirical data collected through interviews with affected communities, civil society organizations, academics, and policy observers, along with targeted field observations and critical literature reviews. The data collection are The National Seminar at Nusaputra University (9 December 2024) with keynote speaker *Prof. Wulansari,* Chairperson of the Indonesian Association of Customary Law Lecturers (APHA), who emphasized the legal commitment to protection, recognition, and justice for indigenous peoples within the vision of *Golden Indonesia 2045*, the International Seminar on Socio-Legal Studies (June 2024) organized by the Indonesian Socio-Legal Studies Association, observation and interviews with generale coordinator advocation for indigenous communities in Pasaman Barat, West Sumatra Province ("*air bangis"* land conflict) and with LBH Bergerak (2024) Mr. Abdurrahman and observation, discussion with

[22] Gurminder K. Bhambra and Peter Newell, "More than a Metaphor: Climate Colonialism' in Perspective," *Global Social Challenges Journal* 2, no. 2 (December 2023): 179–87, https://doi.org/10.1332/EIEM6688.
[23] Farhana Sultana, "The Unbearable Heaviness of Climate Coloniality," *Political Geography* 99 (November 2022): 102638, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2022.102638.
[24] Tornel, "Decolonizing Energy Justice from the Ground up: Political Ecology, Ontology, and Energy Landscapes."

indigenous community (Ninik Mamak) Gunung Talang (2024), the Mongabay FGD/Webinar (10 October 2024) on the impacts of National Strategic Projects (PSN), Walhi's initiatives on protecting communities in the Mentawai Islands (July 2025), a BRIN study on the Rempang Eco City PSN conflict; a Human Rights Center (STTWP) discussion (11 July 2025) on nickel mining in Raja Ampat; and KontraS reports on the escalation of violence due to PSN in North Maluku, South Papua, and East Kalimantan.

The data purposes are (1) to analyze the policy framework and legal-political context underlying the Strategic National Program(*Program Strategis Nasional*/PSN); and (2) to identify the direct impacts of PSN on indigenous peoples in the focus area, which includes West Sumatra (Conflict at Talang and Air Bangis), Mentawai, Rempang, North Maluku, South Papua, and East Kalimantan. Data analysis follows a combined doctrinal-sociological approach in three stages. First, data reduction is conducted by organizing and filtering relevant information in line with the decolonial and ecocentric focus. Second, data presentation is structured through descriptive narratives, conflict maps, or thematic tables to illustrate the links between legal policies and their socio-ecological impacts. Third, conclusions are drawn by connecting empirical findings to decolonial theory, restorative justice, political ecology of law, and critiques of anthropocentrism in national development models. Triangulation techniques, drawing from multiple sources, methods, and theoretical frameworks, are employed to validate the findings and ensure consistency and credibility.

Discussion

1. *S*ocial Justice Relation In Climate Resilience

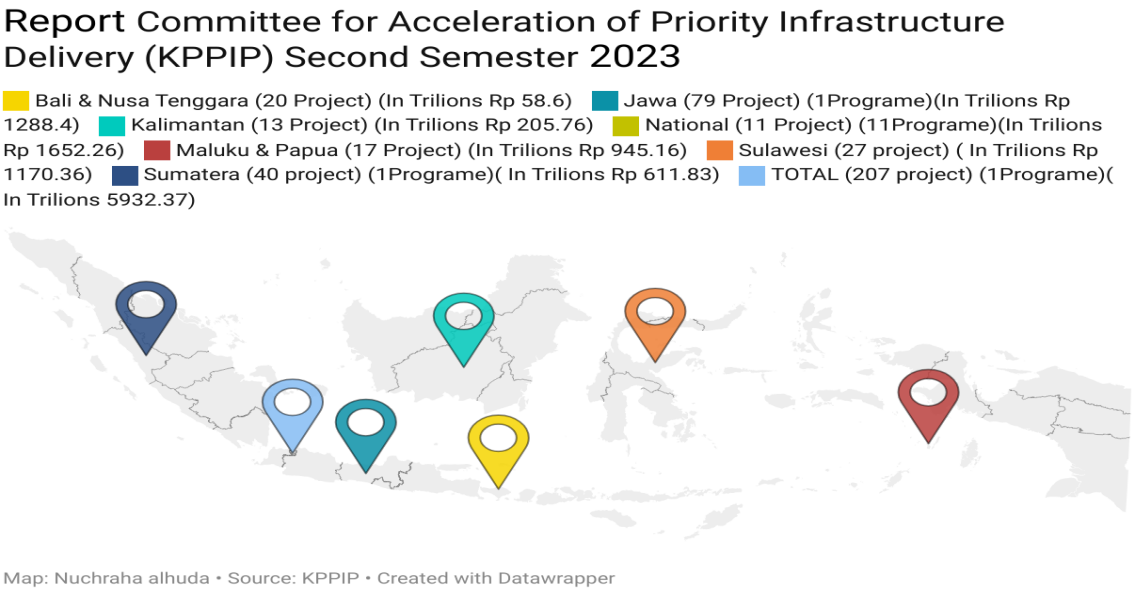
Social justice encompasses the normative principles that govern the fair distribution of rights, responsibilities, resources, and opportunities within a society, as argued by Rawls in his theory of distributive justice.[25] Adaptation as interpretation of distributive justice functions in the climate crisis must recognize structural disparities, particularly the unequal distribution of benefits and damages resulting from climate change.[26] As a mechanism during the climate crisis, it ensures the fair distribution of rights, responsibilities, resources, and opportunities within society to reduce existing inequalities.[27] The Paris Agreement, as a global social commitment, is implemented in Indonesia through Law No. 16 of 2016. It is integrated into the 2015–2019 RPJMN (Presidential Regulation No. 2/2015), and reinforced by Presidential Regulation No. 22 of 2017 on national energy policy to support carbon reduction and sustainable development.

