

GREENPEACE ADVOCACY AND INDIGENOUS FOREST GOVERNANCE PAPUA: THE AWYU-MOI CASE, 2021-2025

Nurul Fadhilah Syam*, Rahmawati Husein

*Master's Program in International Relations, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
Ringroad, Kasihan, Bantul, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55183

*Email: nfadhilahsyam16@yahoo.com

Received: 06/05/2026, Revised: 19/05/2026, Approved: 20/05/2026

ABSTRACT

Papuan indigenous people depend on customary forests for their social, cultural and economic survival. But it's under increasing threat from deforestation, plantation expansion and overlapping land-use permits. This study aims to analyze Greenpeace's strategy through the TAN framework in advocating for the protection of Papuan customary forests in the Awyu and Moi cases (2021–2025). This study uses descriptive qualitative methods based on the analysis of legal documents, campaign reports, and secondary data. This study explores how Greenpeace implements the TAN strategy through information, symbolic, influence, and accountability politics. Boomerang politics brings local issues into the international environmental and political agenda through global campaigns, media exposure, and transnational advocacy networks. The novelty of this study lies in combining the TAN framework and boomerang patterns to explain customary forest advocacy in Papua, particularly in the cases of Awyu and Moi, which are underrepresented in previous research. The results show that Greenpeace's advocacy increased public awareness, legal and political pressure for customary forest protection, and Indigenous Peoples' participation in environmental governance discussions. Although this study does not claim that advocacy directly reduced deforestation, it demonstrates Greenpeace's contribution to strengthening the monitoring of forest conversion policies and strengthening the discourse of sustainable forest management in Papua.

Keywords: *Awyu and Moi; Greenpeace; Papua; Sustainable Development; Transnational Advocacy Network*

INTRODUCTION

Forestry issues have become a global environmental concern that continues to attract attention because they are closely linked to deforestation, climate change, forest fires, biodiversity loss, ecosystem degradation, and land conflicts between indigenous communities, the state, and corporations. Various international reports indicate that the rate of forest loss across the world not only threatens environmental sustainability but also reduces forests' capacity to absorb carbon emissions, which play an important role in mitigating climate change (IPCC, 2022). Moreover, deforestation and forest degradation have been among the leading drivers of the global decline in biodiversity and the disruption of ecosystem functions that support human life and other species (FAO & UNEP, 2020). Furthermore, the increasing exploitation of natural resources through mining, illegal logging, infrastructure development, and the expansion of oil palm plantations also threatens the sustainability of forests worldwide, including in Indonesia. Forestry issues in Indonesia are becoming increasingly complex as they cause environmental damage and give rise to social problems such as the seizure of customary lands, the marginalization of local communities, and the lack of protection for indigenous peoples' rights to forest areas. Therefore, forestry issues are no longer viewed solely as environmental issues, but have evolved into a global governance agenda that simultaneously encompasses ecological, social, economic, and political dimensions (FAO, 2024).

The situation on the ground reveals a stark disparity between legal guarantees and the reality faced by the Indigenous Peoples in Papua. Concessions are frequently granted to oil palm plantation companies on customary lands without meaningful consultation and without the consent of the affected indigenous community (Kaukus Indonesia Kebebasan Akademik (KIKA), 2023). The expansion of extractive industries such as oil palm plantations, mining, and logging has led to deforestation, agrarian conflicts, and the loss of customary land rights. Large-scale land clearing by companies not only damages the environment but also threatens the livelihoods of indigenous communities who depend on the forest to meet their daily needs (Febryan, 2021). In this regard, Greenpeace notes that Papua is at the forefront of the expansion of the natural resource industry, particularly oil palm plantations, which threatens Indonesia's largest and last remaining stretches of natural forest (Greenpeace, 2021). Instead of receiving protection, communities defending their traditional rights are facing intimidation and threats of criminalization (Kaukus Indonesia Kebebasan Akademik (KIKA), 2023). This situation has led to agrarian conflicts, the marginalization of Indigenous Papuans (OAP), the loss of control over customary lands, and an increasing dependence of indigenous communities on the state. In fact, Papua's abundance of natural resources has given rise to the "resource curse," a phenomenon in which the massive exploitation of resources does not translate into improved well-being for local communities (Greenpeace, 2022).

Furthermore, Papua's rich flora is now facing a serious threat. International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) data shows that at least 470 plant species are endangered, and one species, *Manilkara napali* van Royen, has been declared extinct. One of the primary factors contributing to this is deforestation. Although the rate of forest loss is declining, the figures remain significant. According to Auriga's findings, Papua lost 663,443 hectares of forest over the past two decades, with 71% of that occurring between 2011 and 2019. On average, around 34,918 hectares of forest are lost yearly, equivalent to half the area of Jakarta (Oktavianto, 2023). This condition indicates that pressure on the forest ecosystem in Papua not only endangers the existence of various endemic plant species but also potentially disrupts the ecological functions of the forest as a store of carbon, a regulator of water, and a supporter of global biodiversity (IPBES, 2019). Various studies also show that deforestation in tropical forest regions is strongly related to a higher risk of habitat destruction, species loss, and a reduction in the capacity of ecosystems to sustain development in a sustainable way (FAO, 2024). This situation is clearly reflected in the struggles of the Moi and Awyu tribes, indigenous communities in Papua with deep ties to their ancestral forests. The Moi tribe is one of 52 tribes within the Domberai customary territory, located in Southwest Papua. Meanwhile, the Awyu tribe is one of the tribes inhabiting the Ha Anim customary territory, located in South Papua (Lumme, 2020). The forest is not only of ecological and economic value but also a living space and a source of cultural identity and knowledge passed down through generations for both communities (IPBES, 2019). Threats to the customary forests they inhabit are also regarded as threats to the continuation of indigenous peoples' rights and to the sustainability of the environment (OECD & FAO, 2023).

A Greenpeace report states that the Awyu people of the Kali Digoel and Kali Mappi regions continue to preserve their sacred lands and their traditional connection to the forest as part of the collective identity of Papua's indigenous communities (Greenpeace, 2021). The close relationship between indigenous people and forests has been identified in many studies as a fundamental pillar for the preservation of biodiversity, the sustainability of ecosystems, and the safeguarding of local knowledge (FAO & UNEP, 2020). Therefore, the struggle of the Moi and Awyu indigenous communities to defend their customary forests is a vital part of efforts to protect the environment and safeguard the rights of indigenous communities in Papua amid the growing pressure of development and the increasingly massive exploitation of natural resources (Febryan, 2021).

In the land conflict involving the Awyu and Moi indigenous communities, the Awyu indigenous community is working to protect 36,094 hectares of customary forest from the threat of expansion by PT Indo Asiana Lestari, while the Moi indigenous community, together with the

Sorong Regency government, is working to protect 18,160 hectares of customary forest threatened by the plans of PT Sorong Agro Sawitindo, which previously held a concession permit covering a larger area of approximately 40,000 hectares; however, in 2022, the central government revoked PT Sorong Agro Sawitindo's business license and subsequently refused to revoke its operating permit (Ramadhan, 2024). The expansion of plantations and conversion of forests in Indonesia, including Papua, are significant factors contributing to increased greenhouse gas emissions and are the leading causes of habitat loss for endemic species (Austin et al., 2019). These conflicts not only damage ecosystems through environmental degradation and loss of forest cover, but also threaten the rights of indigenous peoples. In response to this threat, the Awyu indigenous community in Boven Digoel and the Moi tribe in Sorong took legal action to defend their customary forests from palm oil plantation expansion. Lawsuits against the companies' environmental permits were filed up to the Supreme Court. Outside the realm of litigation, they also staged a peaceful demonstration in front of the Supreme Court building, wearing traditional clothing, holding prayers and traditional rituals, and carrying symbols representing their customary lands (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024d). Through peaceful protests, traditional rituals, and public messages, they are trying to get support at the national and international levels to protect their forests as a source of livelihood, cultural identity, and the last line of defense against the climate crisis (Belseran, 2024).

In this struggle, Greenpeace Indonesia, as part of the international Greenpeace network, plays an important role in bringing the issue of indigenous forests in Papua to the global stage. Greenpeace Indonesia has played an important role in addressing deforestation through campaigns, advocacy, monitoring, and collaboration with other NGOs (Rerung, 2023). Greenpeace played an active role in supporting the struggle of indigenous peoples in Papua through the #AllEyesOnPapua digital campaign, which went viral on social media (Ramadhanas, 2024). Greenpeace also collaborates with various organizations at the local and national levels, including the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (PPMAN), Pusaka Bentala Rakyat Papua, Satya Bumi, the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Papua, Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI), WALHI Papua, PILNet Indonesia, the Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy, and the HuMa Indonesia Association (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024c).

