

ABSTRAK

Perjanjian Damai Dayton, yang menetapkan agenda binadamai Bosnia dan Herzegovina pascaperang, disertai dengan klausul yang melarang diskriminasi berbasis jenis kelamin, meski tidak disertai klausul yang mengatur perlakuan terhadap perempuan korban kekerasan seksual saat perang. Lebih lanjut, penelitian ini mempertanyakan bagaimana pemerintah Bosnia dan Herzegovina menempatkan memori perempuan korban kekerasan seksual saat perang dalam teks Perjanjian Damai Dayton dan 3rd National Action Plan yang dicanangkan untuk menerapkan UNSCR 1325. Bingkai Feminisme Poststrukturalis dan konsep *gender ghost* memungkinkan penelitian ini untuk mengidentifikasi moda kuasa yang bermain di balik biner maskulin/feminin, serta bagaimana yang feminin biasanya dianggap seperti hantu dalam teks memorial. Melalui metode *feminist critical discourse analysis*, penelitian ini memamparkan bahwa memori perempuan akan kekerasan seksual saat konflik diabaikan dan dihilangkan dalam teks Perjanjian Damai Dayton dan 3rd NAP melalui penggunaan bahasa biner yang meletakkan maskulin di atas feminin, yang berbasis pada diskursus nasionalisme maskulin dan diskursus keterwakilan perempuan. Hubungan siklikal antara bahasa, diskursus, dan memori inilah yang menjadi alasan terbatasnya representasi tubuh perempuan dan pengalaman ketubuhan perempuan dalam teks formal yang mendikte memori kolektif Bosnia dan Herzegovina akan konflik.

Kata kunci: kekerasan seksual, memori gender, bahasa biner

ABSTRACT

The Dayton Peace Agreement, which set the post-war agenda for Bosnia and Herzegovina, included a clause prohibiting sex-based discrimination, although it did not include a provision addressing the treatment of women victims of sexual violence during the war. Furthermore, this study questions how the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has situated the memory of women who were victims of sexual violence during the war within the text of the Dayton Peace Agreement and the 3rd National Action Plan launched to implement UNSCR 1325. The framework of Poststructuralist Feminism and the concept of the gender ghost allow this research to identify the modes of power at play behind the masculine/feminine binary, as well as how the feminine is often treated as a ghost within memorial texts. Through the method of feminist critical discourse analysis, this study reveals that the memory of women's experiences of sexual violence during the conflict has been ignored and erased in the texts of the Dayton Peace Agreement and the 3rd NAP through the use of binary language that places the masculine above the feminine, rooted in discourses of masculine nationalism and women's underrepresentation. The cyclical relationship between language, discourse, and memory is the reason behind the limited representation of women's bodies and experiences in formal texts that dictate the collective memory of Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the conflict.

Keywords: sexual violence, gendered memories, binary language