The National Strategic Projects (PSN) reveal contradictions or fail to interpret the principles of social justice. Among them are first,[28] the needs-based approach is violated as food estates, irrigation schemes, and dams in Central Papua, North Sumatra, and West

[25] Mark Huxham et al., "Rawls in the Mangrove: Perceptions of Justice in Nature-based Solutions Projects," *People and Nature* 5, no. 5 (October 23, 2023): 1497–1511, https://doi.org/10.1002/pan3.10498.
[26] W. Neil Adger et al., "Sharing the Pain: Perceptions of Fairness Affect Private and Public Response to Hazards," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106, no. 5 (September 2, 2016): 1079–96, https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2016.1182005.
[27] S.E. Walker et al., "Defining and Conceptualizing Equity and Justice in Climate Adaptation," *Global Environmental Change* 87 (July 2024): 102885, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2024.102885.
[28] Walker et al.

Lampung displace small farmers and Indigenous peoples, depriving them of land, forests, and water.[29] The egalitarian approach is ignored as industrial benefits concentrate in urban centers, while communities in Jambi, Fakfak, and Teluk Bintuni bear environmental and social burdens from palm oil, mining, and gas projects. The rights-based approach is undermined by tokenistic consultations in IKN Nusantara and Rempang, which fail to secure Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC).[30] The capabilities approach is weakened as residents in Air Bangis and Poco Leok lose livelihoods and autonomy, deepening dependence on the state and corporations.[31] Corrective justice remains absent, seen in East Kalimantan and South Sulawesi, where post-mining degradation and nickel pollution persist without accountability.[32]

Figure 1. Distribution Location Programme National Strategies



Sources: KPPIP.[33]

Impacts of PSN during 2014-2024 for vulnerable groups are:

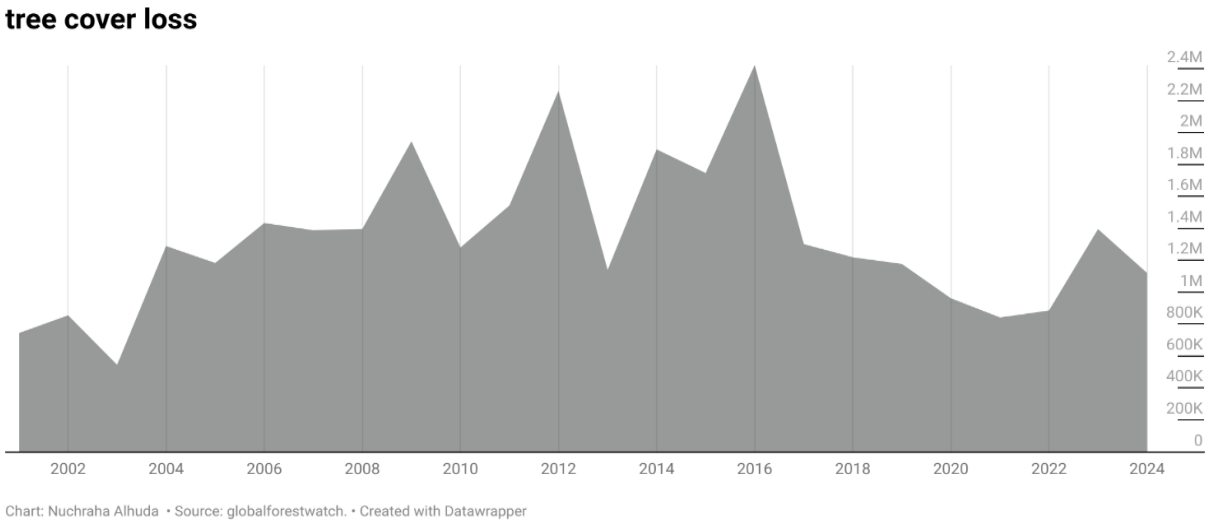
a. Deforest

Monitoring of Global Forest Watch, from 2001 until 2024, Indonesia lost 32.0 million hectares of tree cover or 20% of its tree cover area in 2000, resulting in 23.2 Gt of CO_2e emissions.[34] 59% was concentrated in Riau 4.30 million hectares, West Kalimantan (4.21

[29] Ria Maya Sari and Muhammad Arman, "Pembukaan Kawasan Hutan Untuk Proyek Strategis Nasional (PSN) Di Sektor Pangan Dan Energi Dan Ancamannya Terhadap Hak Masyarakat Adat Atas Hutan Adat" (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN), 2025).
[30] Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, "Dekade Krisis Agraria: Warisan Nawacita Dan Masa Depan Reforma Agraria Pasca Perubahan Politik 2024," 2023, https://www.kpa.or.id/2024/01/dekade-krisis-agraria-warisan-nawacita-dan-masa-depan-reforma-agraria-pasca-perubahan-politik-2024/.
[31] Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria.
[32] Dwayne Mamo, "The Indigenous World 2025: Indonesia," The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 2025, https://iwgia.org/en/indonesia/5660-iw-2025-indonesia.html.
[33] "Komite Percepatan Penyediaan Infrastruktur Prioritas (KPPIP). Report Second Semester Year 2023," 2023, https://kppip.go.id/wp-content/uploads/filebase/laporan_semester_kppip/LMamo.aporan-KPPIP-2023-semester-02.pdf.
[34] Global Forest Watch, "Forests in Indonesia."

Mha), Central Kalimantan (3.86 Mha), South Sumatra (3.29 Mha), and East Kalimantan (3.13 Mha).[35]

Figure 2. Indonesia Tree Cover Loss



Source: globalforest.[36]

Auriga Nusantara documented from 2013 to 2023 that 69% of Indonesia's tree cover loss occurred in natural forests, a rate so significant that the country's total forest loss exceeded that of nine other Southeast Asian nations combined.[37] In 2024, Indonesia lost 261,575 hectares of primary and secondary forests, an increase of 4,191 hectares from 2023. The highest losses were in East Kalimantan (44,483 ha), West Kalimantan (39,598 ha), and Central Kalimantan (33,389 ha).[38] Most deforestation 97% occurred in areas with official permits, including forest concessions and National Strategic Projects (PSNs).[39] The global pursuit of renewable energy, while framed as a pathway to sustainability, has paradoxically intensified deforestation across the Global South. The growing demand for critical minerals such as nickel, cobalt, and lithium, driven by the green industry agendas and climate resilience discourses in Europe and China, has accelerated land-use conversion in resource-rich Southern countries.[40] Indonesia has become a central supplier of nickel, a key component in electric vehicle batteries and renewable technologies. However, meeting these industrial demands has come at the cost of large-scale deforestation and environmental degradation, particularly in regions such as Sulawesi and North Maluku, where forest ecosystems are cleared for mining, smelters, and industrial infrastructure.[41] What is promoted as a global environmental solution thus reproduces extractivist logics that reconfigure tropical landscapes into zones of ecological sacrifice. This process reflects the coloniality of climate governance, where the

