

Society and the State: The Movement to Protect the Living Space of Indigenous People on Bengkalis Island

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze community movements and efforts made by the state to protect the living space (territory) of indigenous peoples on Bengkalis Island. For generations, indigenous people have used the mangrove forest area as a living space. On the way, the indigenous people found that their living space was damaged and narrowed, which they understood but were unable to control. This research is qualitative, obtaining data through observation, interviews, and aggregate data. The research data is then analyzed following a logical flow built and adjusted to the flow of field research data. The resource mobilization theory was used as a guide. This research found that facing the rate of mangrove destruction as a living space, indigenous tribes can only adapt slowly by utilizing the remaining open resources and opportunities. The community movement to protect mangrove forests as a living space for indigenous people on Bengkalis Island is still limited to being carried out by the indigenous people. The new movement is only in the form of building relationships with officials who have power in the region,

hoping that indigenous people can carry out their traditional activities, namely utilizing mangrove forests as their living space. This movement is far from successful. In the form of the Regional Environmental Protection and Management Policy, local government policy keeps indigenous people away from mangrove forests as their living space.

1. INTRODUCTION

Fundamentally, communities and the state are always in relational tension. Though, in the tradition of democratization, the community substantively has sovereignty over the territory and resources that exist on it, because the state formally has the authority to regulate the territory and population, there will always be a clash of interests. On the one hand, the community is interested in retaining the right to control its ownership, while on the other hand, the state wants the community's submission to the rules set based on its authority (Roberts, 2020).

For the community, living space is seen as a unit of territory where humans and other creatures live, carry out activities, and maintain their survival. This is something very important as a place to live, get income to support themselves and their families, get a sense of security, and so on. Threats to living space can come from anywhere, especially when there is no certainty of control rights over the living space. In the case of indigenous people, the problem of living space is complex because ownership of living space as a customary right is not based on state recognition. The indigenous people argue that they were the first group of settlers on the island of Bengkalis and view mangrove forests as their living space since long before Indonesia's independence. In mangrove forests, indigenous people get raw materials to build houses, process mangrove wood into charcoal and sell it to meet their needs, and get fish, shrimp, crabs, etc. In its development, the indigenous people found that their living space could no longer provide carrying capacity to meet their needs. The destruction of mangrove forests was so severe that they were accused of being the ones who participated in the destruction. In addition, the state limits the access of indigenous peoples to mangrove forests (Ferreira et al., 2022).

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Bengkalis Island is one of the six islands in Bengkalis Regency, which has mangrove forests reaching 15,039 ha spread around the island. Mangrove forest areas that are under severe pressure are in the north-coast area bordering the Malacca Strait. The area of mangrove forest in the area reaches 9,133 ha. Ecologically, the physical environment of the region is favorable for the growth and development of mangrove forests. There are three rivers that drain into the North Coast of Bengkalis Island and become a source of freshwater flow. Mud content (sediment) ranges from 5%–85%, organic matter is 50%, and salinity is 26–32 ppm. Sea conditions are calm to rather strong, with wave heights between 0.4 and 2.7 m and speeds of 0.1–5 knots. These natural environmental conditions should support the sustainability of mangrove forests. However, due to uncontrolled and long-standing utilization, mangrove forests have been destroyed, thus reducing their function as coastal protection due to abrasion. The occurrence of mangrove forest destruction and abrasion has not been a serious concern for the community and government, even though the impact has been felt (Indarsih & Masruri, 2019).

The composition of mangrove species on the North Coast of Bengkalis Island consists of nine tree species. The dominant species are api-api (*Avicennia marina*), mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*), and lenggadai (*Bruguiera cylindrica*). The density of individuals per hectare in the sapling stratum reached 1,897 trees, while the sapling stratum was 1,341 trees and the tree stratum was only 849 phn/ha. Utilization of mangrove forests by the community includes the collection of wood for building or piling, charcoal raw materials, firewood, and conversion into ponds. The average annual utilization for building or piling wood is 2,812 trees, charcoal wood is 3,217 trees, and firewood for households is 2,444 trees, while firewood for the brick industry reaches 7,657 trees. As a result of uncontrolled utilization, mangrove forest damage occurs, namely the decline in tree density every year, which ranges from 0.32% to 1.6%, or an average of 0.79%. This decrease in tree density is equivalent to a reduction of 61,255 trees each year. This damage causes a decrease in the physical ability of mangrove forests to resist abrasion. Mangrove forest damage and abrasion are related to community perceptions of mangrove forests. Most (39.43%) stated that mangrove forests are only a source of forest products, and the level of public awareness to maintain them is also very low (4.57%), while most (56.00%) realize the importance of mangrove forests but do not perform maintenance (Mulyadi & Hamidy, 2021).

