

**INDONESIA'S ROLE IN PROMOTING THE AGENDA OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
RESOLUTION (UNSCR) 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE, AND  
SECURITY (WPS) IN ASEAN**

**A Thesis**

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by:

**Ramita Paraswati**

**02222110012**

**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA**

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## ABSTRACT

Name : Ramita Paraswati  
Programme: Political Science  
Title : Indonesia's Role in Promoting the Agenda of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 On Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) In ASEAN

This study aims to examine the role of Indonesia in promoting UNSCR 1325 on the women, peace, and security (WPS) agenda in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional bloc by positioning itself as a middle power. Indonesia has strategically planned its status as a middle power and implemented it in the WPS issue. By employing role theory to explain middle-power behavior, this study explores the factor of historical experience, ego, and alter expectations relating to Indonesia's identification as the voice of developing countries, a regional leader, an advocate of democracy, and a bridge-builder in advancing the WPS agenda in ASEAN. This research used a qualitative method, in-depth interviews with stakeholders, and a desk literature review. This study found that Indonesia appears to be a middle power in promoting UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN. In addition, this research also proposes that the foreign policy actor's background determines the middle power's role. The experience of implementing, the contribution of civil society organizations (CSOs), and initiating several programs relating to the WPS agenda, positions Indonesia as an actor that plays a significant role in promoting the WPS agenda in ASEAN. These findings provide significant implications for studying how a state positions itself as a middle power on the WPS issue.

**Keywords:** UNSCR 1325, WPS, Indonesia, ASEAN

## **PREFACE**

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## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

AADMER	: ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response
ACW	: ASEAN Committee on Women
ACWC	: ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children
AHRD	: ASEAN Human Rights Declaration
AICHR	: ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
AMAN	: Asian Muslim Action Network
AMS	: ASEAN Member States
AMWM	: ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women
ARF	: ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN IPR	: ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AWEN	: ASEAN Women Entrepreneur Network
AWPR	: ASEAN Women Peace Registry
BDF	: Bali Democracy Forum
BNPT	: Badan Penanggulangan Terorisme Nasional - National Counterterrorism Agency
CEDAW	: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	: Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSIS	: Centre for Strategic and International Studies
CSO	: Civil Society Organizations

EIU	: The Economist Intelligence Unit
FemWise-Africa	: Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation
GAD	: Gender and Development
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
IWAPI	: Indonesian Women Entrepreneur Association
KOMNAS	: Komisi Nasional Perempuan - National Commission on Violence against Women of Indonesia
KPPPA	: Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak - Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection of Indonesia
LAP	: Local Action of Plan
MBBI	: Mediators Beyond Borders International
MDMC	: Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Centre
MoFA	: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MWMN	: Mediterranean Women Mediators Network
NAP	: National Action Plan
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
NTB	: West Nusa Tenggara (A province in Indonesia)
P/CVE	: Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism
PCRVE	: Prevent and Counter the Rise of Radicalization and Violent Extremism
PVE	: Preventing Violent Extremism
RPA	: Regional Plan of Action
SBY	: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

SEANWPNM	: Southeast Asian Network of Women Peace Negotiators and Mediators
SOMTC	: Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime
UMM	: Muhammadiyah University of Malang
UMS	: Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta
UMY	: Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
UN	: United Nation
UNESCO	: United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations
UNGA	: United Nations General Assembly
UNSCR	: United Nation Security Council Resolution
VAW	: Violence Against Women
WG-CT	: Working Group on Counter Terrorism
WHO	: World Health Organization
WIIS	: Women in International Security
WPS	: Women, Peace, and Security
WVS	: World Value Survey

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. The Research Problem

Since the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) in the year 2000, the topic of women, peace, and security (WPS) has received wide attention as a topic of discussion in foreign policy. This resolution provided support for the four key pillars of women's empowerment, which are participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery.

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 was a significant step forward in incorporating women's contributions into peacekeeping missions. This resolution acknowledges not only the fact that women are victims of conflict and violence but also that they have the potential to contribute as agents of peace. This recognition also not only includes conflict-resolution actors, but it should be underlined that women are also essential actors in the conflict-prevention process. In addition, women can also be agents of peace negotiations, helping post-conflict reconstruction. Women can also be involved in the process of maintaining and promoting security. In addition, UNSCR 1325 urges stakeholders to incorporate a gender perspective in security policies and peacekeeping processes. More importantly, this resolution strengthens the commitment to safeguard women and children from gender-based assault during conflict or war. (S/RES/1325. Security Council Resolution on Women and Peace and Security | UN Peacemaker, n.d.). Thus, it is undeniable that this resolution provides a critical mandate not only conceptually for ensuring the safety of women in situations of conflict, but also for the inclusion of women in the peacekeeping process. Nevertheless, it also provides an essential operational mandate space for countries that adopt it.

Historically, it took 25 years to achieve UNSCR 1325. Previously, in 1975 the UN had initiated a discussion on improving gender equality in the global sphere by organizing a conference. Twenty years later, the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 generated the Beijing Declaration and Platform,

which promoted the role and contribution of women in the process of peacemaking. As a serious response to the issue of women's participation in the peace process, the coalition on women and international peace and security was founded in 2000. In addition, this coalition played a crucial role as a significant advocacy force in the process of lobbying for the adoption of UNSCR 1325. (Gender Inclusive Peacebuilding | United States Institute of Peace, n.d.) Before this resolution, there was essential research conducted about human rights violations against women and children that occurred during conflict. Among them was the case of the rape of approximately 40,000 women in the Bosnia-Herzegovina region in 1993, documented by the Zenika Center. Second, a 1999 survey of local women in Rwanda showed that 39% of women had been raped during the 1994 racial massacres. In addition, 72% of the survey respondents claimed that they knew someone who had been raped. Third, between August 1998 and the end of 1999, during the most intense phase of the conflict in Serbia, an estimated 23,000 to 45,000 Kosovo Albanian women were raped. The research findings in the field of massive number of victims finally prompted UNSCR 1325 (Venny, 2022).

Women play a widely important role globally as agents of peace, tolerance, prosperity, and the reconstruction of communities. Participation by women in peace negotiations increases the probability of lasting peace by 20%. Women's involvement enhances the probability of a 15-year peace accord (Peacewomen, n.d.)<sup>1</sup>. This escalates the transformation of the role of women from object to subject agent in WPS<sup>2</sup>. This issue should be underlined and prioritized by Indonesia since only two countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Indonesia and the Philippines, have a national action plan (NAP) on WPS. Furthermore, in 2023 Indonesia is the chair of ASEAN, which will be a good opportunity for Indonesia to enhance the representation of women, as

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<sup>1</sup> Women played a minor part in key peace processes from 1990 to 2017, accounting for only 2% of mediators, 5% of witnesses and signings, and 8% of negotiators, and Indonesia boosted the percentage of women peacekeepers by 60 percent (from 77 to 123) (Peacewomen, n.d.).