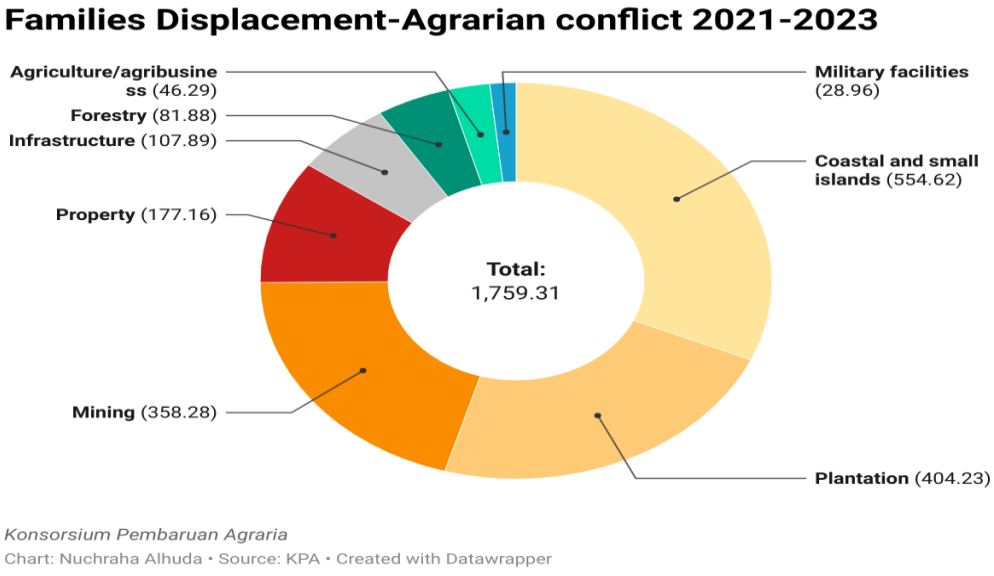
[35] Timer Manurung, Dedy Sukmara, and Andhika Younastya, "Status Deforestasi Indonesia 2024," Auriga Nusantara, 2024, https://simontini.id/id/status-deforestasi-indonesia-2024.
[36] Global Forest Watch, "Forests in Indonesia."
[37] Eart Insight, "Unheeded Warnings: Forest Biomass Threats to Tropical Forests in Indonesia and Southeast Asia," 2024, https://earth-insight.org/report/forest-biomass-asia/.
[38] Eart Insight.
[39] Manurung, Sukmara, and Younastya, "Status Deforestasi Indonesia 2024."
[40] João Henrique Santana Stacciarini and Ricardo Junior de Assis Fernandes Gonçalves, "Energy Transition and Mining in the Global South," February 16, 2025, https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/n8m57_v1.
[41] Alfarhat Kasman, "Indonesia's Dirty Nickel: Indonesia Jadi Zona Pengorbanan Industri EV," Jatam, 2024, https://jatam.org/id/lengkap.php?slug=Warga-Lingkar-Tambang-Nikel-Geruduk-Konferensi-Mineral-Kritis-Indonesia.

ecological environmental burdens of the energy transition are displaced onto the Global South to sustain the North's green modernity.[42] Consequently, renewable energy production does not represent a genuine break from unsustainable practices, but rather extends the historical trajectories of resource exploitation and environmental injustice under a new "*green*" banner.

b. Force Displacement

In Indonesia, extractivism is reinforced through various Strategic National Projects (PSN) that accelerate environmental destruction and exacerbate social inequality. WALHI notes that projects such as the Rempang Eco-City in the Riau Islands,[43] and nickel mining in Halmahera benefit only a small elite and large corporations while triggering ecological damage and agrarian conflicts.[44] The Agrarian Reform Consortium reported 115 agrarian conflicts related to PSN from 2020 to 2023. AMAN Report as of 2023, approximately 48.8 million people, representing 22% of Indonesia's 219.9 million inhabitants, lived in and around forest areas; the majority of these individuals were impoverished and relied directly on the forests for their livelihoods.[45] According to the Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA), agrarian conflicts increased by 21% in 2024, with 295 new cases recorded, covering over 1.1 million hectares of land and affecting more than 67,000 households across 349 villages in Indonesia have triggered deepened poverty.[46]

Figure 3. Families Displacement 2021-2023



Sources: KPA[47]

[42] Sultana, "The Unbearable Heaviness of Climate Coloniality."
[43] Andika Dwi, "Profil Proyek Rempang Eco City Yang Dikembangkan Tomy Winata," Tempo, 2023, https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/profil-proyek-rempang-eco-city-yang-dikembangkan-tomy-winata-145321.
[44] Climate Rights International, "Nickel Unearthed: The Human and Climate Costs of Indonesia's Nickel Industry Report."
[45] Sari and Arman, "Pembukaan Kawasan Hutan Untuk Proyek Strategis Nasional (PSN) Di Sektor Pangan Dan Energi Dan Ancamannya Terhadap Hak Masyarakat Adat Atas Hutan Adat."
[46] Sari and Arman.
[47] Dewi Kartika, "Adakah Reforma Agraria Di Bawah Komando Prabowo?," Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, 2025, https://www.kpa.or.id/2025/01/adakah-reforma-agraria-di-bawah-komando-prabowo/.

