



Indigenous Resistance to Deforestation in Boven Digoel: The Awyu Tribe, Corporate Land Conversion, and UNDRIP Norm

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Abstract

The indigenous Awyu tribe is currently resisting corporate-driven deforestation of its customary forests, which are central to the community's livelihood and cultural identity. Large-scale forest clearance for oil palm plantations poses serious environmental risks, including the potential release of up to 25 million tons of carbon dioxide, with implications extending beyond Papua to the global climate. Deforestation also threatens the Awyu's food security. It undermines spiritual practices that depend on continued access to customary lands, while increasing the risk of structural marginalisation as land conversion reshapes local power relations and weakens indigenous control over ancestral territories. This study aims to analyse the environmental damage associated with deforestation and examine how this ecological loss contributes to the cultural and social marginalisation of the Awyu tribe. Using a qualitative descriptive design, the research draws on secondary data from peer-reviewed journals, reports by environmental organisations, and relevant mass media sources. The analysis indicates that deforestation generates not only environmental degradation but also structural injustice, reflected in the erosion of indigenous rights, exclusion from decision-making processes, and disruption of customary livelihoods and cultural practices. The study, therefore, underscores the urgency of strengthening policies to protect indigenous peoples and safeguard customary forests from the expansion of extractive land use.

INTRODUCTION

Boven Digoel Regency, located in South Papua Province, has the second-highest deforestation rate in Papua, with around 51,000 hectares of forest deforested and converted. Deforestation in the Boven Digoel forest is driven by corporations seeking to convert forest land for oil palm cultivation, thereby benefiting them. In the corporation's efforts to deforest, various methods are employed, including burning existing land to facilitate the removal of the forest ecosystem and its replacement with plants that become commodities, namely oil palm. The deforestation process can release approximately 25 million tons of carbon dioxide (CO₂), representing about 5 per cent of 2030 carbon emissions (Kuswoyo, 2024).

This is a problem because combustion produces CO₂, which contributes to air pollution not only in Papua but globally (Kuswoyo, 2024). In addition, there are other threats to the tribe inhabiting the forest, namely the Awyu tribe. The survival of the Awyu tribe's indigenous people will be threatened by deforestation, which results in the loss of customary forests as corporations clear land for oil palm (Septiningtyas, 2024). In accordance with the statement in the article by Mike Brklacich, Maychazan, and Hans George Bohle in chapter 2, human vulnerability is determined by global environmental change, which can create new opportunities for some people but also pose equal, and even more dangerous, threats for others (Bohle, 2001).

This claim is proven by the opening of oil palm land by corporations, causing changes in economic activities that are profitable for corporations but cause conflicts that occur in Boven Digoel Indigenous communities face vulnerability caused by palm oil plantation development and experience marginalisation due to the seizure of customary lands by corporations. Land conversion entails burning the customary forests of the Awyu tribe, which has significant effects on local and global ecological change. The deprivation of customary land rights constitutes a violation of international norms, as set out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (United Nations, 2007).

This is certainly related to human security and the protection of indigenous peoples' rights under international law. This poses threats to the Awyu Tribe because they have difficulty meeting their daily needs through hunting, gathering, and fishing. In addition, the Awyu Tribe has difficulty carrying out traditional rituals because their forests have been converted to other land uses (Syahwal, 2024). The destruction of forest land owned by the Awyu tribe poses a significant risk to the ecosystem's sustainability, not only for the Awyu tribe but also for the diversity of flora and fauna inhabiting the forest (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023).

Other research remains limited in its examination of the International Relations perspective, which comprehensively analyses how the Awyu Tribe's resistance to deforestation in Boven Digoel relates to the roles of the state, corporations, and

international norms. This paper analyses environmental damage in Boven Digoel, the resistance of the Awyu indigenous people, and human vulnerability to global change, with a focus on deforestation resulting from oil palm land clearing. The issues outlined above raise the following research question: How does environmental damage resulting from corporations' clearing of oil palm land affect the vulnerability of the Awyu Tribe?

