

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Acker, J. (1992). From sex roles to gendered institutions. *Contemporary Sociology*, 21(5), 565–569.
- Aggestam, K., & Towns, A. (2019). The gender turn in diplomacy: A new research agenda. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 21(1), 9–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2018.1483206>
- Aggestam, K., & Towns, A. E. (Eds.). (2018). *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*. Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58682-3>
- Ammar, M., Azizah, N., Maksum, A., & Perwita, L. (2021). ‘Velvet Triangles’ in Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Indonesia. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 10, 59–71. <https://doi.org/10.18196/hi.v10i1.12223>
- Angathangelou, A. M., Agathangelou, A. M., & Ling, L. H. M. (2003). Desire industries: Sex trafficking, UN peacekeeping, and the neo-liberal world order. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 10(1), 133–148.
- Anievas, A., Manchanda, N., & Shilliam, R. (2014). Confronting the global colour line: An introduction. In *Race and racism in International Relations* (pp. 1–15). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315857299-1/confronting-global-colour-line-alexander-anievas-nivi-manchanda-robbie-shilliam>
- Antara News. (2017, September 22). *Retno Marsudi conferred agent of change award by UN women*. Antara News. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/112732/retno-marsudi-conferred-agent-of-change-award-by-un-women>
- Anwar, D. F. (2014). Indonesia’s peacekeeping operations: History, practice, and future trend. In *Asia-Pacific nations in international peace support and stability operations* (pp. 189–210). Springer. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1057/9781137366955_8?pdf=chapter%20toc
- ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation. (2018, October). *Keynote Speech of H.E. Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi at the Opening of the ASEAN-IPR Youth Conference on Peace & Tolerance* | ASEAN-IPR – Asean Institute for Peace and Reconciliation. <https://asean-aipr.org/resources/remarks-and-speeches/keynote-speech-of-h-e-foreign-minister-retno-marsudi-at-the-opening-of-the-asean-ipr-youth-conference-on-peace-tolerance>



- Azizah, N., Maksum, A., & Hidayatulloh, M. A. (2020). Enhancing Women Contribution in Peace, Conflict Resolution, and Security Agenda: Indonesian Female Peacekeepers in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation (Garuda Contingent – KONGA). *UNISCI Journal*, 18(53), 111–129. <https://doi.org/10.31439/UNISCI-86>
- Azizah, N., Sallimi, H., & Dwiyantri, A. (2022). The Increasing Number of Female Troops in Indonesia's Peacekeeping Operations: Why Women's Presence Matters? *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*, 6(1), 81–103.
- Basu, S. (2016). Gender as national interest at the UN Security Council. *International Affairs*, 92(2), 255–273. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12548>
- Benson, M., & Tucker, C. (2022). The Importance of UN Security Council Resolutions in Peacekeeping Operations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(3), 473–503. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220027211044205>
- Bintang, I., Susilowati, R., & Yusa, M. Y. (2022). Indonesia Efforts in Achieve Resolution on Female Peacekeepers in The United Nations Year 2020. *Frequency of International Relations (FETRIAN)*, 4(1), 144–185. <https://doi.org/10.25077/fetrian.4.1.144-185.2022>
- Bogaards, M. (2022). Feminist institutionalism(s). *Italian Political Science Review / Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica*, 52(3), 418–427. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ipo.2022.15>
- Brosig, M. (2023). More Than Just Productive? Evaluating Germany's Term at the UN Security Council 2019–2020. *International Peacekeeping*, 30(3), 308–333. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2023.2201678>
- Bullion, A. (1997). India and UN peacekeeping operations. *International Peacekeeping*, 4(1), 98–114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533319708413653>
- Carey, H. F. (2001). 'Women and peace and security': The politics of implementing gender sensitivity norms in peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(2), 49–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310108413895>
- Carreiras, H. (2009). Gender integration policies in the armed forces: A double-edged sword? In *Advances in military sociology: Essays in honor of Charles C. Moskos* (pp. 183–194). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. [https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/S1572-8323\(2009\)000012B013/full/html](https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/S1572-8323(2009)000012B013/full/html)



