

Nickel mining reduced forest cover in Indonesia, but had mixed outcomes for well-being

Michaela G.Y. Lo^{1,7*}, Courtney L. Morgans¹, Truly Santika², Sonny Mumbunan^{3,4}, Nurul Winarni⁵, Jatna Supriatna^{5,6}, Maria Voigt¹, Zoe G. Davies¹ & Matthew J. Struebig^{1,8**}

¹Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology (DICE), University of Kent, Canterbury CT2 7NR, UK

²Natural Resources Institute (NRI), University of Greenwich, Chatham Maritime ME4 4TB, UK

³Center for Climate and Sustainable Finance, Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, University of Indonesia, Depok, 16424, Indonesia

⁴Master of Public Policy in Climate Change, Faculty of Social Sciences, Indonesian Islamic International University, Depok, 16416, Indonesia.

⁵Research Center for Climate Change, Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, 16424, Indonesia

⁶Department of Biology, Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, 16424, Indonesia

⁷Lead Contact

⁸Corresponding Author

*Correspondence: m.lo@kent.a.uk;

**Correspondence: m.j.struebig@kent.ac.uk;

Summary

Soaring demand for nickel to support the low-carbon transition is driving extensive mining in mineral-rich countries, but the environmental and social impacts of nickel mining remain underexplored. Here, we use a counterfactual approach to examine nickel mining outcomes on forests and well-being of nearby communities in Sulawesi, Indonesia – a region renowned for its biodiverse tropical forests, and now a global centre of nickel production. By examining changes across 7,721 villages between 2011 and 2018 we show that deforestation doubled in nickel mining villages. During the early stages of mining, environmental well-being, living-standards, and education outcomes declined, but improvements were observed in health, infrastructure, and social relations. Environmental well-being continued to substantially deteriorate in the later stages of mining production, especially in villages with already high poverty. These findings highlight the environmental and social consequences of nickel mining, underscoring the need for greater accountability of local outcomes if the sector is to support a just and sustainable low-carbon transition.

36 Introduction

37 The development and adoption of low-carbon technologies is crucial for reducing the effects
38 of climate change and meeting the Paris Climate Agreement targets¹. As it stands, less than
39 a fifth of energy production comes from renewables², so dramatic expansion of the sector is
40 expected in coming decades³. Yet renewable energy production is highly mineral intensive,
41 and an additional 3 billion metric tons of metal is expected to be required to realise the Paris
42 Agreement goals¹. The global transition to low-carbon energy will not be possible without
43 nickel extraction¹. Nickel is a critical component in rechargeable batteries and is widely used
44 in stainless steel production. Between 2011 and 2018, demand for nickel increased by 43%
45 globally⁴, and it is increasingly recognised as a critical mineral for energy (Table S1). Over a
46 third of all nickel is mined in Indonesia, making it the largest producer in the world⁵, employing
47 1.3 million people⁶. In 2021, >1 million metric tons was produced in the country, with most of
48 this coming from Sulawesi (Figure 1); a near four-fold increase of nickel produced in a decade⁴.
49 The role of extractive industries in alleviating poverty and creating job opportunities has been
50 used to justify policies that ease business and foreign direct investment into the nickel mining
51 industry⁷. However, this justification has also been criticised for overlooking the detrimental
52 environmental and social impacts on communities directly affected by mining operations.
53 Environmental damage and communal violence associated with nickel mining have already
54 been reported in the region⁸.

55 It is widely acknowledged that mining is one of the major drivers of land cover change,
56 having significant implications on biodiversity and ecosystem functioning⁹. Similarly, the
57 expansion of mining has the potential to radically transform local societies and economies¹⁰.
58 Yet, few studies address the observed impacts of nickel mining specifically. Previous studies
59 evaluating mining impacts have typically aggregated multiple mineral commodities
60 together^{11,12}, rather than examining variation among them¹¹. This is in stark comparison to
61 individual agricultural commodities^{13,14}, where environmental and social effects of producing
62 specific crops are thoroughly evaluated (e.g. Santika *et al.* ¹⁴). Indeed, the impacts of mining
63 for different mineral commodities will vary depending on, for example, the amount of land
64 required, the extraction technique, water used, and pollution generated. In Sulawesi, nickel is
65 mostly derived from nickel laterite ores, close to the earth's surface¹⁵. The extraction process
66 typically involves digging shallow open cut mines to access the nickel ore, which can lead to
67 large areas of land being cleared¹⁶. Moreover, nickel mining relies heavily on machinery,
68 requiring a workforce with specialised skills and higher levels of education compared to more
69 labour-intensive forms of mineral extraction^{17,18}. Nickel mining may have limited local
70 employment opportunities if communities do not match the required human capital¹⁷. It is

71 crucial to account for these variations to robustly assess land-use change patterns and
72 understand how the benefits and costs of producing different mineral commodities impact local
73 communities¹¹.

74 While there is some evidence evaluating the impact of nickel mining, the highly localised
75 context of these studies makes it challenging to derive general insights. Some case-studies
76 have found that nickel mining has contributed to increasing local income¹⁹, while in others,
77 waste from nickel mining extraction damaged local fishing and farming production, resulting
78 in greater economic losses overall⁸. Such case-studies offer valuable insights into the effects
79 of nickel mining on local communities and ecosystems, but few are widely generalisable due
80 to methodological inconsistencies²⁰. In contrast, aggregated measures, such as the
81 percentage of national GDP attributed to the nickel mining sector, risk overlooking the spatial
82 characteristics that can reveal patterns resulting from nickel mining activities²¹. A robust impact
83 evaluation of nickel mining that accounts for spatial variation over broad areas could yield
84 crucial insights for improving policy design and implementation, ultimately supporting better
85 environmental and social outcomes²².

86 Evaluating the causal effects of mining interventions is complex due to confounding
87 factors influencing both the outcomes of interest and the underlying pattern of where
88 production occurs (e.g. biophysical characteristics; land governance). Impact evaluation
89 methodologies can help address this problem by comparing outcomes to a counterfactual
90 condition where no intervention has occurred²². Such evaluations can be enhanced by tracking
91 outcomes over time, both before and after the mining intervention, further strengthening
92 estimates of causal effects.

93 To date, large-scale mining impact studies have highlighted the potential environmental
94 and social risks involved ^{23,24}, especially those that overlap protected areas or indigenous
95 lands²⁵. Yet, impact evaluation studies addressing ongoing mining impacts tend to focus
96 exclusively on either environmental outcomes^{9,11,26,27}, or well-being^{28,29}, but rarely both.
97 Furthermore, well-being is often limited to a single economic or institutional indicator to signal
98 societal development. Indeed, the impacts of land-use change may be experienced differently
99 across various types of communities and the type of livelihood activities they engage in³⁰.
100 Using a combination of indicators can simultaneously capture the benefits and costs on both
101 the environment and local communities³¹, and help to identify the contexts in which synergies
102 or trade-offs between environmental and well-being outcomes exist³².

103 Here, we use rigorous impact evaluation methods to examine and quantify the
104 environmental and social impacts of nickel mining extraction, focusing on forest cover change

105 and the well-being of villages across Sulawesi, Indonesia. By collating data at the village level,
106 we capture local effects over a large spatial scale and reveal general patterns. We specifically
107 investigate the effects of nickel extraction compared to other types of mining to understand
108 the relative implications on forests and well-being. We found that deforestation was higher in
109 villages with nickel mining compared to those with no mining. For villages overlapping nickel
110 mining areas, we found slower improvements to overall well-being and mixed outcomes
111 across different well-being dimensions. We also identify the biophysical and socio-economic
112 factors moderating the intensity of these impacts. Our findings highlight the extent to which
113 nickel mining affects forest ecosystems and community livelihoods. These insights can inform
114 policymakers and mining companies aiming to implement sustainable practices, ensuring that
115 nickel mining production aligns with environmental and development objectives.

116 **Results**

117 **Methods summary**

118 Nickel mining data were derived from Indonesia's mining concession map released by the
119 Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. Mining concessions were overlaid with high-
120 resolution estimates of forest cover as well as socio-economic data from Indonesia's '*Potensi*
121 *Desa*' (or 'village potential', *PODES*) census to estimate the environmental and social changes
122 attributed to nickel mining production and how this compared with other mineral commodities.
123 To establish a causal estimate of nickel mining impacts on environmental and social outcomes,
124 we apply statistical matching within a Before-After-Control-Impact (BACI) analytical design to
125 measure counterfactual outcomes in the absence of mining³³. Such an approach avoids
126 misleading findings by a) accounting for the contextual dynamics through which forest cover
127 and well-being might have occurred, while b) isolating impacts of nickel mining extraction from
128 other biophysical, political, and social factors that influence environmental and social
129 outcomes.

130 To measure the impact of nickel mining (and other mineral commodities) on
131 deforestation, we quantify the change in forest cover across individual villages in Sulawesi
132 throughout the eight-year evaluation period. If the expansion of nickel mining caused
133 deforestation, we would expect to observe a greater reduction in forest cover within nickel
134 mining villages compared to that experienced in non-mining (control) villages. Forest cover
135 was estimated in the year 2011, 2014, and 2018 to match the timepoints of the *PODES* census.
136 Well-being outcomes were tracked using 18 indicators derived from *PODES*, which we evenly
137 grouped into six dimensions³⁴ (Table 1): education (access to education facilities and support),

138 environment (the occurrence of natural disasters and pollution), health (accessibility of health
139 facilities, and cases of diseases), infrastructure (access to markets and financial support),
140 living standards (basic living conditions), and social relations (cooperation and incidence of
141 conflict). The overall well-being score is the total combination of all six dimensions, each given
142 equal weighting. If nickel mining improved the well-being of local communities, we would
143 expect a positive change in well-being relative to non-mining villages. Again, well-being was
144 measured in the year 2011, 2014, and 2018 to follow the years the PODES census was
145 implemented. All references to the datasets cited can be found in Table S2 in the
146 Supplemental Information.

147 **Background changes in forest cover and well-being**

148 After excluding villages with no forest within their boundaries, the average village in Sulawesi
149 had around 36% forest cover in 2011 (n=4,458, Figure 2A), which dropped to 34% by 2018 (a
150 decline of 2 percentage points, equating to 15 ha for a median village area of 763 ha). Over
151 the same period village well-being increased across Sulawesi by 4 percentage points (Figure
152 2B). Living standards improved by nearly 40 percentage points in both mining and non-mining
153 areas compared to the 2011 baseline (Figure 2C). Health also improved by 5 percentage
154 points, while education, social, and environmental well-being declined by 3, 4, and 6
155 percentage points, respectively.

156 **The impact of nickel mining and other mineral types**

157 We estimated the relative impact of nickel mining on forest cover compared to non-mining
158 (control) villages. The analysis indicates that nickel mining exacerbated deforestation over the
159 eight-year period. Deforestation was 2 percentage points greater in nickel mining villages
160 relative to non-mining villages (n=132; 95% confidence interval [CI]: -3.1 to -0.9, Figure 3A).
161 Villages associated with other mineral types (n=115) also experienced greater deforestation
162 compared to controls; however, this difference was marginal (-0.4 percentage points, 95% CI:
163 -1.5 to 0.7). Since the 2011 baseline year, forest cover declined by 4.4 percentage points in
164 nickel mining villages, while the decline was 2.4 percentage points where there was no mining
165 (Figure 3B) – representing a near two-fold increase in deforestation associated with nickel
166 mining compared to controls (see Table S3). Villages overlapping nickel mining also
167 experienced slower improvements in overall well-being, which is reflected in the negative
168 coefficient in Figure 3C (-2.1 percentage points, 95% CI: -4.5 to 0.2, see Table S4).

169 We further partitioned our analyses to examine mining outcomes at an early (1-3 years)
170 and later (4-7 years) stage of production to reflect the accumulation of impacts over time. The

171 negative coefficient in Figure 4A shows that nickel mining villages lost 1.2 percentage points
172 more forest than control areas in the first three years of production (95% CI: -2.3 to -0.1), and
173 a further 0.4 percentage points (-1.6 percentage points; 95% CI: -2.5 to -0.7) thereafter. For
174 villages associated with other mines, the impacts took longer to accrue (-1.8 percentage points
175 at 4-7 years, 95% CI: -4.3 to 0.7; Figure 4A). Nickel mining villages experienced a five-fold
176 decrease in their overall well-being between the early (-0.5 percentage points, 95% CI: -3.6 to
177 2.6) and later (-2.5 percentage points, 95% CI: -6.6 to 1.7) stages of production (Figure 4B).
178 This was mostly driven by large reductions in environmental well-being (-11.3 percentage
179 points, 95% CI: -21.8 to -0.8; Figure 4C). Education, health, and social well-being also declined
180 overtime, while infrastructure and living standards improved. However, the effect sizes were
181 highly variable, as reflected by wide confidence intervals. For villages near other mines, overall
182 well-being marginally improved compared to controls (0.2 percentage points 4-7 years after
183 production; 95% CI: -3.7 to 4.2; Figure 4B). Across the six dimensions, there were marginal
184 differences in well-being outcomes between mining of other commodities and non-mining
185 villages.

186 **Factors influencing the impacts of nickel mining**

187 To further explore the heterogeneity of nickel mining impacts, we selected potential
188 characteristics that could be expected to moderate the effect size. Results in Supplemental
189 Information (Table S5, Figure S1-S2) imply that the effects of nickel mining on deforestation
190 and well-being are indeed highly heterogenous. Nickel mining was associated with greater
191 deforestation in villages that were more accessible, as shown by the positive values for the
192 interaction terms (Figure S1, Table S5). Accessibility was evaluated using a travel-cost surface
193 model that accounts for the topography, landcover, and road density (Table 2). Nickel mining
194 was also associated with greater deforestation at higher elevations and steeper slopes.

195 We further explored if other factors, such as poverty baseline conditions (low versus
196 high well-being scores in 2011), livelihood type, and accessibility in villages, moderated the
197 impacts of nickel mining on well-being. Smaller well-being improvements in nickel mining
198 villages were found where poverty conditions were already high (Figure S2A). Well-being
199 impacts were worse in villages where capture fisheries were the dominant livelihood (Figure
200 S2B). Accessibility had no observable influence on the effect size (Figure S2C). We further
201 examined the specific pathways in which nickel mining impacts could be moderated by poverty
202 baseline conditions by running an additional matching and regression analyses by low versus
203 high poverty villages. Within the first three years of production, deforestation was greatest in
204 nickel mining villages where poverty conditions were initially low (-1.4 percentage points, 95%

205 CI: -2.4 to -0.4), rather than high (-1.1 percentage points, 95% CI: -2.1 to -0.1; Figure 5A). In
206 the later stages of production, deforestation was similar between the two poverty groups. In
207 villages where poverty levels were initially high, well-being declined by 1.8 percentage points
208 (95% CI: -7 to 3.5) (Figure 5B). This decline was mostly driven by a 13.7 percentage point
209 decrease in environmental well-being (95% CI: -26.7 to -0.7) and a 13 percentage point
210 reduction in health outcomes (95% CI: -24.7 to -1.2) but was countered by improvements to
211 living standards and infrastructure (Figure 5C).

212 In contrast, villages with initial low levels of poverty experienced short-term
213 improvements to health (6.1 percentage points, 95% CI: 0.1 to 12.1; Figure 5C). At the same
214 time, living standards improved substantially 4-7 years post-production (10.6 percentage
215 points, 95% CI: -3.9 to 25.2).

216 Discussion

217 The demand for low carbon energy is a key driver of nickel production³⁵. Examining empirical
218 evidence on the ways in which landscapes and people are being transformed by nickel mining
219 is crucial to address sustainability challenges. Our analysis identified the multiple impacts of
220 nickel mining in one of the largest producing regions of the world. Combining rich spatial data
221 across 7,721 villages, we highlight the differential impacts of mining nickel versus other
222 mineral commodities, variations of outcomes over time, and the factors that minimised, or
223 exacerbated environmental and social outcomes.

224 Nickel mining impacts deforestation and well-being

225 Nickel mining contributed to a significant increase in deforestation since the expansion of the
226 sector in Indonesia around 2011. Studies using similar methods elsewhere have found limited
227 evidence of deforestation attributed to mining, as other drivers of forest cover change would
228 be present even in the absence of mining²⁶. Conversely, others reported mining to be a key
229 contributor to deforestation across Sulawesi^{36,37}. We find that the extent of deforestation
230 associated with nickel mines was substantial – a near double that observed in matched control
231 areas. The environmental sustainability narrative frequently used to justify the increasing
232 supply of nickel therefore risks overlooking other environmental consequences resulting from
233 nickel mining. This is particularly relevant in Sulawesi, which is globally recognised for its
234 unique ecosystems and biodiversity³⁸. Concerted resources to mitigate against deforestation
235 are therefore needed.