The destruction of mangrove forests as a living space for indigenous people, of course, did not take place suddenly but has been going on for a long time, namely when indigenous people are no longer able to control mangrove forests, which are considered their customary land. The presence of investors engaged in mangrove charcoal burning (Panglong Arang), which makes indigenous people laborers who supply raw materials in the form of mangrove wood, is seen as the cause of mangrove forest destruction and positions the indigenous people as the accused (Buchwinkler, 2022; Rawichutiwan, 2019). In addition, investment in shrimp ponds is another cause that causes mangrove forests to be unable to be rehabilitated. Basically, both the contribution of charcoal panglongs and shrimp ponds is inseparable from the position of the government as a policymaker who gives space for massive exploitation of mangrove forests. After the mangrove forest was severely damaged, how did the indigenous people protect their living space, and how did the local government protect the living space of the indigenous people? This question is explored in this research.

2. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative research approach with descriptive methods. In collecting data, researchers use interview methods, observations, related documents, pictures, and other qualitative data sources. The data that has been collected will then be analyzed systematically, namely by using the interactive data analysis method, namely: data reduction is the stage of selecting, focusing on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming rough data that emerges from written notes from the field; data presentation is the stage of compiling information that provides the possibility of drawing conclusions and taking action; and drawing conclusions is the final process where there is a drawing of meaning from the data that has been displayed.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Movement perspectives with resource mobilization tactics not only take the form of interaction between the movement and accepted authority, but social movement organizations also have strategic measures. For example, mobilizing supporters, neutralizing and transforming public leaders into sympathizers, and achieving their goals. Resource mobilization at least goes through stages: mobilization of moral resources, namely mobilizing legitimacy, support, solidarity, public sympathy, and famous figures; mobilization of cultural resources, which is a cultural product owned by social movement actors. This resource is closely related to the concept of a stock of knowledge owned by social movement actors.

Mobilizing social-organizational resources is a category that includes social organizations that are deliberately created specifically to achieve movement goals. Mobilizing human resources is a category that includes actors along with their experience and expertise. This is more about individuals who have something like certain skills, expertise, and experience that fit the needs of a social movement. Material Resources Mobilization is a type that consists of economic resources commonly referred to as financial capital and physical capital. These include money, property, buildings, offices, and so on. Money is very important for social movements. No matter how much other resources or support members have, mobilization will not take place if there is no money to pay for it (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2017; Villamayor-Tomas & García-López, 2018) from the perspective of the resource mobilization movement, the Indigenous Peoples Movement's commitment to protecting mangroves as their living space is still limited to the Moral Resources Mobilization stage, namely mobilizing legitimacy, support, solidarity, community sympathy, and famous figures. Other stages do not yet exist, so in the future, outside intervention is needed.

Indigenous Movement to Protect Their Living Space

The indigenous people have differences from most people on Bengkalis Island, and it cannot be denied that, until now, the indigenous people are still less concerned with modern things and still maintain their traditional cultural characteristics. They live in groups that separate themselves formally from the general cultural order because they have their own cultural style and a value system that determines different socio-economic and political institutions, either partially or completely (Ostiguy, 2017). This condition puts the Indigenous People in a state of remoteness and even a minority group on Bengkalis Island. The Indigenous People live in remote areas on Bengkalis Island, have the status of a Remote Indigenous Community (KAT), and are also a community classified as Persons with Social Welfare Problems (PMKS) with marginal conditions. Previously, the Indigenous Peoples were known as Orang Hutan by most of the Malay community on Bengkalis Island. The Orang Asli community isolated themselves from outside cultural influences, thus showing significant differences from the rest of society. With strong ties to ancestral origins and governing values, the Indigenous Peoples have a high dependence on land, territory, and natural resources (hak ulayat) related to the existence of mangroves on Bengkalis Island (Mizuno et al., 2023).