- Chappell, L. (2003). *Gendering government: Feminist engagement with the state in Australia and Canada*. UBC Press.
- Chappell, L. (2006). Comparing political institutions: Revealing the gendered “logic of appropriateness”. *Politics & Gender*, 2(2), 223–235.
- Chappell, L. (2010). Comparative gender and institutions: Directions for research. *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(1), 183–189.
- Chappell, L. (2011). Nested Newness and Institutional Innovation: Expanding Gender Justice in the International Criminal Court. In *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism* (pp. 163–180). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chappell, L., & Mackay, F. (2021). Feminist critical friends: Dilemmas of feminist engagement with governance and gender reform agendas. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 4(3), 321–340.
- Chappell, L., & Waylen, G. (2013). Gender and the Hidden Life of Institutions. *Public Administration*, 91(3), 599–615. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2012.02104.x>
- Checkel, J. T. (1999). *International institutions and socialization*. Arena Oslo.
- Choedon, Y. (2022). Uniformed Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations. *Journal of Defence Studies*, 16(3), 231–255.
- Cohn, C. (2008). Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation? In S. M. Rai & G. Waylen (Eds.), *Global Governance* (pp. 185–206). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230583931_9
- Cohn, C., Kinsella, H., & Gibbings, S. (2004). Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6(1), 130–140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000165969>
- Cold-Ravnkilde, S., Albrecht, P., & Haugegaard, R. (2017). Friction and Inequality among Peacekeepers in Mali. *The RUSI Journal*, 162(2), 34–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2017.1328810>
- Coomaraswamy, R. (2015). *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325*. UN Women. <https://wps.asean.org/resources/preventing-conflict-transforming-justice-securing-the-peace-a-global-study-on-the-implementation-of-unscr-1325/>



- Dag Hammarskjöld Library. (n.d.). *Research Guides: UN Membership: UN Security Council Membership* [Research guide]. United Nations. Dag Hammarskjöld Library. Retrieved 26 December 2024, from <https://research.un.org/en/unmembers/scmembers>
- Dewi, M., & Rachmawati, I. (2022). Gender And Diplomacy: Practice and Challenge in Indonesia In the Covid-19 Pandemic Era. *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Democracy and Social Transformation, ICON-DEMOST 2021, September 15, 2021, Semarang, Indonesia*. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Democracy and Social Transformation, ICON-DEMOST 2021, September 15, 2021, Semarang, Indonesia, Semarang, Indonesia. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.15-9-2021.2315590>
- Dharmapuri, S. (2011). Just Add Women and Stir? *Parameters*, 56–70.
- Dharmapuri, S. (2013). *Not just a numbers game: Increasing women's participation in UN peacekeeping*.
https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/167390/ipi_epub_not_just_a_numbers_game.pdf
- Direktorat Utama Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Hukum Pemeriksaan Keuangan Negara. (2000). *Inpres No. 9 Tahun 2000*. Database Peraturan | JDIH BPK.
<http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/285278/inpres-no-9-tahun-2000>
- Duriesmith, D. (2018). Manly States and Feminist Foreign Policy: Revisiting the Liberal State as an Agent of Change. In V. S. Peterson, S. Parashar, J. A. Tickner, & J. True (Eds.), *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190644031.003.0004>
- Elshtain, J. B. (1987). *Women and War*. Basic Books.
- Enloe, C. H. (1989). *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics* (Updated ed., with a new pref.). University of California Press.
- Enzmann, J. (2024, January 11). *Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) in Japan and ASEAN*. The Sasakawa Peace Foundation. <https://www.spf.org/en/spfnews/information/20240111.html>
- European Institute for Gender Equality. (n.d.). *What is gender mainstreaming*. European Institute for Gender Equality. Retrieved 9 May 2022, from <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/what-is-gender-mainstreaming>
- Finkelstein, L. S. (1974). International organizations and change: The past as prologue. *International Studies Quarterly*, 18(4), 485–520.