Greenpeace's involvement in this advocacy can be understood through the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) framework proposed by Keck and Sikkink (1998). This framework describes the role of non-state actors operating across national borders to advocate for specific issues through the formation of global advocacy networks. TAN outlines four main strategies: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics, which are used to mobilize support, shape public opinion, pressure policymakers, and ensure that commitments made are implemented (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b). The approach is widely used in international relations studies to explain how non-governmental organizations can extend the reach of local issues to the global level by using networks, media, and support from other international actors (Carpenter, 2007). In this context, TAN functions as a mechanism that not only drives global solidarity but also influences the process of formulating conservation policies and sustainable development planning in Papua. The relevance of the TAN framework in the Papua case is evident in the efforts of various advocacy actors to connect the issue of customary forest protection to the global agenda on the rights of indigenous peoples, biodiversity conservation, and sustainable development, thereby increasing normative pressure on policymakers (Bob, 2005).

Based on this background, this study aims to answer the question: "How do Greenpeace's strategies, as framed by the TAN framework, contribute to advocacy for the protection of indigenous forests in Papua in the cases of Awyu and Moi for the 2021–2025 period?" The focus of the study is on analyzing the implementation of the TAN strategy and evaluating its impact on environmental protection and indigenous forest governance. Academically, this research is expected to enrich the literature on international relations and sustainable planning

studies, practically, the results can serve as a reference for policymakers, environmental organizations, and indigenous communities in designing effective advocacy strategies that are integrated into conservation planning. This approach is relevant because the success of forest governance requires the involvement of non-state actors in promoting accountability, participation, and protection of natural resources (FAO, 2024). Based on previous studies, research on customary forests in Papua has largely focused on legal aspects, agrarian conflicts, and natural resource management. There was previous research that made an important contribution in analyzing Greenpeace's TAN strategies through a constructivist lens. However, the study remains limited to interpreting conflict as a clash of social constructions and has not yet addressed how transnational advocacy strategies concretely contribute to the establishment of sustainable forest governance. In contrast, this study not only analyzes advocacy strategies but also integrates each TAN strategy into the framework of sustainable forest governance and sustainable forest conservation governance. The inclusion of TAN and sustainable forest management perspectives is anticipated to enhance the international relations literature and shed light on the significance of global advocacy in shaping the conservation and protection policies of indigenous forests in Papua (Bernstein & Cashore, 2012).

The research illustrates the connections between transnational advocacy, forest governance reforms, and the protection of indigenous peoples' rights in the context of sustainable development. This suggests that transnational advocacy is increasingly understood as an important part of the dynamics of global environmental governance involving various cross-country actors (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b). Moreover, this study confirms that the integration of the TAN framework into sustainable forest governance studies remains relatively limited in the Indonesian literature. However, it is highly relevant for explaining changes in environmental policy (Risse et al., 2013). This study shows that transnational pressure from Greenpeace can reinforce the legal position of indigenous peoples and influence conservation policy formulation at the national and global levels, using the boomerang pattern, extending the analysis to 2025 (FAO & UNEP, 2020). This study thus provides a bridge between transnational advocacy and environmental governance in the context of protecting Papua's indigenous forests.

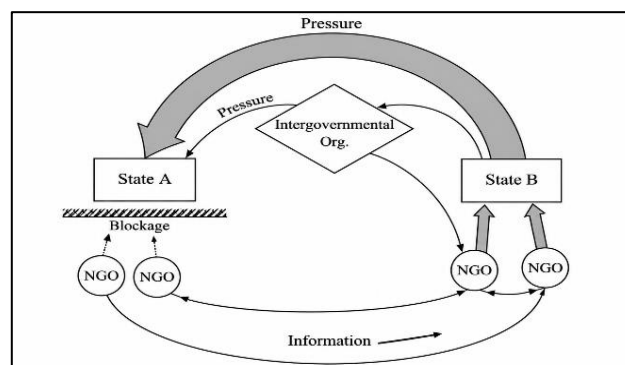
METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach to comprehensively analyze the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) strategy implemented by Greenpeace in advocating for the protection of the Auyu indigenous forest in Boven Digoel and Moi in Sorong from 2021–2025. This method is used to understand social phenomena contextually and holistically by analyzing descriptive and interpretive data of a non-statistical nature. Fadli (2021) describes qualitative research as a descriptive form of research that focuses on processes and meanings from the perspective of the research subject. This approach also aligns with the perspective that qualitative research allows researchers to understand complex social dynamics through in-depth interpretation of field data (Cresswell, 2014). This study employs a qualitative descriptive method to explain and interpret Greenpeace's advocacy strategies within the TAN framework. A descriptive qualitative approach was also chosen because it allows for an in-depth exploration of complex sociopolitical phenomena, particularly in the context of transnational environmental advocacy involving a wide range of actors, from indigenous communities and local NGOs to international organizations, the media, government agencies, and corporations. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, this study not only captures empirical facts in the field but also interprets the interactions and dynamics among these actors and examines how Greenpeace forms, operates, and manages transnational advocacy networks to achieve the goal of protecting indigenous forests. Furthermore, this approach enables an in-depth analysis of the patterns of environmental campaign strategies employed, the relationship between local issues and global support, and the mechanisms for mobilizing resources and public opinion that are characteristic of TAN. This is relevant to global

environmental governance because it explains how transnational actors influence policy processes through cross-country advocacy networks (Risse et al., 2013).

Data collection techniques were carried out through documentary research. Primary data was obtained from Greenpeace archives and official publications, including annual reports, reports on deforestation investigations in Papua, press releases, documents from the “Save Papua’s Forests” campaign, public education materials, and posts on the official social media accounts of Greenpeace Indonesia and Greenpeace International during the research period. These documents were accessed through Greenpeace’s official website, verified social media channels, and the organization’s public database. The documentary approach is commonly used in qualitative research to trace the policy and activity of transnational actors through systematically documented written sources (Bowen, 2009). Secondary data was obtained from relevant external sources, such as court decisions related to lawsuits filed by the Awyu and Moi indigenous peoples, national and international media reports, reports from partner organizations such as WALHI, Pusaka, Foker LSM Papua, and academic literature on environmental advocacy, indigenous forest protection, and TAN theory. This secondary data is also important for strengthening the validity of the findings, as it allows for cross-checking among various sources of information (Yin, 2018). Data was collected through searches in scientific databases such as Google Scholar, Scopus, Sinta, and online news archives and public repositories. Data analysis used content analysis to identify and interpret the TAN strategies employed by Greenpeace. Data analysis was conducted by examining policy documents and decision-making processes. The validity of the findings was ensured through source triangulation, which involved comparing information from Greenpeace publications, media reports, and reports from partner NGOs. This triangulation is used to ensure the credibility of the research by verifying the consistency of data from various sources (Denzin, 1978).

This study employs the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) theory, introduced by Keck and Sikkink (1998), to explain the network of transnational actors that collaborate in advocating for specific issues, such as human rights, environmental protection, and the rights of indigenous peoples. These networks include NGOs, civil society groups, international organizations, media, and individuals collaborating to influence policy, shape public opinion, and promote social change. Keck and Sikkink argue that TANs are formed when domestic actors face political obstacles within their own countries that prevent them from directly influencing policy. In this situation, they build alliances with international actors with access to broader political channels and resources. This pattern is illustrated in the boomerang pattern model, in which information from the target country (State A) is channeled to the international network (State B) to generate pressure back on State A through diplomacy, media campaigns, or economic sanctions (Keck & Sikkink, 1998a)



Source: Keck and Sikkink (1998)

Figure 1. Boomerang Pattern

Figure 1 shows the boomerang pattern model developed by Keck and Sikkink (1998) within the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) framework. This model explains the mechanism of transnational advocacy when domestic actors in the target country (State A) encounter

obstacles (blockages) to influencing domestic policy. In such circumstances, domestic civil society organizations, such as NGOs or community groups, channel information to an international network of foreign NGOs, international media, and intergovernmental organizations (e.g., State B or an Intergovernmental Organization). International actors then use this information to mobilize global pressure on State A through diplomacy, public campaigns, or economic sanctions. This pressure can come from other countries (State B), intergovernmental organizations, or third parties with strategic influence. The purpose of this mechanism is to force the target country to reopen domestic advocacy space or change policies detrimental to vulnerable groups (Keck & Sikkink, 1998a)

In the context of TAN, Keck and Sikkink formulated four key strategies used by TAN in carrying out its advocacy, namely:

1. Information Politics: Collecting, verifying, and disseminating information quickly and effectively to influence public perception and policymakers.
2. Symbolic Politics: Using symbols, narratives, or creative actions with emotional resonance to build moral support for the issue.
3. Leverage Politics: Utilizing influential actors or institutions, such as donor countries, international financial institutions, or multinational corporations, to pressure the target party.
4. Accountability Politics: Demanding that actors who have made public commitments fulfill their promises or policies.