236 The marginal decline in overall well-being associated with nickel mining was largely
237 driven by a decrease in environmental indicators. Waste materials and pollution resulting from
238 nickel extraction and processing is a longstanding issue¹⁵. Our analysis supports the notion
239 that safeguards against pollution and mining-related disasters should be strengthened to
240 minimise negative environmental impacts that affect people's well-being. Incorporating
241 environmental and social standards into existing international and national governance
242 mechanisms, such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), could be a
243 positive step towards such endeavours. However, such standards are currently lacking due to
244 alleged inconsistencies between governing bodies of extractive industries at the local level,
245 and the EITI at the Indonesian national level³⁹. Greater coordination and alignment between
246 local, regional and national government in Indonesia is crucial to ensure consistency in
247 implementing environmental and social safeguards⁴⁰. Other actors, including local and
248 international non-governmental organisations, along with industry groups, play crucial roles in

249 holding mining companies accountable to adhering with international standards, such as the
250 OECD's Due Diligence Guidance⁴¹. Due diligence protocols can help companies to better
251 integrate human rights into environmental and social assessments, and further avoid negative
252 social and environmental impacts of nickel mining.

253 Reductions in social well-being were also typical of areas overlapping nickel mines.
254 Conflict driven by environmental damage and land acquisition from nickel mining activities has
255 been reported in Indonesia⁸. However, we also found social well-being was highly variable
256 between individual villages, making it difficult to draw conclusions. It is important to also
257 acknowledge the positive contribution nickel mining has on local living conditions and
258 infrastructural development. These improvements are likely to be attributed to the construction
259 of transportation and water-based infrastructure¹⁷. Revenue from nickel mining may have
260 facilitated local government investment within communities¹⁷. Greater variability across
261 villages was also evident for these indicators, implying that both positive and negative
262 outcomes are experienced collectively across Sulawesi, and more information is needed to
263 understand what is driving this variation. Migration may have also been influenced by nickel
264 mining and resulted in changes in well-being. The in-migration effect from large-scale nickel
265 mining has been related to both improvements in social cooperation¹⁹ as well as worsening
266 living conditions⁴². As future research progresses with new data and advancements in impact
267 evaluation methods, further work will play a key role in identifying these other factors that
268 influence the impact of nickel mining extraction.

269 Certain effects of nickel extraction, such as the decline in environmental well-being,
270 were only detected 4-7 years after the issuance of mining lease. One explanation is that some
271 indicators, such as environmental pollution and flooding, take time to accrue, making them
272 detectable only after several years⁴³. Indeed, given the relatively short- to mid-term trends we
273 uncover, the longer-term effects of nickel mining should also be assessed, including after mine
274 closure. Evidence from historical tin mining in Indonesia demonstrated negative effects on
275 local employment once the mines were closed⁴⁴. When data become available in the nickel
276 sector such studies will be important to address the lasting effects of mining, as well as
277 opportunities for restoring and rehabilitating post-mining landscapes.

278 **Comparisons between nickel and other mines**

279 By disaggregating mining concessions by mineral commodity, we determined the impacts of
280 nickel mining compared with other types of mines. Our results reveal that the onset of
281 deforestation in nickel mining villages occurs faster than it does in villages where other types
282 of mines are present. This implies that the land-cover changes associated with mining depend

283 on the mineral commodity extracted. We also found differences in well-being between mining
284 nickel versus other minerals, in terms of effect size and directionality. All mining was
285 associated with worsening environmental well-being, but this was stronger in nickel mining
286 areas. Conversely, impacts on social well-being were divergent – nickel mining worsened
287 social well-being, while slight improvements were associated with other mines. Incorporating
288 mineral commodity level data into impact evaluation assessments therefore helps inform
289 specific mineral commodity chains^{11,32}. Nonetheless, we also found large variations across
290 individual villages, which could be due to other factors that have not been included in the
291 analyses. The source dataset on mine locations classified concessions by mineral commodity
292 but missed information on other mining characteristics that may have also influenced the type
293 of deforestation and well-being patterns detected. For example, commercially sensitive
294 information on the amount of production, extraction methods, and the type of legal ownership
295 (such as being domestic or foreign owned), is not accessible. More detailed information on
296 such mining characteristics will better capture how these specific attributes can shape well-
297 being and deforestation⁴⁵, but this requires these data to be made available³².

298 **Other factors moderating nickel mining impacts**

299 Identifying the underlying conditions that improve or hinder efforts towards reducing
300 deforestation and improving the livelihoods of local communities is important to inform the
301 management of mining activities and land-use planning. As expected, more accessible
302 villages lost more forest compared to less accessible areas, implying that accessibility of
303 transport, facilities, and infrastructure to clear forest incentivises companies to clear more land.
304 That said, we also found nickel mining had led to greater deforestation at higher elevations.
305 While we may assume that upland sites would be more difficult to establish mining operations
306 and disincentivise forest clearance, such outcomes could be due to the relatively low rates of
307 deforestation experienced in these areas more broadly. These results imply that nickel mining
308 may be one of the key drivers of deforestation in upland regions, especially compared to others,
309 such as logging and agriculture, which tend to be greater in the lowlands³⁷. Our analysis points
310 to specific biophysical regions that require greater attention should policies focus on targets
311 to avoid deforestation.

312 We also found that the well-being impacts of nickel mining differed according to
313 livelihood type and poverty baseline conditions. Villages where the primary source of income
314 was from capture fisheries experienced greater reductions in well-being compared to those
315 where other livelihoods (e.g. commercial fisheries and market orientated) were dominant. This
316 is consistent with our findings of declines in environmental well-being attributed to nickel

317 mining, and observations in the broader literature. For example, water and environmental
318 pollution from the largest nickel mine in Indonesia has led to reduced fish stocks in water
319 bodies that are close to extraction sites⁴⁶.

320 We focus our analyses on land-based concessions and thus provide conservative
321 estimates of the damage to water-based livelihoods, such as fisheries, from nickel mining
322 production. Nickel mining also extends to offshore locations, employing large trawls being
323 carried across the ocean floor to extract nickel from the seabed⁴⁷. Under Indonesia's Omnibus
324 Law (*Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja*, Law 11/2023), offshore mineral mining is no longer limited
325 within the 12 km coastline and can now take place in all maritime (including deep water) areas
326 within the country's jurisdiction. While we were only able to account for mines that overlapped
327 with onshore villages, the disturbance from offshore mining activities and the waste produced
328 may have even greater adverse effects on marine ecosystems and the livelihoods of fishers
329 in the future⁴⁸.

330 Poorer villages were more likely to experience the negative effects of nickel mining on
331 environmental well-being and health. Villages with high levels of deprivation may have limited
332 resources and capacity to cope against environmental pollution associated with mining
333 activities, leading to adverse health effects⁴⁹. While initial poverty baseline conditions
334 influenced the impacts from nickel mining, we are not suggesting this should be the sole
335 consideration when establishing concessions. On the contrary, engaging local communities in
336 decision-making, development, and implementation processes can strengthen mining
337 governance and planning⁵⁰ and further empower marginalised social groups^{10,51}. Indonesia
338 has made significant developments in engaging communities in Environmental Impact
339 Assessment regulations by making public participation mandatory⁵². To be effective,
340 engagement efforts should be paired with greater resources and action to strengthen the
341 capacity of local communities, thereby reducing their vulnerability to potential negative impacts
342 of land use activities⁵³.

343 **Informing the low-carbon transition**

344 There are multiple potential pathways to a low-carbon transition, including policy action that
345 lowers nickel demand by improving the recyclability of renewable technologies, and reducing
346 overall consumption of energy^{54,55}. Yet, despite such actions, there remain questions about
347 whether this will be enough to curb projected mineral demand trends in coming decades³⁵.
348 With more countries looking to electrify transport to achieve 2050 net-zero emission targets,
349 heightened demand for nickel is anticipated, with some projections predicting a more than
350 doubling of current levels^{1,35,56}. Around 75% of this supply is expected to come from

351 Indonesia³⁵, which is seeking to attract more foreign investment and increase the ease of
352 business, as evidenced in the Omnibus Law in 2023⁵⁷. Nickel is expected to be a key resource
353 at the centre of Indonesia's business and investment ventures⁵⁸.

354 There are rising concerns about potential weakening of environmental and social
355 regulations under the new Omnibus law⁵⁷. Yet since its initial announcement in 2020, the law
356 has faced several implementation challenges, with few regulations fully realised⁵⁷. Our study
357 is therefore well timed to inform the design of implementing regulations under the new Law,
358 ensuring that the nickel mining sector operates sustainably by balancing the economic gains
359 with environmental and social responsibility. One potential approach is to harmonise policies
360 between land-use sectors, including forestry and mining, which often remain largely separated.
361 In the case of Indonesia, these divisions exist in licensing, development planning, and
362 environmental impact assessments, and have led to challenges in overlapping resource
363 concessions and unclear tenure rights⁵⁹. While permission may be granted to undertake
364 mining operations within concessions, this does not necessarily cover indirect impacts in
365 surrounding areas¹¹. Mining extraction rarely occurs in isolation, with disturbances also
366 occurring off-site via road development, energy infrastructure, and settlements. While
367 distinguishing the direct and indirect impacts of mining was outside the scope of our work,
368 previous studies have identified the need to include the cumulative impacts of deforestation
369 outside of concessions^{9,11}. Governance mechanisms such as the One Map Policy (*Kebijakan*
370 *Satu Peta – KSP*) in Indonesia, can potentially overcome these challenges. The initiative aims
371 to harmonise spatial data from government departments and incorporate them into a single
372 database. Promoting initiatives that actively encourage the coordination and integration across
373 sectors can lead towards a more cohesive multi-sectoral approach to natural resource
374 regulation in an attempt to reduce both deforestation and poverty⁶⁰.

375 As the mining of critical minerals continues to expand in Indonesia and other countries,
376 it will be important to deepen our understanding of environmental and social impacts so that
377 improvements to sustainability can be targeted. Our work provides the first synthesis of the
378 environmental and social outcomes from nickel mining, providing the broad overview across
379 the sector in Sulawesi. However, nickel mining on other Indonesian islands also warrants
380 examination as relevant datasets become available. A caveat to our evaluation is that the
381 outcomes are aggregated to the village administrative unit, reflecting the spatial scale of the
382 census data. This village-level analysis can mask important variations between households or
383 individuals within communities, where some may benefit more or less than the average village
384 outcome. In-depth case-studies on how different individuals and groups are impacted by
385 mining will remain valuable for identifying and supporting those most vulnerable to negative

386 impacts, while also highlighting the conditions that foster greater benefits. The spatial nature
387 of our analysis enables targeted case-studies in areas where mining outcomes have been
388 particularly positive or negative. Furthermore, studying mining outcomes in relation to
389 subjective well-being, which considers how people evaluate their own well-being related to the
390 aspects of life they consider as important⁶¹, could deepen our understanding of the diverse
391 ways mining interventions impact local communities. Integrating qualitative methods into
392 impact evaluations can offer a richer spectrum of possible outcomes, ensuring the voices and
393 perspectives of affected communities are included⁶².

394 Nickel extraction is expected to boom in coming years through a global low-carbon
395 transition. We show how this can conflict with other environmental and development objectives.
396 Pinpointing where these environmental and social divergences occur is a crucial step towards
397 addressing these challenges, minimising trade-offs, and further promoting mining extraction
398 that contributes towards a sustainable future, for both people and planet.

399 **Resource Availability**

400 **Lead Contact**

401 Requests for further information and resources should be directed to and will be fulfilled by
402 the lead contact, Michaela G.Y. Lo (M.Lo@kent.ac.uk)

403 **Materials Availability**

404 This study did not generate any new unique materials.

405 **Data and Code Availability**

406 Mining concession data was derived from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.
407 Visualisations of the mining concessions maps are available at Nusantara Atlas of
408 Deforestation and Industrial Plantations in Indonesia (nusantara-atlas.org), and the ESDM
409 One Map - Exploring Energy and Mineral Resources of Indonesia (geoportal.esdm.go.id).
410 Data used to measure forest cover change derived from the 30m resolution Global Forest
411 Change database (<https://glad.earthengine.app/view/global-forest-change>). Well-being and
412 other socio-demographic data were sourced from the PODES census village survey led by
413 the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics. These data can be visualised using the WebGIS PODES
414 portal (<https://sig.bps.go.id/webmap/podes/>). The code for replication of the statistical analysis
415 can found at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13884414>.

416 **Experimental Procedures**

417 **The Study area**

418 Approximately 20 million people live in Sulawesi across its six provinces⁶³. The complex
419 geological history of central Indonesia has also resulted in highly unique ecosystems, making
420 Sulawesi a globally important region for biodiversity and endemism³⁸. Compared to western
421 Indonesian islands, small-scale agriculture and other subsistence-based livelihoods are more
422 dominant in Sulawesi, and commodities such as coffee, cacao, and coconut are more
423 commonly grown than industrial-scale products such as oil palm³⁸. Consequently,
424 deforestation rates have been much lower in Sulawesi compared to neighbouring Borneo and
425 Sumatra, where deforestation is primarily driven by the expansion of large-scale oil palm and
426 paper-pulp plantations^{36,64}. However, a recent deforestation surge in Sulawesi has been linked,
427 in part, to mining, a sector that experienced rapid growth during the last decade³⁷.

428 The 2009 mining law in Indonesia decentralised the power of issuing mining permits,
429 granting greater authority to local and regional officials⁶⁵. This shift, implemented in 2010³⁸,
430 resulted in a sharp increase in the issuance of mining licenses throughout the country, with
431 most of the permits for establishing nickel mining operations granted in Sulawesi (Figure 1).
432 By 2020 over 65% (424,270 ha) of Indonesia's active nickel-mining concessions were on
433 Sulawesi, with a further 672,100 ha under exploration. The rapid proliferation of mining permits
434 reportedly led to several licensing issues, including overlapping boundaries of land-use
435 activities and difficulties in monitoring and ensuring that mining companies adhered to national
436 procedures⁶⁶.

437 **Forest cover data**

438 To track annual forest cover change between 2011 and 2018 we used data from the Global
439 Forest Change (GFC) repository v1.6 (Table S2). The GFC dataset provides consistent and
440 accurate estimates of forest loss when applying national definitions of forest cover, and was
441 therefore appropriate to use to measure forest cover change. Here, forest cover is defined as
442 at least five hectares of >70% tree canopy cover of natural composition and structure in a 30
443 m resolution Landsat pixel^{14,36}, including mangrove forests (Table S2). This definition
444 corresponds with those used for primary and secondary forest by Indonesia's Ministry of
445 Environment and Forestry⁶⁷. Using conservative measures of forest minimised the inclusion
446 of deforestation that may have been temporary rather than permanent, and we excluded tree
447 cover changes in other land cover types (plantations, agroforests, mixed gardens regrowth

448 and scrublands)³⁶. All forest maps were converted to the Asia South Albers Equal Area Conic
449 projection to reduce distortions in area and distance. Spatial data were then aggregated to
450 180 x 180m pixel size to ease computational processing. Using the conservative definition of
451 forest cover, we restricted tree cover pixels from the GFC dataset to form a baseline forest
452 cover map for 2000. We then applied the forest loss data to the forest cover map and
453 calculated the proportion of village areas forested for the years 2011, 2014, and 2018 to match
454 the years for which well-being data were available.

455 **Well-being data**

456 Data on well-being were extracted from Indonesia's village-level census, PODES, which
457 provides a rich and extensive source of socio-economic, and demographic information across
458 Indonesia. PODES data are collected from village authorities around three times per decade,
459 with the results aggregated at the village (*desa*) administration level (thus inference should
460 not be linked to the individual or household level). As with all census surveys, the accuracy of
461 responses may vary depending on the capacities and resources available within each village.
462 Rigorous protocols have been developed by the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (BPS) to
463 ensure that the collected data is consistent and accurate across villages⁶⁸. Previous studies
464 have used PODES to assess environmental and social effects of land-use policies and other
465 types of interventions, including oil palm certification^{14,69}, and protected areas^{34,70}. PODES
466 therefore remains the richest and most extensive source of well-being data covering the whole
467 of the Indonesian archipelago. Well-being was characterised across three consecutive
468 censuses in 2011, 2014, and 2018 (Table S2), and due to changes in village boundaries,
469 observations were harmonised to those in 2014. We chose 2011 as the baseline following the
470 announcement of the new mining regulatory regime in 2009, which was officially implemented
471 in 2010⁶⁵.