- Finnemore, M. (1996). Norms, culture, and world politics: Insights from sociology's institutionalism. *International Organization*, 50(2), 325–347.
- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International Organization*, 52(4), 887–917.
- Freedman, R. (2018). UNaccountable: A new approach to peacekeepers and sexual abuse. *European Journal of International Law*, 29(3), 961–985.
- George, N., Lee-Koo, K., & Shepherd, L. J. (2018). Gender and the Un's Women, Peace and Security Agenda. In *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Security*. Routledge.
- Goetz, A. M., & Jenkins, R. (2018). Participation and Protection: Security Council Dynamics, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Evolution of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda. In F. Ní Aoláin, N. Cahn, D. F. Haynes, & N. Valji (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199300983.013.10>
- Gorges, M. J. (2001). New Institutional Explanations for Institutional Change: A Note of Caution. *Politics*, 21(2), 137–145. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9256.00145>
- Harsono, A. (2022, April 19). *TNI Akhirnya Mengakhiri 'Tes Keperawanan' yang Kejam Itu | Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/id/news/2022/04/19/indonesia-military-finally-ends-abusive-virginity-test>
- Heathcote, G. (2014). Participation, Gender and Security. In G. Heathcote & D. Otto (Eds.), *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security* (pp. 48–69). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137400215_3
- Holmes, G. (2019). Situating Agency, Embodied Practices and Norm Implementation in Peacekeeping Training. *International Peacekeeping*, 26(1), 55–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2018.1503934>
- Holmes, G. (2020). Feminist Institutionalism. In K. Oksamytna & J. Karlsrud (Eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations and International Relations Theory* (pp. 214–235). Manchester University Press. crsv
- Horne, C., Robinson, K., & Lloyd, M. (2020). The relationship between contributors' domestic abuses and peacekeeper misconduct in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. *International Studies Quarterly*, 64(1), 235–247.



- Hunt, S., & Nderitu, A. W. (2018). WPS as a political movement. In *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331179657_WPS_as_a_political_movement
- Hutabarat, L. F. (2018). Diplomasi Indonesia dalam Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian PBB. *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, 6(2). <https://doi.org/10.33172/jpbh.v6i2.308>
- Indonesian Armed Forces Peacekeeping Center. (2023, September 22). “Gender Equality” Telah Membawa Perubahan Yang lebih Baik – IAF PKC. <https://pmpp-tni.mil.id/2023/09/22/gender-equality-telah-membawa-perubahan-yang-lebih-baik/>
- Isnarti, R., Kamayi, A., & Anggorowati, A. (2023). Challenges, Benefits, and Opportunities of Indonesian Female Peacekeepers. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, 13(1), 31–41.
- Joachim, J., Schneiker, A., & Jenichen, A. (2017). External networks and institutional idiosyncrasies: The Common Security and Defence Policy and UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 30(1), 105–124. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2017.1313196>
- Kane, A. (2020, November 6). *Maintain the promise: The Women, Peace and Security Agenda at twenty. European Leadership Network*.
<https://europeanleadershipnetwork.org/commentary/maintain-the-promise-the-women-peace-and-security-agenda-at-twenty/>
- Kang’ung’u, F. K., & Ichani, X. F. (2023). Gender Mainstreaming Policies and Women Participation in Peace Support Operations: A Case of Kenya’s Contingents in African Mission in Somalia, 2011–2020. *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies*, 7(3), 34–60.
- Karim, S. (2018). Gender and Peacekeeping. In *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Security*. Routledge.
- Karim, S., & Beardsley, K. (2016). Explaining sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions: The role of female peacekeepers and gender equality in contributing countries. *Journal of Peace Research*, 53(1), 100–115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343315615506>
- Karim, S., & Beardsley, K. (2017). *Equal opportunity peacekeeping: Women, peace, and security in post-conflict states*. Oxford University Press.
<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=MCnYDQAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR1>



&dq=equal+opportunity+peacekeeping&ots=1jk_w9foPM&sig=Qy5pvUYevc9JfUFONT
Jc8saj4KM

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2020, May 29). *Permanent Mission of The Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations, New York*. Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. <https://kemlu.go.id/newyork-un/en>