This theory is relevant for analyzing Greenpeace's strategy in advocating for the protection of the Awyu and Moi indigenous forests because it describes the mechanism of the relationship between local issues and global support, as well as how international pressure can be directed back to the Indonesian government and related business actors.

Theoretical Operationalization

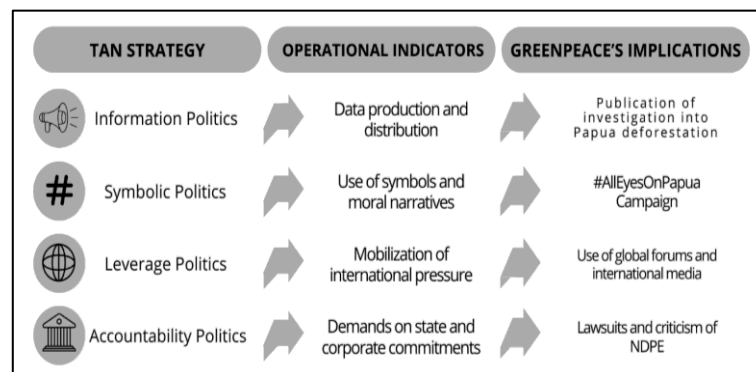


Figure 2. Theoretical Operationalization

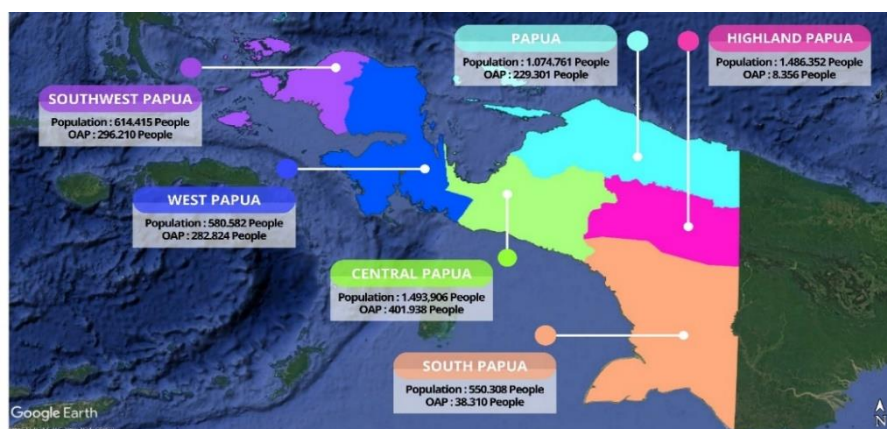
Referring to Figure 2 the table of operational indicators above, this study uses these indicators as analytical tools to identify the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) strategies implemented by Greenpeace in its efforts to protect the Awyu and Moi customary forests in Papua. These indicators are used to provide a strong conceptual foundation for the analysis, not merely a descriptive-narrative one. Each of Greenpeace's actions is analyzed in terms of strategic elements, such as the production and dissemination of information, the use of symbols and moral narratives, the creation of international pressure, and demands for state and corporate accountability. These indicators are used to provide a strong conceptual foundation for the analysis, not merely a descriptive-narrative one. Greenpeace's strategic elements are analyzed, including the production and dissemination of information, the use of symbols and moral narratives, the creation of international pressure, and demands for accountability from the state and corporations. The indicator-based approach is consistent with the Transnational Advocacy Network framework, which emphasizes the importance of political, informational, symbolic, pressure, and accountability strategies to influence public policy (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b). In addition, the use of operational indicators in qualitative

analysis also allows the researcher to organize empirical data into more systematic conceptual categories to increase the accuracy of the analysis of complex social phenomena (Cresswell, 2014).

Thus, we have a more structured correlation between theory and results. We examine information politics in the context of data releases on deforestation, investigative journalism, and visualizations of Papua's forested areas. #AllEyesOnPapua campaign is symbolic politics as it employs moral narratives and visual symbols. On the other hand, involvement in the media and international forums is viewed as political leverage to exert pressure on the nation's and the company's reputations. Accountability Politics: Support for strategic litigation and oversight of the government's commitments to NDPE and environmental policies. The paper discusses information politics in relation to the dissemination of data on deforestation, investigative reports, and visualizations of Papua's forest area. This is referred to as symbolic politics, using moral narratives and visual symbols such as the #AllEyesOnPapua campaign. Besides, the use of international media and forums is a form of political leverage to pressure the company or a country's reputation. Methods to measure political accountability include monitoring NDPE promises, monitoring government environmental policy, and supporting strategic litigation. Therefore, the use of operational indicators enhances the validity of the analysis and provides a more systematic, objective, and scientific basis for explaining Greenpeace's advocacy strategy in TAN and its relationship with customary forests in Papua.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Papua is one of the regions with the greatest diversity of indigenous communities in Indonesia. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency ("Badan Pusat Statistik"/BPS), the total population of the Papua region numbers in the millions, spread across various regencies and indigenous territories with diverse sociocultural characteristics. Figure 3 above shows the administrative divisions of Papua, which provide important context for understanding the conflicts surrounding the protection of customary forests in the region. South Papua and Southwest Papua are strategic locations for the expansion of natural resource-based industries, particularly plantations and forest exploitation, which threaten the sustainability of the customary forests of the Awyu and Moi communities.



Data Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Papua province, and Papuapos (Papuapos Nabire, 2025)

Figure 3. Data on The Division of Papua by Province as of 2025

Design by Author (2026)

The presence of a significant Indigenous Papuan also called "Orang Asli Papua" (OAP) population across various provinces indicates that customary forests hold not only ecological value but are also deeply intertwined with the cultural identity, living spaces, and social sustainability of Papua's indigenous communities. The data indicate not only significant demographic diversity but also reveal that indigenous communities remain heavily dependent on the forest as their living space, economic source, cultural identity, and a key component of their social sustainability. In this context, the indigenous people are always

identified as an important actors in the conservation because of their high dependency on the forest and their contribution to the maintenance of biodiversity (IPBES, 2019). Therefore, demographic data and the distribution of OAPs indicate that conflicts surrounding indigenous forests in Papua are not merely environmental issues but are also tied to the protection of the rights of indigenous communities that have historical, social, and cultural ties to their forest areas, thereby making this an issue of global concern. Pressure on Papua's forests also corresponds with global findings that expansion of extractive industries and agribusiness is a major driver of deforestation in tropical regions (FAO & UNEP, 2020). The conflict in Papua, therefore, cannot be understood simply as a local problem, but also as part of the global dynamics of environmental governance and indigenous rights that are still developing (IPCC, 2022).