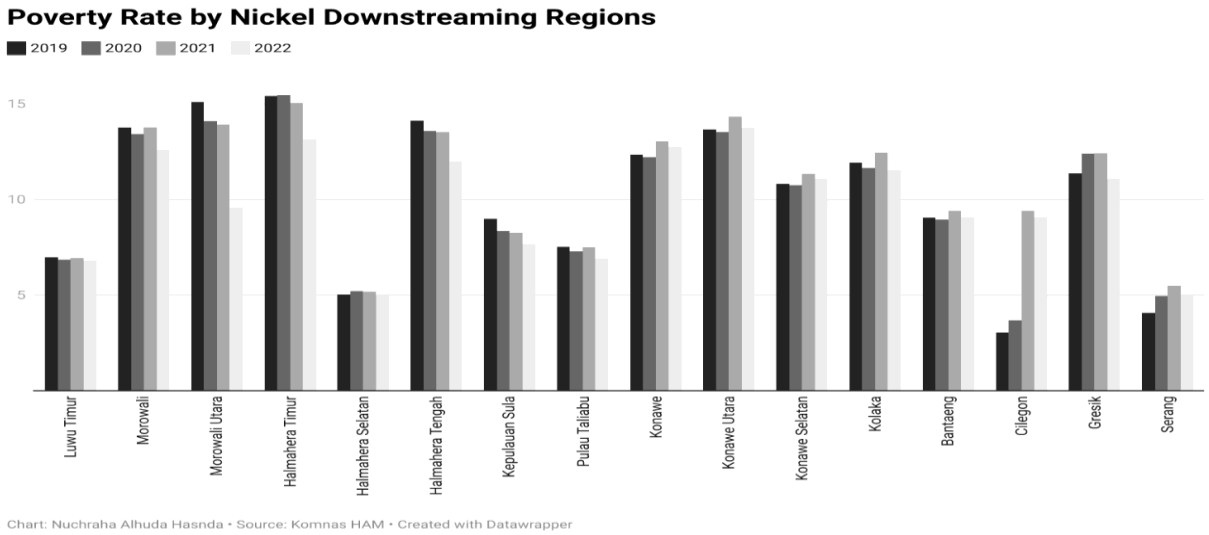
The forced displacement of local and Indigenous communities from mining-affected areas reveals how energy transition projects perpetuate spatial and social forms of coloniality. As Sultana argues, the green economy often masks the uneven geographies of sacrifice, where certain territories become "zones of extraction" to sustain global decarbonization.[48] In the case of Indonesia and other mineral-producing states such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Philippines, and Brazil, displacement occurs not only through physical relocation but also through the erosion of customary land tenure and social belonging.[49] The coloniality perspective, displacement under energy transition mining regimes represents both an epistemic and material loss, calling for reparative frameworks that restore relational sovereignty and communal self-determination.

c. Poverty

Extractive and land-use projects have impoverished local communities, while PSNs have failed to achieve the 7% growth target from 2014, deflation since 2019 also occurred during the period 2024.[50] The proliferation of private and government-led projects under the PSN label in the mining and infrastructure sectors has exacerbated poverty, with the nickel boom, in particular, intensifying impoverishment for indigenous communities, as documented by the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM). The average poverty rate stands at 9.57%, and poverty is notably deepened in PSN-affected areas such as Morowali, Central and East Halmahera, Kolaka, Konawe, and Gresik.[51] Center of Economic and Law Studies (Celios) funded a correlation between corruption and PSNs in resource-rich regions such as Aceh, Riau, Jambi, South Sumatra, Riau Islands, West Nusa Tenggara, Central Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, North Maluku, and Papua.[52]

[48] Farhana Sultana, "Critical Climate Justice," *The Geographical Journal* 188, no. 1 (March 2, 2022): 118–24, https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12417.
[49] Andreucci et al., "The Coloniality of Green Extractivism: Unearthing Decarbonisation by Dispossession through the Case of Nickel."
[50] Permata Adinda, "Anatomi Kegelapan Kebijakan PSN," Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, 2025, https://www.kpa.or.id/2025/03/anatomi-kegelapan-kebijakan-psn/.
[51] Anis Hidayah et al., "Dampak Proyek Strategis Nasional Terhadap Hak Asasi Manusia."
[52] Mhd Zakiul Fikri Muhamad Saleh Muhammad Dzar Azhari Muthahhar, "Gimmick Pro Lingkungan: Survei Kesenjangan Regulasi Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam, Agraria Dan Energi," *Laporan Celios*, no. June (2024): 47, https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.16617.10086.

Figure 4. Indonesia Regions Poverty Rate by Nickel



Sources: Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (KOMNAS HAM)[53]

From a decolonial perspective, these processes reflect a coloniality of power that normalizes environmental suffering and positions non-white groups as "the Other," where certain bodies and communities are deemed less valuable (Quijano, 2000).[54] North–South relations reinforce double standards in ecological safety, with collusion between transnational corporations and local oligarchs serving as mechanisms of structural violence.[55] As a result, social inequality and injustice for local communities are further exacerbated. The top-down nature of policies guided by modernist orientations in Indonesia's climate resilience strategies tends to deepen state coloniality. This means that decisions and the distribution of adaptation and mitigation benefits continue to favor elites and investors, while the rights, access, and protections for vulnerable local communities remain unmet. Despite their resource wealth, countries like Indonesia are trapped in asymmetrical global production chains that externalize profits to corporations based in the Global North. As Stacciarini and Gonçalves note, the economic rationale of extractivism in the Global South is built upon unequal ecological exchange, while the South supplies the materials for green industries, it receives little more than royalties, debt, and environmental devastation.[56]

Ecological coloniality enables powerful nations to dominate global value chains, keeping the Global South dependent on resource extraction. Poverty in mining regions thus reflects structural injustice embedded in global capitalism, which the Global North and emerging powers such as China maintain control over the technological and economic value chains[57]. Poverty in mining-affected communities is not simply an economic outcome but a symptom of structural injustice sustained by the legal and financial architectures of global capitalism.