Utilization activities in mangrove areas by indigenous people have existed for generations as a legacy from ancestors who were managed long before the republic was formed. Indigenous people utilize mangrove areas to find wood as the main raw material for making charcoal, kitchen firewood, and building foundation material, and then the results are used to meet their needs. All these activities are carried out traditionally and using traditional tools. Charcoal is traditionally made by making a hole in the ground as a place to burn. The indigenous people do not have the convenience of carrying out their traditional activities due to the existence of mangroves on Bengkalis Island. This is due to the absence of permission from the local government for the indigenous people to take advantage of the existence of mangroves on Bengkalis Island. The absence of permission is utilized by irresponsible parties to take advantage of the problems faced by the Indigenous People, namely in the form of requests for illegal deposits (extortion) under the pretext of being the party that provides security guarantees and threats from journalists and NGOs so that their activities are not reported to the authorities. An alternative way to ensure the smooth running of activities is to make deposits to these irresponsible parties, but due to a lack of capital to make deposits, the traditional activities of the Indigenous People are currently controlled by capital owners.

In response to these conditions, the indigenous people tried to build relationships with district officials and convey their aspirations through one of the people's representatives in the Bengkalis Regency. relationships with district officials and convey their aspirations through one of the people's representatives in the Bengkalis Regency. The official in question is the Regional Head of Bengkalis Regency for the 2016-2021 period. The status of the Regional Head, who is a descendant of one of the three tribes of Indigenous Peoples in Bengkalis Regency, is utilized by the Indigenous Peoples to convey the local government's efforts to make it easier to carry out traditional activities on mangroves. This submission was positively responded to by the Regional Head of Bengkalis Regency, namely the Regent of Bengkalis, Mr. Amril Mukminin. Although their activities do not require a permit, the Regional Head will try to provide security guarantees through internal bureaucratic ranks in order to provide leeway for the activities of the Indigenous Peoples. According to Datuk Hendi Cong Meng, the head of the batin (leader) of the indigenous people, Regent Amirul Mukmin is quite considerate, not telling them to take charcoal raw materials in the mangrove forest but also not prohibiting them. According to Cong Meng, the requests of the Indigenous People regarding the smooth running of their traditional activities continue to be communicated, even though the relationship was established long before Mr. Amril

Mukminin became the Regent of Bengkalis Regency, namely when Cong Meng became the regent's success team.

The efforts made by the Indigenous Peoples resulted in the issuance of the Regional Environmental Protection and Management (PPLHD) policy in 2018, which regulates mangroves and continues to recognize the existence of Indigenous Peoples with the inauguration of the Indigenous Family Association of Batin Suku Asli (IKBBSA).

In addition to building good relations with the Regional Head, the lack of ease in carrying out their existence on Bengkalis Island has made the Indigenous People try to complain about their fate through the people's representatives in the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government. One of them is through the Bengkalis Regency House of Representative for the Bantan-Bengkalis District. The purpose of conveying these aspirations is related to the lack of ease in carrying out traditional activities on mangroves, the many threats and activities requesting illegal deposits, and the condition of the mangrove area, which is increasingly damaged due to the presence of private parties and the general public. These problems have an impact on the limitations of the indigenous people, making their condition more marginalized. The efforts made also received a positive response from one of the members of the Bengkalis Regency House of Representative for the Bantan-Bengkalis District.

However, until now, there has been no attitude or response from the Bengkalis Regency Government. The aspirations conveyed are only accommodated just like that in order to attract the attention and sympathy of the Indigenous People, as if the Bengkalis Regency Government is present in addressing the problems faced at this time. It seems that the Bengkalis Regency Government views the problems of the Indigenous People as limited to socio-economic welfare issues. The condition of the Indigenous People as Persons with Social Welfare Problems (PMKS) has made the Bengkalis Regency Government try to address these problems by providing promises in the form of stimulant assistance in the form of livable houses, rainwater reservoirs, and educational assistance.

If we refer to the problems faced by the Indigenous Peoples, then the attitude of the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government is not very correlated with the problems that occur. The socio-economic problems that occur are clearly due to the lack of convenience in carrying out traditional activities. So, assistance in any form will not affect the problems that occur in the Indigenous People on Bengkalis Island because the socio-economic problems defined by the local government as Persons with Social Welfare Problems (PMKS) are characteristics inherent in an Indigenous group entity, namely the Indigenous People who cling to their traditional values and reject things that smell modern.

