REGIONAL DISPUTATION BETWEEN NORTH HALMAHERA AND WEST HALMAHERA REGENCIES, 2003-2010

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ABSTRACT

Ideally, the proliferation of the administrative region is aimed at improving the welfare of society. In reality, the proliferation of the administrative region often triggers the regional disputation. The regional disputation between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies is one of the cases that took a long time. There are six villages that contested in this regional disputation, namely Dum-Dum, Gamsungi/Akesahu, Akelamo Kao, Tetewang, Bobane Igo, and Pasir Putih. At first, the government of the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies coordinated to settle their region boundaries. But it develops to the status issue of the six villages: are the six villages part of the North Halmahera or the West Halmahera regencies. This research is aimed at explaining the regional disputation between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies, 2003-2010. The method used in this research is the historical method, which consists of four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The result of this research indicates there are cultural dimension that colored this regional disputation and there is a role of local political elites (DPRD Halmahera Utara).

KEYWORDS: the regional disputation, cultural dimension, local political elites, North Halmahera, West Halmahera

INTRODUCTION

Regional disputation or what is also known as spatial conflict (Harmantyo, 2007) occurs due to unclear boundaries between two different regions. It is undeniable that the regional disputation that occur in Indonesia are one of the impacts of the proliferating of the administrative region that have been rife since the implementation of regional autonomy (Santoso, 2012, p. 279). Reporting from the Tempo website, in 2015, there are eighty regional disputation cases occurred between autonomous regions in Indonesia. In the report, it was also stated that some of the eighty cases had lasted for ten or even fifteen years (Tempo, 2015, December 30). This news showed that there are quite a lot of regional disputation cases in Indonesia and the resolution process takes quite
a long time.

One of the cases that took a long time was the regional disputation that occurred between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies. After the formation of the North Halmahera regency in 2003, the governments of the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies immediately coordinated to determine their regional boundaries. In the progress of the settlement of this boundary determination, problem arises regarding the status of six villages, namely Dum-Dum, Gamsungi/Akesahu, Akelamo Kao, Tetewang, Bobane Igo, and Pasir Putih. Are the six villages included in the North Halmahera or West Halmahera regencies? Based on Peraturan Pemerintah No. 42 Tahun 1999 and Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003, the six villages were included in the North Halmahera regency. However, the entry of the six villages in the North Halmahera regency received a negative response from the people of the six villages themselves and the government of the West Halmahera regency.

From the side of the people of the six villages, there is a desire to join the West Halmahera regency. The people of six villages, through their village-heads, expressed their desire to join West Halmahera regency as seen in Surat No. 03/KSP/2003. According to Aini (2012), the refusal of the people of the six villages to join North Halmahera regency is the starting point of identity contestation that occurs between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regency. The government of the West Halmahera regency itself responded to the letter by continuing to provide services to the people of the six villages. According to Hasyim (2010), "this is the starting point of the conflict over the territory of the six villages between the West Halmahera and the North Halmahera regencies" (p. 12). Responding to this, the government of the North Halmahera regency expressed its position to secure Peraturan Pemerintah No. 42 Tahun 1999 and Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003 (Keputusan DPRD Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2005).

Since 2004, the governments of the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies have been conducting negotiations on this issue. These negotiations were facilitated by the provincial government of the North Maluku and several times involved the people from the six villages. At the same time, the government of the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies began to provide services to the people of the six villages. During its development, the two regencies formed a new sub-district to shorten the span of control while maximizing services to the people of the six villages. The West Halmahera regency formed Jailolo Timur sub-district and the North Halmahera regency formed the Kao Teluk sub-district. This resulted in the six villages being included in two different sub-districts from two different regencies. In addition, the governments of the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies built and improved health and education facilities for the people of the six villages (Hasyim, 2010, p. 47-52).

In early 2010, the Minister of Home Affairs issued a letter confirming the status of the six villages, namely Surat Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 146.3/111/SJ. The letter stated that the six villages are part of the North Halmahera regency in accordance with Peraturan Pemerintah No.
42 Tahun 1999 and Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003 (Buletin Pemda Halut, 2010).

