



**GENDER DAN MISI PERDAMAIAN: ADVOKASI GERAKAN  
PEREMPUAN TRANSNASIONAL MELALUI UN ASSISTANCE  
MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN (UNAMA), 2002-2023**

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**23/513550/PSP/07921**

**ABSTRAK**

Tesis ini meneliti gerakan perempuan transnasional dalam mengintegrasikan isu gender pada *UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)* selama periode 2002-2023. Melalui perspektif *Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN)*, tesis ini difokuskan untuk mengkaji pentingnya peran gerakan perempuan transnasional dalam menentang praktik depolitisasi dan marginalisasi kelompok tertentu. Terutama, akibat praktik intervensi pembangunan negara (SBI) yang dilakukan aktor eksternal seperti UNAMA di Afghanistan sebagai negara pasca-konflik. Tesis ini menyoroti bahwa ketidakmampuan gerakan perempuan transnasional Afghanistan untuk menarik aktor yang lebih kuat melalui pola bumerang dan politik pengaruh, berdampak pada rendahnya kemampuan gerakan untuk menuntut akuntabilitas UNAMA. Terutama, pasca-kembalinya dominasi Taliban di Afghanistan pada 2021 yang kembali melanggengkan kekerasan terhadap perempuan Afghanistan. Maka dari itu, tesis ini menekankan pentingnya peran gerakan perempuan sebagai aktor advokasi dalam memanfaatkan berbagai strategi politik dan pola bumerang dalam TAN. Hal ini penting untuk memastikan operasi pembangunan damai, seperti UNAMA, berjalan secara inklusif.

Kata Kunci: Afghanistan, UNAMA, gerakan perempuan, praktik SBI, TAN, strategi politik.

**ABSTRACT**

*This thesis examines the transnational women's movement in integrating gender issues within the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) from 2002-2023. Through the perspective of Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN), this thesis focuses on analyzing the importance of the role of transnational women's movement in opposing the practices of depoliticization and marginalization of certain groups. Particularly, as a consequence of state-building intervention (SBI) conducted by external actors such as UNAMA in Afghanistan as post-conflict country. This thesis highlights that the inability of the Afghan transnational women's movement to engage stronger actors through the boomerang pattern and political influence has weakened its capacity to demand accountability from UNAMA. It has also contributed to the return of Taliban dominance in Afghanistan in 2021, which has once again perpetuated violence against Afghan women. Therefore, this thesis emphasizes the importance of women's movement as advocacy actors to leverage various political strategies and boomerang pattern within TAN. This is crucial to ensure that peacebuilding operations, such as UNAMA, can proceed inclusively.*

**Keywords:** Afghanistan, UNAMA, women's movement, SBI practice, TAN, Political Strategies.