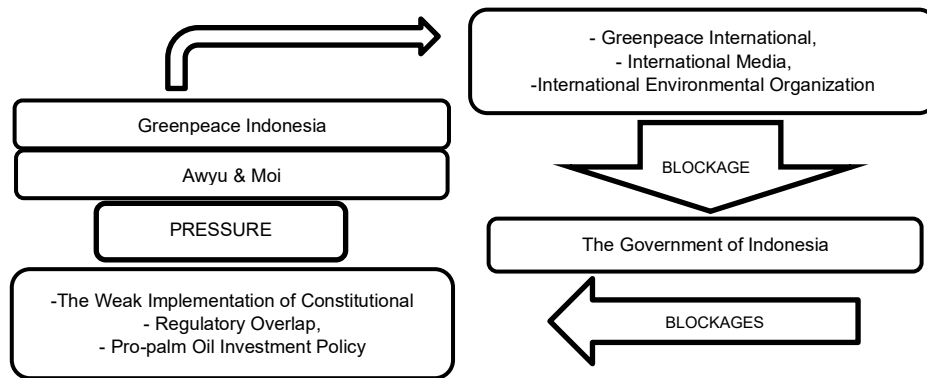
Among this population are the Indigenous Papuans (OAP). Indigenous Papuans (OAP) are indigenous peoples of Melanesian descent, comprising the indigenous tribes of Papua, and are recognized as part of the indigenous Papuan community under Law No. 2 of 2021 on Special Autonomy for Papua. This law establishes that the indigenous communities of Papua possess special rights to protect their cultural identity, customary land rights, and the social and economic sustainability of their way of life. Therefore, the existence of the indigenous communities of Papua is inseparable from the customary lands and forests that have served as their primary living spaces for generations. The law states that the indigenous peoples of Papua have special rights regarding the protection of their cultural identity, the use of customary lands, and the sustainability of their social and economic lives (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 2, 2021). Furthermore, Indigenous Peoples are groups of people who share a common lineage, territorial ties, and traditional rights to customary lands, rivers, and forests that have been passed down from generation to generation. Their existence and these rights are constitutionally recognized in Article 18B (2) and Article 28L (3) of the 1945 Constitution, which stipulate that the state is obligated to recognize, respect, and protect the identity and traditional rights of indigenous communities. These rights are constitutionally recognized under Articles 18B (2) and 28L (3) of the 1945 Constitution, which state that the state is obligated to recognize, respect, and protect the identity and customary rights of indigenous peoples (Kaukus Indonesia Kebebasan Akademik (KIKA), 2023). Papua itself is home to more than 250 ethnic groups, most of which are organized into clan systems with deep ties to their traditional territories, flora, fauna, and the surrounding environment (Greenpeace, 2021). Papua is known as one of the regions with the highest levels of biodiversity in the world. A comprehensive inventory has identified 13,634 plant species, making it the island with the highest floral diversity in the world. Sixty-eight percent of these species are endemic, which means it is only found in this region (Cámara-Leret *et al.*, 2020).

There is a disparity between legal guarantees and the actual conditions on the ground faced by indigenous communities in Papua. Advocacy efforts for the protection of the Auyu customary forest in Boven Digoel and Moi in Sorong face several political and institutional obstacles at the domestic level. These obstacles include the weak implementation of Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PUU-X/2012 on recognizing customary forests, overlapping sectoral regulations in the forestry and plantation sectors, and development policies prioritizing large-scale plantation investment over the protection of indigenous peoples' rights. This situation limits the ability of local actors to influence policy through domestic mechanisms (Sukirno, 2016).

Within the conceptual framework of the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) formulated by Keck and Sikkink (1998), this situation represents the conditions that trigger the formation of a boomerang pattern. This pattern explains that when domestic advocacy channels are closed or ineffective, local actors, in this case, indigenous communities and their supporting organizations, shift the issues they face to international networks. These networks, which have broader access to global diplomatic forums, international media, and political and economic resources, then exert pressure on the country of origin through various advocacy instruments,

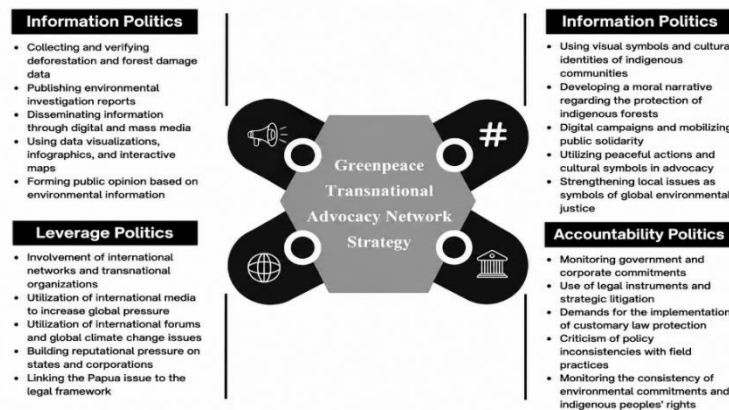
including media campaigns, public diplomacy, and policy advocacy at the international level (Keck & Sikkink, 1998a).

Greenpeace operationalized this boomerang pattern by utilizing its global network, which includes Greenpeace International, international investigative media, and other transnational environmental organizations, to raise the issues of Awyu and Moi in global discourse. This strategy transforms the issue of protecting Papua's indigenous forests from a local problem into an international agenda, resulting in simultaneous pressure from both domestic and global levels on the Indonesian government and corporations involved in the destruction of indigenous forests.



Processed by Author (2026)
Figure 4. Indonesia Boomerang Pattern

Figure 4 shows that the boomerang pattern serves as a strategic foundation for Greenpeace in articulating local issues at the global level. The implementation of this pattern is further realized through four main TAN strategies, such as information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics, which will be discussed in detail in the following section.



Processed By Author (2026)
Figure 5. Greenpeace Transnational Advocacy Network Strategy

Information Politics

Within the framework of transnational advocacy networks as shown in Figure 5, Greenpeace Indonesia uses information politics to highlight the cases of deforestation of the Awyu customary forest in Boven Digoel and Moi in Sorong. This mechanism is realized through collecting and publishing measurable data on the threat of deforestation. Greenpeace investigation found that palm oil concessions in Boven Digoel threaten approximately 36,094 hectares of Awyu customary forest, while in Sorong, the Moi community faces the threat of losing 18,160 hectares of forest land (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024d). Greenpeace

emphasizes the importance of accurate climate and environmental data management to strengthen the legitimacy of its campaign. Data is obtained through remote sensing technology, environmental sensors, and big data analysis, enabling more detailed and comprehensive deforestation monitoring. The verified information is then published through open platforms, allowing it to be tested, accessed, and used by academics, policymakers, and civil society (Bateman, 2024).

In this process, Greenpeace not only presents ecological data but also links it to the national legal framework regarding the protection of indigenous communities and the environment. Greenpeace highlights that the threats to Papua's indigenous forests violate Article 18B (2) and Article 28L (3) of the 1945 Constitution, which recognize and protect the rights of indigenous peoples and their cultural identity. Greenpeace highlights that the threats to Papua's indigenous forests constitute a violation of the aforementioned Articles, which recognize and protect the rights of indigenous communities and their cultural identities (Ola et al., 2023). Therefore, the information published not only raises environmental awareness but also supports the idea that the preservation of customary forests is a constitutional right of Papua's indigenous communities. Greenpeace cited Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PUU-X/2012 to garner broader support for its campaign. Based on this ruling, customary forests are no longer classified as state forests; they now fall under customary law. Additionally, Greenpeace is using Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PUU-X/2012 to garner more support for their campaign. Under this ruling, customary forests are no longer part of state forests but are instead within the territory of customary law communities (Sukirno, 2016).

In the cases of Awyu and Moi, Greenpeace used court rulings to argue that granting plantation concessions on customary lands without community consent violates the legally recognized rights of indigenous peoples at the national level. This legal information was then combined with data visualizations, investigative reports, interactive maps, and media publications, so that this essentially technocratic issue could be widely understood by both the national and international public. This legal data was then combined with data visualizations, investigative reports, interactive maps, and media publications so that this highly technical issue could be widely understood by both the national and international public (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b).

Greenpeace not only collects data, but also packages it into a more communicative format so the public can access it. For example, the threat to the Awyu customary forest is translated into a straightforward narrative, stating that the concession area in question is equivalent to half the area of DKI Jakarta (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024d). Visualization strategies such as interactive maps, infographics, and investigative reports expand access to information for non-academic audiences. In information politics, transforming technical data into public knowledge is key to building collective awareness, as licensing and environmental law issues are essentially technocratic and challenging for the general public to understand (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b).

Greenpeace also optimizes various media to disseminate information strategically. Digital communication channels such as official websites, social media, and data visualization through interactive maps and infographics are used to reach a wider audience. On the other hand, collaboration with international investigative media such as Mongabay, BBC, and The Gecko Project has enabled the issue of deforestation in Papua to gain cross-border attention. This collaboration strengthens the legitimacy of Greenpeace's data while expanding the information echo chamber, enabling local issues to gain global attention (Mongabay, 2023). In addition to international publications, Greenpeace also builds strategic partnerships with national and local civil society organizations to strengthen the legitimacy of the information it produces. Collaboration with Yayasan Pusaka, WALHI, and AMAN, for example, not only broadens the scope of the issue but also ensures that the information disseminated has a strong social basis among indigenous peoples themselves (YBR, 2021). A concrete example of this collaboration was the submission of an *amicus curiae* brief to the Jayapura Administrative Court in 2021, which served as an essential instrument in providing an alternative legal perspective on concession permits. Thus, information politics serves to build

public awareness and strengthen indigenous peoples' legal position through credible data documentation (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2021).

