

## ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi institusionalisasi norma gender melalui keterkaitan antara struktur, agensi dan relasi kuasa gender dalam institusi melalui studi kasus presidensi Indonesia di Dewan Keamanan Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa pada 2019-2020. Studi ini meneliti bagaimana norma gender dapat ditantang dan diubah dalam struktur maskulin DK PBB melalui agensi aktor negara dengan memanfaatkan elevasi posisi tawar melalui peran presidensi. Dengan menganalisis hubungan ko-konstitutif yang kompleks antara struktur dan agensi, penelitian ini menyelidiki institusionalisasi agenda Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) lebih jauh dalam pasukan penjaga perdamaian. Menggunakan kerangka teori institusionalisme feminis, tesis ini berargumen bahwa institusionalisasi norma kesetaraan gender dipengaruhi oleh struktur dan relasi kuasa yang sarat nilai maskulinitas, namun posisi presidensi Indonesia memegang peran penting untuk reproduksi norma kesetaraan gender. Melalui metode kualitatif tinjauan literatur, penelitian ini mengaitkan keberhasilan pengesahan Resolusi 2538 tahun 2020 dengan rangkaian panjang proses kampanye Indonesia berjenama "Investing in Peace: Investing in Women", negosiasi, dan sosialisasi yang juga tak lepas dari peran Non-Governmental Organizations. Dengan mempertimbangkan kompleksitas gender dalam kepentingan nasional, penelitian ini menawarkan sudut pandang baru peran aktor negara non-Barat dalam perjuangan agenda kesetaraan gender di tingkat organisasi internasional.

**Keyword:** institusionalisme feminis, WPS, presidensi DK PBB, pasukan penjaga perdamaian

## ABSTRACT

This study explores the institutionalization of gender norms through the interrelation of structure, agency, and gender power dynamics within institutions, using Indonesia's presidency in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) from 2019-2020 as a case study. It examines how gender norms can be challenged and transformed within the masculine structure of the UNSC through the agency of state actors leveraging their enhanced bargaining position during the presidency. By analyzing the complex co-constitutive relationship between structure and agency, this research further investigates the institutionalization of the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda within peacekeeping forces. Using a feminist institutionalism framework, this thesis argues that while the institutionalization of gender equality norms is shaped by structures and power relations embedded with masculinity, Indonesia's presidency played a crucial role in reproducing these norms. Through a qualitative literature review method, the study links the successful adoption of Resolution 2538 in 2020 to Indonesia's long-term Investing in Peace: Investing in Women campaign, as well as negotiation and outreach efforts involving Non- Governmental Organizations. By considering the complexities of gender in national interests, this research offers a new perspective on the role of non-Western state actors in advancing gender equality within international organizations.

**Keyword:** feminist institutionalism, WPS, UNSC presidency, peacekeepers