The attitude of the Bengkalis Regency Government, which is not very correlated with the problems in the field, is reinforced by the deliberate intention not to address the problems that actually occur to the Indigenous Peoples. The Bengkalis Regency Government seems to have deliberately silenced the issue of this problem, and until now there has been no issue that has developed in the executive or legislative branches regarding follow-up in the form of a policy plan to determine the status of the Indigenous Peoples as Indigenous Peoples after the inauguration of the Kebatinan Institute in 2018, such as the Remote Indigenous Community (KAT), which refers to the definition and criteria for the existence of Indigenous Peoples. So, the delivery of aspirations through one of the people's representatives in the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government also does not make a progressive contribution to the problem of its existence on Bengkalis Island. Instead, it becomes feedback that further marginalizes its existence on Bengkalis Island. It is said that this is because the aspirations conveyed are simply accommodated without the intention of fighting for them; even the responses given are not very correlated with the problems that occur.

Based on the explanation that has been presented regarding the struggle of the Indigenous People to obtain traditional activity rights (ulayat rights) for the existence of mangroves on Bengkalis Island, we can see that the efforts made by the Indigenous People have not shown progressive results. The protections responded to by the power authority holders in the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government are only as if they are concerned about the condition of the existence of the Indigenous Peoples on Bengkalis Island as Indigenous Peoples, which is the basis of the legal umbrella for the implementers in implementing PPLHD policies related to mangroves on Bengkalis Island. Based on the overall explanation of the findings that have been presented, it can be concluded that the role of the Indigenous People in protecting their existence on Bengkalis Island is a struggle to obtain traditional rights (ulayat rights) for the existence of mangroves on Bengkalis Island. The effort is to build a good relationship with the Regional Head of Bengkalis Regency and convey their aspirations through one of the Bengkalis Regency House of Representative Members from the Bantan-Bengkalis District. However, the aspirations conveyed were only accommodated, and even the responses given by the owners of power authority in the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government were not very correlated with the problems that occurred regarding the existence of Indigenous Peoples on Bengkalis Island.

Currently, the indigenous people take for granted the problems that occur regarding the protection of their existence on Bengkalis Island. The Bengkalis Regency Government has succeeded in building a positive image, which is as if it has tried to solve its problems and help ease their burden through promises that have not been realized until now, after the issuance of the PPLHD policy or after the inauguration of the IKBBSA Kebatinan Institution on Bengkalis Island. Furthermore, the Bengkalis Regency Government has also succeeded in instilling the value that the problems related to the licensing of traditional activities of the Indigenous Peoples are caused by the chaotic administrative processes and policy rules that exist in this country. So, the efforts made by the Indigenous People are actually further marginalizing their existence on Bengkalis Island in the hope of getting the promised assistance in stages.

Local Government Policies to Protect the Living Space of Indigenous Peoples

Mangroves as a living space for indigenous people are a natural resource located in the tidal coastal areas of the tropics. Loss and damage to mangroves will certainly damage the ecosystem within and can cause various negative impacts. Mangroves are proven to protect the coast from the threat of abrasion. Mangroves are important habitats for fish, shrimp, crabs, water birds, and marine mammals. Mangroves are the most productive of any terrestrial ecosystem in the world. Mangroves are the beginning of the coastal food chain. In addition to the threat of abrasion, the loss and destruction of mangrove ecosystems causes fish populations to decline, resulting in reduced fishing yields. Damage and loss of mangrove ecosystems also trigger the release of greenhouse gases (GHG), such as carbon dioxide (CO₂) and methane (CH₄). This means that mangrove damage and loss are one of the triggers of global warming due to increased concentrations of GHGs in the atmosphere. (Onrizal, 2018)

In an effort to address the problem of mangrove damage that occurred, the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government made a policy outlined in Bengkalis Regency Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2018 concerning Regional Environmental Protection and Management, or PPLHD policy. In the PPLHD policy, the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government seeks to preserve and restore environmental functions and prevent damage and pollution. Mangroves are one of Indonesia's natural resources. This one natural wealth has great potential for the benefit of the community as well as the land located in the coastal waters, so it needs to be considered and preserved for its existence. Natural resources are all that come from the earth and have benefits and use value for the existence of the earth itself, including those who inhabit it. All parts of our natural environment are resources. Natural resource management, such as mangroves, is essential for human survival.