The effectiveness of Greenpeace's information politics strategy is evident in the widespread coverage of the Awyu and Moi issues in the public sphere. The information generated not only strengthens the legal position of indigenous peoples but also encourages ongoing media coverage, attracts national attention, and puts the Papua forest conflict in the international spotlight. The facts packaged and disseminated across national borders undermine corporate reputations and force governments to account for their policies. Thus, Greenpeace has demonstrated that information, when managed systematically, verified credibly, and disseminated through a vast network, can be a powerful tool to strengthen indigenous peoples' movements in defending Papua's forests.

Symbolic Politics

Within the framework of transnational advocacy networks (TANs), Keck and Sikkink (1998) emphasize that symbolic politics is an advocacy strategy that utilizes symbols, actions, and specific events to articulate complex issues into simpler representations with moral content. This strategy aims to build emotional and moral resonance so that problems that are initially technocratic can be understood, accessed, and supported by a wider audience (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b). Greenpeace, one of the transnational actors active in Indonesia, is implementing this strategy to strengthen environmental advocacy in Papua, particularly in the cases of the Awyu indigenous community in Boven Digoel and the Moi indigenous community in Sorong. Greenpeace consistently portrays indigenous peoples as symbolic representatives of resistance to deforestation. In its various publications, threats to indigenous forests are not only described through data on concession areas, but also positioned as direct threats to the identity, livelihoods, and cultural heritage of indigenous communities.

In its symbolic political strategy, Greenpeace not only constructs a moral narrative about the threat of deforestation but also links it to symbols of the struggle for the constitutional rights of Papua's indigenous peoples. The #AllEyesOnPapua campaign, the indigenous communities' peaceful protest at the Supreme Court, the wearing of traditional attire, traditional rituals, and Papuan visual symbols are presented as representations that customary forests are not merely ecological areas but living spaces and cultural identities of indigenous communities, guaranteed by the constitution. The #AllEyesOnPapua campaign in Papua, the peaceful protest by indigenous communities at the Supreme Court, the use of traditional attire, traditional rituals, and visual symbols of Papua are rejected as representations that customary forests are not merely ecological zones, but also living spaces and cultural identities of indigenous communities guaranteed by the constitution (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024a). In this context, Greenpeace represents the Awyu and Moi communities as victims of development disparities and inadequate legal protections for indigenous peoples. With this approach, the Awyu and Moi communities are portrayed not merely as local actors but as universal symbols of the struggle for environmental justice and human rights. This process of transforming local issues into global moral symbols enables advocacy to gain resonance and support across borders (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024a).

Symbolic politics became increasingly evident in the viral digital campaign #AllEyesOnPapua in mid-2024. Inspired by the #AllEyesOnRafah movement, this campaign used a visual symbol of eyes staring at a map of Papua to convey a message of global scrutiny of corporate expansion and state policy. The virality of the hashtag, with millions of interactions on social media and hundreds of thousands of online petition signatures, demonstrates the effectiveness of symbols in transforming a technical issue of palm oil licensing into a moral issue that has garnered global solidarity. Greenpeace has actively reinforced this symbolic message through its digital communication channels and media networks (Indonesia Expat, 2024).

Beyond the digital realm, symbolic strategies were also articulated through peaceful protests before the Supreme Court in May 2024, when the Awyu and Moi indigenous communities gathered in traditional attire and carried banners calling for forest conservation. Greenpeace documented and disseminated the protest through national and international media, elevating it beyond a mere legal event. The action was positioned as a symbol of the universal struggle for ecological justice, linking local narratives with global moral discourse (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024b). This aligns with Keck and Sikkink's (1998) understanding that symbols bridge the concrete experiences of local communities and universal values (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b).

Thus, Greenpeace's symbolic politics in the Awyu and Moi cases demonstrate how symbols can be important instruments for expanding the impact of advocacy. Visual symbols, peaceful actions, and digital campaigns translate technocratic issues into moral narratives that are easy for the public to understand and support. This strategy expands the echo chamber of advocacy and builds cross-border solidarity and positions the conflict over deforestation in Papua as a global justice issue. Within the framework of TANs, this strategy strengthens Greenpeace's position as a transnational actor capable of connecting local struggles with universal moral agendas. The use of symbols and moral narratives in environmental advocacy has been effective in drawing international public attention and increasing support for issues that were previously local and received little global attention (Bob, 2005).

This symbolic strategy is further reinforced by a supportive national legal framework, particularly Law No. 2 of 2021 on Special Autonomy for Papua, which recognizes the existence of the Indigenous Papuan (OAP) along with their customary rights and cultural identity. This recognition demonstrates that the Indigenous Peoples of Papua hold a special status within the national legal system and are inseparable from their customary territories and forests as their living spaces (Ungirwalu *et al.*, 2021). Greenpeace can use Papua's indigenous communities as symbols of the struggle for ecology and social justice to transform administrative issues related to plantation permits into moral and humanitarian issues that garner global attention. In this context, the cultural symbols of indigenous communities serve as tools to demonstrate that the destruction of indigenous forests also poses a threat to the cultural survival and right to life of Papua's indigenous communities (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b).

Leverage Politics

In the theory of transnational advocacy networks (TANs), leverage politics refers to a strategy in which local actors who find it difficult to pressure their government directly seek support from external actors with greater moral, political, or material influence (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b). Greenpeace, in its leverage politics strategy, seeks to link the issue of deforestation in Papua with global climate commitments, one of which is the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). Findings by Hendri *et al.* indicate that the forestry and land use sector (FOLU) in West Papua is one of the largest contributors to Indonesia's carbon emissions, with the potential for emission reductions reaching 17.2% unconditionally and 24.5% conditionally by 2030. However, on-the-ground realities still show deforestation rates driven by plantation expansion, mining, and other land-use changes, leading to the degradation of primary forests into secondary forests and even the complete loss of forest cover (Hendri *et al.*, 2022). Greenpeace has used this contradiction to highlight the discrepancy between Indonesia's commitments under the Paris Agreement and its continued exploitative development practices. Greenpeace's leverage politics strategy is effective because it exploits the sensitivity of state and corporate actors to reputational pressure from the global stage. Empirical research shows that global market pressures, including the need to maintain a sustainable image, have a tangible impact on local deforestation practices (for example, in the palm oil sector), a phenomenon reinforced by local economic interests (Robertua & Sontany, 2021). In addition, cross-border sustainability norms such as NDPE policies are not only market requirements, but also effective instruments of pressure when exposed to correct deviant corporate practices (Cisneros *et al.*, 2021).

In the context of Papua, Greenpeace links the cases of the Awyu and Moi indigenous peoples to the global discourse on the climate crisis and sustainability. Although Indonesia has made commitments through its NDC, the reality on the ground, such as the granting of palm oil concessions in indigenous territories, implies a discrepancy that triggers criticism of the country's international credibility. Greenpeace emphasizes that international reputational pressure is an effective political lever, as issues such as indigenous peoples' lawsuits against palm oil concessions reach the Supreme Court (Lamb & Christina, 2024). Greenpeace leverages global norms such as NDPE to highlight sustainability violations by corporations, particularly Wilmar, which has been found to accept supplies from companies that destroy forests despite its commitment to NDPE. This situation increases its reputational costs in global markets (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2018).

Greenpeace utilizes multilateral forums such as the Conference of the Parties (COP) to bring the issue of deforestation in Papua to the global level as part of its leverage politics strategy. In this arena, Greenpeace highlights the discrepancy between deforestation practices in the field and Indonesia's commitments in its Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC), thereby making Papua a benchmark for Indonesia's climate credibility in the eyes of the international community (RNZ News, 2021). Through investigative reports such as *Licensed to Clear*, Greenpeace emphasizes that recognizing and protecting customary forests can be an essential momentum projected in the COP forum, showcasing Papua as a symbol of the country's climate commitment (Greenpeace International, 2021). In addition, although several companies claim to have implemented No Deforestation, No Peat, No Exploitation (NDPE) policies, Greenpeace has shown that violations of these standards, particularly in Papua, have caused significant reputational damage at the global level (Rahmawati, 2019).