The regional disputation between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies is interesting to study using historical methods and perspectives. Before the authors conducted this study, there had been several studies. The first study is Aziz Hasyim's (2010) thesis which analyses the regional disputation between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies. In his study, Hasyim showed that the refusal of the people of the six village to join the North Halmahera regency could not be separated from their rejection of the Makian Malifut sub-district which was formed in 1999. According to Hasyim, this rejection was related to the socio-cultural background, namely the ethnic differences between the people of the six villages and majority of the people of the Makian Malifut sub-district – Makian Malifut sub-district was formed in 1999 in response to the status of the residents of the Makian island who were relocated on the mainland of Halmahera. The second study is an article by Nurul Aini (2012) which sees that the proliferating of the administrative region has become a trigger for conflict between different ethnic groups, where this conflict often leads to violence which is then routinized and develops into identity markers. According to Aini, the rejection and partiality of the people of the six villages led to the difference in identity between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera. It can be seen that these two previous studies saw socio-cultural factors in the regional disputation that occurred between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies.

These two previous studies adequately show the complexity of the regional disputation between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies. However, these two studies are studies of regional development and sociology. The research conducted by the author wants to see how the dynamics of the regional disputation between the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies using historical methods and perspectives. As a historical study, it is important to determine the temporal and spatial boundaries of this research. This is inseparable from the nature of historical science which pays attention to particular matters. The temporal limits selected in this study were 2003-2010. And the spatial boundaries are the six villages that contested by the North Halmahera and the West Halmahera regencies.

The method used in this research is the historical method which consists of four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The first stage is heuristics, namely searching and collecting primary and secondary sources. The second stage is criticism, which is to test the authenticity and credibility of the sources found. The third stage is interpretation, which is to analyses and synthesizes sources that have been tested for authenticity and credibility. The fourth stage is historiography, which is writing history that takes into account the chronology of events that occurred so that this writing is not historical.

There are two kinds of sources used in this research, namely primary sources and secondary sources. The primary source in this study was obtained from the archives of the Regional Secretary of the Government of the North Halmahera Regency (Sekretaris Daerah Kabupaten Halmahera
Some Notes About Six Villages

The regional disputation that occurred between North Halmahera and West Halmahera districts involved six villages, namely Dum-Dum, Gamsungi/Akesahu, Akelamo Kao, Tetewang, Bobane Igo, and Pasir Putih. Based on data obtained from the Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) of North Halmahera Regency, the population of the six villages in 2011 was 2,735 people. The population data were obtained by BPS of North Halmahera Regency from each village office. Here are the details.

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Source: Badan Pusat Statistik, North Halmahera Regency, 2011

If we look at the map of Halmahera Island, it will be seen that the six villages are located in the coastal area. Precisely in the Kao Bay area. This makes the six villages have fish as an abundant natural resource. The abundance of fish in this location makes most of the people work as fishermen. However, the conditions of the Kao Bay water have started to become polluted since mining activities took place. This also resulted in a decrease in the fish catch of the fishermen. Therefore, some people have started to change their professions to become clove farmers and mining workers (Hasyim, 2010, p. 42). As for the area of each village, namely Dum-Dum (11,130.0 Ha), Akesahu (6,942 Ha), Akelamo Kao (10,069 Ha), Tetewang (3,741 Ha), Bobane Igo (11,130 Ha), and White Sand (969 Ha) (Hashim, 2010, p. 39).