<sup>2</sup> The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, H.E. Retno Marsudi, in the webinar on the Role of Women Peace Negotiators and Mediators 1-2 July 2020, explained, "It is about time that our region has a network of its own. We must include more women not only in internal conflicts but throughout the whole spectrum of peace from preventive to resolution" (MOFA, 2021)

historically Indonesia's chairmanship usually has a positive impact on ASEAN. Through the Bali Concord I agreement in 1976, Indonesia was able to provide a solid basis in the middle of a global constellation dominated by the Cold War. Through the Bali Concord II agreement, Indonesia again laid a solid foundation for transitioning ASEAN into a rules-based and community-oriented organization in 2003. Indonesia also contributed to the realization of a people-oriented and people-centered ASEAN in 2011, where all the accomplishments and advantages of ASEAN must be felt by the broader ASEAN community in a tangible sense (*Keketuaan Indonesia Untuk Asean 2011 | Portal Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, n.d.*).

This research will study the issue of WPS in ASEAN. The regional organization launched the Regional Plan of Action (RPA) on WPS in ASEAN on 6th December 2022 to recognize the transformative roles women play in building, sustaining, and promoting sustainable security and peace in the region (ASEAN RPA on WPS). This project advances the execution of the 2017 ASEAN Leaders' Joint Statement on Promoting WPS. In addition, formulating the RPA is one of the primary recommendations of the 2021-launched ASEAN Regional Study on WPS. It is known that advocating for women's involvement took about 25 years to produce UNSCR 1325. Meanwhile, in ASEAN, it took 22 years to launch the RPA on WPS as a follow-up to the seriousness of ASEAN countries in implementing UNSCR 1325 in the region. However, it should be underlined that only two countries in ASEAN, the Philippines and Indonesia, have implemented the resolution into their NAPs. Therefore, this research will explain the role and contribution of a country (Indonesia) implementing the NAP influencing its Southeast Asian neighbors to concentrate on women's role in peacebuilding.

Furthermore, research on the role of Indonesia in promoting UNSCR 1325 needs to be studied to obtain new insights into the importance of a country's contribution to providing experience data on the importance of implementing UNSCR 1325 in the ASEAN region. This role is essential to explain Indonesia's position as a middle power. According to Andrew Cooper and Mo Jongryn in Schweller's article, a middle power has many issues and opportunities to project its leadership capacity by emphasizing good ideas and diplomatic agenda in an

environment of multilateralism and pluralism (Schweller, 2017). There are two strategies used by a middle power in protecting its interests at the global or regional level, namely functional and strategic normative. The strategic function emphasizes more on resources, while the normative emphasizes its activities as a promoter of norms and principles for behavior through multilateral institutions (Emmers, 2018). From this explanation, Indonesia pursues the promotion of the WPS agenda as a middle power by using a normative strategy. However, this policy cannot be separated from its role in multilateral institutions. Middle power countries are typically influential in their region, which can contribute to their interests (Schweller, 2017). Therefore, role theory is used in this research to study Indonesia as a middle power in a particular situation and how Indonesia tries to highlight its role in this issue, namely in promoting the WPS agenda. Therefore, with role theory, this research sets out to explain the WPS agenda as a strategy to strengthen its position as a middle power.

## **2. Research Objective and Question**

The purposes of this study are to explain why Indonesia should promote strengthening the representation of women in developing peace across Southeast Asia, to highlight the measures implemented by the Indonesian government to realize the WPS position within ASEAN, where the majority gender inequality index is still not included in the top 50 (UN, n.d.) and the form of foreign policy and global context that determine a state's interest in involving in and implementing a certain diplomatic policy.

In the context of the analysis of foreign policy, this research will only focus on Indonesia's actions related to the issue of WPS in ASEAN, analyzing the obstacles faced by ASEAN in implementing WPS, and this study blends theoretical insights with case studies on women's peacebuilding initiatives in ASEAN. It attempts to describe the accomplishments and difficulties that characterize the contributions of women to peacebuilding in that region. In other words, I want to analyze the role of Indonesia in its efforts to mainstream the WPS narrative in a regional organization in pursuing middle-power status. Hence, I propose the research question:

## **How does Indonesia position itself as an active promoter of women peace builders as one aspect of the WPS agenda in ASEAN?**

### **3. Research Significance**

There are three significant aspects of this research into Indonesia's foreign policy. Firstly, ASEAN has become the primary pillar of Indonesia's foreign policy, and previously Indonesia also initiated the advancement of the ASEAN security community pillar. So, this research will examine the security spectrum in ASEAN, which will underline Indonesia's contribution to the regional WPS agenda. Secondly, this research also enhances the research on WPS and the state's role in promoting this issue to obtain a certain status. Since few studies discuss the issue of WPS in ASEAN and the contribution of a country in promoting the importance of WPS issues in peacebuilding, this research will explain Indonesia's role in fostering the WPS agenda throughout the region. In addition, in December 2022, ASEAN issued its RPA on WPS. One of the priorities is mainstreaming the WPS issue from the grassroots level to the government to achieve sustainable peace and security. So, this research will provide insight into the conceptual and technical mechanisms Indonesia has implemented from the NAP to push the WPS issue at the regional level. Thirdly, this research is intended to shed light on why Indonesia seems weak in promoting human rights but tries to encourage the mainstreaming of women's rights at the regional level.

### **4. Chapterization**

The research will be composed of five chapters.:

Chapter I: Introduction. This chapter will explain the problem statement about the issue of Indonesia's contribution to the development of the WPS issue in ASEAN, the objective, and the significance of the research.

Chapter II: Theoretical Foundations. This chapter emphasizes the literature review, the theoretical framework, and the writer's hypothesis.

Chapter III: Research Design. This chapter will describe the place and time of the research, and how the research was managed.

Chapter IV: Research Result and Discussion. This chapter will examine the result and discuss Indonesia's involvement in promoting the WPS objectives within ASEAN. So, this chapter will contain the result and analysis of that research.