The PPLHD policy has specifically regulated mangroves, which are a group of plant species that grow in tidal areas of tropical and sub-tropical regions ranging from areas near the mean sea level to areas inundated by the highest tides, which are tolerant of water salinity and anaerobic soil conditions. In addition, the policy also contains efforts to control mangrove damage, including control and prevention, namely: limitation of mangrove ecosystem utilization activities; mitigation of mangrove ecosystem damage; restoration of mangrove ecosystem damage; prevention of mangrove ecosystem damage carried out through efforts to establish standard criteria for mangrove ecosystem damage; establishment of environmental permits; and monitoring of mangrove ecosystems.

PPLHD policy also regulates monitoring of mangroves carried out by authorized agencies in the environmental sector. This is as stated in the Bengkalis Regency PPLHD policy, namely: Mangrove ecosystem monitoring is carried out by the authorized agency in the field of environment in accordance with its authority. The monitoring in question is carried out to determine the level of change in the function of mangrove ecosystems and obtain material for developing policies for the protection and management of mangrove ecosystems. Mangrove monitoring is carried out through several activities as outlined in the Bengkalis Regency PPLHD policy, namely: mangrove ecosystem monitoring includes data and data interpretation activities; reporting; making monitoring designs; selecting ecosystem characteristics; field observations; and processing. Mangrove ecosystem monitoring is carried out at least once a year.

In addition, the PPLHD policy also regulates the mitigation of mangrove damage that must be carried out by everyone who damages mangroves and restores mangroves affected by damage. For the preservation and protection of mangrove functions and supporting ecosystems, local governments are required to carry out their authority and responsibility actively and in coordination with the provincial government. In this case, the responsible agency is, of course, the agency in the environmental sector, namely the Bengkalis Regency Environment Agency (DLH). So, the PPLHD policy is a political product of the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government, which regulates specifically mangroves, efforts to control and prevent mangrove damage, monitor the existence and function of mangroves, mitigate and restore mangrove damage, and the Regional Government is obliged to carry out its authority and responsibility actively and coordinated with the Provincial Government.

The PPLHD policy also regulates the protection of the existence of Indigenous Peoples through recognition of their existence, traditional activities, and local wisdom. In addition to functioning as a fortress from the threat of abrasion disasters, the existence of mangroves also plays a very large role in maintaining the existence of Indigenous Peoples, in this case the Indigenous Peoples on Bengkalis Island. The existence of Indigenous Peoples on Bengkalis Island is strongly influenced by mangroves, whose existence is currently quite alarming on Bengkalis Island.

Mangroves are plants that are very influential on the resilience of coastal areas from the impact of sea waves that have an impact on land erosion, so it is very necessary to maintain their sustainability. Therefore, the indigenous people organize governance with their local wisdom because their lives are very dependent on the existence of mangroves and mangrove sustainability, which ensures the integrity of their residential areas.

In the PPLHD Policy, the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government seeks to protect the interests of Indigenous Peoples because of their high dependence on the existence of natural resources that affect the environment. This is the principle of implementing the PPLHD policy, one of which is based on the principle of local wisdom. The local wisdom in question is the rules that have been inherited in the community for generations in the protection and management of mangroves to maintain their existence, sustainability, and function. Of course, one of these local wisdom systems is the customary rules owned by Indigenous Peoples in Bengkalis Regency, including the Indigenous Tribal Peoples on Bengkalis Island. This is as expressed by the Regional Head of Bengkalis Regency, namely the Regent of Bengkalis, Amril Mukminin, in his remarks at the inauguration of the Kebatinan Institute of the Batin Suku Asli Family Association (IKKBSA), which at that time was represented by the Regional Secretary of Bengkalis Regency, Mr. Bustami. HY, he said that in Bengkalis Regency, especially in Bantan and Bengkalis Districts, the condition of forests and rivers is decreasing day by day; for this reason, mangrove logging needs to be regulated with a local wisdom system. As a customary leader of the Indigenous Tribe is not light, the mandate given should be carried out with full responsibility because the customary leader is a person who is exaggerated a step and exalted a level. Through this inauguration, we hope that the customary leaders of the Indigenous Tribe will continue to have rules that ensure the preservation of forests and rivers, namely local wisdom, which is the benchmark for the success of indigenous tribes in preserving forests and rivers (Singgalen & Simange, 2018; Wahyu, 2018). In addition, the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government also has the duty and authority to implement policies on procedures for recognizing the existence of Indigenous Peoples as outlined in the PPLHD Policy, namely: The Regional Government has the duty and authority to implement policies regarding procedures for recognizing the existence of Indigenous Peoples (MHA), local wisdom, and the rights of Indigenous Peoples (MHA) related to environmental protection and management at the regional level.