METHODOLOGY

This research uses a descriptive qualitative case study approach to analyse the resistance of the Awyu indigenous people to deforestation in Boven Digoel, drawing on the frameworks of human vulnerability, social movements, and GEG. This method was chosen to examine local dynamics and the context of international norms and regimes governing the protection of indigenous peoples' rights and the environment. This research explains the relationship between deforestation and its impact on the Awyu indigenous people from an international relations perspective. This research also emphasises the analysis of international policies regarding the rights of indigenous peoples, as set out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The research data is obtained from secondary data sources taken through international documents belonging to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), international organisation reports belonging to Greenpeace International, international and national scientific journal articles that are considered relevant and news from media such as BBC Indonesia, Mongabay, and Tempo that cover the resistance of the Awyu indigenous people. Data were collected through a literature review of scientific articles, reports from international organisations, and news relevant to the case study. They were reviewed in depth to ensure validity and relevance to the research.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Palm Oil and Boven Digoel

The establishment of oil palm plantations in Boven Digoel by corporations is attributable to climatic and geographic conditions suitable for oil palm cultivation. Boven Digoel Regency has a climate characterised by average temperatures of 21.6-36.9 °C and monthly rainfall of approximately 458.82 mm, which can reach 3,400 mm per year (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022). In addition, most of the Boven Digoel Regency area has contours and soil types suitable for oil palm cultivation, as latosol soils characterise the region. The soil and rainfall characteristics in Boven Digoel are considered suitable for cultivating productive oil palm (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022) . However, the oil palm land-clearing permit was issued for land currently occupied by the Awyu Indigenous Tribe, who live in Boven Digoel, South Papua Province (Sucahyo, 2023) . In response, the Awyu tribe, as an indigenous community, resisted oil palm land

clearing, which would threaten the survival of the Awyu people, who depend on forest products (Costa, 2023) .

The selection of the Boven Digoel region, considered suitable for oil palm cultivation, is driven by investors seeking profit, as the vast land in Papua Province and Boven Digoel is highly promising for the expansion of oil palm plantations (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022) . The availability of forest land is gradually decreasing due to the dominance of oil palm plantations, a major problem that requires urgent action by the government and relevant authorities (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023). The conversion of the Awyu tribe's customary forest land into oil palm plantations by corporations has drawn the attention of Greenpeace, an international environmental group. Greenpeace stated on its website that violations of the Forest Area Release (PKH) licensing system in Papua included oil palm land clearing covering 951,771 hectares of forest (GreenPeace, 2021).

The existence of potential violations of these rules also has a serious impact on the people who live around the location, the area of land that has been agreed upon for oil palm land development should have an area and coverage that is quite far from the settlements and residences of the surrounding community, in this case the Awyu tribe, but in fact the area converted into oil palm plantations reaches the customary forest land belonging to the Awyu tribe where the forest should not be converted because it is the source of life of the Awyu tribe community. This clearly violates the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) that indigenous peoples have suffered from injustice as a result of land grabbing (United Nations, 2007) .

Deforestation is the conversion of large areas of land. This act of deforestation aims to clear land for the benefit of a group, particularly corporations that pursue land clearing for profit without regard for local customary interests. Deforestation also includes practices such as forest burning. The condition of the community affected by deforestation causes indigenous peoples to feel marginalised, and the loss of customary forests makes the community unable to meet their daily needs.

Environmental Damage in Boven Digoel

The source of forest land loss in Boven Digoel is the clearing and burning of forest land to prepare the land for oil palm cultivation, which, of course, violates the law (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023) . The burning of forest land by corporations in clearing oil palm land for several years has been carried out in a pattern of 'deliberate burning' (Amindoni & Henschke, 2020) . Through visual investigations, the corporation used fire to expand oil palm plantations, but it denied allegations of deliberate land burning for oil palm clearing in Boven Digoel (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023).

