

- Afary, F. (2021, August 21). RAWA Responds to the Taliban Takeover. *New Politics*.
- Afghanistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2015). *Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 Women, Peace and Security*. Afghanistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- AlJazeera. (2022, February 26). Afghan public universities reopen with gender segregated classes. *Al Jazeera*.
- Al Jazeera. (2022, July 1). *Taliban supreme leader addresses major gathering in Kabul*. Diambil kembali dari Al Jazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/7/1/taliban-supreme-leader-addresses-gathering>
- Ali, R. (2022, August 24). The Afghan Women Left Behind. *The New Yorker*.
- AlJazeera. (2024, December 30). Afghanistan's Taliban rulers say will close all NGOs employing women. *AlJazeera*.
- Amnesty International. (t.thn.). *Women's Rights in Afghanistan*. Diambil kembali dari Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/issues/womens-rights-afghanistan>
- Amnesty International. (2021, May 24). *Afghan Women's Rights on the Verge of Roll Back as International Forces Withdraw and Peace Talks in Stalemate*. Diambil kembali dari Amnesty International.
- Arat, Z. F. (2015, November). Feminisms, Women's Rights, and the UN: Would Achieving Gender Equality Empower Women? *The American Political Science Review*, 109(4), 674-689.
- Armajani, J. (2021). The Taliban. Dalam *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements* (hal. 348-378). Brill.
- Barr, H. (2023, September 12). What the World Needs to Do For Afghan Women. *Human Rights Watch*.
- Barakat, S. (2024, August 15). Taliban 'deliberately deprived' 1.4 million girls of schooling: UN. *Al Jazeera*.
- BBC. (2009, November 5). The UN in Afghanistan. *BBC*.
- BBC. (2020, March 1). Afghan conflict: US and Taliban sign deal to end 18-year war. *BBC*.
- Besmel, P. (2020). The Pathway to Transitional Justice in Afghanistan. *Journal of Global South Studies*, 37(2), 240-269.
- Brown, M. A., Boege, V., Clements, K. p., & Nolan, A. (2010). Challenging Statebuilding as Peacebuilding – Working with Hybrid Political Orders to Build Peace. Dalam

- Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding (Critical developments and Approaches)* (hal. 99-115). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bradley, C. A., & Goldsmith, J. L. (2016, October). Obama's AUMF Legacy. *American Journal of International Law*, 110(4), 628-645.
- Caldwell IV, W. B., & Finney, N. K. (2010, December). Building Police Capacity in Afghanistan: The Challenges of a Multilateral Approach. *PRISM*, 2(1), 121-130.
- Carpenter, R. C. (2007, March). Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Nonemergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks. *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(1), 99-120.
- Carpenter, C., Duygulu, S., Montgomery, A. H., & Rapp, A. (2014). Explaining the Advocacy Agenda: Insights from the Human Security Network. *International Organization*, 68(2), 449-470.
- Dobbins, J., Poole, M. A., Long, A., & Runkle, B. (2008). Post-9/11 Nation-Building: Afghanistan and Iraq. Dalam *After the War: Nation-Building from FDR to George W. Bush* (hal. 85-134). RAND Corporation.
- D'Souza, S. M. (2024, October 8). Women's Rights in Afghanistan: Will the Taliban Adhere to CEDAW? *The Diplomat*.
- Duffield, M. (2007). *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*. Polity Press.
- Eng, C. (2024, August 19). Afghanistan three years later: The fight for women's rights and the role of global advocacy. *IDEA*.
- Farid, N., & de Alwis, R. d. (2023). *Afghanistan Under the Taliban: A State of "Gender Apartheid"?* Afghanistan Policy Lab at the Princeton University School of Public and International Affairs.
- Fluri, J. L. (2008). Feminist Review. *feminist-nation building in Afghanistan: an examination of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA)*(89), 34-54.
- France 24. (2021, June 22). Taliban insurgents take key Afghan district amid US troop withdrawal. *France 24*.
- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organizations*, 52, 887-918.
- Garwood, S. (2005, November). Politics at Work: Transnational Advocacy Networks and the Global Garment Industry. *Gender and Development*, 13(3), 21-33.
- Graham, E. (2022, August 15). 'I daren't go far': Taliban rules trap Afghan women with no male guardian. *The Guardian*.