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2022, March 15). *Fm Retno Underlines The Importance Of Digital Transformation To Support Global Economic Recovery*. Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/3405/view/fm-retno-underlines-the-importance-of-digital-transformation-to-support-global-economic-recovery>

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2020, August 29). *UN Security Council Adopts Indonesia's Resolution on Female Peacekeepers*. Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. <https://kemlu.go.id/ankara/en>

Kenney, S. J. (1996). New Research on Gendered Political Institutions. *Political Research Quarterly*, 49(2), 445–466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591299604900211>

Kenny, M., & Mackay, F. (2009). Already Doin' It for Ourselves? Skeptical Notes on Feminism and Institutionalism. *Politics & Gender*, 5(2), 271–280. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X09000221>

Kingdon, J. W. (1995). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (2nd ed). Longman.

Komnas Perempuan. (2023, July 3). *Amicus Curiae Terhadap Uji Materiil PKPU No 10 Tahun 2023: Langkah Mundur Kebijakan Tindakan Afirmasi 30 Persen Kuota Keterwakilan Perempuan*. Komnas Perempuan | Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan. <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/amicus-curiae-terhadap-uji-materiil-pkpu-no-10-tahun-2023-langkah-mundur-kebijakan-tindakan-afirmasi-30-persen-kuota-keterwakilan-perempuan>

Krasner, S. D. (1982). Structural causes and regime consequences: Regimes as intervening variables. *International Organization*, 36(2), 185–205.

Krishnasamy, K. (2001). 'Recognition' for Third World peacekeepers: India and Pakistan. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(4), 56–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310108413920>



- Krook, M. L., & Mackay, F. (2011). Introduction: Gender, Politics, and Institutions. In *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism* (pp. 1–20). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kusmiyati, N., Efendy, H., & Utama, T. M. (2017). The Leadership of Women in Military on Military Organization. *International Journal of Human Resource Studies*, 7(165), 10–5296.
- Mackay, F. (2008). ‘Thick’ Conceptions of Substantive Representation: Women, Gender and Political Institutions. *Representation*, 44(2), 125–139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890802079607>
- Mackay, F. (2011). Conclusion: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism? In *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism* (pp. 181–196). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mackay, F. (2014). Nested Newness, Institutional Innovation, and the Gendered Limits of Change. *Politics & Gender*, 10(4), 549–571. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X14000415>
- Mackay, F., Kenny, M., & Chappell, L. (2010). New Institutionalism Through a Gender Lens: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism? *International Political Science Review*, 31(5), 573–588. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512110388788>
- Mackay, F., & Krook, M. L. (Eds.). (2011). *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mackay, F., & Murtagh, C. (2019). New Institutions, New Gender Rules? A Feminist Institutional Lens on Women and Power-Sharing. *Feminists@law*, 9(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/03/fal.745>
- MacRae, H., & Weiner, E. (2021). Feminist institutionalism. In *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and EU Politics*. Routledge.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (2008). 9 The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life. In J. G. March, *Explorations in Organizations* (pp. 203–233). Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503627147-014>
- Margret, A. (2025, January 18). *The Paradox in Women’s Political Representation in Indonesia: More Women in Politics, But What Changes?* Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. <https://asia.fes.de/news/the-paradox-in-womens-political-representation-in-indonesia-more-women-in-politics-but-what-changes.html>