[53] Anis Hidayah et al., "Dampak Proyek Strategis Nasional Terhadap Hak Asasi Manusia."
[54] Bhambra and Newell, "More than a Metaphor: Climate Colonialism' in Perspective."
[55] Joana Canelas and António Carvalho, "The Dark Side of the Energy Transition: Extractivist Violence, Energy (in)Justice and Lithium Mining in Portugal," *Energy Research & Social Science* 100 (June 2023): 103096, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103096.
[56] Stacciarini and Gonçalves, "Energy Transition and Mining in the Global South."
[57].Sultana, F. (2022), *Op.Cit.*

2. Coloniality Climate Crisis

Colonialism refers to the occupation of a territory by a foreign power (the metropole) through exploitation, colonization, or settler colonization. Exploitation colonialism extracts resources, as well as labor and settler colonialism displaces indigenous peoples' land.[58] Coloniality continues colonial domination, where resources are exploited and indigenous people displaced through modern institutions and global economic systems, even after formal colonialism ends.[59] There can be no climate crisis without acknowledging the intertwined processes of colonialism as the structure of the modern world. Colonial legacies continue to shape the evolution of global geopolitical and economic systems, deeply embedded within the structures and cultures of institutions at every level, and it can be national governments that reproduce actors.[60]

The critical approach rejects the understanding of climate resilience as neutral, emphasizing the need to account for colonial history, global power relations, and the voices of communities directly impacted.[61] Climate resilience programs are often framed in technocratic and apolitical terms, focusing on project-based adaptation measures such as the development of climate-resilient infrastructure for energy, market-based conservation, or carbon schemes like REDD+.[62] The perspective of climate coloniality urges that programs frequently extend colonial logics, such as land and resource expropriation under the guise of "environmental protection," which, in reality, harms indigenous communities and vulnerable populations in the Global South.[63]

Energy transition in Global South countries reveals a paradox of maladaptation, where rising demand for critical minerals, such as nickel, cobalt, lithium, and rare earth metals, drives extractive expansion that deepens colonial inequalities; environmental degradation, dispossession, and social burdens fall on Southern countries, while economic gains and decarbonization benefits flow to the North.[64] Countries like Indonesia, the DRC, the Philippines, and Brazil are major producers of critical minerals (EPA, 2024).[65] In the DRC, through human rights abuses and pollution in the cobalt industry, in Brazil, with the Vale tailings dam collapses, and in the Philippines, through deforestation and land conflicts linked to mining liberalization.[66] Government and industry green development rhetoric often masks ecological and social violence, making the energy transition a reproduction of colonial dependency that deepens socio-ecological vulnerability in the Global South.[67] The energy transition toward renewable sources is also not free from exploitative power relations. Large-

[58] David Hugill, "What Is a Settler-colonial City?," *Geography Compass* 11, no. 5 (May 10, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12315.
[59] Farhana Sultana, *Confronting Climate Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2024), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003465973.
[60] Amanda Bertana et al., "Beyond Maladaptation: Structural Barriers to Successful Adaptation," *Environmental Sociology* 8, no. 4 (October 2, 2022): 448–58, https://doi.org/10.1080/23251042.2022.2068224.
[61] Franziska Müller, "Energy Colonialism," *Journal of Political Ecology* 31, no. 1 (June 6, 2024), https://doi.org/10.2458/jpe.5659.
[62] Joshua Long, "The Coloniality of Climate Apartheid," in *Confronting Climate Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2024), 31–44, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003465973-3.
[63] Sultana, "The Unbearable Heaviness of Climate Coloniality."
[64] Young Kyu Hwang, Ángeles Sánchez Díez, and Roula Inglesi-Lotz, "The Effects of Critical Mineral Endowments on Green Economic Growth in Latin America," *Resources Policy* 98 (November 2024): 105355, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2024.105355.
[65] U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, "Wood Products Waste Management Trend," 2024.
[66] Josefa Sánchez Contreras et al., "Energy Colonialism: A Category to Analyse the Corporate Energy Transition in the Global South and North," *Land* 12, no. 6 (June 2023): 1241, https://doi.org/10.3390/land12061241.
[67] David R. Goyes, ed., *Green Crime in the Global South* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27754-2.

scale green energy projects, such as Desertec, create disparities in access to land and energy, displacing local communities for the benefit of energy supply to wealthy nations.[68]

As Goyes explains in *Green Crime in the Global South*, state and industrial discourses often act as intermediaries of coloniality, legitimizing environmental degradation as the "cost of progress."[69] Such discursive framing conceals new dependencies on global capital and reproduces extractive hierarchies that sustain green colonialism. Kehler and Birchall note that climate adaptation in the Global South often turns into maladaptation, where interventions meant to reduce vulnerability instead reproduce it through top-down, extractive governance inherited from colonial systems.[70] Indonesia's National Strategic Projects (PSN) in nickel, geothermal, and biomass have caused deforestation, pollution, and displacement. Framed as climate resilience initiatives, these projects primarily serve the Global North's colonial extractive logics, particularly in Sulawesi and Maluku.[71]

Quijano's concept of the coloniality of power serves as a crucial foundation for understanding how the co-constitutive processes of colonialism and capitalism have shaped a global system of power .[72] This system operates through a hierarchy of labor and a "logic of being" created by the "dominant imagination of the Western Empire.[73] This issue remains relevant and is clearly visible in the evolving power relations within the current global climate governance system, as coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom demonstrates that human cognitive and behavioral autonomy have been subjected to a profoundly Eurocentric domination..[74] Scholars such as Bhambra,[75] and Newell,[76] and another dimension show how the coloniality of power permeates geopolitical orders, knowledge systems, and even the very conditions of modernity.[77] Consequently, the perspective on the earth and relationship with it is often shaped by an extractive and hierarchical view.[78]

Mitigation and adaptation interventions for the climate crisis are indeed crucial. However, when climate policies, projects, and programs emerge from institutions and ideologies rooted in the legacies of colonialism, there is a risk of reproducing the same dependencies and exploitative practices. Not all climate actions are based on the rhetoric of mitigation or adaptation; many of them are geopolitical and economic strategies employed by both state and corporate actors. Furthermore, climate financing tends to favor investors and financial institutions in donor countries, while recipient nations bear the burden of debt.[79]

