

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how BRICS Feminist Watch (BFW), a transnational feminist civil society actor from the Global South, advances gender justice within BRICS, particularly through engagement with the New Development Bank (NDB), and assesses the extent to which alternative gender norms are institutionalized in BRICS's state-centric architecture. Using feminist institutionalism and qualitative document analysis of BFW publications, NDB policy documents, and official BRICS communiqués, the thesis argues that BFW builds, channels, and negotiates alternative gender norms through a combination of formal and informal strategies. These include producing Global South feminist knowledge to reframe claims of inclusive development, leveraging institutional entry points in the NDB to promote more operational gender policies and accountability mechanisms, and mobilizing transnational advocacy networks to sustain the visibility of gender-justice demands. Institutionalization remains partial and limited, however, as BRICS operates as club governance prioritizing consensus and state sovereignty, while the NDB's development mandate and national ownership principle reinforce technocratic, pro-growth logics. The findings show that post-hegemonic institutions create openings for norm contestation, but gender institutionalization remains an ongoing and non-linear struggle.

Keywords: *BRICS Feminist Watch; feminist institutionalism; Global South; post-hegemonic global governance; transnational civil society*

ABSTRAK

Tesis ini menganalisis bagaimana BRICS Feminist Watch (BFW) sebagai aktor masyarakat sipil feminis transnasional *Global South* mendorong keadilan gender di dalam BRICS, khususnya melalui New Development Bank (NDB), serta menilai sejauh mana klaim normatif feminis berperspektif *Global South* tersebut terlembagakan dalam struktur BRICS yang negara-sentris. Dengan menggunakan feminist institutionalism dan analisis dokumen kualitatif terhadap publikasi BFW, dokumen kebijakan NDB, serta komunike dan pernyataan BRICS, tesis ini berargumen bahwa BFW membangun, menyalurkan, dan menegosiasikan gugus klaim normatif feminis yang diartikulasikan BFW melalui kombinasi strategi formal dan informal. Strategi tersebut meliputi produksi pengetahuan feminis *Global South* untuk membingkai ulang klaim pembangunan inklusif BRICS, pemanfaatan titik masuk institusional terutama di NDB guna mendorong kebijakan dan akuntabilitas gender yang lebih operasional, serta mobilisasi jaringan advokasi transnasional untuk menjaga visibilitas agenda keadilan gender. Namun, pelembagaan norma berlangsung parsial karena BRICS beroperasi sebagai club governance yang menekankan konsensus dan kedaulatan negara, sementara mandat pembangunan dan prinsip national ownership di NDB memperkuat logika teknokratis pro-pertumbuhan. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa institusi pasca-hegemonik membuka ruang kontestasi normatif bagi masyarakat sipil *Global South*, meskipun perjuangan pelembagaan norma bersifat berkelanjutan dan tidak linear.

Kata-kata kunci: *BRICS Feminist Watch; feminisme institutionalisme; Global South; tata kelola global pasca-hegemonik; masyarakat sipil transnasional*