472 We define well-being as a multidimensional concept that recognises the multiple assets,
473 abilities, and attributes that are needed to support and achieve a better life⁷¹. To capture these
474 multiple facets, our overall well-being index comprises six dimensions: living standards,
475 environment, infrastructure, health, social, and education (Table 1³⁴). Each dimension was
476 assigned three equally weighted indicators derived from the PODES questionnaire. To
477 calculate overall well-being, each indicator was given an equal weighting within a dimension
478 (1/3). Each individual indicator is given the binary score of 0 or 1, where 0 denotes a village
479 falling below the acceptable threshold specific to that indicator. The overall well-being index
480 was calculated as the average score across the six dimensions. The indicator dimensions,
481 thresholds, and directionality of measures were informed by established well-being and

482 poverty frameworks, including the global multidimensional poverty index³¹, and Indonesia's
483 Village Development Index⁷². The possible mechanisms and directionality of well-being
484 outcomes for each indicator are presented in the Supplemental Information (Figure S3 and
485 Table S6).

486 **Mining data**

487 We used national mining concession data from Indonesia's Ministry of Energy and Mineral
488 Resources, containing detailed information on the type of commodity and stage of mining
489 activity (Table S2). Compared to other mining databases available, such as the S&P Global
490 Market Intelligence database⁷³ and the mining data from Maus et al.⁷⁴, the national concession
491 database provides greater coverage on mining areas in Indonesia⁷⁵, with more specific
492 information on production status and mining characteristics.

493 Exploration and production require separate mining permits. We focus our analysis on
494 the local impacts of mining concessions at the stage of production only. While the specific type
495 of activity is not detailed in the mining concession data, construction, extraction, processing,
496 refining, and transportation are all grouped into the stage of production⁷⁶. The unit of analysis
497 was the village boundary level, matching the same scale as the PODES data. After narrowing
498 our sample to Sulawesi, a totally of 417 mining polygons were included in our analysis,
499 covering around ~540,000 hectares (Table S7).

500 Villages exposed to mining were identified as those with concessions covering at least
501 15% of the village area (the median value across the Sulawesi dataset). Mining villages were
502 then divided into two groups: nickel mining villages, where nickel was the primary mineral
503 commodity extracted; and other mining villages for all other minerals produced. Non-mining
504 villages were considered as those where no mining activity occurred during the same period
505 for any of the commodities. We excluded villages where mining production operations
506 occurred 10 years before the baseline year, as well as villages where mining concessions
507 covered more than 0% but less than 15% of the village area. The mining database provides a
508 comprehensive list of concessions that have formally received a permit but does not include
509 unlicensed operations. Therefore, to avoid the possible inclusion of informal mining activities,
510 we excluded villages containing concession areas where any exploration activities had taken
511 place prior to and during the study period (2000 to 2018). This assumes that expected informal
512 mining may occur where exploration or scoping studies have been conducted, which also
513 provide estimates of where nickel resources are located. Mining concessions were merged by
514 mineral commodity groups (nickel or other mineral) and year of production to avoid issues of

515 overlapping boundaries. Villages with overlapping mining concessions producing a mixture of
516 nickel and other mineral commodities were excluded from our sample.

517 Mining villages also include mining concessions that were issued mining production
518 licenses in 2011 because a) the 2011 PODES survey was carried out in April 2011 so
519 information is likely to reflect the status of villages in the previous year⁶⁸, and b) the steps from
520 the decision to the construction and startup of mines take time and would therefore expect a
521 delay in observing impacts⁷⁷. After applying our inclusion/exclusion criteria and removing
522 villages with missing data, 461 villages were excluded, resulting in a sample of 7,721 villages
523 across Sulawesi. Of this total, 7,474 villages experienced no mining activities between 2000
524 and 2018, 132 villages contained nickel mining concessions that were in 1-7 years of
525 production, and 115 villages overlapped with other mineral commodities excluding nickel
526 (Table S8). Figure S4 maps mining polygons by nickel and other mineral commodity from
527 2011 to 2018.

528 **Analytical framework and methodology**

529 For the matching analysis, we carried out two assessments: the first comprised nickel mining
530 villages matched to non-mining villages; and the second matched other mining villages
531 (excluding nickel) with non-mining villages. For the regression analysis we estimated and
532 compared the difference in forest cover and well-being between the mining and non-mining
533 villages, within each set. To increase the robustness of our estimates, we included covariates
534 at both stages which served to reduce any leftover bias resulting from the matching process⁷⁸.

535 **Covariates of forest cover change and well-being**

536 There are multiple factors other than mining that could affect how interventions are spatially
537 distributed, and further interact with the outcome of interest. Therefore, to reliably measure
538 the impact of mining, other factors that might influence the assignment of mining concessions
539 (e.g. proximity to roads) or forest cover and well-being outcomes (e.g. poverty baseline
540 conditions) should be controlled for³³. We identified 16 covariates that may influence the
541 selection process of mining and non-mining villages, and influence forest cover and well-being
542 outcomes (Table 2). These reflected a) biophysical conditions, b) land governance, and c) and
543 socio-demographic features of villages. This selection identifies factors that were known to
544 affect the allocation of mining sites, as well as other factors that influence forest cover and
545 well-being outcomes. We log-transformed covariates prior to the matching process that were
546 highly skewed.

547 **Statistical matching**

548 For each set of mining interventions (nickel mining villages, and other mining villages), we
549 performed a 1:1 paired matching analysis to balance observed covariates between the mining
550 villages and non-mining villages and make them comparable. We also matched across two
551 periods to account for possible time lags in the impacts from mining⁴³. Throughout, we used
552 genetic matching with replacement, a method that specifically uses a matching algorithm to
553 iteratively search for the best balance⁷⁹. Analyses were undertaken using the Matching and
554 MatchIt packages in R^{80,81}. As villages were either assigned a binary value of being exposed
555 to a mining intervention or not, using a logistic regression to estimate the propensity scores of
556 villages from the covariates listed in Table 2 was the most appropriate statistical model. For
557 both sets of interventions, all mining villages were matched to a non-mining villages (Table
558 S8). After comparing the covariate balance before and after matching, we observed a
559 significant improvement in the overall distribution between mining and non-mining groups in
560 both sets. The normalised differences for all covariates were below 0.2 (Table S9-S10),
561 implying a strong balance was found across our mining and non-mining villages.

562 **Regression analysis**

563 With the matched datasets, we implemented a Before-After-Control-Impact (BACI) approach
564 to infer the effects of mining. This approach first uses longitudinal data to compare changes
565 in forest cover and well-being before and after a mining intervention takes place. This change
566 is then compared with cross-sectional differences in forest cover and well-being between
567 mining and non-mining villages²² (see visual diagram of the analysis in the Supplemental
568 Information, Figure S5). Changes in forest cover and well-being were measured over 1 to 7
569 years (i.e. up to two census intervals available in the data) after a mining intervention had
570 been introduced, with another set of analyses to further observe changes 1 to 3 years, and 4
571 to 7 years after the mining intervention (the intervals matching the census years). In the
572 analysis, standard errors were clustered a) by subclass, which represents pairs between the
573 paired mining and non-mining village, b) by village, which accounts for non-mining villages
574 that were included more than once in our matched sample, and c) at the regency (*kabupaten*)
575 level, as most permits within our sample were issued at this level, therefore accounting for
576 other unobserved political factors within regencies⁸².

577 Interaction terms were used to examine the factors that might influence the intensity of
578 nickel mining impacts on deforestation and village well-being. We hypothesise that villages
579 with greater accessibility may increase the intensity of deforestation caused by nickel mining.
580 As nickel mining is highly capital intensive, the additional costs of transporting resources and

581 labour with limited infrastructure, as well as low access to markets for outputs, may result be
582 a greater disincentive to clearing larger areas of forest lands⁶⁰. Similarly, establishing nickel
583 mining concessions on steep slopes at high elevations may be more restricting in the
584 expansion of mining operations, resulting in the greater retention of forest cover.

585 Another group of interactions with nickel mining was carried out to assess whether
586 livelihood type, poverty baseline conditions, and accessibility moderated the outcomes of
587 interest. Based on other literature, livelihoods are known to influence well-being outcomes³⁰.
588 Therefore, we hypothesised that livelihoods with a greater dependency on natural resources
589 are more likely to be affected by the negative environmental externalities derived from mining
590 operations. Furthermore, we may also expect poverty baseline conditions to moderate mining
591 outcomes. According to the 'natural resource curse' theory, natural resource extraction
592 exacerbates poverty¹⁷; therefore, we would expect poorer areas to experience a worsening in
593 well-being. In contrast, following the 'natural resource blessing' theory, we would expect to
594 see the opposite trend¹⁷. The poverty baseline conditions of villages were determined as the
595 inverse of the well-being index (the negative directionality of each well-being indicator). Before
596 matching, we grouped each village into two classes of equal intervals – low and high poverty
597 – based on their poverty status in 2011. We also assessed whether the accessibility of villages
598 moderated the impact of nickel mining production on the well-being of local communities. We
599 might also expect nickel mining extraction in more accessible areas might be more profitable
600 due to fewer additional costs in transport related facilities, as well as easier access to
601 resources and markets. These profits may lead to greater investment into the local economy,
602 and results will show a greater improvement in well-being overtime.

603 To further assess the pathways in which baseline factors moderated the outcomes of
604 deforestation and across various dimensions of well-being, we ran another matching analysis
605 (Table S11) by the initial poverty status of villages. We reran the same statistical matching
606 analysis across all poverty groups between nickel mining and non-mining villages to assess
607 deforestation trends, and well-being outcomes across each dimension overtime.

608 **Acknowledgements**

609 This study was funded under the Newton Fund Wallacea Programme via the UK Natural
610 Environment Research Council (NERC, NE/S007067/1) and the Indonesian Ministry for
611 Higher Education, Research & Technology (Ristekdikti, NKB-2892/UN2.RST/HKP.05.00/2020
612 and 1/E1/KP.PTNBH/2019). M.G.Y.L. was also supported by the University of Kent Global
613 Challenges Doctoral Centre and M.J.S. by a Leverhulme Trust Research Leadership Award.

614 Research in Indonesia was authorised by Ristekdikti under permit
615 7/TKPIPA/E5/Dit.K1/VI/2019, and subsequently BRIN via permit 2/TU.B5.4/SIP/VIII/2021. We
616 would like to thank Nicolas Deere for feedback on the data and code repository, and the
617 anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback.

618 **Author Contributions**

619 Conceptualization, M.G.Y.L., M.J.S.; Data Curation, M.G.Y.L., C.L.M, T.S.; Methodology,
620 M.G.Y.L., C.L.M., T.S., M.V., M.J.S.; Resources, T.S., S.M.; Formal Analysis, M.G.Y.L., T.S.,
621 M.V.; Investigation, M.G.Y.L.; Writing – Original Draft, M.G.Y.L., M.J.S., Z.G.D.; Writing –
622 Reviewing & Editing, all authors; Visualization, M.G.Y.L., M.J.S.; Supervision, M.J.S., Z.G.D.;
623 Projection Administration, M.J.S., Z.G.D.; Funding Acquisition, M.J.S., Z.G.D.

624 **Declaration of interests**

625 The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal
626 relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

627 **Inclusion and diversity**

628 We support inclusive, diverse, and equitable conduct of research.

629 **References**

- 630 1. Hund, K., Porta, D.L., Fabregas, T.P., Laing, T., and Drexhage, J. (2020). Minerals for
631 climate action: The mineral intensity of the clean energy transition. The World Bank
632 Group.
- 633 2. World Bank Group (2017). The growing role of minerals and metals for a low carbon
634 future (English). The World Bank Group.
635 [http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/207371500386458722/The-Growing-
636 Role-of-Minerals-and-Metals-for-a-Low-Carbon-Future](http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/207371500386458722/The-Growing-Role-of-Minerals-and-Metals-for-a-Low-Carbon-Future).
- 637 3. IEA (2015). Energy technology perspectives 2015: Mobilising innovation to accelerate
638 climate action. International Energy Agency. 9264233415.
639 <https://www.iea.org/reports/energy-technology-perspectives-2015>.
- 640 4. Statista (2020). Nickel industry worldwide.
641 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/260748/mine-production-of-nickel-since-2006/>.
- 642 5. USGS (2022). Nickel - U.S. Geological Survey, Mineral commodity summaries,
643 January 2022. <https://pubs.usgs.gov/periodicals/mcs2022/mcs2022-nickel.pdf>.
- 644 6. PwC (2019). Mining in Indonesia: Investment and taxation guide. PwC Indonesia.
- 645 7. PwC (2023). Mining in Indonesia: Investment, taxation and regulatory guide.
646 [https://www.pwc.com/id/en/energy-utilities-mining/assets/mining/mining-guide-
647 2023.pdf](https://www.pwc.com/id/en/energy-utilities-mining/assets/mining/mining-guide-2023.pdf).
- 648 8. Hudayana, B., Suharko, and Widyanta, A. (2020). Communal violence as a strategy
649 for negotiation: community responses to nickel mining industry in Central Sulawesi,
650 Indonesia. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 7, 1547-1556. 10.1016/j.exis.2020.08.012.
- 651 9. Sonter, L.J., Herrera, D., Barrett, D.J., Galford, G.L., Moran, C.J., and Soares-Filho,
652 B.S. (2017). Mining drives extensive deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon. *Nat*
653 *Commun* 8, 1013. 10.1038/s41467-017-00557-w.
- 654 10. Bebbington, A.J., Humphreys Bebbington, D., Sauls, L.A., Rogan, J., Agrawal, S.,
655 Gamboa, C., Imhof, A., Johnson, K., Rosa, H., Royo, A., et al. (2018). Resource
656 extraction and infrastructure threaten forest cover and community rights. *Proc. Natl.*
657 *Acad. Sci. USA* 115, 13164-13173. 10.1073/pnas.1812505115.
- 658 11. Giljum, S., Maus, V., Kuschnig, N., Luckeneder, S., Tost, M., Sonter, L.J., and
659 Bebbington, A.J. (2022). A pantropical assessment of deforestation caused by
660 industrial mining. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA* 119, e2118273119.
661 10.1073/pnas.2118273119.
- 662 12. Bhattacharyya, S., and Resosudarmo, B.P. (2015). Growth, growth accelerations, and
663 the poor: Lessons from Indonesia. *World Dev.* 66, 154-165.
664 10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.08.009.
- 665 13. Pendrill, F., Gardner, T.A., Meyfroidt, P., Persson, U.M., Adams, J., Azevedo, T.,
666 Bastos Lima, M.G., Baumann, M., Curtis, P.G., De Sy, V., et al. (2022). Disentangling

- 667 the numbers behind agriculture-driven tropical deforestation. *Science* 377, eabm9267.
668 10.1126/science.abm9267.
- 669 14. Santika, T., Wilson, K.A., Law, E.A., St John, F.A.V., Carlson, K.M., Gibbs, H.,
670 Morgans, C.L., Ancrenaz, M., Meijaard, E., and Struebig, M.J. (2021). Impact of palm
671 oil sustainability certification on village well-being and poverty in Indonesia. *Nat.*
672 *Sustain.* 4, 109-119. 10.1038/s41893-020-00630-1.
- 673 15. Mudd, G.M. (2010). Global trends and environmental issues in nickel mining: Sulfides
674 versus laterites. *Ore Geol. Rev.* 38, 9-26. 10.1016/j.oregeorev.2010.05.003.
- 675 16. Jaffré, T., Munzinger, J., and Lowry, P.P. (2010). Threats to the conifer species found
676 on New Caledonia's ultramafic massifs and proposals for urgently needed measures
677 to improve their protection. *Biodivers. Conserv.* 19, 1485-1502. 10.1007/s10531-010-
678 9780-6.
- 679 17. Gamu, J., Le Billon, P., and Spiegel, S. (2015). Extractive industries and poverty: a
680 review of recent findings and linkage mechanisms. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 2, 162-176.
681 10.1016/j.exis.2014.11.001.
- 682 18. Mudd, G.M., and Jowitt, S.M. (2022). The new century for nickel resources, reserves,
683 and mining: reassessing the sustainability of the devil's metal. *Econ. Geol.* 117, 1961-
684 1983. 10.5382/econgeo.4950.
- 685 19. Karsadi, K., and Aso, L. (2023). Multidimensional impacts of nickel mining exploitation
686 towards the lives of the local community. *JISH* 12, 222-227. 10.23887/jish.v12i2.58881.
- 687 20. Boldy, R., Santini, T., Annandale, M., Erskine, P.D., and Sonter, L.J. (2021).
688 Understanding the impacts of mining on ecosystem services through a systematic
689 review. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 8, 457-466. 10.1016/j.exis.2020.12.005.
- 690 21. Naidoo, R., Gerkey, D., Hole, D., Pfaff, A., Ellis, A., Golden, C., Herrera, D., Johnson,
691 K., Mulligan, M., and Ricketts, T. (2019). Evaluating the impacts of protected areas on
692 human well-being across the developing world. *Science Advances* 5, eaav3006.
- 693 22. Blackman, A. (2013). Evaluating forest conservation policies in developing countries
694 using remote sensing data: An introduction and practical guide. *For. Policy Econ.* 34,
695 1-16. 10.1016/j.forpol.2013.04.006.
- 696 23. Luckeneder, S., Giljum, S., Schaffartzik, A., Maus, V., and Tost, M. (2021). Surge in
697 global metal mining threatens vulnerable ecosystems. *Global Environmental Change-*
698 *Human and Policy Dimensions* 69, 102303.
- 699 24. Lèbre, É., Stringer, M., Svobodova, K., Owen, J.R., Kemp, D., Côte, C., Arratia-Solar,
700 A., and Valenta, R.K. (2020). The social and environmental complexities of extracting
701 energy transition metals. *Nat. Commun.* 11, 1-8.
- 702 25. Siqueira-Gay, J., Soares-Filho, B., Sanchez, L.E., Oviedo, A., and Sonter, L.J. (2020).
703 Proposed legislation to mine Brazil's indigenous lands will threaten amazon forests
704 and their valuable ecosystem services. *One Earth* 3, 356-362.
705 10.1016/j.oneear.2020.08.008.