Chapter V: Conclusion. This chapter will conclude the research and recommendations for the next research.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THEORETICAL FOUNDATION**

#### **1. Literature Review**

The previous studies emphasize the value of involving women in peace, including peace processes integrated into national and regional organizations. According to the UN and World Bank research, the participation of women has an immediate impact on peace behavior, especially in obtaining sustainability of peace in a conflict (UN and World Bank, 2018). Some conflict cases in the world have depicted the crucial involvement of women. The participation of women had a significant impact on peace, such as in Colombia (Bouvier 2016, 27-28), Timor-Leste (Braithwaite, Charlesworth, and Soares, n.d., 263), Moluccas-Indonesia (Al Qutuby 2014, 27). Women lobbied for legislation, built public communication for peace, protected human rights, mitigated and fixed community conflicts, and mobilized constituencies. Colombian, Timorese, and Indonesian women played critical role as advisors, negotiators, influential networks, and facilitators, promoting dialogue across religions, initiating trauma counseling, spreading peace messages, and providing substantive and technical support to attain peace. Thus, the tendency for peace with women's involvement is more sustainable.

True and Wiener raise the issue of WPS in their article. They argue that UNSCR 1325 is a bundle of norms, and men and women want peace. In short, everyone has a desire for peace. They discuss the contestation of the WPS issue; they find that WPS norms depend on the type of engagement, actor, and location (True & Wiener, 2019). WPS norms have a different approach for every region and actor. Consequently, identifying and explaining regional WPS problems and stakeholders' behavior must be achieved more deeply in the case study.

Davies, Nackers, and Teitt (2013) explain that ASEAN is committed to and "attaches great importance" to implementing UNSCR 1325. In the statement, ASEAN emphasized that the advancement of women and equality of gender are critical to preventing and eradicating sexual assault in conflict. ASEAN underscores

that ASEAN Member States (AMS) must assume the capacity to prevent and address sexual misconduct in the conflict zone. The global consensus assists countries in carrying out their responsibilities and the best practices to implement them. They emphasize the lack of commitment of countries in ASEAN to implementing WPS. Many violations still indicate gender violence in some ASEAN countries, such as Viet Nam and Myanmar. The authors also provide several recommendations for the development process of WPS issues, including AMS investigating the norms of WPS implementation in the Indonesian and the Philippine NAPs for UNSCR 1325. Secondly, ASEAN ought to advocate standard guidelines for the establishment of NAPs in the region. ASEAN's political security should implement actionable measurements to strengthen WPS in Southeast Asia.

They also suggest integrating specific actions from the recent UN-ASEAN workshop in Jakarta that provided several assessments: establishing gender/WPS to assist the ASEAN Institute of Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN IPR) in its operationalization; guaranteeing the following engagement and opinions of women in ASEAN's offered roster of eminent persons in mediation processes; integrating WPS/gender views to strengthen AMS civil society capability in early alert, good facilities, conflict resolution, and conciliation; and underscoring WPS implementation obstacles and insight in the UN-ASEAN module (Davies et al., 2014). However, Teitt and Davies do not discuss ASEAN countries' challenges in promoting regional WPS issues. The authors also do not analyze the contribution opportunities that AMS can make in advancing and implementing the WPS agenda at the regional level.

In terms of progress and obstacles to implementing UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN, Jennifer Howe (2022) explains how to progress and challenges in implementing UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN countries, especially in Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Viet Nam. These five countries became the study cases of Howe's research because they are currently in conflict and experiencing instability. Howe explained that there had been progress in implementing UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN, as two countries (the Philippines and Indonesia) have adopted policies and created NAPs. However, the biggest challenge in ASEAN countries is how patriarchal gender stereotypes, limited and traditional roles of women, limited

access to resources and information, and lack of awareness of the context of the idea of WPS and how the pillars of UNSCR 1325 are applied in ASEAN. Thus, Howe assumes that ASEAN has failed to translate its shared commitment to implementing WPS. This article also highlights the importance of the organization of women and civil society organizations (CSOs) in providing a significant role in the progress of WPS issues in the ASEAN region. This factor is evident in how the ranking of CSOs in the Philippines has increased (editor Brendan Howe, n.d.).

Athiqah Nur Alami (2018) also discusses mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN. The regional organization has made progress on the issue of WPS, with the existence of special institutions or communities that indicate the importance of the WPS agenda, such as the ASEAN Committee on Women (ACW), the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC), and the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women (AMMW) (Alami, 2018). Jacqui True (2016) maintains the importance of peer effects and intergovernmental roles in promoting learning among government elites and bureaucracies and the emulation of institutions, frameworks, and policies. Members of regional intergovernmental organizations have committed to implementing the RPA on WPS. In ASEAN, with the adoption of UNSCR 1325 by the Philippines, Indonesia emerged as the second country to implement the pillars of UNSCR 1325 into its NAP. The issuance of the ASEAN RPA on WPS will also provide a new atmosphere for implementing the WPS agenda into NAPs in other ASEAN countries (True, 2016). Alami also explains that human resources and funding factors are also obstacles to implementing UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN.

Meanwhile, Sara E Davies, Kimberly Nackers, and Sarah Teitt (2014) argue that ASEAN must still catch up in mainstreaming the WPS issue. ASEAN has not yet become the main agent in regional peace and security. ASEAN policymaking on protecting and promoting women's human rights is still limited to socio-cultural and economic policies and has yet to refer to the local, national, and regional political and security sectors. True, Howe, Alami, Davies, Nackers, and Teitt believe there is a need to coordinate WPS issues and implement the pillars of UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN priority policies. Collaborating with various parties,

including governments, CSOs, and civil society, is also important to advance the WPS agenda in ASEAN.

Concerning UNSCR 1325 and the political constellation in ASEAN, Jane Sloane (2017) explains the involvement of women in parliament. She focuses on ASEAN countries and recommends taking regional action to improve gender equality in various issues such as migration, women's involvement in regional trade, business, and climate-change issues. Sloane explains that the ASEAN Committee on Women's 2016-2020 action plan revealed several important things in WPS issues, such as women's leadership, social norms that marginalize women, ending gender-based violence, and ensuring that women play an equal and dynamic role in the development of their society. She also suggested involving men in this agenda to broaden rigid gender views (Sloane, n.d.). However, this article does not explain the challenges in promoting the WPS agenda in the ASEAN region.