Gul, I. (2021, March 5). Inclusivity is key to salvaging the US–Taliban Doha deal. *East Asia Forum*.

Hadid, D. (2022, May 7). The Taliban orders women to wear head-to-toe clothing in public. *NPR*.

Hameiri, S. (2010). *Regulating Statehood (State Building and the Transformation of the Global Order)*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Hasegawa, Y. (2008). The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan: Impartiality in New UN Peace Operations. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 2(2), 209-226.

Hudson, V. M., Bowen, D. L., & Nielsen, P. L. (2016). We Are Not Helpless: Addressing Structural Gender Inequality in Post-Conflict Societies. *Women, Peace & Inclusive Security*, 6(1), 122-139.

Human Rights Watch. (2002, December 17). Afghanistan: Women Still Not "Liberated". *Human Rights Watch*.

Human Rights Watch. (2016, January 12). *Afghanistan: Set Out Concrete Plan to Involve Women*. Diambil kembali dari UNHCR.

Human Rights Watch. (2021, August 5). Afghanistan: Justice System Failing Women: Taliban Gains Further Risk Crucial Legal Protections. *Human Rights Watch*.

Human Rights Watch. (2021, March 22). Afghanistan: Women's Full Participation Needed in Talks. *Human Rights Watch*.

Human Rights Watch. (2024, August 11). Afghanistan: Taliban Tighten Grip 3 Years into Rule. *Human Rights Watch*.

International Crisis Group. (2020, August 11). The U.S.-Taliban Agreement as a Stage Setter for Peace Talks. *Taking Stock of the Taliban's Perspectives on Peace*, 1-4.

International Legal Foundation. (2004, September). *The Customary Laws of Afghanistan*. Diambil kembali dari United States Institute of Peace.

Jilani, Z. (2021, April 22). The U.S. Is Leaving Afghanistan. We Must Not Abandon It. *News Week*.

Jones, S. G., Wilson, J. M., Rathmell, A., & Riley, K. J. (2005). Afghanistan. Dalam *Establishing Law and Order After Conflict* (hal. 61-104). RAND Corporation.

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1999). Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics. *International Social Science Journal*, 51(159), 89-101.

Kranz, M. (2022, November 28). Afghan women, undeterred by Taliban, secretly network for change. *AlJazeera*.

- Krause, J., Krause, W., & Branfors, P. (2018). Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace. *International Interactions*, 44(6), 985-1016.
- Kumar, S., & Pant, M. (2014, July-September). Un Involvement In Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Reconstruction. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, 18(3), 116-139.
- Larson, A. (2016). In Women and power: Mobilising around Afghanistan's Elimination of Violence Against Women Law. Dalam *International involvement in the EVAW law process* (hal. 25-28). ODI.
- Luce, D. D. (2020, February 23). No guarantees for Afghan women in draft U.S.-Taliban deal. *NBC News*.
- Lujan, F. M. (2013). Light Footprints: The Future of American Military Intervention. *Center for a New American Security*. Diambil kembali dari <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep06176>.
- Maertens, L. (2018, Juni 22). Depoliticisation as a securitising move: the case of the United Nations Environment Programme. *European Journal of International Security*, 3(3), 344-363.
- Magrath, B. (2015, November). Information Politics, Transnational Advocacy, and Education for All. *Comparative Education Review*, 59(4), 666-692.
- Maley, W. (2011, January-February). Afghanistan in 2010: Continuing Governance Challenges and Faltering Security. *Asian Survey*, 51(1), 85-96.
- Maley, W. (2012). Afghanistan in 2011: Positioning for an Uncertain Future. *Asian Survey*, 52(1), 88-99.
- Mohan, M., Aman, M., & Pearce, G. (2024, March 22). Afghanistan: Teen girls despair as Taliban school ban continues. *BBC*.
- Moody, C. (2021, September 8). Twenty years after 9/11, did US win its 'war on terror'? *AlJazeera*.
- Najibullah, F., & Neda, F. (2019, August 27). Biometrics To End Fraud In Afghan Election May Discourage Some Women From Voting. *Radio Free Europe*.
- Noakes, S. (2012). Transnational advocacy networks and moral commitment: The free Tibet campaign meets the Chinese state. *International Journal*, 67(2), 507-525.
- Nowrouzi, M. (2024, June 15). What happened to the women who took on the Taliban? *BBC*.
- Pal, A. (2021, September 17). Taliban replaces women's ministry with ministry of virtue and vice. *Reuters*.
- Permanent Mission of Lithuania to the United Nations. (2014, March 17). *Lithuania's Statement in UN Security Council Debate on UNAMA, Afghanistan*. Diambil kembali