Based on the author's research, these six villages are not mentioned much in history books.
Only the village of Bobane Igo has been mentioned by several historical writings such as the work of R.Z. Leirissa about East Halmahera and Raja Jailolo, as well as Leonard Y. Andaya's work on Maluku World. In Leirissa's writing, the village of Bobane Igo is called by the name Bobane. As for Leirissa, in his writings refer to the archives of the early 19th century,

Sampai di ujung teluk itu, di suatu tempat yang dinamakan Bobane yang dalam kurun waktu itu tidak berpenghuni, perahu-perahu diseret melalui gentingan antara Bobane dan negeri Dodinga selama beberapa jam sampai setengah hari. Setiba di negeri Dodinga, perahu diturunkan lagi ke laut dan perjalanan dilanjutkan ke Tidore yang seperti disebut di atas, tidak selalu mulus pula.¹ (Leirissa, 1996, p. 73-74)

No different from Leirissa, Andaya also mentioned Bobane in his book. Andaya in his book stated, "Before a trader could go overland through the pass from Bobane to Dodinga, the sago would have turned green or yellow and soft" (Andaya, 1993, p. 94). Further, Andaya stated,

From the mouth of Kau River it was a day’s row to a small beach at Bobane, which was the starting point of half-hour journey through a pass in the mountains to Dodinga on the west coast. In Bobane the inhabitants made exceptionally fine clay pots which one Dutch governor in the late seventeenth century considered to be even finer than the ones made at the more well-known pottery production site on the island of Mare off the south coast of Tidore. (Andaya, 1993, p. 95).

From the quotations above, it can be seen that Bobane is an area located on the coast which is the starting point for departure to the West coast via Dodinga. Another interesting thing from the quotes above, at the end of the 17th century, Bobane had an unknown population. However, in the early 19th century, Bobane was without residents. Unfortunately, no explanation has been found of Bobane, who was no longer inhabited in the early 19th century.

F.S.A. De Clercq in his writings on Ternate also alludes to the village of Bobane. In this writing, the village of Bobane is called Bobane or Bobane Lamo. Clercq also makes specific mention of Bobane Igo. In his notes, Clercq stated that Bobane Igo was a village occupied by orang gorap, namely former slaves who came from all over the archipelago but mostly came from Flores or Manggarai. As for these slaves were brought by pirates. De Clercq also notes that at that time the inhabitants of Bobane Igo were under the hoekoem and ngofamanjira, who were

¹ Translation: Arriving at the end of the bay, at a place called Bobane which was uninhabited for that period, boats were being dragged through the crunch between Bobane and the land of Dodinga for several hours to half a day. Arriving in Dodinga country, the boat was lowered back into the sea and the journey continued to Tidore which, as mentioned above, was not always smooth either.
subordinated to *Kimalaha Dodinga* (De Clercq, 1890, p. 57-58). From this, it can be seen that towards the end of the 19th century, Bobane was again inhabited. Here the question arises, is the Bobane referred to in the source referred to by Leirissa the same as the Bobane narrated by Clercq in his notes? Of course, this needs a deeper examination.

After Indonesia's independence and the formation of Maluku Province, six villages located on the island of Halmahera were included in the administrative area of the North Maluku Regency. In 1999, North Maluku Regency was divided into North Maluku Province based on *Undang-Undang No. 46 Tahun 1999*. The newly formed North Maluku Province consists of three regencies or municipalities, namely North Maluku Regency, Central Halmahera Regency, and Ternate City. After this division, the six villages were still within the administrative area of the North Maluku Regency which was no longer in Maluku Province but North Maluku Province.

In the same year, the central government issued *Peraturan Pemerintah No. 42 Tahun 1999* concerning the Formation and Arrangement of Several Districts in the District of North Maluku in the Province of the Maluku I Region. In this Government Regulation, the Makian Malifut sub-district was formed. The formation of the Makian Malifut sub-district is seen as an answer to the struggles of the Makian people who since the 1970s were relocated to Halmahera Island due to the threat of volcanoes on Makian Island. At that time, the people of Makian were relocated along with their government apparatus on the customary land of the Kao people, which is located in the northeast of the northern part of Halmahera Island (Hasyim, 2010). In the formation of the Makian Malifut sub-district, five villages from the Kao sub-district and six villages from the Jailolo sub-district were combined with villages that were relocated from Makian Island, where these six villages from Jailolo sub-district are six villages disputed by the government of North Halmahera and West Halmahera. The merger of the five villages from the Kao sub-district caused rejection which then led to the Horizontal Conflict in North Maluku in 1999. This rejection occurred because of differences in cultural backgrounds.