The deforestation carried out in the context of clearing oil palm land by corporations in Boven Digoel has an impact not only on the people around Papua but globally because the deforestation process carried out by these corporations uses the land burning method, the results of the land burning process carried out by corporations have resulted in serious impacts in the form of the release of around 25 million tons of carbon dioxide CO₂ which is the result of the burning process and these substances are certainly harmful to humans and can also damage the lungs of the world (Kuswoyo, 2024).

In line with the development of the palm oil industry in the forests of Boven Digoel, Papua, there are social and ecological impacts on the indigenous population, including the Awyu tribe. The tribe's livelihood is highly dependent on customary forests, which have long sustained the tribe (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022). Deforestation in the customary forests of the Awyu tribe poses a serious threat because the forest is the source of life for indigenous peoples. The indigenous Awyu tribe in the Boven Digoel region hunts and gathers to meet their daily needs, making forest resources extremely important to them. This must be a priority in taking action to protect their rights (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022).

If the forest of the Awyu indigenous tribe is forcibly removed, problems will arise in adapting to the tribe because they cannot fulfill their basic daily needs, so this is in line with the statement of Mike Brklacich, Maychazan and Hans George Bohle that vulnerability to a community can occur if the community is unable to adapt to its new environment. This is the reason why forests are highly protected by the indigenous people of Boven Digoel because the fulfillment of their daily needs is obtained from the forest (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022). In addition, forest management in Boven Digoel is limited by tradition and customary law because it is considered a cultural identity (Kontras, 2018). Forests are attached to the traditional life and culture of the Awyu people, but corporations are destroying this by deforesting (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023).

Sago is a staple food of indigenous peoples in Papua, along with tubers (Daxoko, 2024). The diversity of tribes and populations in Indonesia also indicates that each community has distinct basic needs; the Awyu tribe and surrounding communities meet their basic food needs through sago, which is highly vulnerable if this staple becomes difficult to obtain. Unlike other tribes outside Papua, which can meet their staple food needs with rice, corn, or wheat, people in Papua are highly dependent on sago trees. The conversion of the forest that provides their staple food affects not only the Awyu tribe but also the surrounding communities, particularly those in Boven Digoel, South Papua, who depend on the forest. Land boundary violations carried out by corporations by displacing forests and places for residents to fish and hunt are the focus so that this problem can be resolved immediately (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023) so that deforestation that occurs in the Boven Digoel region threatens biodiversity and potential

food sources because they are displaced by oil palm plantations (Amindoni & Henschke, 2020) .

Consistent with Bohle's statement in "Global Environmental Change and Human Security," far-reaching ecological changes can increase vulnerability to human life (Bohle, 2001) . This is evidenced by the difficulty the Awyu indigenous people face in obtaining their main source of food and for spiritual activities due to deforestation carried out by palm oil corporations, which convert forest land into oil palm plantations. The vulnerability of the Awyu people is unavoidable. For the Awyu tribe, the customary forest is a sacred place whose existence is difficult, if not irreplaceable. Deforestation not only undermines the livelihoods of the Awyu tribe but also degrades the existing ecosystem, as the methods employed often damage the environment.

A series of deforestation carried out by corporations against the indigenous people of the Awyu Tribe has a major impact on climate change, not only in Papua but also globally. Moreover, deforestation has caused the gradual loss of Papua's forest land, which supports biodiversity, local flora and fauna, and the cultural wealth of indigenous peoples. The losses caused by deforestation have attracted the attention of environmentalists, who have requested that the Indonesian government immediately revoke licenses for clearing oil palm land on forest land belonging to the Awyu tribe. Supporting Bohle's statement about human vulnerability, ecological changes, and climate change, which disrupt the daily needs of people who still depend on forests, such as performing traditional rituals, hunting, gathering, and preparing food. The survival of the Awyu tribe, who have lived in the customary forest for many years, will be easily and vulnerably disrupted if the forest where they do their activities is converted into oil palm plantations. The long-term vulnerability can manifest in many deaths among the Awyu tribe, who cannot adapt to environmental and ecosystem changes.