- Marsudi, R. (2019, May 15). *Indonesia and the UNSC*. *kompas.id*.
<https://www.kompas.id/baca/utama/2019/05/15/indonesia-and-the-unsc-2>
- McMillan, C., Tonelli, A., & Mader, K. (2020). *'Do Our Voices Matter?': An analysis of women civil society representatives' meaningful participation at the UN Security Council* [Joint Research Report]. Oxfam with NGOWG.
<https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/handle/10546/621133>
- Menteri Koordinator Bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan, Menteri Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak. (2024). *Laporan: Pelaksanaan Rencana Aksi Nasional Perlindungan Dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dan Anak Dalam Konflik Sosial (RAN P3AKS) 2014-2023* (p. 64). Menteri Koordinator Bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan, Menteri Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak.
<https://wps.asean.org/resources/pelaksanaan-rancana-aksi-nasional-perlindungan-dan-pemberdayaan-perempuan-dan-anak-dalam-konflik-sosial-ran-p3aks-2014-2023/>
- Moncrief, S. (2017). Military socialization, disciplinary culture, and sexual violence in UN peacekeeping operations. *Journal of Peace Research*, 54(5), 715–730.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317716784>
- Mustapha, J., & Sharma, S. (2021). *The WPS Agenda in the Asia-Pacific: An Emerging Field of Discourse and Practice*. https://www.uwaterloo.ca/defence-security-foresight-group/sites/default/files/uploads/files/martel_mustapha_and_sharma_dsfg-workingpaper_october_2021_updates_mar_22.pdf
- Newby, V. F., & Sebag, C. (2021). Gender sidestreaming? Analysing gender mainstreaming in national militaries and international peacekeeping. *European Journal of International Security*, 6(2), 148–170. <https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2020.20>
- NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. (2019). *Mapping Women, Peace and Security in the UN Security Council: 2018*. NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. <https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/resource/mapping-women-peace-and-security-in-the-un-security-council-2018/>
- Odanović, G. (2010). Participation of women in UN peacekeeping operations. *Western Balkans Security Observer-English Edition*, 16, 70–79.



- Ojo, S. O. (2024). Gender Mainstreaming in Security Sector Reform: Enhancing Women's Participation in Peace-Building in Akure-Kingdom Communities of Ondo State. *Gender and Behaviour*, 22(2), 22624–22632.
- Oksamytna, K., & von Billerbeck, S. (2024). Race and International Organizations. *International Studies Quarterly*, 68(2), sqae010.
- Olsson, L. (2009). *Gender equality and United Nations peace operations in Timor Leste*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers Leiden. <https://brill.com/downloadpdf/display/title/15422.pdf>
- Olsson, L., & Gizelis, T.-I. (2013). An Introduction to UNSCR 1325. *International Interactions*, 39(4), 425–434. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2013.805327>
- Olsson, L., Muvumba Sellström, A., Moncrief, S., Wood, E. J., Johansson, K., Lotze, W., Ruffa, C., Hoover Green, A., Sjöberg, A. K., & Kishi, R. (2020). Peacekeeping Prevention: Strengthening Efforts to Preempt Conflict-related Sexual Violence. *International Peacekeeping*, 27(4), 517–585. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2020.1782752>
- Olsson, L., & Obermeier, A. M. (2022, April 1). By Invitation Only: Including Women Briefers at the UN Security Council. *IPI Global Observatory*. <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2022/04/by-invitation-only-including-women-briefers-at-the-un-security-council/>
- Otto, D. (2009). The exile of inclusion: Reflections on gender issues in international law over the last decade. *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, 10(1), 11–26.
- Pallapothu, V. (2020). *Indonesia: An Emerging and Crucial Player in Pushing the WPS Agenda Forward*. The Gender Security Project. <https://www.gendersecurityproject.com/wpsanalysis/indonesia-an-emerging-and-crucial-player-in-pushing-the-wps-agenda-forward>
- Pandya, M. (2021). *Gender and International Relations*.
- Parashar, S., Tickner, J. A., & True, J. (2018a). Introduction: Feminist imaginings of twenty-first-century gendered states. In *Revisiting gendered states: Feminist imaginings of the state in international relations* (pp. 1–15). Oxford University Press, USA. <https://research.monash.edu/en/publications/introduction-feminist-imaginings-of-twenty-first-century-gendered>
- Parashar, S., Tickner, J. A., & True, J. (2018b). *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations*. Oxford University Press.