However, in addition to this, Greenpeace not only leverages international pressure through the NDC, COP, and NDPE, but also highlights the contradictions between national development policies and domestic regulations regarding the protection of indigenous peoples and the environment. Greenpeace links the cases of the Awyu and Moi peoples to Law No. 32 of 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management, which guarantees every citizen's right to a good and healthy environment. In this context, Greenpeace emphasizes that granting plantation concessions in indigenous territories in Papua could violate the principles of sustainability, community participation, and ecological justice as stipulated in the Law on Environmental Protection and Management (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 32, 2009). Greenpeace links the cases of Awyu and Moi to Law No. 32 of 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management, which guarantees every citizen's right to a clean and healthy environment. In this context, Greenpeace notes that the issuance of plantation concession permits in Papua's customary territories may violate the principles of sustainability, public participation, and ecological justice mandated by the Law on Environmental Protection and Management (Gaman et al., 2025).

Furthermore, Greenpeace also cited Law No. 41 of 1999 on Forestry to demonstrate that there is a discrepancy between the ecological functions of forest areas and exploitative practices, as evidenced by the expansion of oil palm plantations in Papua, which indicates that national forest governance remains focused on the exploitation of natural resources rather than the protection of indigenous peoples' rights and environmental sustainability (Rodhiah et al., 2024). Greenpeace has raised this issue at international forums such as COP and through global media networks to pressure the Indonesian government and the companies involved through reputational channels. This influence strategy demonstrates that the issue of Papua's customary forests affects both the local environment and Indonesia's international reputation as a leader in environmental governance and sustainable development. This strategy of leveraging influence demonstrates that the issue of Papua's customary forests impacts the local environment and Indonesia's reputation as a leader in international commitments to environmental governance and sustainable development (Robertua & Sontany, 2021).

As a result, Greenpeace's leverage politics approach in the Awyu and Moi instances demonstrates how transnational lobbying can turn national concerns into international

pressure that has tangible repercussions for both nations and businesses. Greenpeace uses political legitimacy, credibility, and reputation as strategic assets to improve the preservation of native forests. This tactic emphasizes how global environmental governance sustainability is influenced by domestic legislation and actors' sensitivity to inspection from other countries, which is facilitated via transnational advocacy networks.

Accountability Politics

Within transnational advocacy networks, accountability politics functions to hold state and corporate actors responsible for fulfilling their publicly stated commitments (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b). Greenpeace is implementing this strategy by highlighting the contradiction between Indonesia's climate pledges in its Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and the reality of palm oil plantation expansion in Papua. Indonesia has set a target to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 31.89% through domestic initiatives and up to 43.20% with international assistance by 2030, as specified in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Climate Promise documentation on Indonesia's climate commitments (UNDP, 2022). Palm oil concessions in Boven Digoel and Sorong threaten over 50,000 hectares of customary forests, including the territories of the Awyu and Moi communities. This situation highlights a significant disparity between global environmental commitments and domestic land management practices (Mangkau, 2024).

In addition to highlighting climate commitments, Greenpeace also emphasizes human rights and national law. Greenpeace uses the national legal framework to demand that the government and companies protect the rights of Papua's indigenous peoples. Greenpeace states that although the state has recognized the rights of indigenous peoples in Article 18B of the 1945 Constitution, Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PUU-X/2012, and the Papua Special Autonomy Law, protection of the traditional territories of the Awyu and Moi tribes on the ground remains weak (Pangastuti & Kusumawati, 2025). In Papua, the Awyu and Moi communities continue to experience violations of their basic rights during the process of licensing concessions. Greenpeace has documented these issues through investigations and provided strategic litigation support, presenting this case as evidence of the state's inconsistent enforcement of domestic legal obligations. Greenpeace thereby exposes contradictions between the state's international commitments and domestic actions, while calling for accountability in accordance with national legal principles (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023).

On the other hand, multinational corporations linked to the palm oil supply chain from Papua are also targeted by this strategy. Many companies have declared a No Deforestation, No Peat, No Exploitation (NDPE) policy as a sustainability standard to gain access to global markets (Rahmawati, 2019). Greenpeace highlights that although the palm oil industry has committed to reform through the "No Deforestation, No Peat, No Exploitation" (NDPE) policy first introduced by Wilmar in 2013, its implementation has yet to show tangible results on the ground. Greenpeace keeps an eye on these promises and criticizes those corporations that still utilize a "don't ask, don't tell" policy, which lets them destroy forests without clear ways to hold them accountable (Kusuma, 2017).

Greenpeace also uses strategic litigation to strengthen accountability policies. Their support for the Awyu indigenous peoples' lawsuit in the Supreme Court is not only aimed at winning the legal case, but also serves as an instrument to hold the state accountable. In this context, Greenpeace views the state as the entity responsible for upholding the constitution, protecting the environment, and recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023). In addition to the government, companies that have declared their commitment to sustainability through NDPE policies are also required to remain consistent with their promises not to engage in deforestation or exploit indigenous communities. Therefore, Greenpeace's accountability campaign exposes the gap between legal commitments and on-the-ground development practices, while also pushing for fairer reforms in the governance of indigenous forests. Thus, Greenpeace's accountability policy serves as an effort to highlight the gap

between legal commitments and on-the-ground development practices, while also promoting fairer governance reforms for indigenous forests (Rahmawati, 2019). This lawsuit substantially tests whether the Indonesian government is willing to be consistent with the principles of environmental law and indigenous peoples' rights that they have declared. Greenpeace is making a point by taking the matter to court that holding the government accountable is not just a moral issue, but also a legal one that courts can enforce (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024d).

Greenpeace's accountability strategy in the Awyu and Moi cases operates in three ways: it calls for consistency in international climate commitments, highlights breaches of domestic law, and urges global companies to follow NDPE policies. This method is effective because it holds influential groups to their own promises. so that failure to fulfill commitments not only impacts domestic legitimacy but also tarnishes international credibility. According to global governance theory, organizations such as Greenpeace promote transnational accountability by exerting moral, legal, and reputational pressure on state and non-state actors.

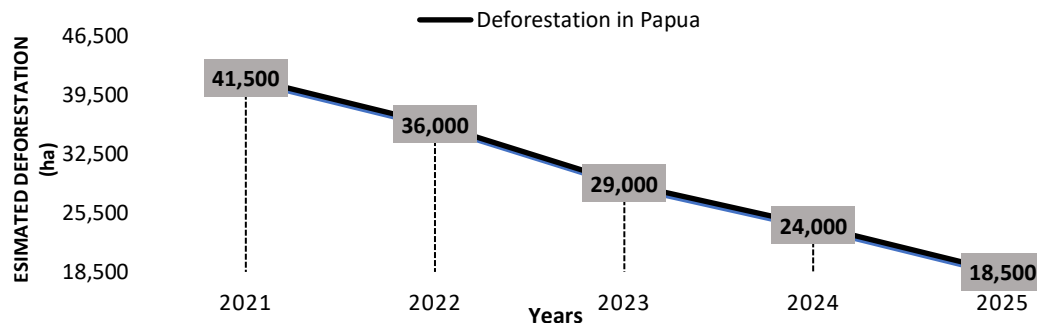
Greenpeace's Efforts in the Governance of Indigenous Forests in Papua

Greenpeace is a transnational environmental advocacy actor that supports the recognition of indigenous people's rights through public supervision, international pressure, and promotion of forest protection. The role is carried out through a range of strategies, including investigations into deforestation, dissemination of environmental data and information, digital campaigns, strategic litigation, and collaboration with civil society organizations at the local and global levels. This approach is in line with the global environmental governance practices that consider civil society organizations as key stakeholders in driving policy and enhancing accountability in the management of natural resources (Bernstein & Cashore, 2012). Greenpeace also raises public awareness on the impact of deforestation on biodiversity and the sustainability of Papua's forest ecosystems through information dissemination and public campaigns (FAO & UNEP, 2020). These efforts also contribute to strengthening the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples who have a high dependence on forests as their living space and source of livelihood (IPBES, 2019).

Papua continues to face significant pressure from deforestation due to the expansion of oil palm plantations and large-scale land clearing, according to several reports. However, several studies and monitoring efforts indicate that deforestation in Papua is trending downward compared to the previous period of massive expansion. Data from Auriga Nusantara records the loss of approximately 663,443 hectares of forest in Papua between 2001 and 2019. The greatest loss occurred during the 2011–2016 period, when oil palm plantation expansion accelerated rapidly. However, several studies and monitoring efforts indicate that deforestation rates in Papua are generally lower than during the previous period of massive expansion. Data from Auriga Nusantara shows that at least 663,443 hectares of forest were lost in Papua between 2001 and 2019. The largest loss occurred between 2011 and 2016, when plantation expansion increased significantly (Auriga, 2025). The rate of deforestation in some concession areas has begun to decline following increased public attention, international campaigns, and oversight of plantation permits in Papua. This has occurred primarily due to mounting pressure on companies linked to global supply chains. According to the "Licensed to Clear" report by Greenpeace International (2021), indigenous forest areas in Papua, including the Awyu and Moi communities, are directly threatened by the expansion of the palm oil industry. However, the report also indicates that growing international public pressure has led some companies to postpone new land clearing and become more aware of global reputational risks. However, the report also indicates that growing international public pressure has led some companies to postpone new land clearing and has heightened awareness of the risks to their global reputation (Greenpeace, 2021).