Tamara Nair (2018) also highlights the involvement of women in disaster issues. She explains how ASEAN strongly emphasizes people-to-people integration and shows great opportunities regarding women's involvement in humanitarian assistance issues and disaster policies. ASEAN also produced the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) in 2005. This agreement provides an important atmosphere for responding to disaster issues in the ASEAN region with several initiatives. However, the author explains that there is a need for the concept of gender equality to assist in planning strategic and effective measures to create a disaster-responsive region. ASEAN countries can transform UNSCR 1325 and address the gap in women's participation and the policy-making process on disasters. Furthermore, implementing the pillars of UNSCR 1325 can help to produce faster disaster-rehabilitation and recovery strategies in the ASEAN region. This article provides an important understanding of women's roles in the disaster-management agenda in Southeast Asian by referring to and implementing the pillars of UNSCR 1325. However, the article also mentions that there are still challenges that AMS must resolve to be able to implement this WPS issue. One of the most important is that the ASEAN Declaration on One ASEAN One Response: ASEAN Responding to Disasters as

One in the Region and Outside the Region, does not explicitly integrate women in its resilience plan (Nair, 2018).

These studies show there is a growing tendency to explore the discussion on the WPS issue in ASEAN. However, according to the scholars' explanations above, there is a gap in understanding the role and contribution of countries that have implemented UNSCR 1325 into their NAPs in advancing UNSCR 1325 on the ASEAN regional policy agenda. So, this research will explore the idea of how WPS can be an alternative foreign policy agenda to advancing the status of a middle power.

There is a gap in how to explore role theory in relation to the gender perspective in peacebuilding, especially the WPS issue, consequently, this research contributes to bringing a new nuance to the role of a middle-power state in pursuing gender perspectives in its regional constellation of foreign policy.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

The concept of role theory was first presented by J.K. Holsti in 1970. Discussions about role theory began to develop to analyze the etiquette of states during the Cold War. However, role theory can also be used to look at the practice of states in the international constellation. Holsti explains that role theory is related to the policymaker's conception of the orientation of its national goals in the international system. Location, state resources, capacities, social and economic needs, national principles, ideology and constitution, traditional values, personality, and political needs influence the policymaker's conception. Based on this perception, the policymaker can determine what positions and actions can be taken in his foreign policy. This concept is also referred to as the self-defined national role conception. Meanwhile, the alternative prescription is influenced by system structure, system-wide values, general legal principles, treaty commitments, and informal understanding of "world opinion." In short, the main components in role conception are alter expectation and ego expectation (Holsti, 1970).

In its development, role theory began to be developed by several experts. Thies and Breuning also argue that role theory can explain a country's foreign policy behavior (Thies & Breuning, 2012). According to Wendt, role theory in

international relations can also involve policymakers, mediators, and initiators, as well as social actors who contribute to implementing foreign policy (Wendt, 1999). In addition, role theory also explains the relationship between structures and actors. As explained by Hollis and Smith in Naber's article, the role is a "two-way process between structures and actors"; role theory considers the dynamic interactions between external actors in the international system that shape the role of states in the international system (Nabers, n.d.). However, the historical context of the state also influences a state's status-seeking behavior in foreign policy. Beneš & Harnisch explain how the national role conceptions affect institutional preferences. This agenda appears because of the changing historical role of a state (Beneš & Harnisch, 2015). In addition, Harnisch discusses techniques to bridge the gap between role theory and foreign policy analysis, specifically by establishing the scope (role conflict), process (false role-taking), and direction of role-taking (three dimensions of role change). For this aim, four types of role conflict are recognized (person-to-person, role conflict, inter-, and intra-role conflict) that may or may not result in role relocation. To detect and define changes in new job arrangements, he developed the first typology of role characteristics based on three structural features (source, recipient, and internalization) (Harnisch, 2011).

However, in reading this case study on the role of Indonesia in strengthening UNSCR 1325 in the ASEAN region, I will borrow Faisal Karim's theory where he uses role theory to explain the concept of a middle power as a status seeker. Role theory can explain how a middle power like Indonesia can maximize its structural and material interests to advocate a position or norm that can be analyzed through its behavior (Karim, 2018). Thies and Sari also argue that role theory can help understand approaches rooted in functional, behavioral, hierarchical, and rhetorical definitions. Thus, role theory can help in understanding the concept of middle power. Role theory can provide an approach carried out by central powers through social identity with rhetoric or focusing on self-concepts about status. Thus, according to Thies and Sari, Indonesia qualifies as a middle power. While for Holbraad, the role of a middle power can be used to study middle power state behavior in various historical situations. The role of a middle power is also different in certain conditions, such as in a bipolar or multipolar system situation; a middle

power will emphasize its role in a concerted, competitive balance of power (Holbraad, 1971). Indonesia's identity as a middle power began during the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). In recent years, the state's status as a middle power began to be seen from the influence of Indonesia in international institutions. Indonesia is also the only country in Southeast Asia that was included in the Group of 20 in 2009. It appears that Indonesia acts as the normative strategy of middle power<sup>3</sup> (Emmers, 2018). Schweller also cites the argument by Andrew Cooper and Mo Jongryn that Indonesia is included in the "middle seven" (the significant middle powers - Canada, Australia, Mexico, Indonesia, Turkey, South Korea, and Argentina). The middle seven have the opportunity to strengthen their leadership through various issues and opportunity roles by accommodating good ideas, excellent diplomacy, and recognition in international relations. Thus, Schweller also raises the argument from Robert Keohane that "a middle power is a state whose leaders consider that it cannot act alone effectively but may be able to have a systematic impact in small groups or through an international institution". Hence, Schweller states that a "middle power has the power to promote international order as coalition-building, as a mediator and "go-between," and through the agenda of international conflict management and resolution" (Schweller, 2017,9). Moreover, according to Jordaan, "middle power" refers to nations whose resources and powers may not be as great as superpowers but which are adequate to allow them to endure independently. He distinguishes between traditional and developing kinds of intermediate powers. Stable social democracies and resourcefulness are the aims of a traditional middle power. However, in the current middle-power approach, middle powers are less democratic and want to take reformist but not radical actions (Jordaan, 2003).

To some extent, the concept of middle power expands to the notion of green middle power. Blaxekjaer elucidates that a state can become a prominent actor in the global environment through some green strategy such as Korea, which has developed a governance of green growth as a subfield (Blaxekjær, 2016). Middle

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<sup>3</sup> See Ralf Emmers. he explains that there are two middle-power strategies for protecting their interests. Namely normative and functional strategies. Normative relates to policies that promote behavioral norms and rules through multilateral institutions. In comparison, functionalism emphasizes the power of a country's resources to accommodate its interests.

powers also contributed to the development of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). This role can influence the framework of multinational cooperation relating to weapons of mass destruction proliferation (Cooper, 2011). Hence, the middle power potentially plays a significant role in current international issues. Beeson and Higgott also argue that a middle power has the possibility to implement “games of skill” successfully, particularly in international transition (Beeson & Higgott, 2014).