Marginalization of Awyu Tribe in Boven Digoel Forest Area

Based on applicable regulations, the licensing process carried out by corporations needs to obtain permission from indigenous peoples with a mutual agreement to determine the area of land that can be used as oil palm plantation land and land that cannot be deforested as an effort to ensure that the Awyu tribe and surrounding communities can continue to depend on the forest to meet their daily needs. However, corporations often engage in unilateral, manipulative actions that bypass deliberation with local leaders, exploiting community ignorance to secure greater benefits from available land (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022) . In mediating with local communities in order to obtain land, corporations will initially make promises to the community to compensate and provide additional facilities that are difficult to obtain in the area such as providing education costs, relief houses, clean water wells, and generators borne by the corporation as well as compensating indigenous peoples to release customary forest land (Amindoni & Henschke, 2020).

From the perspective of indigenous peoples, the promises made by corporations have never been fulfilled, resulting not only in economic losses but also in the threat to the cultural wealth of indigenous peoples, biodiversity, and disrupting the spiritual values between indigenous peoples and the forest. As forest area decreases, this certainly erodes the cultural identity of the Awyu tribe (Kontras, 2018). This is because, in the view of the Awyu indigenous community, the forest is interpreted as a source of life (Aryandani & Kogoya, 2024). In addition, corporations do not care about this and continue to clear land for palm oil plantations for profit (Denneisha & Arifin, 2022).

The opening of oil palm land through corporate deforestation has marginalised the Awyu indigenous tribe in Boven Digoel, triggering resistance by the Awyu indigenous people against deforestation in Boven Digoel. This rebellion is part of the community's social relations in responding to actions by corporations deemed detrimental and inconsistent with the agreement (Sudira & et al, 2020) . This continuous land grabbing and deforestation is a form of violation of the culture of indigenous peoples (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023) . As a result, deforestation for oil palm land clearing carried out by corporations not only makes indigenous peoples lose their main source of food but also (Sudira & et al, 2020)erodes the culture in Papua. In addition, the lack of access for the community, especially the Awyu tribe, to defend their rights to the customary forest is another problem that requires attention, particularly for relevant parties and the government to provide a forum for justice through which they can promptly express their opinions.

The local indigenous people, particularly the Awyu Tribe, continue to rely heavily on traditional forests to meet their daily needs, including fishing, hunting, and gathering. In addition, the Awyu Tribe continues to hold social and spiritual values that support forest preservation. Land grabbing by corporations causes indigenous peoples to be unable to meet their needs and carry out spiritual activities, so that indigenous peoples feel marginalised and lose their rights to customary land that they have occupied for generations (Dwijayani, Muhammad, & Sugito, 2023) . The marginalisation that occurred to the Awyu Tribe made it increasingly difficult for local people to meet their basic needs, so that conflict and violence could not be avoided (Sudira & et al, 2020) .

Marginalization is the process of indigenous peoples becoming marginalized due to the development and conversion of forest land into oil palm plantations for the sake of profit for corporations alone without thinking about the rights owned by indigenous peoples. The rights of indigenous peoples are limited and even lost in enjoying the forest as the main source of fulfilment of needs and in carrying out rituals and cultural customs. The seizure of customary land by the government to build the palm oil industry has made indigenous peoples experience cultural deculturation where indigenous peoples who used to fish, hunt and gather have turned into modern indigenous peoples. This further strengthens Bohle's statement that new opportunities for the economy will cause vulnerability to communities due to deteriorating ecological conditions. In addition to

ecological changes caused by deforestation of indigenous forests into oil palm land, there is a life vulnerability for the Awyu tribe that is inevitable if the tribe cannot adapt to modern life that is far different from their traditional life.

This vulnerability will lead to two choices that will be accepted by the Awyu tribe, the first is to successfully adjust to modern life and have a new life cycle without relying on customary forests or being lost in the current due to not being able to adjust to existing modern life. Both options are difficult to do for the Awyu tribe considering that changing the habits of a group cannot be done instantly and takes a long time, on the other hand if the Awyu tribe does not immediately adapt to the new environment then they will not be able to survive in the new ecosystem.