As a result, global advocacy efforts have helped slow deforestation in several indigenous forest areas in Papua, though it has not yet been completely halted. This is evident in the increasingly strict oversight of previously active land-clearing concessions. This has improved

transparency in forest governance and allowed communities to see how land-use changes are occurring. Additionally, some companies are hesitant to expand due to business pressures related to international markets and NDPE policies. They have become more cautious in their expansion efforts, as they face the threat of losing market access and suffering damage to their global reputation (Cisneros *et al.*, 2021).



Source: Compiled by the author based on data from Greenpeace International (2021), Greenpeace Indonesia (2023–2025), and monitoring data from Auriga Nusantara.

Figure 6. Deforestation in Papua, 2021-2025

Table 1. Greenpeace's Advocacy and its Impact on Deforestation in Papua

Years	Greenpeace advocacy forms	Impacts
2021	Publication of investigative reports	The Papua issue is beginning to attract global attention
2022	Digital campaigns and spatial publications	Public scrutiny is increasing
2023	Legal support for the Awyu community	Pressure on the government is mounting
2024	#AllEyesOnPapua campaign	International attention is growing
2025	Concession monitoring and NDPE pressure	Corporate expansion is becoming more controlled

Source: Compiled by the author based on data from Greenpeace (2021-2025), advocacy documents of the save Papua Forest Coalition, and international media. (Aljazeera, 2024; Greenpeace, 2021, 2022, 2023a, 2023b, 2025a, 2025b, 2025c; Greenpeace Indonesia, 2024a)

The figure above shows a downward trend in deforestation rates in Papua during the 2021–2025 period, which is linked to Greenpeace's intensive cross-border advocacy efforts to protect indigenous forests in Papua. The graph illustrates a downward trend in estimated deforestation in Papua. This decline signifies a significant shift in public attention and pressure against exploitative practices in Papua's forests, coinciding with the intensification of Greenpeace's advocacy efforts at both the national and international levels. These findings suggest that transnational advocacy networks can raise the visibility of environmental issues and enhance public pressure on actors involved in natural resource management (Keck & Sikkink, 1998b). The data indicate that the increased intensity of Greenpeace's advocacy is directly proportional to the increased oversight of indigenous forest governance in Papua. Advocacy through global campaigns, reputational pressure on companies, and support for legal actions filed by Indigenous Communities have helped slow the expansion of new land clearing in several concession areas in Papua. Known that transnational civil society organizations can influence the process of environmental governance with mechanisms of broader accountability and public oversight (Bernstein & Cashore, 2012). Thus, the data in the figure indicates that the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) strategy implemented by Greenpeace has not only succeeded in increasing international attention on the issue of Papua's indigenous forests but has also contributed to heightened political and public

pressure, which ultimately led to a gradual decline in the rate of deforestation in Papua during the study period.

The decline in deforestation rates in Papua does not mean that efforts to protect customary forests have been entirely successful. The threats faced by the Awyu and Moi communities persist, as existing concession permits have not been fully revoked, and the implementation of customary forest recognition under Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PUU-X/2012 remains weak. In other words, Greenpeace's advocacy can be understood as a factor that has successfully increased political pressure, public oversight, and accountability in forest governance, thereby slowing the rate of exploitation of customary forests. However, it has not yet completely halted deforestation. Threats to the Awyu and Moi indigenous communities persist due to concessions that have not been fully revoked and to the weak implementation of the recognition of customary forests under Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PUU-X/2012. In other words, Greenpeace's advocacy is best understood as an effective force for increasing political pressure, public oversight, and accountability in forest governance, thereby slowing the rate of exploitation of indigenous forests, although it has not yet fully halted deforestation. Although deforestation has not been completely halted, the strengthening of public oversight and international pressure indicate that cross-border advocacy is slowing deforestation in Papua.

This study shows that the interplay between international pressure, civil society monitoring, and the national legal framework increasingly influences the governance of customary forests in Papua. Greenpeace has transformed efforts to protect Papua's customary forests from a local issue into an international one through an advocacy network focused on climate justice, the rights of indigenous peoples, and sustainable environmental governance.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that Greenpeace's strategy through the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) framework, supported by the boomerang pattern mechanism, contributed greatly to the issue of Awyu and Moi customary forest protection in Papua being raised at the national and international levels through the application of information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. The strategy succeeded in raising public awareness, strengthening the legal position of customary communities, stimulating monitoring of forest management policies, and increasing political and reputational pressure on the governments and corporations involved in the conversion of customary forests. Greenpeace's advocacy has helped slow the pace of forest exploitation and build a more participatory and sustainable discourse around indigenous forest governance. Still, it has not yet halted deforestation altogether or revoked all problematic concessions. Therefore, the Indonesian government should expedite the implementation. The decision of the Constitutional Court, Number 35/PUU-X/2012, harmonizes the sectoral regulations for forestry and plantations. It involves indigenous peoples in the policy monitoring mechanism for the environment, while corporations need to ensure the implementation of transparent, independently verifiable NDPE commitments. The limitation of this research is that it is based on documentation and official publications, so it has not been able to accommodate much of the direct perspectives of the Awyu and Moi indigenous people. This gap offers opportunities for further research to adopt field-based or ethnographic approaches, to conduct comparative studies of adat forest protection cases in other countries, and to empirically evaluate the long-term effects of transnational advocacy on policy change, forest governance, and deforestation rates in adat territories.

REFERENCES

- Aljazeera. (2024). *All eyes on Papua campaign*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1nkQxHCNfxc>.
- Auriga. (2025). *Deforestation surges - the time is right for Indonesia to protect all of its remaining natural forest*. Auriga Nusantara. https://auriga.or.id/press_release/detail/65/status-of-deforestation-in-indonesia-2025.
- Austin KG., Schwantes A., Gu Y., and Kasibhatla PS. (2019). What causes deforestation in Indonesia? *Environmental Research Letters* 14(2). DOI: 10.1088/1748-9326/aaf6db.
- Bateman B. (2024). *The Importance of Accurate Climate Data Measurement in Greenpeace Operations*. Weather Scientific.
- Belseran C. (2024). *Suku Awyu dan Moi tolak sawit, minta MA peduli tanah adat Papua*. Mongabay Indonesia.
- Bernstein S. and Cashore B. (2012). *Complex Global Governance and Domestic Policies: Four Pathways of Influence*.
- Bob C. (2005). *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*.
- Bowen GA. (2009). *Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method*.
- Cámara-Leret R., Frodin DG., Adema F., Anderson C., Appelhans MS., Argent G., Arias Guerrero S., Ashton P., Baker WJ., Barfod AS., Barrington D., Borosova R., Bramley GLC., Briggs M., Buerki S., Cahen D., Callmender MW., Cheek M., Chen CW., et al. (2020). New Guinea has the world's richest island flora. *Nature* 584(7822): 579-583. DOI: 10.1038/s41586-020-2549-5.
- Carpenter RC. (2007). *Setting the advocacy agenda: Theorizing issue emergence and nonemergence in transnational advocacy networks*. *International Studies Quarterly* 51(1): 99-120.
- Cisneros E., Kis-Katos K., and Nuryartono N. (2021). Palm oil and the politics of deforestation in Indonesia. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 108: 102453. DOI: 10.1016/j.jeem.2021.102453.
- Creswell JW. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications.
- Denzin NK. (1978). *The Research Act*. McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Fadli MR. (2021). *Memahami desain metode penelitian kualitatif*. *Humanika* 21(1): 33-54. DOI: 10.21831/hum.v21i1.
- FAO. (2024). *The State of the World's Forests 2024: Forest-Sector Innovations Towards a More Sustainable Future*. Food and Agriculture Organization, Rome.
- FAO and UNEP. (2020). *The State of the World's Forests 2020: Forests, Biodiversity and People*. Food and Agriculture Organization, Rome.
- Febryan AA. (2021). *Hutan dan Masyarakat Adat Tanah Papua*.
- Gaman NK., Markus DP., and Tuasikal H. (2025). Legal protection of customary forests of the Awyu tribe in South Papua from a national and international law perspective. *Jurnal lus Constituendum* 10(2): 296-315. DOI: 10.26623/jic.v10i2.12042.
- Greenpeace. (2021). *Stop Baku Tipu: Sisi gelap perizinan di Tanah Papua*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Greenpeace. (2022). *Otonomi khusus dan kutukan sumber daya alam Papua*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.