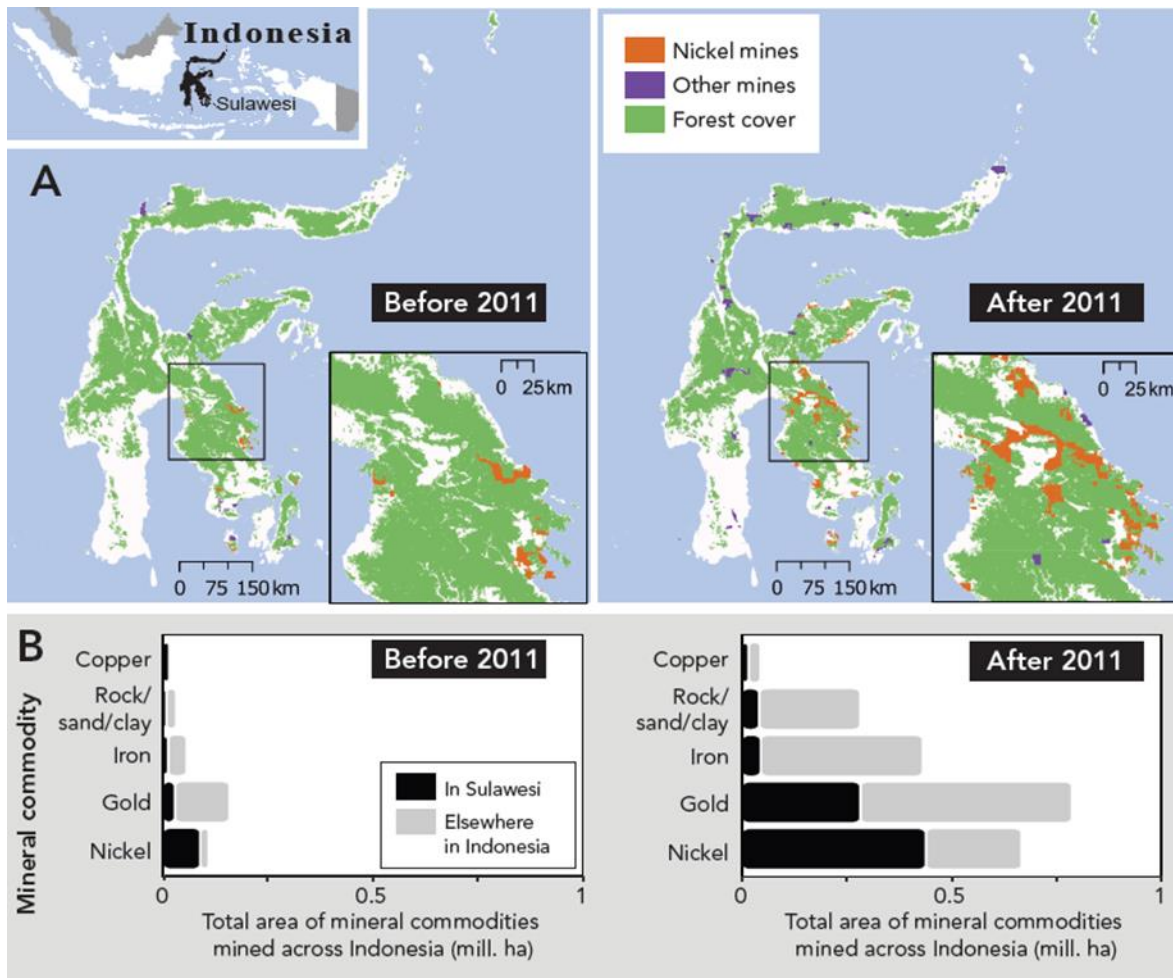
- 706 26. Morley, J., Buchanan, G., Mitchard, E.T.A., and Keane, A. (2022). Quasi-experimental
707 analysis of new mining developments as a driver of deforestation in Zambia. *Scientific*
708 *Reports* 12, 18252. 10.1038/s41598-022-22762-4.
- 709 27. Devenish, K., Desbureaux, S., Willcock, S., and Jones, J.P.G. (2022). On track to
710 achieve no net loss of forest at Madagascar's biggest mine. *Nat. Sustain.* 5, 498-508.
711 10.1038/s41893-022-00850-7.
- 712 28. Edwards, R.B. (2016). Mining away the Preston curve. *World Dev.* 78, 22-36.
713 10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.10.013.
- 714 29. Zabre, H.R., Farnham, A., Diagbouga, S.P., Fink, G., Divall, M.J., Winkler, M.S., and
715 Knoblauch, A.M. (2021). Changes in household wealth in communities living in
716 proximity to a large-scale copper mine in Zambia. *Resour Policy* 74, 102395.
717 10.1016/j.resourpol.2021.102395.
- 718 30. Santika, T., Wilson, K.A., Budiharta, S., Law, E.A., Poh, T.M., Ancrenaz, M., Struebig,
719 M.J., and Meijaard, E. (2019). Does oil palm agriculture help alleviate poverty? A
720 multidimensional counterfactual assessment of oil palm development in Indonesia.
721 *World Dev.* 120, 105-117. 10.1016/j.worlddev.2019.04.012.
- 722 31. Alkire, S., Roche, J.M., Ballon, P., Foster, J., Santos, M.E., and Seth, S. (2015).
723 *Multidimensional poverty measurement and analysis* (Oxford University Press, USA).
- 724 32. Werner, T.T., Bebbington, A., and Gregory, G. (2019). Assessing impacts of mining:
725 Recent contributions from GIS and remote sensing. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 6, 993-1012.
726 10.1016/j.exis.2019.06.011.
- 727 33. Schleicher, J., Eklund, J., Barnes, M.D., Geldmann, J., Oldekop, J.A., and Jones,
728 J.P.G. (2020). Statistical matching for conservation science. *Conserv. Biol.* 34, 538-
729 549. 10.1111/cobi.13448.
- 730 34. Morgans, C., Jago, S., Andayani, N., Linkie, M., Lo, M.G.Y., Mumbunan, S., St. John,
731 F., Supriatna, J., Voigt, M., Winarni, N., et al. (2024). Improving well-being and
732 reducing deforestation in Indonesian's protected forests. *Conserv. Lett.*
733 <https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.13010>.
- 734 35. IEA (2024). *Global critical minerals outlook 2024*. IEA.
735 <https://www.iea.org/reports/global-critical-minerals-outlook-2024>.
- 736 36. Voigt, M., Supriatna, J., Deere, N.J., Kastanya, A., Mitchell, S.L., Rosa, I.M.D., Santika,
737 T., Siregar, R., Tasirin, J.S., Widyanto, A., et al. (2021). Emerging threats from
738 deforestation and forest fragmentation in the Wallacea centre of endemism. *Environ.*
739 *Res. Lett.* 16, 094048. 10.1088/1748-9326/ac15cd.
- 740 37. Supriatna, J., Shekelle, M., Fuad, H.A.H., Winarni, N.L., Dwiyahreni, A.A., Farid, M.,
741 Mariati, S., Margules, C., Prakoso, B., and Zakaria, Z. (2020). Deforestation on the
742 Indonesian island of Sulawesi and the loss of primate habitat. *Glob. Ecol. Conserv.* 24,
743 e01205. 10.1016/j.gecco.2020.e01205.
- 744 38. Struebig, M.J., Aninta, S.G., Beger, M., Bani, A., Barus, H., Brace, S., Davies, Z.G.,
745 Brauwer, M., Diele, K., Djakiman, C., et al. (2022). Safeguarding imperiled biodiversity

- 746 and evolutionary processes in the Wallacea center of endemism. *Biosci.* 72, 1118-
747 1130. 10.1093/biosci/biac085.
- 748 39. Yanuardi, Y., Vijge, M.J., and Biermann, F. (2021). Improving governance quality
749 through global standard setting? Experiences from the Extractive Industries
750 Transparency Initiative in Indonesia. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 8. 10.1016/j.exis.2021.100905.
- 751 40. Ardiansyah, F., and Jotzo, F. (2013). Decentralization and avoiding deforestation. In
752 *Federal Reform Strategies: Lessons from Asia and Australia*, (Oxford University Press).
- 753 41. OECD (2016). Due diligence guidance for responsible supply chains of minerals from
754 conflict-affected and high-risk areas: Third edition. Organisation for Economic Co-
755 operation and Development.
- 756 42. Asare, B.K., and Darkoh, M. (2001). Socio-economic and environmental impacts of
757 mining in Botswana: a case Study of the Selebi-Phikwe Copper-Nickel Mine. *EASSRR*
758 17, 1-42. eISSN: 1684-4173
- 759 43. Liu, W.J., and Agusdinata, D.B. (2021). Dynamics of local impacts in low-carbon
760 transition: Agent-based modeling of lithium mining-community-aquifer interactions in
761 Salar de Atacama, Chile. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 8, 100927. 10.1016/j.exis.2021.100927.
- 762 44. Syahrir, R., Wall, F., and Diallo, P. (2020). Socio-economic impacts and sustainability
763 of mining, a case study of the historical tin mining in Singkep Island-Indonesia. *Extr.*
764 *Ind. Soc.* 7, 1525-1533. 10.1016/j.exis.2020.07.023.
- 765 45. Carr-Wilson, S., Pattanayak, S.K., and Weinthal, E. (2024). Critical mineral mining in
766 the energy transition: A systematic review of environmental, social, and governance
767 risks and opportunities. *ERSS* 116, 103672.
- 768 46. Murdifin, I., Pelu, M.F.A.R., Putra, A.H.P.K., Arumbarkah, A.M., and Rahmah, A.
769 (2019). Environmental disclosure as corporate social responsibility: Evidence from the
770 biggest nickel mining in Indonesia. *IJEEP* 9, 115-122. 10.32479/ijeeep.7048.
- 771 47. Miller, K.A., Thompson, K.F., Johnston, P., and Santillo, D. (2018). An overview of
772 seabed mining including the current state of development, environmental impacts, and
773 knowledge gaps. *Front. Mar. Sci.* 4, 312755.
- 774 48. Orcutt, B.N., Bradley, J.A., Brazelton, W.J., Estes, E.R., Goordial, J.M., Huber, J.A.,
775 Jones, R.M., Mahmoudi, N., Marlow, J.J., and Murdock, S. (2020). Impacts of deep-
776 sea mining on microbial ecosystem services. *Limnol. Oceanogr.* 65, 1489-1510.
777 10.1002/lno.11403.
- 778 49. Nieminen, P., Panychev, D., Lyalyushkin, S., Komarov, G., Nikanov, A., Borisenko, M.,
779 Kinnula, V.L., and Toljamo, T. (2013). Environmental exposure as an independent risk
780 factor of chronic bronchitis in northwest Russia. *Int. J. Circumpolar Health* 72, 19742.
781 10.3402/ijch.v72i0.19742.
- 782 50. Kurniawan, N.I., Lujala, P., Rye, S.A., and Vela-Almeida, D. (2022). The role of local
783 participation in the governance of natural resource extraction. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 9, 1-4.
784 10.1016/j.exis.2021.101029.

- 785 51. Gustafsson, M.T. (2017). The struggles surrounding ecological and economic zoning
786 in Peru. *Third World Q.* 38, 1146-1163. 10.1080/01436597.2016.1255141.
- 787 52. Government of the Republic of Indonesia (2009). Law number 32 of 2009 on
788 environmental protection and management. In Ministry of Environment and Forestry
789 (KLHK), ed.
- 790 53. Rela, I.Z., Awang, A., Ramli, Z., Taufik, Y., Sum, S.M., and Muhammad, M. (2020).
791 Effect of corporate social responsibility on community resilience: Empirical evidence in
792 the nickel mining industry in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Sustainability* 12, 1395.
793 10.3390/su12041395.
- 794 54. Hickel, J., Kallis, G., Jackson, T., O'Neill, D.W., Schor, J.B., Steinberger, J.K., Victor,
795 P.A., and Ürge-Vorsatz, D. (2022). Degrowth can work—here's how science can help.
796 *Nature* 612, 400-403.
- 797 55. Castelvechi, D. (2021). Electric cars and batteries: how will the world produce enough?
798 *Nature* 596, 336-339.
- 799 56. Guohua, Y., Elshkaki, A., and Xiao, X. (2021). Dynamic analysis of future nickel
800 demand, supply, and associated materials, energy, water, and carbon emissions in
801 China. *Resour Policy* 74, 102432.
- 802 57. Sanders, A., Khatarina, J., Assegaf, R., Toumbourou, T., Kurniasih, H., and Suwarso,
803 R. (2024). The Omnibus Law on Job Creation and its potential implications for rural
804 youth and future farming in Indonesia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*.
805 <https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12408>.
- 806 58. Amatullah, N., Setyadani, N.A., and Ramadhanty, S. (2020). The Extension of the
807 Special Business Mining License (IUPK) under The Law No. 3 of 2020 of the Coal and
808 Mineral Mining: Pro or Cons? *Legal Brief* 10, 39-49.
- 809 59. Samadhi, T.N., and Mumbunan, S. (2015). *Tambang, hutan, dan kebun: Tata kelola
810 perizinan dan penerimaan negara di sektor berbasis lahan*, 2nd Edition (IPB Press).
- 811 60. Agrawal, S., Bebbington, A.J., Imhof, A., Jebing, M., Royo, N., Sauls, L.A., Sulaiman,
812 R., Toumbourou, T., and Wicaksono, A. (2018). Impacts of extractive industry and
813 infrastructure on forests. [http://www.climateandlandusealliance.org/wp-](http://www.climateandlandusealliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Indonesia-Impacts-of-EII-on-Forests-1.pdf)
814 [content/uploads/2018/12/Indonesia-Impacts-of-EII-on-Forests-1.pdf](http://www.climateandlandusealliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Indonesia-Impacts-of-EII-on-Forests-1.pdf).
- 815 61. Camfield, L. (2006). The why and how of understanding 'subjective' wellbeing:
816 Exploratory work by the WeD group in four developing countries.
- 817 62. Leuenberger, A., Winkler, M.S., Cambaco, O., Cossa, H., Kihwele, F., Lyatuu, I., Zabré,
818 H.R., Farnham, A., Macete, E., and Munguambe, K. (2021). Health impacts of
819 industrial mining on surrounding communities: Local perspectives from three sub-
820 Saharan African countries. *PLoS One* 16, e0252433.
- 821 63. BPS (2018). Village Potential Statistics (PODES) 2011, 2014, and 2018. In Bureau of
822 Statistic Indonesia, ed.