According to Christopher R. Duncan, who researched the 1999 conflict, the people of the six villages from the Jailolo sub-district did not reject this merger. Duncan stated,

“The six villages from Jailolo to be incorporated into the Makian Malifut subdistrict included Bobaneigo, Tetewang, Akelamo Kao, Gamsungi, Dum-Dum, dan Pasir Putih … None of the people I interviewed from these villages in Jailolo mentioned concerned with their incorporation into the new subdistrict. According to their accounts, they were not swept up in the violence until after the riots in Ternate and Tidore.” (Duncan, 2013, p. 204).

This means that after the riots broke out in Ternate and Tidore, the six villages began to refuse to join the Makian Malifut sub-district. This refusal to join the Makian Malifut sub-district then led to the refusal to join the newly formed North Halmahera district in 2003. Since the riots
in 1999 until the formation of North Halmahera district in 2003, the six villages are still part of the North Maluku district. However, it is not yet known whether public services have been implemented by the Makian Malifut sub-district or are still being carried out by the Jailolo sub-district.

The Status Issue of the Six Villages, 2003-2010

In 2003, the North Halmahera regency was formed based on Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003 tentang Pembentukan Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, Kabupaten Halmahera Selatan, Kabupaten Kepulauan Sula, Kabupaten Halmahera Timur, dan Kota Tidore Kepulauan di Provinsi Maluku Utara. Here, the North Halmahera regency is a regency that was proliferated from the North Maluku regency. After being proliferated, the North Maluku regency changed its name to West Halmahera regency. Article 3 of this regulation stated that the region of the North Halmahera regency comes from a part of North Maluku regency, which consists of (a) the North Morotai sub-district; (b) the South-West Morotai sub-district; (c) the South Morotai sub-district; (d) the Galela sub-district; (e) the Tobelo sub-district; (f) the South Tobelo sub-district; (g) the Kao sub-district; (h) the Malifut sub-district; and (i) the North Loloda sub-district (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2003 No. 21). With the entry of the Malifut sub-district into the North Halmahera regency, the six villages were automatically included in the North Halmahera regency.

Initially, the status of these six villages was not questioned because it was clear that the six villages were included in the North Halmahera regency. This was also confirmed by the government of the West Halmahera regency when the people of the six villages attended the inauguration of the South Jailolo sub-district in Sidangoli in 2003 (Hasyim, 2010, 43). At that time, the agenda of the North Halmahera and West Halmahera regencies was determining the regional boundaries (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006). However, in its development, this boundary problem has turned into a status issue for six villages.

After the formation of North Halmahera, the district governments of North Halmahera and West Halmahera immediately coordinated to determine their boundaries. West Halmahera regency government by Fax Letter No. 185.5/1192 proposed to the North Halmahera district government to form a team for surveying and mapping boundaries. Then on September 1, 2003, the West Halmahera district government sent a Letter No. 141/1207 containing a copy of the Minister of Home Affairs' letter regarding the technical implementation of regional boundary mapping. North Halmahera regent officials also responded to these letters by sending a Letter No. 185.5/204 dated 9 September 2003. In the letter, it was stated that the North Halmahera district government had formed a team to carry out a survey and mapping of regional boundaries and recommended that the provincial government, expert team, and local community leaders be involved in the process.
of determining this regional boundary (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006).

From the side of the people of the six villages themselves, there is a desire to join the Jailolo sub-district which is the capital of West Halmahera district. According to the people of six villages, they come from the Tanjung Tabobo area which is part of Jailolo (Hasyim, 2010, p. 43). Therefore, it is only proper that the six villages belong to the West Halmahera district. The aspirations of the people of six villages to become part of West Halmahera district were conveyed by the village heads of the six villages through Letter No. 03/KSP/2003. Hearing the aspirations of this community, the West Halmahera district government responded by providing public services to the people of six villages (Hasyim, 2010, p. 12).