- Paris, R. (2003). Peacekeeping and the Constraints of Global Culture. *European Journal of International Relations*, 9(3), 441–473. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540661030093004>
- Parisi, L. (2020). Canada’s New Feminist International Assistance Policy: Business as Usual? *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16(2), 163–180. <https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orz027>
- Park, S. (2006). Theorizing Norm Diffusion Within International Organizations. *International Politics*, 43(3), 342–361. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ip.8800149>
- PeaceWomen. (2020). *Indonesia-2020 Commitments – 1325 National Action Plans*. <https://1325naps.peacewomen.org/index.php/2019-commitments/indonesia-2020-commitments/>
- Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations. (2019, July 17). *Letter dated 10 July 2019 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council*. UN,. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3813066>
- Permatasari, R. (2025, January 4). *The Evolution of Peacekeeping: Indonesian Perspective on Women Peacekeepers*. MEIG Programme. <https://www.meig.ch/highlight-44-2024-the-evolution-of-peacekeeping-indonesian-perspective-on-women-peacekeepers/>
- Peterson, V. S. (Ed.). (1992a). *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685859305>
- Peterson, V. S. (1992b). Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations. *Millennium*, 21(2), 183–206. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298920210020401>
- Putri, W. K. (2021). *Retno Marsudi Sebagai Menteri Luar Negeri*. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Wiwit-Putri/publication/352560022_Retno_Marsudi_Sebagai_Menteri_Luar_Negeri/links/60d03449299bf1cd71e64455/Retno-Marsudi-Sebagai-Menteri-Luar-Negeri.pdf
- Rezasyah, T. (2019). Peranan Diplomat Indonesia dalam Memperjuangkan Palestina di PBB (Masa Presidency of the UNSC Mei 2019). *Jurnal ICMES*, 3(2), 2. <https://doi.org/10.35748/jurnalicmes.v3i2.55>
- Rimmer, S. H. (2016). *Barriers to Operationalising the “Women, Peace & Security” Doctrine in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18754112-02001005>



- Robatjazi, M., Simbar, M., Nahidi, F., Gharehdaghi, J., Emamhadi, M., Vedadhir, A., & Alavimajd, H. (2016). Virginity and virginity testing: Then and now. *International Journal of Medical Toxicology and Forensic Medicine*, 6(1), 36–43.
- Robinson, K. (2023). 2 Dismantling the old gender order: A work in progress. In A. Bexley, S. X. Dong, & D. Setyonaluri (Eds.), *Gender Equality and Diversity in Indonesia: Identifying Progress and Challenges* (pp. 9–33). ISEAS Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789815104561-008>
- Runyan, A. S., & Peterson, V. S. (2014). Gender and Global Governance. In *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Saragih, H. M. (2021). Indonesian Diplomacy to Become a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council 2019-2020. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities Studies*, 1(1), 123–128. <https://doi.org/10.32996/ijahs.2021.1.1.18>
- Satiawan, A. A. P., Wahyuni, S., & Casmiwati, D. (2024). Implementation of Perkasal Policy Number 38 of 2021 Regarding the Acceptance of Cadets and Cadets of the AL Navy Academy in a Gender Perspective. *Science and Education*, 4(6), 551–560.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2010). Taking ideas and discourse seriously: Explaining change through discursive institutionalism as the fourth ‘new institutionalism’. *European Political Science Review*, 2(1), 1–25.
- Security Council Report. (2020, August 27). *Women in Peacekeeping Operations: Adoption of a Resolution*. Security Council Report. <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/whatsinblue/2020/08/women-in-peacekeeping-operations-adoption-of-a-resolution.php>
- Shepherd, L. J. (2016). Sex, Security and Superhero (in) es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond. In *Gender, Governance and International Security* (pp. 16–33). Routledge. <https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/chapters/edit/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9781315540269-2&type=chapterpdf>
- Sjoberg, L. (2018). Theories of War. In F. Ni Aoláin, N. Cahn, D. F. Haynes, & N. Valji (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199300983.013.2>
- Sorenson, D. S., & Wood, P. C. (2004). *The politics of peacekeeping in the post-cold war era*. Routledge.