<https://un.mfa.lt/en/news/26/lithuanias-statement-in-un-security-council-debate-on-unama-afghanistan:794>

- Perry, W. L., & Kassing, D. (2015). Toppling the Taliban. Dalam *Toppling the Taliban: Air-Ground Operations in Afghanistan* (hal. 39-82). RAND Corporation.
- Picheta, R., & Mahmood, Z. (2021, August 25). Taliban tell Afghan women to stay home from work because soldiers are 'not trained' to respect them. *CNN*.
- Pleasance, C. (2021, August 11). The rape of Afghanistan: Advancing Taliban go door-to-door and forcibly take girls as young as TWELVE to be sex slave 'wives' for their fighters as they sweep across country following NATO withdrawal. *Dailymail*.
- Ponzio, R. J. (2007, April-June). Transforming Political Authority: UN Democratic Peacebuilding in Afghanistan. *Global Governance*, 13(2), 255-275.
- Radio Free Europe. (2022, November 10). Banned From Public Parks And Bathhouses, Afghan Women Say Life Under Taliban Is Like A 'Prison'. *Radio Free Europe*.
- Rashid, A. (2011, March-April). How Obama Lost Karzai. *Foreign Policy*(185), 71-76.
- RAWA. (2021, August 21). *RAWA Responds to the Taliban Takeover*. Diambil kembali dari RAWA.
- RAWA. (t.thn.). *Patriotic and Revolutionary Songs of RAWA*. Diambil kembali dari RAWA: <http://pz.rawa.org/rawasongs/index.html>
- RAWA. (2021, 12 10). *RAWA Protest on Human Rights Day Under the Savage Rule of the Taliban*. Diambil kembali dari RAWA.
- Reuters. (2022, December 25). Taliban bans female NGO staff, jeopardizing aid efforts. *Reuters*.
- Reuters. (2023, March 6). Taliban's persecution of women could be 'crime against humanity' - UN report. *Reuters*.
- Richmond, O. P. (2014). *Failed Statebuilding: Intervention and the Dynamics of Peace Formation*. Yale University Press.
- Rogers, A., & McGoldrick, D. (2011, July). Assassination and Targeted Killing - The Killing of Osama Bin Laden. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 60(3), 778-788.
- Rotman, A. F., & Nader, Z. (2021, October 1). I don't know where to go': uncertain fate of the women in Kabul's shelters. *The Guardian*.
- Russell, G. (2011). Peacemaking in Afghanistan: A Role for the United Nations? In International Peace Institute (Ed.), *Maintaining International Peace and Security: A*