Moreover, role theory suggests more diverse actions in a country's efforts to gain a significant role as a middle-power state in the global constellation. Referring to Karim in his article, the idea of role theory is applicable to connect status-seeking and the diplomacy agenda of a country in its efforts to seek status as a middle power in the global system. Furthermore, there are strategic and significant contributions made by foreign policymakers in conceptualizing essential roles in their policies to obtain historical experience, ego, and alter expectations aimed at pursuing the status of a middle power in the international order. Ego expectations can be analyzed from a country's domestic conditions. Agreeing with Cantir & Kaarbo, and Benes and Harnisch, Karim explains that a significant factor affecting ego expectation is the domestic political constellation, especially in democratic countries. Second, historical experience contributes to justifying a country's foreign policy agenda (Harnisch, n.d.). Third, alter expectation is like a foundation of the role conception of the state, where there is the core of a global intersubjective construction that affects the actor's preferences and their impact on its role in the future. In short, there is the influence of external factors on the role of foreign policy actors. Finally, he states that these roles are useful for articulating middle-power status and explaining why some nations desire middle-power status while others do not accomplish it.

Furthermore, according to Karim's explanation, there are two approaches of middle-power conception. In the first conception, middle power is related to material capabilities already inherent in a country, such as its economy or military. Second, middle power is an international status that a country wants to achieve through a role. Karim further discusses this second concept. Comprehensively, Karim examines the background of the differences in the middle-power concept by defining the concept into the terms “status and role”. Middle-power status can be

identified through two criteria from two approaches (the position approach and the behavioral approach), namely an objective standard, such as the state's ranking, material capability, and its significant involvement and actions in international events.

Meanwhile, a consensus on the middle-power role has yet to be reached. The role is considered dynamic, influenced by changing expectations and interactions with others. The middle-power role can be assumed to result from the same normative expectations. However, these normative expectations may vary in practice depending on the state's objectives in seeking middle-power status. Furthermore, this middle-power role can be understood by analyzing the state's conception. So, this role can bridge a country's foreign policy agenda with status-seeking behavior as a middle power. Thus, Karim tries to unpack the strategy carried out by a country in attaining middle-power status through role theory by connecting role conception, status-seeking, and foreign policy. Karim argues that the trajectory and preference of middle power in the international spectrum can be analyzed through the construction of role conception.

Karim compares two countries to analyze the variation of role theory to pursue middle-power status, namely Indonesia and South Korea. In seeing the variation of a country's role in seeking middle-power status, self-identification becomes a significant and integral factor in determining the state's behavior in seeking middle-power status. This is due to the influence of the importance of the role performed by a country, including prestige. Even so, foreign policymakers contribute to determining their country's status as a middle power. In the case study of Indonesia, Karim states that Indonesian policymakers only defined themselves as having middle-power status during the leadership of SBY in 2009-2014. Therefore, Indonesia obtained middle-power status with four national role concepts: as a voice for developing countries, a regional leader, an advocate of democracy, and a bridge builder<sup>4</sup>.

However, when analyzing the WPS agenda in the diplomatic attributes of strengthening middle-power status, it depicts the factors of promoter of democracy,

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<sup>4</sup> See Karim (2018). While South Korea pursues its middle-power status by enacting the roles of a regional balancer, an advocate of development, and a bridge-builder.

regional leadership, and bridge building as strong, and the rest less so. Moreover, self-identification is the prominent condition in determining the middle-power status. Thus, relating to role theory and its determinant factor, the study of Indonesia's role on the WPS issue is close to the self-identification of Indonesia as ASEAN's natural leader. However, I argue that the perspective and background of the prominent actor, such as the foreign minister, significantly contributes to determining the main agenda of positioning a state as a middle power. It can be seen how the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia contributed her ideas on the WPS perspective in Indonesia's foreign affairs. As described by Hollis and Smith, roles are a "two-way procedure between the structural and agent"; role theory examines the connection between outside actors in the global framework that defines the nation's role within the global structure. The pursuit of legitimacy might motivate the fulfillment of role expectations (Hollis & Smith, 1994). According to Carlsnaes there is a complexity analysis on foreign policy and the role of actors. Actor-based perspectives are influenced by cognitive and psychological approaches, bureaucratic politic approaches, new liberalism, and interpretative actor perspectives (Carlsnaes, 1992). Harnisch also argues that the significant integration between agent and structure can direct role theory and foreign policy powerfully (Harnisch, 2012). Hence, in this research, I argue that the background of foreign policy actors determines the middle power's role. This argument can provide a contribution to the conception of the middle power's role as foreign policy in international transition by underlining the significant role of actors' backgrounds in the structure of the middle-power agenda.

### **3. Hypothesis**

Through the empirical studies cited above and connecting them with the involvement of Indonesia in the WPS issue, I state my hypothesis that **"Indonesia is implementing a middle-power status and role by positioning itself as a promoter of women peace builders as one aspect of the WPS agenda in ASEAN"**. The case of Indonesia explains that Indonesia is attempting to act as a middle power through its role in the WPS issue. This interest can be analyzed in Indonesia's foreign policy program for 2014-2019, emphasizing the importance of

the middle-power position. Then in the second strategic policy, 2019-2024, Indonesia specifically included the Southeast Asian Network of Women Peace Negotiators and Mediators (SEANWPNM) program in its strategic design. This is an indication that there is a strategic policy that Indonesia is positioning itself as a middle power.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **1. Research Design**

In this thesis research, I used a qualitative approach, namely a desk-review methodology and in-depth interviews. The desk review was an important component of the assessment procedure because it set up the foundation for the following steps while offering an outline for this research. I conducted activities such as an investigation of the literature, an analysis of supplementary data, and the compilation of a reference list as part of a desk review. This method ensured that all papers were well-organized and straightforward for the author to track down. I examined the policy and regulations, journal articles, reports, and other types of literature associated with the WPS domains and technical areas of interest. The following information sources are typical for a WPS agenda assessment: the NAP and policies on WPS in Indonesia, the organizational framework and action plan for this issue, and a national assessment report for each country's membership in ASEAN. In this regard, the purpose of using this method is to:

1. Understand the Indonesian role in the WPS issue, what is the primary indicator, and how Indonesia implements the WPS NAP.
2. Identify the overview of WPS goals in ASEAN.
3. Analyze secondary data by analyzing regional organizational gaps and opportunities on WPS issues.
4. Collect the necessary facts and data for the research's conclusion.