- <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=xEuRAgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=The+politics+of+peacekeeping+in+the+post-cold+war+era&ots=ir7JqKyGCW&sig=huetVa3AuqRetHooMaZf1ib-WLU>
- Sriyanto. (2023). Strategi Pemerintah Dalam Peningkatan Peran dan Kapabilitas Female Peacekeepers Guna Mewujudkan Gender Mainstreaming. *Jurnal Lemhannas RI*, 11(2), 2. <https://doi.org/10.55960/jlri.v11i2.434>
- Stetson, D. M. (1995). *Comparative state feminism*. Sage. <https://ugp.rug.nl/genderstudies/article/download/1884/1877/>
- Streeck, W., & Thelen, K. (2005). *Introduction: Institutional Change*. <https://scholar.google.com/scholar?cluster=17062314083555182476&hl=en&oi=scholar>
- Sylvester, C. (2002). *Feminist international relations: An unfinished journey*. Cambridge University Press. https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=mHnlEO5x3PcC&oi=fnd&pg=PR11&dq=Looking+backwards+and+forwards+at+International+Relations+around+feminism&ots=uJTDC8O-0h&sig=qxjYhNs9OFK15ZvX9qvhRS_75CU
- The Jakarta Globe. (2024, September). *Retno Marsudi Urges Respect for Women's Rights in Afghanistan*. Jakarta Globe. <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/retno-marsudi-urges-respect-for-womens-rights-in-afghanistan>
- The Jakarta Post. (2016, September 23). *Indonesia launches campaign for UN Security Council seat—National*. The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/09/23/indonesia-launches-campaign-for-un-security-council-seat.html>
- The Jakarta Post. (2019a, June 14). *Indonesia introduces informal 'sofa talk'—Fri, June 14, 2019*. The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/06/14/indonesia-introduces-informal-sofa-talk.html>
- The Jakarta Post. (2019b, December 2). *Investing in women means investing in peace, Indonesia tells Afghanistan—Mon, December 2, 2019*. The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/12/02/investing-women-means-investing-peace-indonesia-tells-afghanistan.html>
- Thelen, K. (2004). *How institutions evolve: The political economy of skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*. Cambridge University Press.



- <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=I0afDJGPczwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR11&dq=info:6Z5179ju1P4J:scholar.google.com&ots=qIRtvGXW9P&sig=fGDyLi9Osg0TsjeUWFVXSNTDpwE>
- Thomson, J. (2018). Resisting gendered change: Feminist institutionalism and critical actors. *International Political Science Review*, 39(2), 178–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512116677844>
- Thomson, J. (2019). The Women, Peace, and Security Agenda and Feminist Institutionalism: A Research Agenda. *International Studies Review*, 21(4), 598–613. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viy052>
- Thorhallsson, B. (2012). Small states in the UN Security Council: Means of influence? *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 7(2), 135–160.
- Tickner, J. A. (1997). You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists. *International Studies Quarterly*, 41(4), 611–632.
- Tickner, J. A. (2001). *Gendering world politics: Issues and approaches in the post-Cold War era*. Columbia University Press. <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=SGv6RD7W0T8C&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=ann+tickner+gendering+world+politics&ots=83gXu-LzPJ&sig=fS-5uklpeUF6QeYDIhRWR4QI9Ek>
- True, J. (2018). Bringing Back Gendered States: Feminist Second Image Theorizing of International Relations. In V. S. Peterson, S. Parashar, J. A. Tickner, & J. True (Eds.), *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190644031.003.0003>
- True, J., Gayatri, I. H., & Veronika, N. W. (2020, September 2). *Indonesia's UN Security Council drive for inclusive peace and security* | Lowy Institute. The Interpreter Lowy Institute. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/indonesia-s-un-security-council-drive-inclusive-peace-security>
- UN Peacekeeping. (2018). *Summary of Troop Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Operations by Mission, Post and Gender. Nov 2018—Google Search*. https://www.google.com/search?q=Summary+of+Troop+Contributions+to+UN+Peacekeeping+Operations+by+Mission%2C+Post+and+Gender.+Nov+2018&rlz=1C1GCEA_enID1133ID1133&oq=Summary+of+Troop+Contributions+to+UN+Peacekeeping+Operatio