In 2004 several meetings were held to discuss the aspirations of the people of the six villages. The meeting took place between the government of North Halmahera and West Halmahera which was facilitated by the provincial government of North Maluku. The first meeting which took place in Ternate on July 9, 2004, discussed the aspirations of the people of six villages and plans to visit the six villages (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006). Then on July 17, 2004, a meeting was held between the people of six villages, the North Halmahera district government and the West Halmahera district government which was facilitated by the North Maluku provincial government. The meeting was held at Akelamo Kao. In the meeting, elders from the Kao sub-district were involved. After the meeting at Akelamo Kao, several meetings were held and resulted in an agreement. In its development, the results of this agreement were rejected by the Regional Representative Council (DPRD) of North Halmahera Regency because it was considered invalid (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006).

A few weeks after the meeting at Akelamo Kao, the traditional elders from Kao made a statement letter. The statement letter stated,

Dengan ini kami Atas Nama Masyarakat Hukum Adat Kecamatan Kao menyatakan bahwa kami tidak berkeberatan secara Administrasi ke 3 Desa yaitu Desa Akelamo, Akesahu dan Dum-dum untuk bergabung dengan Kecamatan Jailolo Selatan (Halbar), namun kami tetap mengklaim bahwa Batas Wilayah Tanah Adat kami adalah sebagai berikut:
- Bagian Selatan Tepatnya di Tanjung LAME
- Bagian Utara tepatnya di Tanjung GONGA
- Bagian Barat Tepatnya di Buku SIO
- Bagian Timur LAUT.² (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006)

² Translation: We hereby, on behalf of the Kao District Customary Law Community, state that we do not object to the Administration of the 3 Villages namely Akelamo, Akesahu, and Dum-dum Villages to join the South Jailolo District.
If we look closely, this statement letter is quite interesting. Because the only people who signed this letter were the traditional elders and village heads who were in Kao sub-district. The village heads of the six villages in question did not take part in this statement letter.

In January 2005, a meeting was held between the Director-General of Public Administration of the Ministry of Home Affairs or the Director of Borderlands, North Maluku provincial government, North Halmahera district government, West Halmahera district government, North Halmahera DPRD Commission A, and West Halmahera DPRD Commission A (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006). It can be seen that in 2005, the central government, as well as the DPRDs of North Halmahera and West Halmahera, began to get involved. The North Halmahera and West Halmahera DPRDs were only involved in this process because they were only formed after the general election in 2004. For the record, in this general election, the North Maluku Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) determined that the people of six villages were included in the Jailolo sub-district electoral area. West Halmahera district (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006; Dokumen Penegasan Batas Daerah Segmen Batas Daerah Antara Kec. Kao Teluk – Kec. Jailolo Selatan Kab. Halut dengan Kab. Halbar Provinsi Maluku Utara, Tim Penegasan Batas Daerah kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2016).

In June 2005, the central government or the Ministry of Home Affairs involved in resolving this issue sent a letter to the Governor of North Maluku. In the letter, the central government stated that by the prevailing laws and regulations, the six villages were part of the North Halmahera district. It is further mentioned,

Dalam rangka meningkatkan efisiensi dan efektivitas penyelenggaraan pemerintahan di kabupaten Halmahera Utara dan Halmahera Barat, perlu dilakukan langkah-langkah:


b. Mengakomodasi aspirasi masyarakat 6 (enam) Desa, dan diproses sesuai ketentuan perundang-undangan.3 (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006)

(Halbar), but we still claim that our customary land boundaries are as follows: - South Part Precisely at Tanjung LAME - North part to be precise at Cape GONGA - West Part to be precise in the SIO Book - Eastern part of the SEA.

3 Translation: In order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of government administration in North Halmahera and West Halmahera districts, steps need to be taken: a). Implementing the mandate of Article 10 paragraph (7) of Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003, namely: Confirming the boundaries of North Halmahera Regency. b). Accommodating the aspirations of the community in 6 (six) villages, and processing them according to statutory provisions.
Regarding point (b) above, the letter requires the approval of the DPRD and the Regent of North Halmahera on the proposal of the people of six villages to enter the West Halmahera area (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006). Based on the letter issued by the central government, it can be seen that until this letter was issued, the people of six villages still had the desire to join the West Halmahera district.