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[68] Gurminder K. Bhambra and Peter Newell, "More than a Metaphor: 'Climate Colonialism' in Perspective," *Global Social Challenges Journal* 2, no. 2 (December 2023): 179–87, https://doi.org/10.1332/EIEM6688.
[69] Goyes, *Green Crime in the Global South*.
[70] Sarah Kehler and S. Jeff Birchall, "Why History Matters to Planning: Climate Change, Colonialism & Maladaptation," *Environmental Science & Policy* 169 (July 2025): 104076, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2025.104076.
[71] Anis Hidayah et al., "Dampak Proyek Strategis Nasional Terhadap Hak Asasi Manusia."
[72] Tara Nair van Ryneveld and Mine Islar, "Coloniality as a Barrier to Climate Action: Hierarchies of Power in a Coal-Based Economy," *Antipode* 55, no. 3 (May 2023): 958–81, https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12907.
[73] Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (March 2007): 168–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601164353.
[74] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation--An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (September 2003): 257–337, https://doi.org/10.1353/ncr.2004.0015.
[75] Ramón Grosfoguel, "Geopolitics of Knowledge and Coloniality of Power: Thinking Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans from the Colonial Difference," in *Culture, Power, and History* (BRILL, 2006), 479–506, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047417088_019.
[76] Bhambra and Newell, "More than a Metaphor: 'Climate Colonialism' in Perspective."
[77] Bhambra and Newell.
[78] Bhambra and Newell.
[79] Kirsty Anantharajah and Abidah B. Setyowati, "Beyond Promises: Realities of Climate Finance Justice and Energy Transitions in Asia and the Pacific," *Energy Research & Social Science* 89 (July 2022): 102550, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2022.102550.

Global institutions are reproducing the debt-driven development schemes of the 20th century, and now a new form of coloniality emerges through climate projects and energy transitions that harm the Global South. The result is an increasingly segregated global landscape, widening the gap between those who benefit and those who are most vulnerable to the impacts of the climate crisis.[80]

Forms of power coloniality in climate resilience: first, extraterritorialization and resource acquisition.[81] Since 2008, between 45 and 227 million acres of land have been appropriated globally, with 90 million hectares of fertile land acquired by foreign investors.[82] About 54% of more than 5,000 energy transition mineral projects are located in or near Indigenous territories already facing food and water crises.[83] The rapid expansion of biofuel cultivation, carbon projects, and renewable energy, including new "resource frontiers" such as the Arctic, Greenland, and Antarctica, illustrates the persistence of colonial logics, now also advanced by state actors like China.[84] Second is the financialization of climate action.[85] Funding instruments such as green bonds and REDD+ schemes have created new dependencies through debt and economic control by the Global North. Carbon projects in Uganda, Cambodia, and Latin America benefit polluting Northern countries while causing local conflicts and ecosystem damage, revealing a new form of global financial colonialism.[86]

3. *Critical Analysis of Indonesia's Extractive Case of Policy for Geothermal and Nickel Industries*

Climate resilience should not be understood merely as a technical capacity to respond to shocks but must be approached through the lens of social justice. This approach integrates distributive, procedural, intergenerational, Reconation, corrective (restorative, and retributive dimensions), ensuring that resource allocation, participation, accountability, and intergenerational responsibilities are upheld.[87] Social Justice definition according to Rawls,[88] Dworkin,[89] and sen,[90] as a property of social systems in other words, as a "predicate of societies." This definition corresponds broadly to distributive, procedural, and interactional justice. A typology of social justice includes: (a) benefits and burdens in society must be distributed according to some allocation principle (or set of principles); (b) procedures, norms, and rules governing political and other forms of decision-making must preserve the basic rights, liberties, and entitlements of individuals and groups; and (c) human beings (and

[80] Anantharajah and Setyowati.
[81] Long, "The Coloniality of Climate Apartheid."
[82] Müller, "Energy Colonialism."
[83] John R. Owen et al., "Energy Transition Minerals and Their Intersection with Land-Connected Peoples," *Nature Sustainability* 6, no. 2 (December 2022): 203–11, https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-022-00994-6.
[84] Jason Hickel and Aljosa Slamersak, "Existing Climate Mitigation Scenarios Perpetuate Colonial Inequalities," *The Lancet Planetary Health* 6, no. 7 (July 2022): e628–31, https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196(22)00092-4.
[85] Kristen Lyons and Peter Westoby, "Carbon Colonialism and the New Land Grab: Plantation Forestry in Uganda and Its Livelihood Impacts," *Journal of Rural Studies* 36 (October 2014): 13–21, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2014.06.002.
[86] Lyons and Westoby.
[87] Jose Carlos Cañizares, Samantha Copeland, and Neelke Doorn, "Embedding Justice Considerations in Climate Resilience," *Ethics, Policy & Environment* 27, no. 1 (January 2024): 63–88, https://doi.org/10.1080/21550085.2023.2197824.
[88] John Rawls, *Justice as Fairness*, ed. Erin Kelly (Harvard University Press, 2001), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv31xf5v0.
[89] Ronald Dworkin, "What Is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 10, no. 4 (1981).
[90] Amartya Sen, "What Do We Want from a Theory of Justice?," *The Journal of Philosophy* 103, no. 5 (2006), https://doi.org/10.2307/20619936.

perhaps other species) must be treated with dignity and respect, not only by authorities but also by other relevant social actors, including fellow citizens.[91]

Mignolo and Walsh explain "colonial matrix of power," in which both the distribution of benefits and decision-making procedures privilege industrialized countries and national elites.[92] The implication is that climate law risks becoming an instrument for reproducing socio-economic-ecological injustices.[93] Law itself may serve as a form of "legalization" of unjust distributions, privileging dominant actors while excluding vulnerable groups. This contradicts the principles of distributive, procedural, corrective, and recognition justice that have been urged by Rawls,[94] Nozick,[95] Frankena,[96] Cohen,[97] Schlosberg & Collins.[98] Thus, principles of social justice the mandate of Article 28 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution and the State's obligations under international human rights instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966), as well as international environmental and climate regimes such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 1992) and the Paris Agreement .[99] National regulations, such as Government Regulation No. 79/2014 and Presidential Regulation No. 22/2017, have set ambitious targets for renewable energy use, aiming for at least 23% by 2025 and 31% by 2050. Indonesia has also ratified the Paris Agreement, which was subsequently incorporated into Law No. 16/2016. This commitment was reflected in Indonesia's first Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC), which includes an unconditional pledge to reduce emissions by 29% or 41% with international support by 2030.[100] In late 2022, Indonesia updated its NDC with the Enhanced NDC, raising the target for carbon emission reduction to 31.89% without international support and 43.20% with international support . Furthermore, the country aims to achieve net-zero emissions by 2060 or sooner.[101] The budget allocation for renewable energy infrastructure development began in 2023, amounting to approximately $6 million per year. Despite its significance, this figure remains minimal compared to subsidies and compensations for fossil-based energy.[102] [103]