#### **2. The Place and Time of the Study**

The study location of this research is in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta, where the primary institutions are located. I collected data from several institutions through interviews with stakeholders, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia (Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia - Kemlu), the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN IPR) secretariat office, the ASEAN Women for Peace

Registry (AWPR), Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak - KPPPA), National Counterterrorism Agency (Badan Penanggulangan Terorisme Nasional - BNPT), and several CSOs such as the Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN), Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Centre (MDMC), Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and National Commission on Violence against Women (KOMNAS Perempuan - Komisi Nasional Perempuan). I chose to conduct research in those institutions and stakeholders because policies on WPS issues are created, developed, and related to my data collections.

### **3. Research Management**

#### **3.1. Unit of Analysis of Study**

The level of analysis for the present research is the country level and its policy dynamics at the regional level. Therefore, to obtain comprehensive data and limit this research, the author focused on Indonesia's foreign policy's contribution to ASEAN, particularly in mainstreaming WPS issues. This research also analyzes to a certain extent the involvement of Indonesian CSOs in mainstreaming WPS issues.

#### **3.2. The Respondent**

I conducted interviews with several stakeholders involved in WPS policy, both those who contributed to the making of the NAP and those involved in drafting the ASEAN WPS RPA. This was to obtain comprehensive data on how the contribution of Indonesia, which already has a WPS NAP, is then leveled up to the regional level. This method was needed to obtain in-depth information related to the research topic. Therefore, in this research, the primary informants were policymakers at the national level. I used data information and interviews with the KPPPA as the core of NAP policymaking. I examined the correlation of interests from the BNPT in countering terrorism by women, and the involvement of this institution in the drafting of the ASEAN RPA on WPS. Next was the involvement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of Indonesia as the frontline of Indonesia in foreign policy and its involvement in the WPS mainstreaming program in ASEAN, especially in the policy of creating the SEANWPNM. I also conducted interviews with the

ASEAN IPR, one of the institutions resulting from the implementation of the ASEAN political security blueprint, which aims to become a forum for cooperation in the process of preventing and stopping conflicts in ASEAN. And to get information about the dynamics of WPS discourse in ASEAN, I also conducted interviews with AWPR representatives from Indonesia.

Secondary informants were researchers, academics, and non-governmental organization (NGO) activists in the field of gender and peacebuilding, especially those who were strategic partners of the government in the process of developing and making Indonesia's WPS NAP, the MDMC, CSIS, and KOMNAS Perempuan. Thus, the preliminary information provided enough information to describe the development of WPS policies at the regional level. Secondary informants added more details, facts, and nuanced information to this research.

### **3.3. Data Collection**

The data utilized primary and secondary data collection. In the process of selecting interviewees, I employed purposive and convenient sampling methods. This first technique aimed to provide in-depth information, especially in the process of WPS development and policymaking at both the national and regional levels. To obtain credible sources, I used the data of members of the ASEAN Advisory Group on WPS and members of the Technical Working Group for the formulation of the ASEAN RPA on WPS and involved stakeholders from the MOFA of Indonesia, the ASEAN IPR secretariat office, the KPPPA, and the BNPT.

Furthermore, I used the convenience sampling technique to access sources related to my research objectives. This technique utilizes the snowball sampling technique to get credible sources, especially those involved in the process of making the NAP for WPS in Indonesia. I could not access all policymakers involved in the NAP development process. So, I chose sources recommended by the first informant and utilized contact information from supervisors and academics at my university.

Regarding data collection, the primary source, I utilized an in-depth interview and a semi-structured interview guide to obtain data. The method of in-depth interviews is advantageous in conducting qualitative studies to get more detailed information from sources. So, it is advantageous in the process of analyzing

data. Moreover, I also used the semi-structured interview method to approach the interview process more flexibly. This method can also anticipate researchers to get more in-depth, detailed information that can explain the perspectives and field facts experienced by the interviewees. Furthermore, I did not limit the medium of the interview meeting with the interviewee. I offered the option of interviewing in two options: offline or online. Offline interviews could be conducted at the relevant interviewee's office, while online interviews could be conducted using Zoom or G-meet. The online method was used to save time and follow the approval of the interviewees, who could not meet offline because they were outside the area. Neither offline nor online interview options diminished the essence of the interview process, which was to obtain detailed and valuable information for research.

For the secondary data resources, I described and analyzed data from the literature that provides valuable data, such as ASEAN and Indonesia's authority documents, academic journals, books, news and internet resources, and report data about the WPS agenda in ASEAN countries that involve women's roles in attaining peace.

### **3.4. Analysis of the Data**

This research employed a qualitative research method. In defining, interpreting, and elucidating events of interest, qualitative approaches conduct a spectrum of related categories of understanding and validity (J Maxwell, 1992), especially to analyze the policy of the Indonesian government relating to the WPS issue and how Indonesia contributes to promoting this issue at the regional level. Qualitative data analysis is the process of identifying and interpreting participant experiences to understand them effectively and comprehensively. I studied the interview and literature analysis results to analyze the data in the appropriate research. Moreover, to clarify the process of observation and analysis, I categorized the data based on data from the Indonesian and ASEAN governments, either in the form of documents or reports related to the issue of WPS. The second category was from the interview process with the interviewees. The third category was data from news and internet resources and journals that can support the analysis process. The last category was data from CSOs related to the research topic. Then, with an in-depth analysis, I

analyzed and reflected on the interview results to obtain valid data. So, I obtained valuable reasons as to why Indonesia is interested in promoting the agenda of UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **DISCUSSION AND RESULT**

Middle-power status is assumed to be the result of exact normative expectations, although, in practice, these normative standards can differ among countries aiming to pursue middle-power status. Indonesia began identifying as a middle power in the last period of SBY's leadership. Indonesia has many assets and resources, such as population, geographic position and an increasingly stable political and economic environment (Karim, 2018). Indonesia has the capacity to be a middle power. Regarding population, Indonesia stands in the fourth position in terms of population, with a total population of around 275 million. In addition, according to data from the World Population Review, Indonesia's Muslim population is the largest in the world, with around 229 million people or around 87.2% of the total population, and accounts for around 12.7% of the world's Muslim population (Muslim Population by Country 2023, n.d.) Geographically, economically and commercially, Indonesia is an enormous country in the region of Southeast Asia, with an area of 1.916 million sq. km and a gross domestic product (GDP) of US\$1.04 trillion, respectively (ASEAN-Statistical-Yearbook-2018, n.d.) Indonesia is also the only Southeast Asian nation in the G20. Indonesia is considered as a stable democracy.