The Bengkalis Regency PPLHD policy that recognizes the existence of Indigenous Peoples refers to the Environmental Protection and Management (PPLH) policy of the Central Government as outlined in Indonesian Law No. 32 of 2009, which states that in environmental protection and management, district and city governments are tasked and authorized to implement policies regarding procedures for recognizing the existence of Indigenous Peoples (MHA), local wisdom, and the rights of Indigenous Peoples (MHA) related to environmental protection and management at the district and city level. With the recognition of the existence of Indigenous Peoples in the PPLHD policy, it can be seen that there is a form of protection effort made by the Central Government to the level of local government to ensure the existence of Indigenous Peoples. The PPLHD policy of Bengkalis Regency contains all matters relating to the environment, including mangroves. In the implementation of the policy, it also recognizes the existence of Indigenous Peoples. The recognition of the existence of Indigenous Peoples refers to policies that are higher, namely policies from the government at the central level. The purpose of the recognition carried out by the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government as outlined in the PPLHD policy is none other than to support the successful implementation of the policy and also to ensure the existence and welfare of Indigenous Peoples.

Based on the explanation of the PPLHD policy of Bengkalis Regency, which regulates mangroves and is accompanied by the protection of the existence of Indigenous Peoples, in this case, the Indigenous Peoples certainly have rights to land, territory, and natural resources, namely mangroves, enforce and carry out customary law provisions related to PPLHD, and have the right to impose customary sanctions against violations of customary provisions in the management of natural resources and the environment. Customary sanctions are carried out in accordance with customary provisions, and the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government must respect customary sanctions determined by Indigenous Peoples in the management of natural resources and the environment. The recognition in the PPLHD policy is a form of effort from the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government to protect the existence of Indigenous Peoples, one of which is the Indigenous Peoples on Bengkalis Island. However, this recognition must, of course,

be accompanied by a commitment from the Indigenous Peoples to preserve the mangroves with their local wisdom.

So, the PPLHD policy of Bengkalis Regency related to mangroves is a political product of the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government, which regulates the recognition of the existence of Indigenous Peoples, traditional activities, and local wisdom of Indigenous Peoples. In addition, one of the principles of policy implementation is carried out based on the principle of local wisdom. The PPLHD policy is used as a basis by the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government to provide protection for the existence of Indigenous Peoples, including Indigenous Tribal Peoples, on Bengkalis Island.

Based on the explanation that has been presented regarding one of the roles of the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government in providing protection for the existence of Indigenous Peoples, we can see that the PPLHD policy has embedded the principle of local wisdom as one of the principles of policy implementation and protects the existence of Indigenous Peoples. The effort to protect is a political action in the form of a policy from the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government. However, when connected between the protection contained in the PPLHD policy and the problem of licensing the traditional activities of the Ali Tribe, the author finds something very contradictory from the policy implementer.

The implementation of the PPLHD policy is handed over to one of the Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD) within the Bengkalis Regency Regional Government, namely the Bengkalis Regency Environmental Service (DLH). The policy implementer is so complicated in addressing the problems that occur regarding permits for traditional activities of Indigenous Peoples in connection with the PPLHD policy, one of which is based on local wisdom and recognizes the existence of Indigenous Peoples. This is because, according to the opinion of the OPD, no permit is given because the existence of mangroves is a resource categorized as a forestry resource, as the authority in the forestry sector has become the authority of the provincial government, including the management permit carried out by the Indigenous Peoples (Lobubun et al., 2018; Sari et al., 2018).

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The community movement to provide protection for mangrove forests as a living space for indigenous peoples on Bengkalis Island is still limited to being carried out by indigenous peoples themselves. The new movement only takes the form of building relationships with officials who have power in the region in the hope that indigenous people can carry out their traditional activities, namely utilizing mangrove forests as their living space. This movement is far from successful. Local government policy, in the form of the Regional Environmental Protection and Management Policy, keeps indigenous people away from mangrove forests as their living space.

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