[91] John T. Jost and Aaron C. Kay, "Social Justice: History, Theory, and Research," in *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Wiley, 2010), https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470561119.socpsy002030.
[92] Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality* (Duke University Press, 2018), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11g9616.
[93] Tuck, Yang, and Nixon, *New Approaches to Inequality Research with Youth*.
[94] Cañizares, Copeland, and Doorn, "Embedding Justice Considerations in Climate Resilience."
[95] Zhongmin Wu, "An Overview of Social Justice," in *Why Is Social Justice Possible?* (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2024), 11–61, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-5380-2_2.
[96] Jost and Kay, "Social Justice: History, Theory, and Research."
[97] G. A. Cohen, *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and Other Essays in Political Philosophy*, ed. Michael Otsuka (Princeton University Press, 2011), https://doi.org/10.23943/princeton/9780691148700.001.0001.
[98] Peter Newell et al., "Toward Transformative Climate Justice: An Emerging Research Agenda," *WIREs Climate Change* 12, no. 6 (November 2021), https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.733.
[99] Farhana Sultana, "Urgency, Complexities, and Strategies to Confront Climate Coloniality and Decolonize Pathways for Climate Justice," in *Confronting Climate Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2024), 1–27, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003465973-1.
[100] Goverment of Indonesia, "First Nationally Determined Contribution Submitted to UNFCCC," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*, 2016.
[101] Syaharani Syaharani and Muhammad Alfitras Tavares, "Nasib Target Emisi Indonesia: Pelemahan Instrumen Lingkungan Hidup Di Era Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional," *Jurnal Hukum Lingkungan Indonesia* 7, no. 1 (December 2020): 1–27, https://doi.org/10.38011/jhli.v7i1.212.
[102] Jazuli, Roll, and Mulugetta, "A Review of Indonesia's JETP through the Dynamics of Its Policy Regime."
[103] Climate Rights International, "Nikel Dikeduk: Dampak Industri Nikel Di Indonesia Terhadap Manusia Dan Iklim," 2024.

Needs-based justice emphasizes meeting the basic needs of vulnerable communities, such as access to food, housing, and disaster protection.[104] [105] From the decolonial perspective, this principle prioritizes the needs of the most vulnerable rather than external interests, contrasting with colonial logic that subordinated local communities to the demands of plantations and mining during the Dutch East Indies period. This pattern persists in the National Coastal Resilience Project in Semarang and Demak, supported by the World Bank, where massive seawalls and reclamation projects marginalized fishers and coastal residents displaced by tidal floods, creating ecological gentrification.[106] From the lens of coloniality of power, such projects reproduce global hierarchies, positioning international financial institutions and technocratic elites as primary actors while local communities remain passive recipients of impacts.

Egalitarian justice emphasizes the need to dismantle structural inequalities and to guarantee substantive equality in decision-making and benefit-sharing.[107] Through this approach, the discriminatory and exploitative logic of colonial development can be replaced with participatory and just governance that reduces the vulnerabilities of marginalized communities and restores their agency in shaping climate futures.[108] Coloniality gives rise to the *coloniality of being*, materialized in the systematic marginalization of Indigenous people and local communities. They are frequently disregarded in development processes, excluded from political and legal participation, and placed in subordinate positions through racial structures inherited from colonialism. This condition not only perpetuates social discrimination but also reinforces forms of ecocide, namely the destruction of ecosystems that sustain local communities, thereby increasing their vulnerability to development and climate projects. The mechanism of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) serves as a crucial instrument to ensure that Indigenous people and local communities obtain an equal position in determining the direction of development while safeguarding their rights to a sustainable environment.

Rights-based justice protects legal and human rights, including land tenure, environmental rights, and the recognition of local knowledge.[109] Under colonialism, Indigenous rights to land and resources were systematically dispossessed, and local knowledge was sidelined in favor of technocratic expertise.[110] Contemporary examples include geothermal projects in Gunung Salak and Halmahera, framed as green energy transitions but resulting in the dispossession of Indigenous *ulayat* lands without meaningful participation. This exemplifies epistemic coloniality, where technocratic knowledge is privileged over local

[104] David Miller, "Needs-Based Justice," in *Empirical Research and Normative Theory* (De Gruyter, 2020), 273–94, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110613797-014.
[105] Reibold, "Settler Colonialism, Decolonization, and Climate Change."
[106] Wulan Yanuarwati, "Proyek Tol Semarang-Demak Rusak Puluhan Hektar Mangrove," Mongabay, 2025.
[107] Walker et al., "Defining and Conceptualizing Equity and Justice in Climate Adaptation."
[108] Alex McLaughlin, "Global Egalitarianism and Climate Change: Against Integrationism," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, July 2024, 1–24, https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2024.2356993.
[109] Mary Menton et al., "Environmental Justice and the SDGs: From Synergies to Gaps and Contradictions," *Sustainability Science* 15, no. 6 (November 2020): 1621–36, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-020-00789-8.
[110] Keston K. Perry, "Epistemic Silences, Subversive Politics: Post-Disaster Economic Assessments as Technologies of Persistent Coloniality and Route to an Emancipatory Climate Justice Agenda in the Caribbean," *Climate and Development* 16, no. 9 (October 2024): 798–810, https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2024.2370926.

ecological knowledge.[111] Decolonial praxis requires restoring substantive rights (such as the right to a healthy environment under the Indonesian Constitution, Article 28H), ensuring procedural rights for full participation, and recognizing *rights of nature* as legal subjects.