- 823 64. Austin, K.G., Schwantes, A., Gu, Y., and Kasibhatla, P.S. (2019). What causes
824 deforestation in Indonesia? *Environ. Res. Lett.* 14, 024007. 10.1088/1748-
825 9326/aaf6db.
- 826 65. Devi, B., and Prayogo, D. (2013). Mining and development in Indonesia: An overview
827 of the regulatory framework and policies. International Mining for Development Centre.
828 [https://delvedatabase.org/uploads/resources/Mining-and-Development-in-
829 Indonesia.pdf](https://delvedatabase.org/uploads/resources/Mining-and-Development-in-Indonesia.pdf).
- 830 66. Resosudarmo, I.A.P., Oka, N.P., Mardiah, S., and Utomo, N.A. (2014). Governing
831 fragile ecologies: a perspective on forest and land-based development in the regions.
832 Regional Dynamics in a Decentralised Indonesia, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies,
833 Singapore, 260-284.
- 834 67. KLHK (2018). The state of Indonesia's forests Ministry of Environment and Forestry,
835 Republic of Indonesia.
836 https://www.menlhk.go.id//site/download_file?file=1540796347.pdf.
- 837 68. BPS (2011). Statistik Potensi Desa Indonesia 2011. Badan Pusat Statistik.
838 [https://www.bps.go.id/publication/download.html?nrbvfeve=ZjBmOWI3NDgzYzM0ZGY1ZTVhZTk2YmUy&xzmn=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuYnBzLmdvLmlkL3B1YmxpY2F0aWUyLzlwMTEvMTEvMjlvZjBmOWI3NDgzYzM0ZGY1ZTVhZTk2YmUyL3N0YXRpc3RpaW1wb3RlbnNpLWRlc2EtaW5kb25lc2lhLTlwMTEuaHRtbA%3D%3D&twoadfnorfeau
841 f=MjAyMy0wNy0yNyAxODowOTozMw%3D%3D](https://www.bps.go.id/publication/download.html?nrbvfeve=ZjBmOWI3NDgzYzM0ZGY1ZTVhZTk2YmUy&xzmn=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuYnBzLmdvLmlkL3B1YmxpY2F0aWUyLzlwMTEvMTEvMjlvZjBmOWI3NDgzYzM0ZGY1ZTVhZTk2YmUyL3N0YXRpc3RpaW1wb3RlbnNpLWRlc2EtaW5kb25lc2lhLTlwMTEuaHRtbA%3D%3D&twoadfnorfeau).
- 843 69. Lee, J.S.H., Miteva, D.A., Carlson, K.M., Heilmayr, R., and Saif, O. (2020). Does oil
844 palm certification create trade-offs between environment and development in
845 Indonesia? *Environ. Res. Lett.* 15. 10.1088/1748-9326/abc279.
- 846 70. Ferraro, P.J., Hanauer, M.M., Miteva, D.A., Nelson, J.L., Pattanayak, S.K., Nolte, C.,
847 and Sims, K.R. (2015). Estimating the impacts of conservation on ecosystem services
848 and poverty by integrating modeling and evaluation. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA* 112,
849 7420-7425. 10.1073/pnas.1406487112.
- 850 71. Sen, A. (1993). Capability and well-being. In *The Quality of Life* M. Nussbaum, and A.
851 Sen, eds. (Clarendon Press), pp. 30-53.
- 852 72. BPS (2018). Indeks Pembangunan Desa 2018. Badan Pusat Statistic.
- 853 73. S&P (2020). S&P Global Market Intelligence. Thomson Reuters.
- 854 74. Maus, V., Giljum, S., Gutschlhofer, J., da Silva, D.M., Probst, M., Gass, S.L.,
855 Luckeneder, S., Lieber, M., and McCallum, I. (2020). A global-scale data set of mining
856 areas. *Sci. Data* 7, 289.
- 857 75. Maus, V., and Werner, T.T. (2024). Impacts for half of the world's mining areas are
858 undocumented. *Nature* 625, 26-29.
- 859 76. Hamidi, J. (2015). Management of mining in Indonesia: Decentralization and corruption
860 eradication. *JL Pol'y & Globalization* 44, 80.

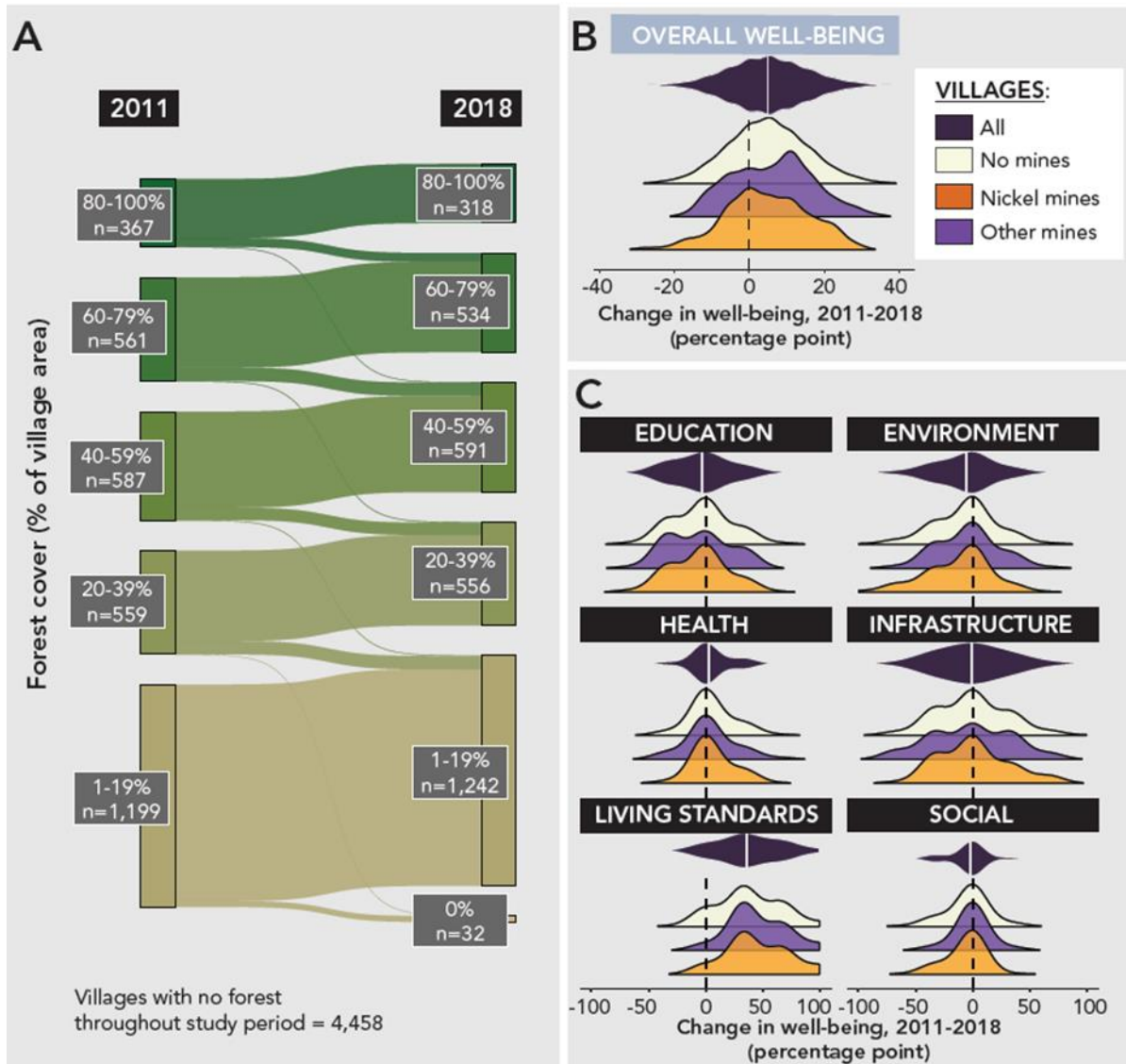
- 861 77. Manalo, P. (2023). Discovery to production averages 15.7 years for 127 mines.
862 [https://www.spglobal.com/marketintelligence/en/news-insights/research/discovery-to-
production-averages-15-7-years-for-127-mines](https://www.spglobal.com/marketintelligence/en/news-insights/research/discovery-to-
863 production-averages-15-7-years-for-127-mines).
- 864 78. Nguyen, T.L., Collins, G.S., Spence, J., Daures, J.P., Devereaux, P.J., Landais, P.,
865 and Le Manach, Y. (2017). Double-adjustment in propensity score matching analysis:
866 choosing a threshold for considering residual imbalance. *BMC Med. Res. Methodol.*
867 *17*, 78. 10.1186/s12874-017-0338-0.
- 868 79. Ribas, L.G.S., Pressey, R.L., and Bini, L.M. (2021). Estimating counterfactuals for
869 evaluation of ecological and conservation impact: an introduction to matching methods.
870 *Biol. Rev. Camb. Philos. Soc.* *96*, 1186-1204. 10.1111/brv.12697.
- 871 80. Diamond, A., and Sekhon, J.S. (2013). Genetic matching for estimating causal effects:
872 A general multivariate matching method for achieving balance in observational studies.
873 *Rev. Econ. Stat.* *95*, 932-945. 10.1162/REST_a_00318.
- 874 81. Sekhon, J.S. (2011). Multivariate and propensity score matching software with
875 automated balance optimization: The matching package for R. *J. Stat. Softw.* *42*, 1-52.
876 10.18637/jss.v042.i07.
- 877 82. Abadie, A., Athey, S., Imbens, G.W., and Wooldridge, J.M. (2023). When should you
878 adjust standard errors for clustering? *Quart. J. Econ.* *138*, 1-35. 10.1093/qje/qjac038.
- 879 83. Chomitz, K.M. (2007). At Loggerheads? Agricultural Expansion, Poverty Reduction,
880 and Environment in the Tropical Forests. World Bank. 0821368532.
881 <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/7190>.
- 882 84. Sarwanto, D., and Prayitno, C.H. (2015). The diversity and productivity of indigenous
883 forage in former limestone mining quarry in karst mountain of Southern Gombong,
884 Central Java Indonesia. *Anim. Prod.* *17*, 69-75.
- 885 85. Blundy, J., Mavrogenes, J., Tattitch, B., Sparks, S., and Gilmer, A. (2015). Generation
886 of porphyry copper deposits by gas–brine reaction in volcanic arcs. *Nat. Geosci.* *8*,
887 235-240.
- 888 86. Hayati, T. (2019). Problematika perizinan di sektor pertambangan dan kehutanan.
889 Program Magister Hukum Kekhususan Sumber Daya Alam (University of Indonesia).
- 890 87. Camba, A. (2021). The unintended consequences of national regulations: Large-scale-
891 small-scale relations in Philippine and Indonesian nickel mining. *Resour Policy* *74*.
892 10.1016/j.resourpol.2021.102213.
- 893 88. Geist, H.J., and Lambin, E.F. (2002). Proximate causes and underlying driving forces
894 of tropical deforestation. *Biosci.* *52*, 143-150.
- 895

896 **Figures**

897

898 **Figure 1. Mining concessions across Sulawesi and Indonesia.**

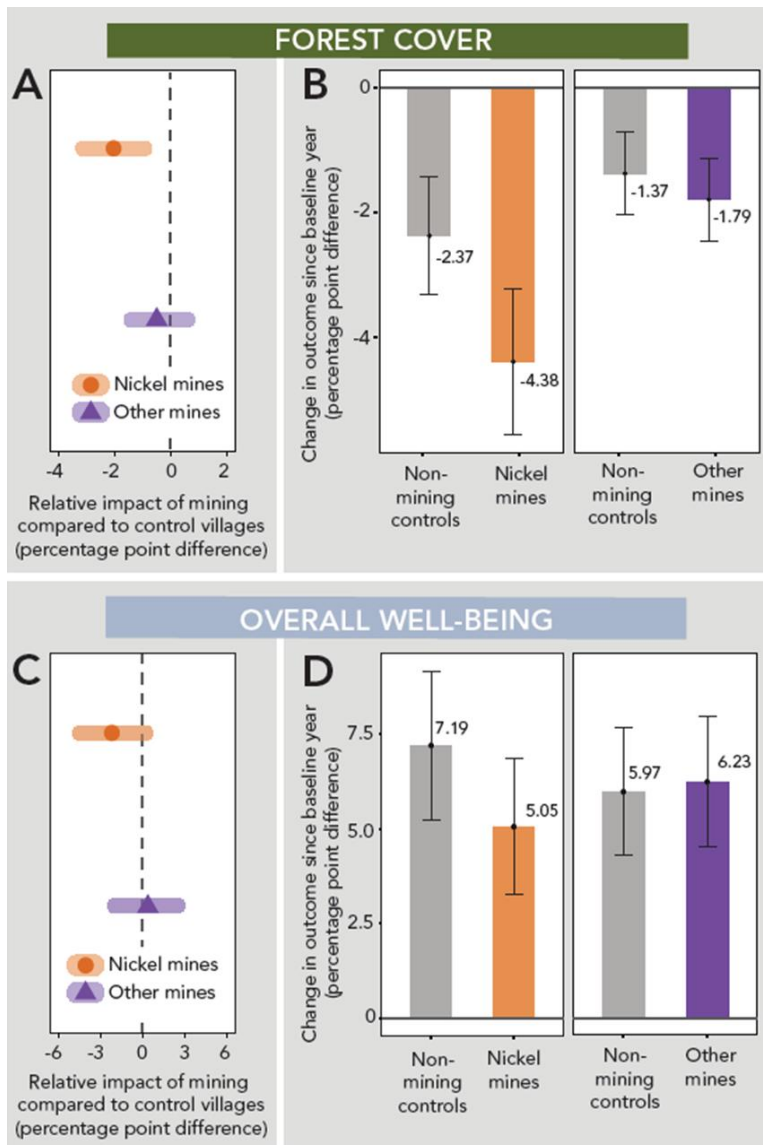
899 (A) Nickel mining (orange) concessions and other mining (purple) concessions in production
 900 phase in Sulawesi before (2000-2010) and (B) after (2011-2020) mining policy changes were
 901 introduced. Forest cover in 2011 is shown in green. (C) Total area of mining concessions for
 902 the top five mineral commodities produced in Sulawesi (black), before and after the mining
 903 policy changes, in relation to the rest of Indonesia (grey), according to the Indonesian
 904 Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.



905

906 **Figure 2. Background (i.e., unmatched) changes in forest cover and well-being**
 907 **between 2011 and 2018.**

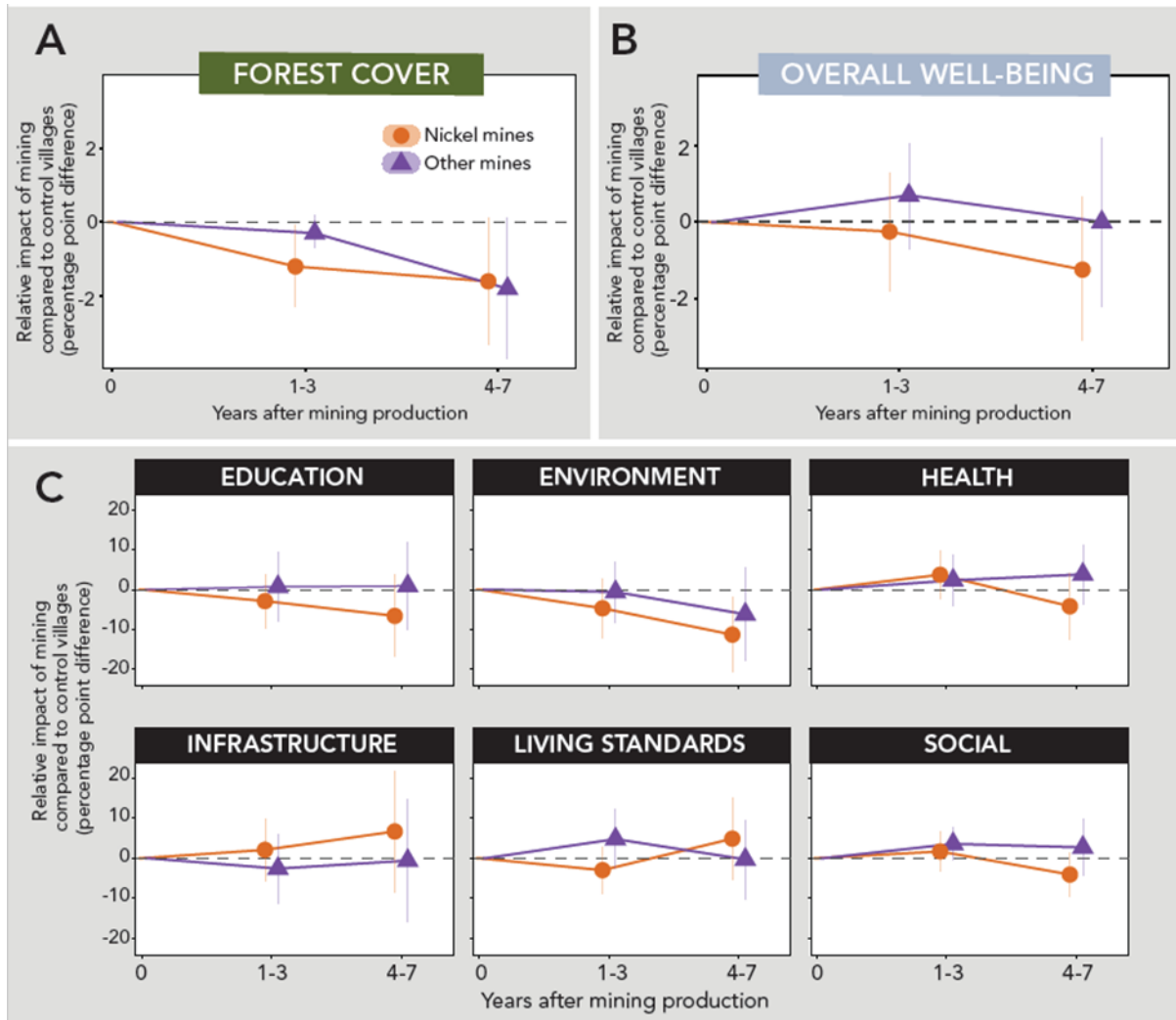
908 (A) Changes in forest cover between 2011 and 2018, with n indicating the number of villages
 909 in each forest cover category. (B) Change in overall well-being and (C) across the six well-
 910 being dimensions (the indicators used within each dimension can be found in Table 1), by
 911 subgroups. Well-being changes in nickel mining villages are shown in orange, other mining
 912 villages (all other mineral commodities excluding nickel) are shown in purple, and non-
 913 mining villages (no mines present from 2000 to 2018) are shown in white.