Moreover, the strategic plan of the MOFA of Indonesia for 2015-2019 also emphasizes increasing middle-power diplomacy. This strategy is to optimize Indonesia's influence as a regional power through global engagement. The agenda to promote Indonesia as a middle power in the international arena is one of the foreign policy directions and strategies of President Joko Widodo's leadership. To achieve this goal, the strategy is to strengthen international cooperation in addressing global issues such as gender, terrorism, transnational crime, and climate change.

From the explanation above, Indonesia demonstrates its capacity as a middle power in promoting UNSCR 1325 on WPS through its role as an advocate of democracy, a regional leader, and a bridge-builder. However, in the role of the voice

for developing countries in the case of WPS, Indonesia has not performed impressively. The majority of AMS remain below average in the standards of living, income, economic, and industrial development (List of 152 Developing Countries, n.d.). But, Indonesia's performance as a voice for developing countries is not as significant as in the case of anti-colonialism. Indonesia has yet to bring a new perspective or agenda that indicates a voice of developing countries.

### **1. Challenge and Role as an Advocate Democracy on WPS issue**

Discussing human rights in the ASEAN region, with a wave of human rights violations, Southeast Asia appears to have reverted to being a “club for dictators”. The implementation of Brunei Darussalam's updated, amended Penal Code could culminate in infringements of the rights of people because sexual orientation, adultery, and rape are now punishable by death. Cambodian authorities have conducted a severe crackdown on the media. Two journalists in the Cambodia Daily newspaper were investigated on spurious charges of “incitement” (Santos, 2022). During the years 1965-1966, a large number of people accused of being communists were arrested, detained without due process, tortured, raped, sexually abused, forced labor, murdered, and disappeared in Indonesia (Putra, 2023).

Human rights activists have been detained in Laos for more than five years. Military units in Myanmar have conducted a massive campaign of genocide against the Muslim Rohingya population. Abuse toward LGBT people is pervasive in Malaysia. For example, Sameera Krishnan was murdered at the beginning of 2018, and T. Nhaveen was sexually assaulted and murdered in June of the same year. The “war on drugs” under former president Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines saw over 120 young people, including a one-year-old, killed. Serious human rights concerns remain in neighboring Thailand, as evidenced by asylum seekers being viewed as illegal immigrants who are susceptible to detention and being deported to Cambodia, where their security and liberty would be in jeopardy. The right to expression and freedom of assembly have significantly deteriorated in Viet Nam as the number of arbitrarily detained journalists and human rights defenders rises (Santos, 2022).

Although ASEAN instituted the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in 2009 and enacted the ASEAN Human Rights

Declaration (AHRD) in 2012, it does not guarantee that ASEAN will fully implement human rights, particularly women's rights. World Health Organization (WHO) data state that 40.2% of women in Southeast Asia have experienced physical and sexual violence from partners or non-partners in 2019 (40 Percent of Women Experience Violence in South East Asia: WHO - The Edition, n.d.). This number remained stable at 40% in 2022 (Call to Action to End Violence against Women in Asia and the Pacific | UNESCO, n.d.) There is still much discrimination and difficulty that ASEAN women face in obtaining their rights. Some of these issues are mentioned in the ACWC report from 2015. First, obstacles to advancing women's rights are numerous and varied, they include prejudiced behavior toward women in the public sphere and enduring gender disparities in educational achievement and medical services, financial empowerment, and the care and informal job load of women. Violence against women in its numerous forms, as well as the slavery of women and children, continue to be widespread. Each obstacle varies in depth and impact within and across AMS. Second, transnational phenomena such as human trafficking, prostitution, and migration involve violations of women's social rights. As for women's ways of coping with poverty, these issues have economic and social implications. However, they demand that governments maintain social security, as well as accessibility to equal opportunity for women. Due to the transnational character of displacement and trafficking in illegal substances, a regional mechanism is essential for managing complaints and cases. The recent regulation of the ASEAN Convention Against Human Trafficking, particularly for women and children, is an excellent step in this direction. Third, there has been uneven progress; some types of violence against women (VAW), such as marital rape and other forms of sexual violence, are not always covered by current legislation. Inadequate data on the scope and effect of VAW, a lack of funding and staffing for authorities and the supply of assistance programs, and the prevalence of sexist gender stereotypes that condone VAW are additional issues requiring attention.

Fourth, there are barriers to the efficient adoption of a national gender-equality program. Each country faces significant challenges in terms of gender capacities and budget support. The AMS are concerned about the update of sex-

disaggregated indicator statistics. Gender-responsive budgeting policies and practices range around the national budget 10% in Viet Nam, and 5% in the Philippines. The other countries have yet to manage their gender and development (GAD) funding policy and annual budget share explicitly. Fifth, there is a need to train law-enforcement officials in substantive recognition of women's and children's rights. There is also an urgency for boosting the public's awareness and participation in preventing and eradicating acts of violence and prejudice against women and children, as well as duty bearers' awareness of women's rights. To fill this void, the ACWC must support AMS in implementing the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), preparing concluding observations and state reports for the CEDAW and the CRC in collaboration with other stakeholders. Sixth, gender equity in education extends further than guaranteeing equal enrollment rates for boys and girls in an integrating regional economy. Measures must be taken to address bullying and harassment of females in schools, the standard of education, and the competitiveness of women in the ASEAN labor market (Progress Report on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, n.d.).

In this regard, there are challenges in human rights, especially for women. One factor that makes the promotion of the WPS agenda conflictual is the ASEAN principle of non-interference. With this principle, mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 on WPS is only limited to “promoting” and cannot require AMS to implement it into their NAPs. Some action that Indonesia can take is to voice the urgency of the WPS issue in ASEAN. For example, during the ASEAN Women's Leader Summit at the 37th ASEAN Summit in 2020, the MOFA of Indonesia emphasized that ASEAN must create an enabling environment and equal opportunities for women. In addition, the foreign minister conveyed the importance of changing the way of thinking in pursuing gender mainstreaming. Achieving gender equality is also one of the ways to create a stable and resilient region (Mauludiah, n.d).

Indonesia has also initiated the capacity building of the ASEAN IPR. In February 2018, Indonesia recognized the juridical capacity and legality of the ASEAN IPR under Indonesian law. This step was marked by an agreement between the Indonesian government and the ASEAN IPR on Hosting and Granting

Privileges and Immunities to ASEAN IPR (Host Country Agreement or HCA) (About Us – ASEAN-IPR, n.d.). With his agreement, Indonesia has contributed to providing access to the ASEAN IPR to conduct its secretarial activities in Indonesia. It should be underlined that the ASEAN IPR is the institution that houses the AWPR. The AWPR itself is a medium for women experts on the issue of peacebuilding. In other words, the issue of gender mainstreaming in ASEAN is challenged by human rights factors and ASEAN's principle of non-interference. Indonesia can encourage the issue of promoting UNSCR 1325 on WPS by affirming the importance of WPS issues in the ASEAN meeting agenda and providing facilities for related institutions to operate in Indonesia.