Self-determination in climate resilience is crucial for local and Indigenous communities, who are often marginalized in climate policies and development projects.[112] In Indonesia, although self-determination is recognized by international instruments such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), its implementation remains weak. Development projects and climate policies are often carried out without the involvement of affected communities. Therefore, to create equitable and sustainable climate resilience, the right to self-determination must be respected and applied effectively in climate policies and projects. Public participation in Indonesia's energy sector remains constrained, particularly due to the threat of criminalization. Article 162 of the Mining Law allows people who oppose mining activities to be criminalized simply for "obstructing mining operations." Additionally, criminal defamation provisions in the Criminal Code further limit criticism of the state. This situation contradicts the principle of self-determination for local and Indigenous communities, and has a widespread impact on vulnerable communities such as Indigenous peoples, women, children, urban and rural poor, and other marginalized groups.[113]

Corrective justice demands remediation, accountability, and reparations for historical dispossession or environmental harm. Colonialism rarely provided restitution, treating ecological and social damages as "*development costs.*" This pattern continues in the case of forest fires by PT Kumai Sentosa in Kalimantan, where the company was only fined administratively without ecological restoration or social reparations for affected communities.[114] Decolonial praxis requires a combination of punitive sanctions (retributive), ecological restoration (restorative), and historical reparations for Indigenous communities affected by intergenerational land dispossession.[115] A critical climate justice framework demands structural transformation that dismantles systemic inequality and power hierarchies underlying the climate crisis.[116] This approach emphasizes reflexivity and collective action, primarily through legal and policy mechanisms, to avoid reinforcing existing colonial power through false solutions.[117] Indonesia's geothermal and energy transition policies, such as mineral downstreaming and expansion of renewable energy, are framed as green responses to climate urgency. These projects disproportionately affect Indigenous and local communities located near extraction and development sites.[118]

Understanding climate vulnerability through a critical lens requires addressing deeper roots, including colonial histories, racial hierarchies, and global capitalism that marginalize

[111] Faisal Bin Islam et al., "Climate Coloniality and Settler Colonialism: Adaptation and Indigenous Futurities," *Political Geography* 114 (October 2024): 103164, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2024.103164.
[112] Pusat Studi Hukum & Kebijakan Indonesia (PSHK), "Transisi Energi Yang Adil Di Indonesia: Analisis Kesenjangan Regulasi Dalam Aspek Perlindungan Kelompok Terdampak," 2023.
[113] Reibold, "Settler Colonialism, Decolonization, and Climate Change."
[114] Budi Baskoro, "Konsesi Terbakar, Perusahaan Sawit Di Kalteng Kena Hukum Bayar Rp175 Miliar," Mongabay, 2021.
[115] Cañizares, Copeland, and Doorn, "Embedding Justice Considerations in Climate Resilience."
[116] Mehta et al., "Transformation as Praxis: Responding to Climate Change Uncertainties in Marginal Environments in South Asia."
[117] Sultana, "Critical Climate Justice."
[118] Paul Wapner and Hilal Elver, eds., *Reimagining Climate Change* (Abingdon, Oxon : Routledge, Earthscan, 2016.: Routledge, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315671468.

communities in the Global South.[119] The concept of *coloniality* reveals how global power operates today through development and resource governance,[120] including "green" transitions.[121] Focusing only on North and South inequalities risks overlooking domestic forms of internal colonialism through displacement, exclusion, and dispossession within national policy.[122] Green growth narratives in Indonesian law promise prosperity without challenging unequal power or resource distribution. Large-scale geothermal, hydroelectric, and carbon offset projects have triggered green gentrification in Indonesia, where local communities lose access to land, water, and livelihoods in the name of low-carbon development.[123] Without these, environmental and energy law risk serving neoliberal ends and entrenching coloniality.[124] In this climate crisis period, Indonesia must reimagine its legal and policy frameworks on energy transition beyond carbon metrics towards decolonial, redistributive, and justice-based approaches.

Conclusion

The extraction of nickel and the development of geothermal energy in the Global South, particularly in Indonesia, exemplify how colonial logics and fossil fuel-based capitalism persist despite claims of a green and sustainable energy transition. Nickel, as a strategic commodity in the development of electric vehicles and green technology, along with geothermal projects touted as environmentally friendly, are in fact exacerbating social and ecological inequalities. These sectors sacrifice indigenous lands, ecosystems, and local communities' rights to support consumption patterns in developed countries. This practice demonstrates how the imperial mode of living remains intact, even within national development narratives and sustainable energy goals, while marginalizing communities in the Global South. Indonesia's nickel and geothermal resilience under National Strategic Projects (PSN) has reproduced colonial maladaptation, policies framed as climate solutions instead reinforce structural dependence and deepen socio-ecological inequalities. The state and industry-promoted green development discourse, which acts as a continuation of colonial projects, turning resource-rich areas into sacrifice zones for global energy needs. While Indonesia is portrayed as a key player in the energy transition, profits flow primarily to multinational corporations, and local communities bear the costs of land dispossession, environmental harm, social injustice, and human rights violations.

Recommendations are essential to strengthen legal certainty that acknowledges the social injustices caused by the climate crisis, especially in the implementation of adaptation efforts for indigenous communities, local populations, and other vulnerable groups recognized as environmental representatives for joint meaningful participation. As the groups

[119] Mary Robinson and Tara Shine, "Achieving a Climate Justice Pathway to 1.5 °C," *Nature Climate Change* 8, no. 7 (July 2018): 564–69, https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-018-0189-7.
[120] Sultana, "Critical Climate Justice."
[121] John Abraham, "A People's Green New Deal," *New Political Science* 44, no. 2 (June 2022): 353–54, https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2022.2086744.
[122] Michael Mikulewicz et al., "Intersectionality & Climate Justice: A Call for Synergy in Climate Change Scholarship," *Environmental Politics* 32, no. 7 (November 2023): 1275–86, https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2023.2172869.
[123] Mimi Sheller, "Mobility Justice after Climate Coloniality: Mobile Commoning as a Relational Ethics of Care," *Australian Geographer* 54, no. 4 (October 2023): 433–47, https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2023.2178247.
[124] Mikulewicz et al., "Intersectionality & Climate Justice: A Call for Synergy in Climate Change Scholarship."

bearing the heaviest burdens, justice must be ensured through mechanisms of self-determination in implementing energy resilience and economic programs in their regions. National energy policies should prioritize social-ecological justice, avoid dependence on exploitative growth, and ensure sustainability for local communities. Strengthening legal protections for indigenous communities and ensuring transparent monitoring of energy projects will guarantee that the energy transition toward sustainability does not sacrifice justice for those most affected. Through this approach, more just and sustainable energy development can be achieved, ending harmful consumption patterns and prioritizing the interests of marginalized groups.

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