914

915 **Figure 3. The relative impact of mining nickel and other commodities on changes to**
 916 **forest cover and well-being in Sulawesi.**

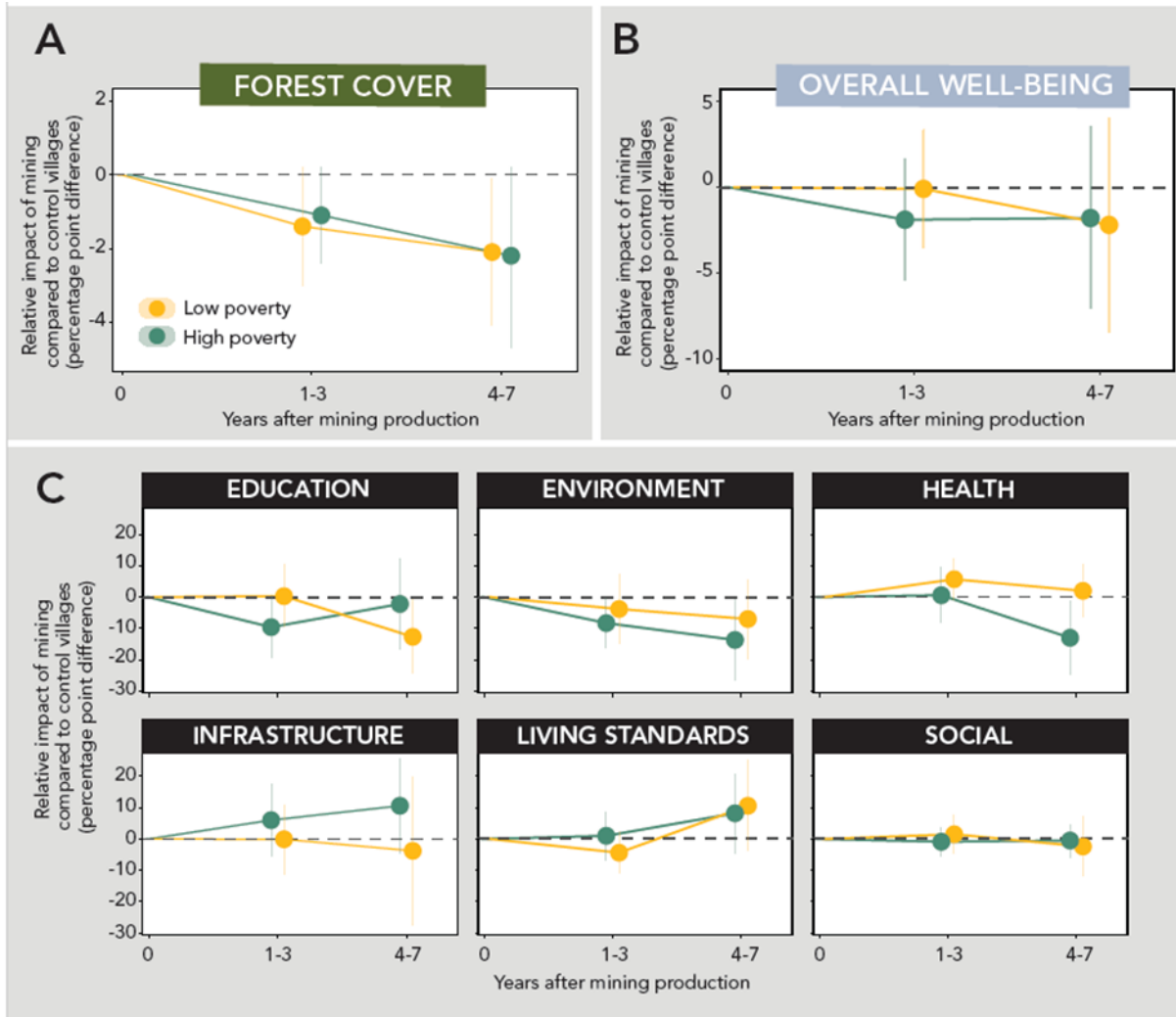
917 Coefficient plot (A) compares forest cover change in villages with nickel mines (n=132,
 918 orange dots) or other mines (n=115, purple triangles) relative to their respective non-mining
 919 control villages. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals - if these cross the zero
 920 line there is no significant difference between mining interventions and non-mining control
 921 villages. Bar plots (B) depict the change in forest cover since the 2011 baseline year in
 922 nickel mining villages and matched controls, and other mining villages versus their matched
 923 controls. Here, the confidence intervals show whether forest cover in 2018 differed from the
 924 baseline year (i.e., by not crossing the zero line). Plots C and D should be interpreted in the
 925 same way but for overall village well-being. Further details on the interpretation of the figure
 926 can be found in Tables S3 and S4. Table 1 provides an overview of the well-being
 927 dimensions and indicators, which together comprise the overall well-being score.



928

929 **Figure 4. Relative mining impacts across villages in Sulawesi over time.**

930 Impact of nickel mining (orange dots) or other mining (purple triangles) relative to changes
 931 occurring in non-mining control villages 1-3 years (n=132 for nickel; n=115 for other mines)
 932 and 4-7 years (n=44; n=47) following production. The 1-3 and 4-7 year intervals post-mining
 933 are determined by the availability of census data. Panels (A) and (B) show the impacts for
 934 forest cover and overall well-being, respectively. Panel (C) shows the well-being outcomes
 935 by dimension. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals between mineral commodities
 936 and control villages (the zero line). Table 1 provides an overview of the six dimensions and
 937 18 indicators, which together comprise the overall well-being score.



938

939 **Figure 5. The role of poverty baseline conditions in determining forest cover change**
 940 **and well-being outcomes in nickel mining villages.**

941 Impact of nickel mining where 2011 poverty baseline conditions were low (n=61 [1-3 years],
 942 n=19 [4-7 years], yellow dots), or high (n=70 [1-3 years], n=34 [4-7 years], green dots),
 943 compared to non-mining (control) villages with the similar poverty baseline conditions.

944 Panels (A) and (B) show the impacts for forest cover and overall well-being, respectively.

945 Panel (C) shows the well-being outcomes by dimension. The 1-3 and 4-7 year intervals post-
 946 mining are determined by the availability of census data. Error bars represent 95%

947 confidence intervals between nickel mining and control villages (the zero line). Table 1

948 provides an overview of the six dimensions and 18 indicators, which together comprise the

949 overall well-being score.

950 **Tables**951 **Table 1. The construction of a well-being index for Indonesia.**

Dimension^a	PODES Indicator	Description	Score of 0 (low well-being) or 1 (high well-being). A score of 1 is given if:
Living Standards	WATER	Main source of drinking water	Water is obtained from bottled water, refill water, plumbing with meter, or plumbing without meter
	TOILET	Type of toilet facility	Majority of households have a private facility
	FUEL	Type of cooking fuel	Fuel source is LPG or gas
Health	FACILITIES	Availability of healthcare facilities	There are health care facilities, and the nearest polyclinic is <19 km away
	MALNUTRITION	Cases of malnutrition	Where less than two cases of malnutrition are reported per 1000 of the village population in the last year
	DISEASE	Mortality due to malaria or vomiting	No mortality has occurred due to malaria nor diarrhoea reported in the last year
Education	PRIMARY	Presence of primary school	At least one primary school is present
	JUNIOR	Presence of junior high school	Junior high school is less than 3 km away
	LITERACY	At least one literacy support program	At least one literacy support programme is available
Environment	WATER	Occurrence of water pollution	No water pollution has occurred in the last 3 years
	AIR	Occurrence of air pollution	No air pollution has occurred in the last 3 years
	DISASTERS	Occurrence of natural disaster	No natural disaster has occurred in the last 3 years
Infrastructure	SKTM	Number of households with poverty (SKTM) letters	The number of families with SKTM letters is no more than 10% of village household population
	MARKET	Presence of permanent or semi-permanent market in village	Where nearest permanent or semi-permanent market is <10 km away
	CREDIT	Availability of food credit, small business credit, people business credit, and housing credit	Village with any sort of access to credit support
Social	COOPERATION	Mutual-cooperation activities	Mutual cooperation activities are present
	CRIME	Any serious crimes occur in the last 3 years	Village reporting three crimes or less in the past year
	CONFLICT	A report of mass conflict in the past year	No report of mass conflict in the last year

952 ^aEighteen PODES⁶³ indicators were grouped to represent six dimensions of well-being (living standards, environment, infrastructure, health,
953 social and education)³⁴. To calculate overall well-being, each indicator was given an equal weighting within a dimension (1/3). Each individual

954 indicator was given the binary score of 0 or 1, where 0 denotes a village falling below the acceptable threshold specific to that indicator. References
 955 and visualisation of the pathways between nickel mining and village well-being outcomes are shown in Figure S3 in the Supplemental Information.
 956 Table S6 provides details on the directionality of expected well-being outcomes, and the possible causal pathway mechanisms.

957 **Table 2. Covariates that influence the assignment of mining villages and trends in forest cover and well-being.**

Covariate type^a	Covariate details^b	Rationale^b	Dataset^b
Biophysical	Average elevation (m.a.s.l) <i>Log(Continuous)</i>	Correlated with deforestation and livelihood decisions ⁸³	SRTM 90 m Digital Elevation Database v4.1
	Average slope (degrees) <i>Log(Continuous)</i>	Correlated with deforestation and livelihood decisions ⁸³	SRTM 90 m Digital Elevation Database v4.1
	Average rainfall in dry season <i>(Continuous)</i>	Affects livelihood decisions ⁸³	WorldClim
	Average rainfall in wet season <i>(Continuous)</i>	Affects livelihood decisions ⁸³	WorldClim
	Area of Limestone rock (%) <i>(Continuous)</i>	Geological characteristics shape mineral selection ⁸⁴ (only included in 'other mineral commodity' impact evaluation)	RePPPProT
	Area of volcanic rock (%) <i>(Continuous)</i>	Geological characteristics shape mineral selection ⁸⁵ (only included in 'other mineral commodity' impact evaluation)	RePPPProT
	Area of forest cover in 2011 (%)	Previous area of forest cover is correlated with deforestation activities already existing	Forest cover and forest cover change layer
Land governance	Area of village under production forest <i>(Hutan Produksi)</i> <i>(Continuous)</i>	Mining concessions allowed in production forest sites ⁶	Forest Zone Map

Covariate type ^a	Covariate details ^b	Rationale ^b	Dataset ^b
	Area of village under protected forest (<i>Hutan Lindung</i>) (Continuous)	Underground mining activities can take place in protected forests. Open pit mining is not permitted ⁶	Forest Zone Map
	Area of village that is Non Forest estate (<i>Areal Penggunaan Lain, APL</i>) (Continuous)	Mining concessions are allowed on Non Forest estate ⁸⁶	Forest Zone Map
	Administrative provincial boundary where villages are located (Categorical)	Government decision-making at the province level influences distribution of resources ⁸⁷	<i>Potensi desa</i> (PODES)
	Area of village (km ²) <i>Log(Continuous)</i>	Village area linked to size of mining area	<i>Potensi desa</i> (PODES)
Socio-demographic	Population density (capita/km ²) <i>Log(Continuous)</i>	Higher resource extraction is associated with high population levels ⁸⁸	<i>Potensi desa</i> (PODES)
	Slope, road and landcover to measure level of accessibility to settlements (travel time, hours) <i>Log(Continuous)</i>	Greater access to markets and infrastructure can influence livelihood decisions and forest cover ⁸⁸	Accessibility layer
	Village poverty score in 2011 <i>Categorical (Low, High)</i>	Poverty baseline level may moderate well-being outcomes	<i>Potensi desa</i> (PODES)
	Primary village livelihood at baseline year (2011) <i>Categorical (Capture Fisheries; Commercial fisheries; Market-orientated; Subsistence; Other)</i>	Livelihood type shapes well-being outcomes ³⁰	<i>Potensi desa</i> (PODES)

958 ^aCovariates are grouped into three types: i) biophysical, ii) land governance, and iii) socio-demographic. ^bDetails, rationale, and source of each
959 covariate included in the analysis. The source of each dataset cited in the table is listed in Table S2 in the Supplemental Information.

Supplemental information

Supplemental figures

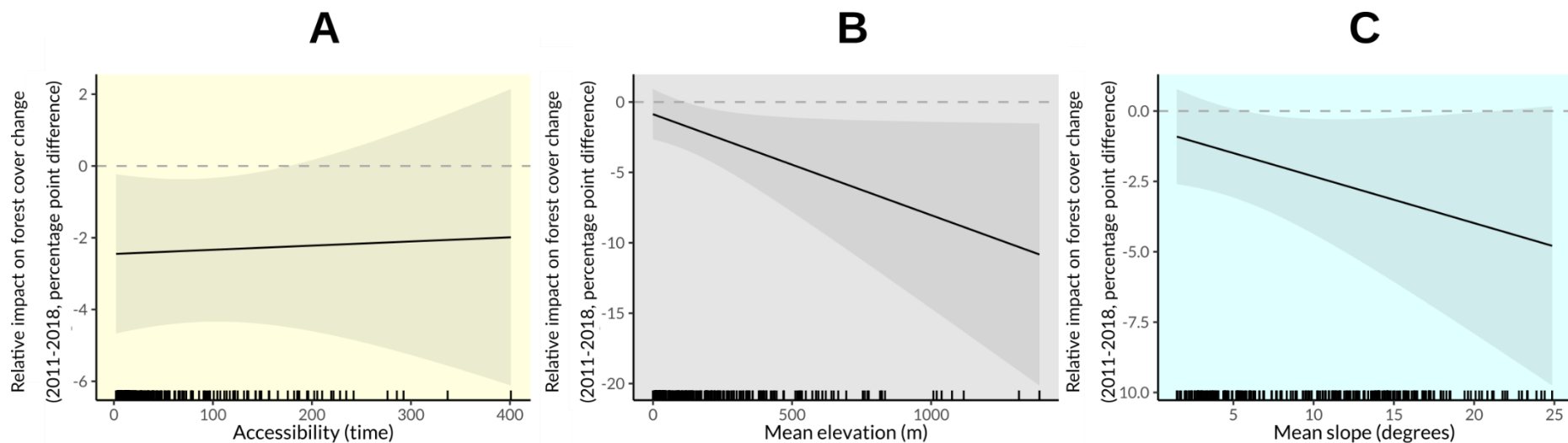


Figure S1. Heterogenous impacts of nickel mining on forest cover change (2011-2018) moderated by accessibility of village (A – yellow panel), average elevation (B – grey panel), and average slope (C –blue background). The grey horizontal line intercepting zero on the y-axis represents no impact from mining production. Shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals between nickel mining and control villages (the zero line).