The North Halmahera DPRD itself takes a stand to defend the six villages in the North Halmahera district. This can be seen from the statement of attitude issued by the North Halmahera DPRD on October 20, 2005. In a Letter No. 04/KPTS/DPRD-HALUT/2005, DPRD North Halmahera stated their stance to secure Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003 and Peraturan Pemerintah No. 42 Tahun 1999. What is meant by securing here is none other than maintaining the territorial status of six villages. Then, regarding the letter issued by the central government to the Governor of North Maluku, the North Halmahera DPRD responded with the same statement and it was also stated that as of November 16, 2005, there were no people in the six villages who had expressed a desire to join the West Halmahera region to the North Halmahera DPRD.

The issue of the status of these six villages continued until 2006. In this year, both the North Halmahera and West Halmahera district governments formed a new sub-district covering the six disputed villages. In this case, the North Halmahera district government formed the Kao Teluk sub-district and the West Halmahera district government formed the East Jailolo sub-district. Then in mid-2006, the district governments of North Halmahera and West Halmahera held a meeting facilitated by the provincial government of North Maluku. During the meeting, it was agreed that a team would be formed to investigate and verify the problems of the six villages and it was hoped that the two district governments would not carry out field activities for the six villages. However, this agreement was violated by the West Halmahera district government so that the North Halmahera regency government and North Halmahera DPRD also stated that they would immediately carry out activities for six villages, both public services and development. The provincial government also responded by sending a letter to the Regent of West Halmahera and the West Halmahera DPRD containing an appeal to maintain stability and conditions in the area of the six villages (Dokumen Penyelesaian Tapal Batas Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2006).

In a report on the progress of the six villages problem, the North Halmahera government stated that in 2007 most of the people of six villages wanted to become part of North Halmahera district following the applicable regulations. A small proportion of them still wishes to join the West Halmahera district. The report also stated that several members of the six village communities who previously wanted to join West Halmahera took different positions after receiving intense explanations and socialization from the North Halmahera district government. Besides, the North Halmahera district government has taken a cultural approach to the people of six villages. One form of the cultural approach taken is to involve traditional elders in meetings with the people of six villages (Dokumen Penegasan Batas Daerah Segmen Batas Daerah Antara...
In 2010 the central government issued Surat Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 146.3/111/SJ dated 15 January 2010. In the letter, the Minister of Home Affairs stated that the status of six villages is part of the North Halmahera district based on Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003 and Peraturan Pemerintah No. 42 Tahun 1999. Also, the Minister of Home Affairs assigned the provincial government of North Maluku to facilitate the determination of regional boundaries between North Halmahera and West Halmahera districts (Dokumen Penegasan Batas Daerah Segmen Batas Daerah Antara Kec. Kao Teluk – Kec. Jailolo Selatan Kab. Halut dengan Kab. Halbar Provinsi Maluku Utara, Tim Penegasan Batas Daerah kabupaten Halmahera Utara, 2016).

CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that the regional disputation that occurred between North Halmahera and West Halmahera districts was the result of the desire of the six villages’ people to join West Halmahera district which was then responded to by the West Halmahera district government by carrying out public service activities for the people of six villages on one side, as well as the attitude of the North Halmahera district government that defends the six villages on the other side. In this regional disputation, the active role of local political elites in North Halmahera, namely DPRD Halmahera Utara, can be seen. The dynamics of this regional disputation are also colored by a cultural dimension, in which traditional elders are involved in every meeting that is held with the people of six villages.

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Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2003 tentang Pembentukan Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, Kabupaten Halmahera Selatan, Kabupaten Kepulauan Sula, Kabupaten Halmahera Timur, dan Kota Tidore Kepulauan di Provinsi Maluku Utara, Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2003 Nomor 21