Resistance of Awyu Indigenous People

Through the clearing of oil palm land by corporations, indigenous peoples are marginalised, so conflicts between indigenous peoples, corporations and the government are inevitable. This is evidenced by the peaceful actions undertaken by the Awyu Tribe at the Jayapura Administrative Court and the Supreme Court, demanding that the government revoke the corporation's permit. However, these efforts have not yet borne fruit, and the community feels increasingly marginalised. The current government is still considered to be on the side of capitalist groups, promoting growth and prosperity for residents, which contributes to their marginalisation. The government also does not consider the consequences of doing so, nor the fate of the Awyu tribe and several other tribes that inhabit customary forests in Papua. The government's preparations are considered insufficient to mitigate the vulnerabilities and conflicts that will arise if the Awyu tribe's customary forest is removed and replaced with oil palm plantations. It is evident from the many actions and demands of the Awyu tribe and social observation groups that there have been no significant results regarding the problems faced by tribes inhabiting Papua's customary forests.

The phenomenon of land grabbing and ecological damage that displaces indigenous peoples in the scope of their lives is one of the complaints of indigenous peoples, so the government can also conduct environmental supervision to ensure corporate compliance with existing environmental regulations. In accordance with Law Number 32 of 2009, Article 72 on Environmental Protection and Management, states that "The Minister, Governor, or Regent/Mayor, in accordance with their authority, shall supervise the obedience of the person in charge of the business and/or activity to the environmental permit" (ESDM, 2009). Based on the applicable laws, the government needs to consider imposing strict sanctions on corporations to comply with government regulations related to environmental protection, fulfil their promises regarding the provision of assistance to indigenous peoples and address alleged violations that have been committed in the form of deforestation by burning because indigenous peoples have

difficulty meeting their needs and performing traditional rituals so they need fair compensation.

Customary land is of great importance to the Awyu Tribe as a source of life (Aryandani & Kogoya, 2024) so land conversion by corporations certainly causes conflict between corporations and local indigenous peoples, especially the Awyu tribe (Sudira & et al, 2020) . Regarding resistance and conflicts caused by deforestation, the Awyu Tribe fights the government to ensure that the demands of indigenous peoples are heard and to have the government revoke licenses for land-clearing by corporations (Jo, 2024).

CONCLUSION

Based on this description, the palm oil industry has had a significant impact on climate change, not only in Papua but also globally. In addition, the main impact of deforestation also affects indigenous peoples in Boven Digoel in the form of increased vulnerability because they are unable to fulfil their daily needs due to land conversion. Along with the rapid growth of the palm oil industry, the steps taken by corporations include deforestation by burning and forcing indigenous peoples to give up their customary forests to become oil palm plantations. Deforestation carried out by corporations in Boven Digoel shows the potential for massive indigenous resistance because it makes indigenous peoples feel marginalised, and promises made by corporations are not fully kept. The community's traditional lifestyle is being eroded by modernisation. Indigenous communities still uphold cultural customs in forest management and depend on local forests for their livelihoods, so conflicts due to deforestation are inevitable.

From the perspective of Global Environmental Governance (GEG), the deforestation case in Boven Digoel highlights the Indonesian government's weakness in implementing international norms and principles as set out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The Indonesian government has indeed ratified international treaties governing the protection of indigenous peoples' rights, but in practice, there are still violations of the rights of indigenous peoples. In response, the government should take firm action to grant licenses to palm oil corporations so they do not exceed the limit of forest land that can be managed, thereby minimising deforestation of customary forests belonging to local tribes in that area.

The Indonesian government needs to involve indigenous peoples in decision-making and enforce environmental regulations rigorously against corporations that violate them. The Indonesian government should evaluate and review the licensing of oil palm plantations owned by corporations in Boven Digoel. In addition, future

researchers can examine how the state's perspective on agrarian conflict management operates in Boven Digoel.

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