- Greenpeace. (2023a). *Dukungan publik untuk Suku Awyu*. Greenpeace Indonesia. <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/dukungan-publik-untuk-suku-awyu>.
- Greenpeace. (2023b). *Sidang gugatan lingkungan hidup, kuasa hukum Suku Awyu ajukan 50 dokumen bukti*. Greenpeace Indonesia. <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers/56634/sidang-gugatan-lingkungan-hidup-kuasa-hukum-suku-awyu-ajukan-50-dokumen-bukti>.
- Greenpeace. (2025a). *Greenpeace Forest Defender Camp*. Greenpeace Indonesia. <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/forest-defender-camp-2025>.
- Greenpeace. (2025b). *Papua bukan tanah kosong*. Instagram Greenpeace Indonesia. <https://www.instagram.com/p/DPoetrFgc2g>.
- Greenpeace. (2025c). *Peluncuran buku foto Surga yang Dibisukan: Dua dekade Greenpeace merekam kisah dan kesah dari Tanah Papua*. Greenpeace Indonesia. <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers/64895/peluncuran-buku-foto-surga-yang-dibisukan-dua-dekade-greenpeace-merekam-kisah-dan-kesah-dari-tanah-papua>.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2018). *Greenpeace: Rencana aksi terbaru Wilmar tidak akan memperbaiki masalah deforestasi*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2021). *Amicus Curiae: Majelis hakim PTUN Jayapura wajib memperhatikan sikap masyarakat dan memenuhi keadilan yang disuarakan masyarakat*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2023). *Pejuang lingkungan hidup dari Suku Awyu ajukan permohonan intervensi ke PTUN Jakarta*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta. <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers/56433/pejuang-lingkungan-hidup-dari-suku-awyu-ajukan-permohonan-intervensi-ke-ptun-jakarta/>
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2024a). *#AllEyesOnPapua* berlanjut, Suku Awyu dan Moi serahkan petisi dukungan publik ke MA. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2024b). *All Eyes On Papua menggema*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2024c). *Mahkamah Agung tolak kasasi Suku Awyu, perjuangan selamatkan hutan Papua kian berat*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2024d). *Suku Awyu dan Moi gelar aksi damai di Mahkamah Agung, serukan penyelamatan hutan adat Papua*. Greenpeace Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Greenpeace International. (2021). *Planned deforestation threatens Indigenous land, intact forest landscapes in West Papua*. Greenpeace International, Amsterdam.
- Hendri., Raharjo S., Suarga E., Rosyaridho MF., and Kalmirah J. (2022). *Towards low carbon development strategies from forestry sector in West Papua*. IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science 989(1). DOI: 10.1088/1755-1315/989/1/012007.
- Indonesia Expat. (2024). *The story behind the viral 'All Eyes on Papua'*. Indonesia Expat.
- IPBES. (2019). *Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services*. Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services, Bonn.
- IPCC. (2022). *Climate Change 2022: Mitigation of Climate Change*. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Geneva.
- Kaukus Indonesia Kebebasan Akademik (KIKA). (2023). *Melindungi hak ulayat masyarakat adat*.

- Keck ME. and Sikkink K. (1998a). *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.
- Keck ME. and Sikkink K. (1998b). *Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics*. *International Social Science Journal* 51(159): 89-101.
- Kusuma B. (2017). *Industri kelapa sawit menjanjikan reformasi, namun belum ada tanda-tanda perubahan*.
- Lamb K. and Christina B. (2024). *Papuan tribe, palm oil firms battle for land rights in Indonesian top court*. Reuters.
- Lumme I. (2020). *Penyebaran suku pada tujuh wilayah adat di Papua*.
- Mangkau Z. (2024). *Gugat izin perusahaan sawit, Mahkamah Agung tolak kasasi Suku Awyu*. Mongabay.
- Mongabay. (2023). *How an award-winning investigation led to greater accountability in Indonesia's palm oil sector*. Mongabay. <https://mongabay.com>.
- OECD and FAO. (2023). *OECD-FAO Business Handbook on Deforestation and Due Diligence in Agricultural Supply Chains*. OECD Publishing, Paris.
- Oktavianto P. (2023). *Keanekaragaman flora Papua*. Forest Digest.
- Ola GK., Yohanes S., and Kosmas E. (2023). Implikasi hukum putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 35/PUU-X/2012 terhadap eksistensi masyarakat hukum adat. *COMSERVA: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat* 3(02): 407-417. DOI: 10.59141/comserva.v3i02.778.
- Pangastuti D. and Kusumawati ED. (2025). The impact of a legally flawed court decision on a good and healthy environment for the Awyu tribe (Study of Decision Number 6/G/LH/2023/PTUN.JPR). *Journal of Law, Politic and Humanities* 5(4): 3063-3072. DOI: 10.38035/jlph.v5i4.1697.
- Papuapos Nabire. (2025). *Papua Tengah urutan pertama pendataan OAP*. <https://papuaposnabire.com/news/papua-tengah-urutan-pertama-pendataan-oap>.
- Rahmawati A. (2019). *Why we've had enough of broken promises to protect forests*. Greenpeace.
- Ramadhan A. (2024). *"All Eyes on Papua", bagaimana kisah Suku Awyu dan Moi selamatkan hutannya?*
- Ramadhanas F. (2024). Aksi kolektif di dunia digital: #AllEyesOnPapua dan perjuangan masyarakat adat Suku Awyu dan Moi atas hutan adat. *GOVERNANCE: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Politik Lokal dan Pembangunan* 11(2): 51-59. DOI: 10.56015/gjiklp.v11i2.320.
- Republik Indonesia. (2009). *Undang-Undang Nomor 32 Tahun 2009 tentang Perlindungan dan Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup*. Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia.
- Republik Indonesia. (2021). *Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2021 tentang Perubahan Kedua atas Undang-Undang Nomor 21 Tahun 2001 Tentang Otonomi Khusus bagi Provinsi Papua*. Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia.
- Rerung OM. (2023). Peran Greenpeace dalam mengatasi illegal logging di Indonesia. *TRANSBORDERS: International Relations Journal* 6(1): 1-13. DOI: 10.23969/transborders.v6i1.5461.
- Risse T., Ropp SC., and Sikkink K. (2013). *The Persistent Power of Human Rights: From Commitment to Compliance*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- RNZ News. (2021). *Papua deforestation threatens Indonesia's climate progress*. RNZ. <https://www.rnz.co.nz>.

- Robertua V. and Sontany RAB. (2021). Eco-business diplomacy: A case study of SMART and the European Union on palm oil issue. *Journal of International Studies on Energy Affairs* 2(2): 179-198. DOI: 10.51413/jisea.vol2.iss2.2021.179-197.
- Rodhiah PBA., Deodato N., Barus DDP., and Hasibuan RF. (2024). Perlindungan hukum hutan adat Papua terhadap alih fungsi hutan menjadi perkebunan kelapa sawit ditinjau dari aliran sociological jurisprudence. *Kultura: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum, Sosial, dan Humaniora* 2(11): 767-775.
- Sukirno S. (2016). Tindak lanjut pengakuan hutan adat setelah Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi No.35/PUU-X/2012. *Masalah-Masalah Hukum* 45(4): 259-267. DOI: 10.14710/mmh.45.4.2016.259-267.
- UNDP. (2022). *Climate Promise*. United Nations Development Programme, New York.
- Ungirwalu A., Awang SA., Runtuboi YY., Peday MY., Marwa J., Maitar B., Murdjoko A., and Fatem SM. (2021). Customary forests in West Papua: Contestation of desires or needs? *Forest and Society* 5(2): 365-375. DOI: 10.24259/FS.V5I2.13350.
- YBR A. (2021). *Siaran pers: Majelis hakim PTUN Jayapura wajib memperhatikan sikap masyarakat dan memenuhi keadilan*. Pusaka.
- Yin RK. (2018). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.