- ns+by+Mission%2C+Post+and+Gender.+Nov+2018&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUyBggAEE
UYOdIBBzU2N2owajeoAgCwAgA&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8
- UN Peacekeeping. (2019). *Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy 2018-2028 (full text)*. United Nations Peacekeeping. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/uniformed-gender-parity-strategy-2018-2028-full-text>
- UN Peacekeeping. (2020). *20 Years of Women, Peace and Security*. United Nations Peacekeeping. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/20-years-of-women-peace-and-security>
- UN Peacekeeping. (2022). *United Nations Engagement Platoon Handbook—Google Search*. https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/2022_11_un_engagement_platoon_handbook_october_2022.pdf
- UN Security Council. (2000). *Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security]* (S/RES/1325 (2000)). UN Security Council. https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SC_ResolutionWomenPeaceSecurity_SRES1325%282000%29%28english_0.pdf
- UN Security Council. (2020). *Resolution 2538 (2020) [on women in peacekeeping operations]* (S/RES/2538 (2020)). UN Security Council. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3878808>
- UN Women. (n.d.). *Global norms and standards: Peace and security*. UN Women – Headquarters. Retrieved 20 December 2024, from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards>
- UN Women Asia and the Pacific. (2021, December 20). *Strengthen Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda in Indonesia through RAN P3AKS II*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iw4mePVrkp8>
- UNIFIL UN Missions. (2023, August 2). *Gender Considerations at the Maritime Task Force*. UNIFIL. <http://unifil.unmissions.org/gender-considerations-maritime-task-force>
- United Nations Peacekeeping. (2024). *Troop and police contributors*. United Nations Peacekeeping. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>
- United Nations Press. (2019, April 11). *Deployment of Female Personnel Boosts Effectiveness, Says Secretary-General, as Security Council Holds Open Debate on Women in Peacekeeping | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases*. United Nations Press Meeting Coverage. <https://press.un.org/en/2019/sc13773.doc.htm>



- United Nations Security Council. (n.d.). *Homepage | Security Council*. Retrieved 26 December 2024, from <https://main.un.org/securitycouncil/en>
- Van Der Heijden, J. (2011). Institutional Layering: A Review of the Use of the Concept. *Politics*, 31(1), 9–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9256.2010.01397.x>
- Veronika, N. W. (2024). Women, intelligence and countering terrorism (CT) in Indonesia: Where are the women? *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 19(3), 337–356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2024.2319121>
- Vickers, J. (2011). Gendering Federalism: Institutions of Decentralization and Power-Sharing. In M. L. Krook & F. Mackay (Eds.), *Gender, Politics and Institutions* (pp. 129–146). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230303911_8
- Wagner, K. (2022, July 9). *Sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers in DRC: Fatherless children speak for first time about the pain of being abandoned*. The Conversation. <http://theconversation.com/sexual-exploitation-by-un-peacekeepers-in-drc-fatherless-children-speak-for-first-time-about-the-pain-of-being-abandoned-188248>
- Waylen, G. (2014). Informal Institutions, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(1), 212–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912913510360>
- Whitworth, S. (2004). *Men, militarism, and UN peacekeeping: A gendered analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=82TxOTLCMK4C&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=,+Sandra+Whitworth,+Men,+Militarism+and+UN+Peacekeeping:+A+Gendered+Analysis,&ots=9Nt2oM8Ohh&sig=kUp7-o38JS_4keBcUBpNghf3JIc
- Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. (2024, May). 1325 National Action Plans – An initiative of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. *NATIONAL ACTION PLANS: AT A GLANCE*. <https://1325naps.peacewomen.org/>
- Wulandari, T., Alya, K., Farhana, D. Y., & Barella, Y. (2024). The Successful Journey of a Diplomat and Negotiator Case Study of Mrs. Retno Marsudi. *Terang: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Sosial, Politik Dan Hukum*, 1(2), 298–310.
- Zhukova, E., Rosén Sundström, M., & Elgström, O. (2022). Feminist foreign policies (FFPs) as strategic narratives: Norm translation in Sweden, Canada, France, and Mexico. *Review of International Studies*, 48(1), 195–216. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210521000413>