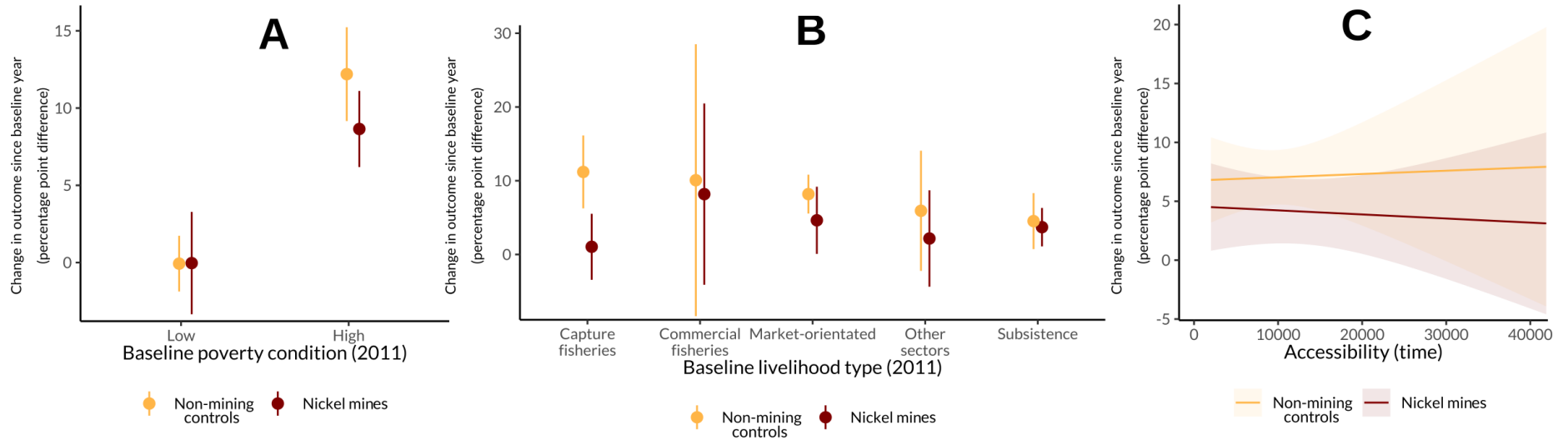
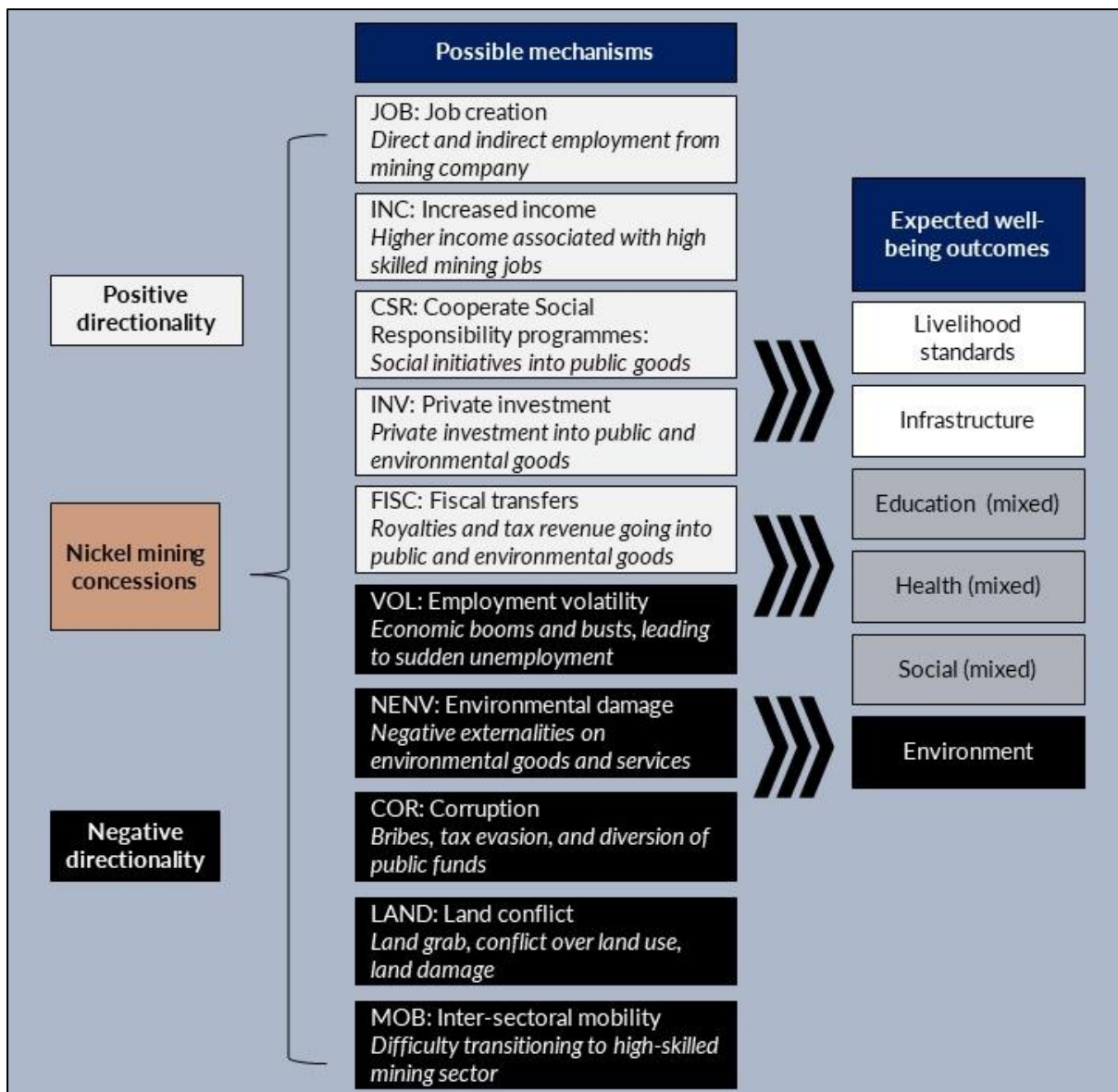


Figure S2. Heterogenous impacts of nickel mining on change in well-being (2011-2018) moderated by baseline poverty condition of village (A), primary livelihood type (B), and accessibility (C). Error bars in column A and B, and shaded areas in column C represent 95% confidence intervals show difference in overall well-being from in 2018 differed from the baseline year.



FigureS3. Possible mechanisms of nickel mining concessions on village well-being. Identified mechanisms and outcomes are based on empirical evidence in Table S4 in the supplemental information. The categorisation of mechanisms is based on relevant literature reviews addressing mining impacts on well-being and poverty alleviation ¹⁻³. White boxes depict positive mechanisms and outcomes, and black boxes represent negative mechanisms and outcomes on well-being. Grey boxes show that well-being outcomes are expected to be mixed.

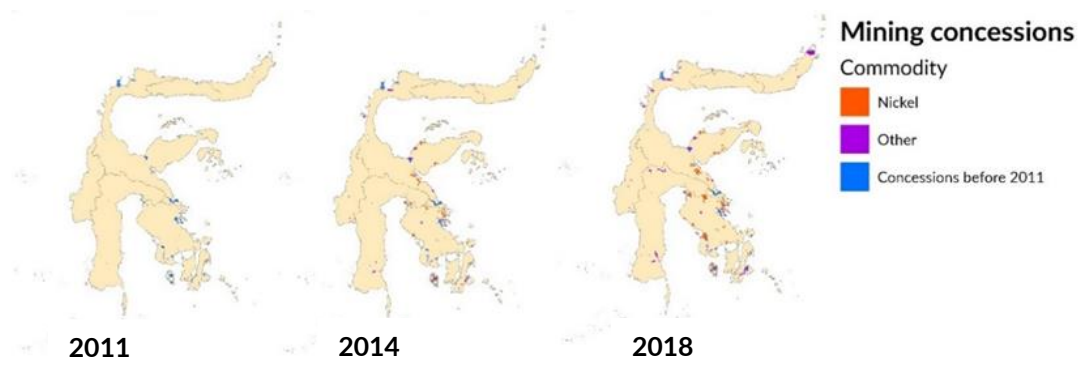


Figure S4. The establishment of mining concessions with a production permit across Sulawesi in 2011, 2014, and 2018. The blue polygons are all mining concessions (nickel and other mineral commodities) that were established before 2011 (earliest recorded mining permit was in the year 2006). Polygons that produce nickel after 2011 are shown in orange, and other mineral commodities are shown in purple.

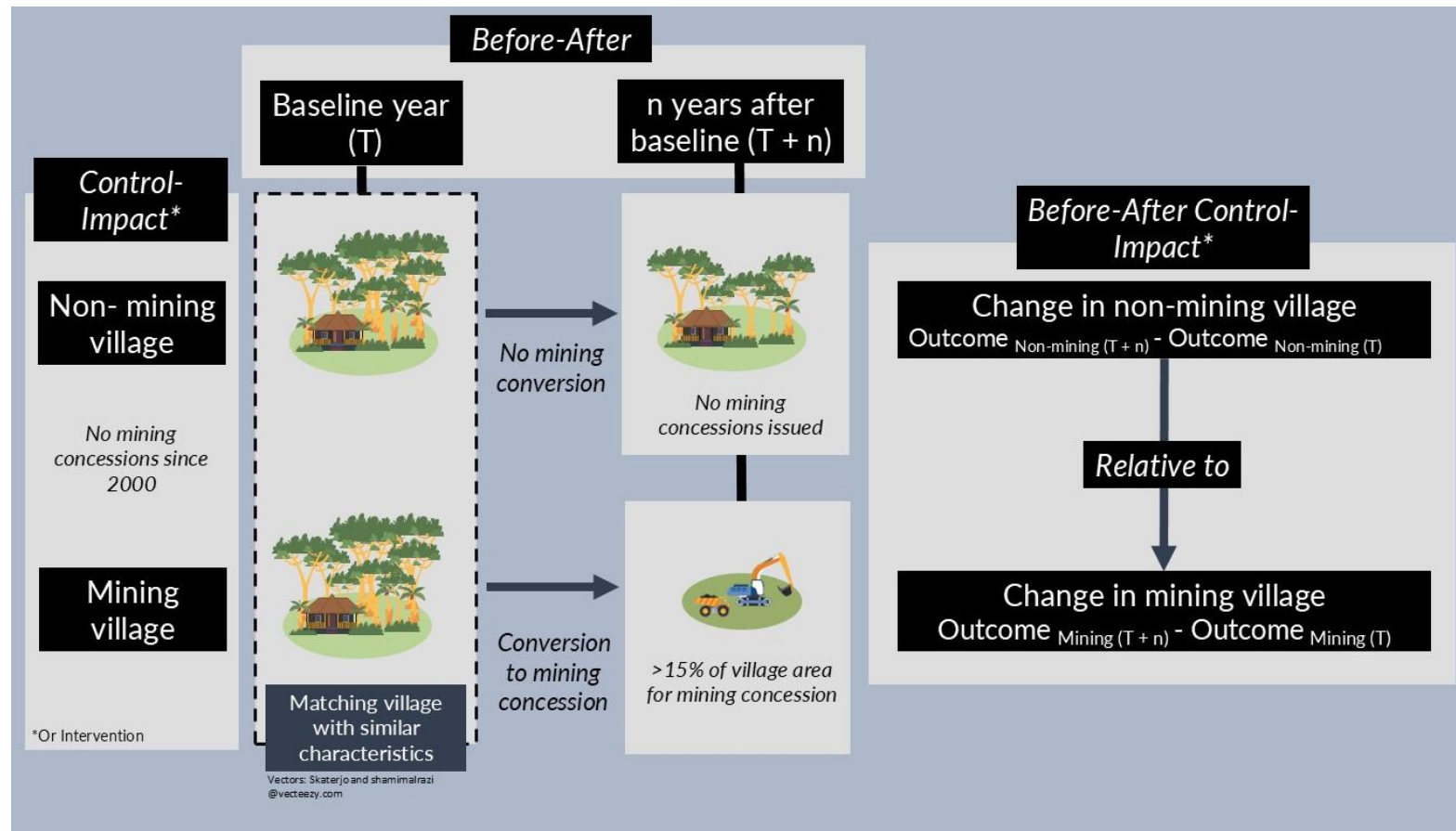


Figure S5. Conceptual diagram illustrating the matching assessment and Before-After Control-Intervention approach to quantify the impact of mining (nickel or other) on forest cover and village well-being outcomes. All village units in the matching and regression analysis only includes villages where no mining concessions have occurred since the year 2000 up until the baseline year. Each village unit was classified as a mining village if over 15% of the village area was under mining concession. Non-mining villages were villages units where no mining concessions were allocated during the analysis period. Villages with less than 15% mining concession cover were excluded from the sample. The 15% threshold is the median proportion of village area allocated to mining concessions across Sulawesi. The number of villages in the mining and non-mining village were different depending on the mineral commodity (nickel or other) and the time frame (1-7 years, 1-3 years, 4-7 years). This information can be found in Table S6.

Supplemental tables

Table S1. List of geo-political bodies listing nickel as a critical mineral. Geo-political bodies include countries, international agencies, and geo-political blocs. References are provided in the 'Source' column.

Geo-political bodies	Source
United States Geological Survey (USGS)	USGS, (2022). 2022 final list of critical minerals. US Geological Society. https://d9-wret.s3.us-west-2.amazonaws.com/assets/palladium/production/s3fs-public/media/files/2022%20Final%20List%20of%20Critical%20Minerals%20Federal%20Register%20Notice_2222022-F.pdf .
Canada	Natural Resources Canada (2022). The Canadian Critical Minerals Strategy from exploration to recycling: Powering the Green and Digital Economy for Canada and the World. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/nrcan-rncan/site/critical-minerals/Critical-minerals-strategyDec09.pdf
Australia	The Australian Government (2023). Australia's Critical Minerals List and Strategic Materials List. https://www.industry.gov.au/publications/australias-critical-minerals-list-and-strategic-materials-list#footnote-2 .
The European Parliament	European Parliament (2024). Regulation (EU) 2024/1252 of the European Parliament and of the council In European Parliament, ed. 2024/1252
The International Energy Agency (IEA)	IEA (2024). Global critical minerals outlook 2024. IEA. https://www.iea.org/reports/global-critical-minerals-outlook-2024 .

Table S2. List of datasets used in the impact evaluation analysis. The type of data extracted from each dataset is provided, including the dataset source.

Dataset	Data	Source
Mining concession map (2020)	Mining data: concession locations, mining commodity, and permit details	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) https://geoportal.esdm.go.id/
Potensi desa (PODES) 2011, 2014, 2018	Village data: well-being, population density, poverty baseline condition, livelihood activities, and village boundaries	Morgans et al. ⁴ , Statistics Indonesia (BPS)
Forest cover change layer	Forest cover (including mangrove and primary forests) and forest cover change	Giri et al. ⁵ Hansen et al. ⁶ Margono et al. ⁷
Accessibility layer	Level of accessibility to settlements (travel time, hours) using slope, roads, and land cover measures.	Deere et al. ⁸
National land-use maps (2010)	Forest zones: production forest (<i>hutan produksi</i>), protected forest (<i>hutan lindung</i>), non-forest estate (<i>areal penggunaan lain</i>)	Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) https://gis-gfw.wri.org/arcgis/rest/services/commodities/MapServer/13
RePPPProT	Land systems including geophysical characteristics	RePPPProT ⁹
SRTM 90 m Digital Elevation database v4.1	Slope and elevation	Jarvis et al. ¹⁰
WorldClim	Average rainfall	Fick and Hijmans ¹¹

Table S3. Average effects of mineral commodities (nickel and other mining) on deforestation. Values in column ‘Intervention’ and ‘Control’ are the average change in forest cover since the baseline year (Before-After). Column ‘Difference (Intervention-Control)’ shows difference in forest cover change between the intervention and control group. The last column shows the difference in forest cover change in proportion to change in the control group. The 95% confidence intervals are in brackets. Values correspond to Figure 3A and 3B in the main text. pp.=percentage point.

	Intervention (Before-After) [Panel Fig. 3B]	Control (Before-After) [Panel Fig. 3B]	Difference (Intervention- Control) [Panel Fig. 3A]	Difference proportional to Control
Forest cover change	Nickel mines (pp.)	Non-mining (pp.)	(pp.)	(%)
	-4.38 [-5.45 to -3.31]	-2.37 [-3.1 to -1.6]	-2.02 [-3.16 to -0.87]	85.23
	Other mines (pp.)	Non-mining (pp.)	(pp.)	(%)
	-1.79 [-2.45 to -1.12]	-1.37 [-2.06 to -0.68]	-0.42 [-1.42 to 0.59]	30.66

Table S4. Average effects of mineral commodities (nickel and other mining) on improving well-being. Values in column 'Intervention' and 'Control' show the average changes in well-being since the baseline year (Before-After). Column 'Difference (Intervention-Control)' shows the difference in well-being change between intervention and control group. The last column shows the difference in well-being changes in proportion to change in the control. The 95% confidence intervals are shown in brackets. Values correspond to Figure 3C and 3D in the main text. pp.=percentage point.