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09574.5>

- Sarwar, N. (2010). UN role in rebuilding Afghanistan. *Strategic Studies*, 30(1/2), 187-207.
- Shafiei, M., & Overton, K. (2023). Mirage or Oasis? Assessing the Role of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan. *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 11(2), 357-376.
- Samar, S. (2019). Feminism, Peace and Afghanistan. *Journal of International Affairs*, 72(2), 145-158.
- SIGAR. (2021). *Support for Gender Equality: Lessons from the U.S. Experience in Afghanistan*. SIGAR.
- Sikkink, K., & Keck, M. E. (1998). *Activist beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell.
- Sikkink, K. (2003). A Typology of Relations Between Social Movements and International Institutions. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law)*, 97, 301-305.
- Sims, C. F. (2009, November). CEDAW and Afghanistan. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 11(1), 1-22.
- Sims, C. F. (2009, November). CEDAW and Afghanistan. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 11(1), 136-156.
- Singh, R. (2002, April-June). Emergency Loya Jirga Shapes Afghanistan's Future. *India Quarterly*, 58(2), 172-186.
- Smith, S. S. (2019). Loya Jirgas and Political Crisis Management in Afghanistan: Drawing on the Bank of Tradition. *US Institute of Peace*, 1-28.
- Stepansky, J. (2023, August). Afghan lives in limbo, two years after US withdrawal. *AlJazeera*.
- Sultana, R., & Aquil, S. (2009). Review of Political Developments in Post-Taliban Afghanistan. *Pakistan Horizon*, 62(2/3), 41-62.
- Together Women Rise. (t.thn.). *Women for Afghan Women*. Diambil kembali dari Together Women Rise: <https://togetherwomenrise.org/programfactsheets/women-for-afghan-women-waw/>
- UNAMA. (2011). *A Long Way to Go: Implementation of the Elimination of Violence against Women Law in Afghanistan*. UNAMA.
- UNAMA. (2020). *In Search of Justice for Crimes of Violence Against Women and Girls*. UNAMA.

- UNAMA. (2009). *Silence is Violence: End the Abuse of Women in Afghanistan*. UNAMA.
- UN News. (2020, February 29). United States-Taliban deal: UN welcomes efforts to reach political settlement in Afghanistan. *UN News*.
- UN News. (2020, March 10). Security Council resolution endorses moves towards long-sought Afghanistan peace. *UN News*.
- UN Women. (2024, August 12). *Afghan women three years after the Taliban takeover*. Diambil kembali dari UN Women.
- UNSCR. (2001, September 12). *Resolution 1368 "Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts"*. Diambil kembali dari UNSCR.
- UNSCR. (2002, March 28). *Resolution 1401: The situation in Afghanistan*. Diambil kembali dari UNSCR.
- UNSCR. (2009, Maret 23). *Resolution 1868: The situation in Afghanistan*. Diambil kembali dari UNSCR.
- UNSCR. (2011, June 17). *S/RES/1988 (2011) | Security Council*. Diambil kembali dari the United Nations.
- UNSCR. (2014, Maret 17). *Resolution 2145*. Diambil kembali dari UNSCR: <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/2145>
- Vayrynen, T. (2010). Gender and Peacebuilding. Dalam *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding (Critical Developments and Approaches)* (hal. 137-153). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vilella, R. G. (2014, September/October). A Tale of Two AUMFs. *The National Interest*(133), 59-66.
- WAW. (t.thn.). *Women for Afghan Women (WAW)*. Diambil kembali dari Together Women Rise: <https://togetherwomenrise.org/programfactsheets/women-for-afghan-women-waw/>
- WAW. (t.thn.). Diambil kembali dari Women For Afghan Women: Home: <https://womenforafghanwomen.org/>
- Yeung, J., Coren, A., & Temori, J. (2023, August 15). Two years on from Taliban takeover, Afghan women are being ‘erased from everything’. *CNN*.
- Zada, S. Q., & Zada, M. Z. (2024, May 24). The Taliban and women's human rights in Afghanistan: the way forward. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 28(10), 1687-1722.
- Zoya. (2006, October 11). *Five Years Later, Afghanistan Still in Flames*. Diambil kembali dari RAWA.