	Intervention (Before-After) [Panel Fig. 3D]	Control (Before-After) [Panel Fig. 3D]	Difference (Intervention- Control) [Panel Fig. 3C]	Difference proportional to control
Well-being change	Nickel mines(pp.)	Non-mining (pp.)	(pp.)	(%)
	5.05 [3.32 to 6.78]	7.19 [5.28 to 9.11]	-2.14 [-4.55 to 0.27]	-29.81
	Other mines (pp.)	Non-mining (pp.)	(pp.)	(%)
	6.51 [4.8 to 8.2]	6.24 [4.21 to 8.28]	0.26 [-2.02 to 2.55]	4.22

Table S5. Heterogenous impacts of nickel mining on forest cover in matched samples. Negative interaction terms suggest a greater impact intensity in deforestation due to nickel mining production between 2011 and 2018. Standard errors are in parentheses and 95% confidence intervals are in brackets.

	Nickel - Accessibility	Nickel - Elevation (m)	Nickel - Slope (deg)
Mining impact	-2.451 (1.143) [-4.690, -0.212]	-0.869 (0.909) [-2.652, 0.913]	-0.665 (0.943) [-2.514, 1.184]
Covariate	-0.00005 (0.00005) [-0.00014, 0.00004]	-0.001 (0.001) [-0.003, 0.001]	-0.119 (0.051) [-0.220, -0.018]
Interaction	0.00001 (0.006) [-0.0001, 0.00013]	-0.007 (0.004) [-0.014, -0.00001]	-0.166 (0.117) [-0.395, 0.063]
No. of villages	264	264	264
AIC	1691.352	1677.156	1678.965
BIC	1709.232	1695.036	1696.845

Table S6. Description of indicators in each dimension, possible mechanisms between nickel mining and well-being outcomes and expected directionality. Abbreviations and description for possible mechanisms can be found in Figure S3 in the Supplemental Information. Expected outcome and directionality are based on empirical studies found in in the ‘Source’ column. Expected directionality for well-being outcomes + = positive, - = negative, +/- = mixed. INC: Income, INV: Private Investment, FISC: Fiscal transfers, NENV: Environmental damage, CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility programmes, JOB: Job creation, LAND: Land conflicts, VOL: Employment volatility, COR: Corruption, MOB: Inter-sectoral mobility.

Dimension	PODES Indicator	Description	Possible mechanisms	Expected outcome:	Expected Directionality	Sources
Living Standards	WATER	Main source of drinking water	INC, INV, FISC	Access to safe drinking water	+	12,13
	TOILET	Type of toilet facility	INC, INV, FISC	Access to improved toilet facilities	+	13
	FUEL	Type of cooking fuel	INC, INV, FISC	Access to LPG or Gas	+	13
Health	FACILITIES	Availability of healthcare facilities	INV, FISC	Access to health facilities improve	+	13
	MALNUTRITION	Cases of malnutrition	INC, NENV	Larger expenditure spent on food. Local production of foods less accessible	+/-	13
Education	DISEASE	Mortality due to malaria or vomiting	INC, FISC	Improvement in vaccinations and health care treatments.	+	12
	PRIMARY	Presence of primary school	CSR, FISC	Investment into schools	+	12,14
	JUNIOR	Presence of junior high school	CSR, FISC	Investment into schools	+	12,14
	LITERACY	At least one literacy support program	CSR, FISC	Access to literacy programmes improve	+	12
Environment	WATER	Occurrence of water pollution	NENV	Greater occurrence of water pollution	-	15-19
	AIR	Occurrence of air pollution	NENV	Greater occurrence of air pollution	-	15-20
Infrastructure	DISASTERS	Occurrence of natural disaster	NENV	Greater occurrence of natural disasters	-	21
	SKTM	Number of households with poverty (SKTM) letters	JOB; INC	Decrease in the number of households receiving SKTM	+	13,22

Dimension	PODES Indicator	Description	Possible mechanisms	Expected outcome:	Expected Directionality	Sources
	MARKET	Presence of permanent or semi-permanent market in village	JOB; INV; FISC	Greater access to markets in village	+	21
	CREDIT	Availability of food credit, small business credit, people business credit, and housing credit	INV; FISC	Greater availability of credit support	+	12
Social	COOPERATION	Mutual-cooperation activities	CSR, LAND, ENEV	In-migration and shift in labour can fragment mutual cooperation activities Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives encourage greater cooperation activities	+/-	12,14,23
	CRIME	Any serious crimes occur in the last 3 years	VOL; COR; LAND	Increase in the number of crimes reported	-	13
	CONFLICT	A report of mass conflict in the past year	COR; LAND; NENV; MOB	Greater occurrence of conflict.	-	13,17

Table S7. Description of spatial mining layer across Sulawesi before and after 2011 by mineral commodity: nickel and other. The number of permits only include those that were issued for mining production. The area of mining concessions in production are shown in million hectares, both before and after the year 2011.

Description	Nickel		Other	
	2000-2010	2011-2018	2000-2010	2011-2018
Mining polygons (n)	77	227	150	190
Permits (n)	48	177	44	141
Area (mil. ha)	0.09	0.31	0.08	0.23

Table S8. Number of villages in the *Potensi Desa* (PODES) dataset before and after the matching analysis to assess the change in forest cover and well-being at the village level. 454 villages were excluded as the mining area was more than 0% but less than 15% of the village area, and/or contained mining concessions with exploration permits. A further seven mining villages were excluded due to polygon overlap between nickel mining and other mining concessions. By using various PODES census timepoints (2011, 2014, 2018), we assessed the impact of mining (Other and Nickel) from 1-7 years, 1-3 years (short term), and 4-7 years (mid-term) after the mining concession had been developed.

Non-mining villages ^a		Mining villages ^b		Intervention characteristics			
Before matching	After matching	Before matching	After matching	Mineral Commodity	Age of mining concession	Baseline year	PODES census year
7,474	101	115	115	Other	1-7 years	2011	2018
7,474	45	47	47	Other	1-3 years	2011	2014
7,474	58	68	68	Other	1-3 years	2014	2018
7,474	45	46	46	Other	4-7 years	2011	2018
7,474	116	132	132	Nickel	1-7 years	2011	2018
7,474	51	53	53	Nickel	1-3 years	2011	2014
7,474	70	79	79	Nickel	1-3 years	2014	2018
7,474	42	44	44	Nickel	4-7 years	2011	2018

^aNo mining concessions were present between 2000 and 2018.

^bVillages where mining concessions in production were established.

Table S9. Covariate balance between nickel mining villages and non-mining villages before and after matching analysis. The SMD is the Standard Mean Difference between the nickel mining and non-mining group for each covariate. SMD values under 0.2 indicate there is sufficient overlap between the two groups after the matching analysis. These results are averaged across three timeframes (PODES census points 2011-2014, 2014-2018, and 2011-2018).

Covariate	Before matching		After matching		SMD
	Nickel mining	Non-mining	Nickel mining	Non-mining	
Log(elevation)	4.802	4.682	4.802	4.761	0.030
Log(slope)	2.406	2.164	2.406	2.386	0.052
Log(access)	7.875	7.427	7.875	7.929	0.055
Log(area)	2.605	2.231	2.605	2.557	0.048
Log(population density)	4.150	5.158	4.150	4.132	0.015
Av. rainfall - Dry	98.280	100.064	98.280	96.907	0.061
Av. rainfall - Wet	203.183	212.979	203.183	203.010	0.079
Forest cover (%)	0.34	0.16	0.34	0.34	0.025
Other lands (%)	60.828	74.290	60.828	61.256	0.033
Production forest (%)	20.456	10.425	20.456	19.706	0.029
Protect forest (%)	15.300	10.744	15.300	13.850	0.061

Table S10. Covariate balance between other mining villages and non-mining villages before and after matching analysis. The SMD is the Standard Mean Difference between the other mining and non-mining group for each covariate. SMD values under 0.2 indicate there is sufficient overlap between the two groups after the matching analysis. These results are averaged across three timeframes (PODES census points 2011-2014, 2014-2018, and 2011-2018).

Covariate	Before matching		After matching		SMD
	Other mining	Non-mining	Other mining	Non-mining	
Log(elevation)	5.296	4.682	5.296	5.249	0.065
Log(slope)	2.539	2.164	2.539	2.512	0.065
Log(Access)	8.192	7.427	8.192	8.127	0.068
Log(Area)	3.015	2.231	3.015	2.956	0.070
Log(population density)	4.239	5.158	4.239	4.242	0.043
Av. rainfall - Dry	109.875	100.064	109.875	109.768	0.033
Av. rainfall - Wet	201.054	212.979	201.054	198.998	0.061
Forest cover (%)	0.321	0.160	0.321	0.322	0.037
Other lands (%)	53.449	74.290	53.449	55.320	0.062
Production forest (%)	26.516	10.425	26.516	25.734	0.042
Protect forest (%)	17.704	10.744	17.704	17.361	0.026

Table S11. Number of villages in the PODES dataset before and after the matching analysis by poverty status. By using various PODES census timepoints (2011, 2014, 2018), we assessed the impact of nickel mining from 1-7 years, 1-3 years, and 4-7 years after the mining concession had been developed. The baseline poverty condition is the inverse of the well-being index calculated for the year 2011 across Sulawesi. Villages were then categorised as either Low or High as defined by the median poverty score at the regional level.

Non-mining villages ^a		Mining villages ^b		Intervention characteristics					
Before matching	After matching	Before matching	After matching	Mineral commodity	Age of mining concession	Baseline year	PODES year	Baseline poverty condition ^c	
7,474	18	19	19	Nickel	1-3 years	2011	2014	Low	
7,474	40	43	42	Nickel	1-3 years	2014	2018	Low	
7,474	15	15	15	Nickel	4-7 years	2011	2018	Low	
7,474	33	34	34	Nickel	1-3 years	2011	2014	High	
7,474	34	36	36	Nickel	1-3 years	2014	2018	High	
7,474	27	29	29	Nickel	4-7 years	2011	2018	High	

^aNo mining concessions were present between 2000 and 2018.

^bVillages where mining concessions in production were established.

^cThe baseline poverty condition is the inverse of the well-being index calculated for the year 2011 across Sulawesi. Villages were then categorised into two quantiles - Low and High. We carry out separate matching processes for each baseline poverty group (Poverty 2011).

Supplemental references

1. Gamu, J., Le Billon, P., and Spiegel, S. (2015). Extractive industries and poverty: a review of recent findings and linkage mechanisms. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 2, 162-176. 10.1016/j.exis.2014.11.001.
2. Werner, T.T., Bebbington, A., and Gregory, G. (2019). Assessing impacts of mining: Recent contributions from GIS and remote sensing. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 6, 993-1012. 10.1016/j.exis.2019.06.011.
3. Cust, J., and Poelhekke, S. (2015). The local economic impacts of natural resource extraction. *Annu. Rev. Resour. Econ.* 7, 251-268. 10.1146/annurev-resource-100814-125106.
4. Morgans, C., Jago, S., Andayani, N., Linkie, M., Lo, M.G.Y., Mumbunan, S., St. John, F., Supriatna, J., Voigt, M., Winarni, N., et al. (2024). Improving well-being and reducing deforestation in Indonesian's protected forests. *Conserv. Lett.* <https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.13010>.
5. Giri, C., Ochieng, E., Tieszen, L.L., Zhu, Z., Singh, A., Loveland, T., Masek, J., and Duke, N. (2011). Status and distribution of mangrove forests of the world using earth observation satellite data. *Global Ecol. Biogeogr.* 20, 154-159. 10.1111/j.1466-8238.2010.00584.x.
6. Hansen, M.C., Potapov, P.V., Moore, R., Hancher, M., Turubanova, S.A., Tyukavina, A., Thau, D., Stehman, S.V., Goetz, S.J., Loveland, T.R., et al. (2013). High-resolution global maps of 21st-century forest cover change. *Science* 342, 850-853. 10.1126/science.1244693.
7. Margono, B.A., Potapov, P.V., Turubanova, S., Stolle, F., and Hansen, M.C. (2014). Primary forest cover loss in Indonesia over 2000-2012. *Nat. Clim. Change.* 4, 730-735. 10.1038/nclimate2277.
8. Deere, N.J., Guillera-Aroita, G., Platts, P.J., Mitchell, S.L., Baking, E.L., Bernard, H., Haysom, J.K., Reynolds, G., Seaman, D.J.J., Davies, Z.G., and Struebig, M.J. (2020). Implications of zero-deforestation commitments: Forest quality and hunting pressure limit mammal persistence in fragmented tropical landscapes. *Conserv. Lett.* 13, e12701. 10.1111/conl.12701.
9. RePPProT. (1990). The land resources of Indonesia: A national overview.
10. Jarvis, A., Reuter, H.I., Nelson, A., and Guevara, E. (2008). Hole-filled SRTM for the Globe Version 4.
11. Fick, S.E., and Hijmans, R.J. (2017). WorldClim 2: new 1-km spatial resolution climate surfaces for global land areas. *Int J Climatol* 37, 4302-4315. 10.1002/joc.5086.
12. Agusdinata, D.B., Liu, W., Sulistyono, S., LeBillon, P., and Wegner, J. (2022). Evaluating sustainability impacts of critical mineral extractions: Integration of life cycle

- sustainability assessment and SDGs frameworks. *J. Ind. Ecol.*, 746–759. 10.1111/jiec.13317.
13. Rodon, T., and Levesque, F. (2015). Understanding the social and economic impacts of mining development in inuit communities: Experiences with past and present mines in Inuit Nunangat. *Northern Review*, 13-39. 10.22584/nr41.2015.002
 14. Rela, I.Z., Awang, A., Ramli, Z., Taufik, Y., Sum, S.M., and Muhammad, M. (2020). Effect of corporate social responsibility on community resilience: Empirical evidence in the nickel mining industry in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Sustainability* 12, 1395. 10.3390/su12041395.
 15. Ngole, V.M., and Ekosse, G.I.E. (2012). Copper, nickel and zinc contamination in soils within the precincts of mining and landfilling environments. *IJEST* 9, 485-494. 10.1007/s13762-012-0055-5.
 16. Levacher, C. (2016). Mineral resources in New Caledonia. Sovereignty, development and value of place. *DOAJ* 7, 11429. 10.4000/developpementdurable.11429.
 17. Hudayana, B., Suharko, and Widyanta, A. (2020). Communal violence as a strategy for negotiation: community responses to nickel mining industry in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 7, 1547-1556. 10.1016/j.exis.2020.08.012.
 18. Bai, Y., Zhang, T., Zhai, Y., Jia, Y., Ren, K., and Hong, J. (2022). Strategies for improving the environmental performance of nickel production in China: Insight into a life cycle assessment. *J. Environ. Manage.* 312, 114949. 10.1016/j.jenvman.2022.114949.
 19. Souffit, G.D., Mohamadou, L.L., Guembou Shouop, C.J., and Beyala Ateba, J.F. (2022). Assessment of trace elements pollution and their potential health risks in the cobalt–nickel bearing areas of Lomié, East Cameroon. *Environmental Monitoring and Assessment* 194, 127. 10.1007/s10661-022-09776-1.
 20. Nieminen, P., Panychev, D., Lyalyushkin, S., Komarov, G., Nikanov, A., Borisenko, M., Kinnula, V.L., and Toljamo, T. (2013). Environmental exposure as an independent risk factor of chronic bronchitis in northwest Russia. *Int. J. Circumpolar Health* 72, 19742. 10.3402/ijch.v72i0.19742.
 21. Karsadi, K., and Aso, L. (2023). Multidimensional impacts of nickel mining exploitation towards the lives of the local community. *JISH* 12, 222-227. 10.23887/jish.v12i2.58881.
 22. Kowasch, M. (2018). Nickel mining in northern New Caledonia - a path to sustainable development? *J. Geochem. Explor.* 194, 280-290. 10.1016/j.gexplo.2018.09.006.
 23. Iskandar, Z.R., Awang, A., and Ramli, Z. (2019). An analysis of the community perceptions of well-being: Special reference to nickel mining and processing industry. *Manag. Environ. Qual.* 30, 211-226. 10.1108/MEQ-02-2018-0042.