Moreover, Indonesia is one of two countries that have implemented an NAP on WPS, after the Philippines. Based on the periodization of NAP implementation, Indonesia is two periods behind the Philippines. However, when viewed from the results of monitoring and evaluation and linked to the democratic system in Indonesia. Indonesia can be said to have implemented the WPS in the first period successfully. One of the reasons for this result is because the democratic system in Indonesia is relatively stable when compared with the Philippines. Many human rights violations remain, especially concerning then-president Rodrigo Duterte's authoritarian system. For example, since taking office on June 30, 2016, he waged a “war on drugs”, resulting in the deaths of nearly 12,000 Filipinos, most of whom were urban poor. The Philippine National Police have been blamed for at least 2,555 fatalities (Human Rights Watch, 2018). Thus, Rahmawati says that the movement for the NAP agenda is constrained in the Philippines.

Although it cannot be denied that the democratic system is a vital point for increasing the opportunity to promote the WPS agenda. Rahmawati mentioned that the domination of a single party in the government system of ASEAN countries has weakened CSOs that contribute to campaigning for the WPS agenda. This is because the governments regulate the movement of these CSOs so that interest in the WPS agenda is hampered.

In this regard, Rahmawati maintains that, "The dominance of a single political party is very strong, especially the Communist Party like in Laos, in Cambodia, in Viet Nam. For example, they (women's CSOs) are almost said to be

non-existent in the sense of community groups that do not have an interest in siding with the state", (interview with Rahmawati, March 12, 2023).

Meanwhile, after the Reform era, Indonesia began to improve its democratic system. Indonesia has also carried out several agendas in supporting democracy in ASEAN through international forums such as the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). However, democracy in Indonesia has declined under the Widodo administration. According to data from The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), it is reported that three factors have influenced this decline in democracy in Indonesia, namely civil liberties, political culture, pluralism, and the functioning of government (Raharjo, 2021). Currently, Indonesia is ranked 54 out of 167 countries with the same relative score from 2021-2022, namely 6.71. In Southeast Asia, Indonesia ranks fourth after Malaysia, Timor-Leste, and the Philippines (York & Kong, 2023).

**Table 4.1.**  
**Democracy Index 2022 by The Economist Intelligence Unit<sup>5</sup>**

Country	Overall Score	Rank	Previous rank	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Malaysia	7.3	40	-1	9.58	7.86	7.22	6.25	5.59
Timor-Leste	7.06	44	-1	9.58	5.93	5.56	6.88	7.35
Philippines	6.73	52	2	9.17	5	7.78	4.38	7.35
Indonesia	6.71	54	-2	7.92	7.86	7.22	4.38	6.18
Thailand	6.67	55	17	7.42	6.07	8.33	5.63	5.88
Singapore	6.22	70	-4	4.83	7.86	4.44	7.5	6.47
Cambodia	3.18	121	13	0	3.21	5	5.63	2.06
Vietnam	2.73	138	-7	0	3.93	3.33	3.75	2.65
Laos	1.77	159	0	0	2.86	1.67	3.75	0.59
Myanmar	0.74	166	0	0	0	0.56	3.13	0

In relation to WPS, one of the indicators of democracy is “women have the same rights as men”. This indicator is important to see people's perspectives on gender equality and although on the overall democracy index, Indonesia ranks fourth, from the gender indicator, there is a tendency for Indonesian people to support the issue of gender equality. This evidence is seen in the World Value Survey (WVS) data from 2017-2022, where 33% or 1,054 of the respondents consider that gender equality is fundamental in a democracy. While overall, as many as 35.3% or 4,104 respondents out of 11,625 total respondents consider that gender equality is important in a democracy (WVS Database, n.d.). This data proves that people think that gender equality is important in a democracy. Thus, seen from

<sup>5</sup> Brunei Darussalam not included in this report.

the democracy factor, Indonesia still plays a role as a promoter of democracy and, more specifically, raises the issue of gender equality, especially WPS.

**Table 4.2**  
**Democracy Indicator: Women Have the Same Rights as Men<sup>6</sup>**

Score	TOTAL	ISO 3166-1 numeric country code						
		Myanmar	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines	Singapore	Vietnam	Thailand
It is against democracy (spontaneous)	<b>0.3% (37)</b>	0	0	0	0,1	0,3	2,5	0
Not an essential characteristic of democracy	<b>5.5% (639)</b>	1,7	6,1	18,1	4,6	0,9	0,8	6,8
2	<b>2.8% (320)</b>	0,7	2,8	7,9	2,5	0,9	0,1	4,7
3	<b>2.9% (343)</b>	1,5	2,3	6,8	2,9	1	0,6	6,5
4	<b>2.6% (303)</b>	1,1	2,1	6,1	3	1,2	1	4,7
5	<b>10.1% (1,176)</b>	4,5	8,8	17,7	17,1	7,9	5,9	11,5
6	<b>6.6% (767)</b>	4,8	5,1	11	7,6	6,9	7,5	5,4
7	<b>8.0% (934)</b>	5,4	9,5	8,8	6,6	9,8	8,1	5,1
8	<b>12.8% (1,493)</b>	12,7	15,6	6,9	9,2	19,1	13,6	6,4
9	<b>11.5% (1,342)</b>	10,6	13,2	5,7	10	13,6	18,4	6,9

<sup>6</sup> Laos, Cambodia, Brunei Darussalam, and Timor-Leste are not included in this data as WVS did not conduct surveys in these countries.

	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>ISO 3166-1 numeric country code</b>						
<b>Score</b>		<b>Myanmar</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>Malaysia</b>	<b>Philippines</b>	<b>Singapore</b>	<b>Vietnam</b>	<b>Thailand</b>
An essential characteristic of democracy	<b>35.3% (4,104)</b>	57,1	33,3	10,4	36,4	36	39,8	38,8
Don't know	<b>1.0% (111)</b>	0	1,1	0,7	0	2,3	1,8	0
No answer	<b>0.1% (8)</b>	0	0,1	0	0	0,3	0	0
Other missing; Multiple answers Mail (EVS)	<b>0.4% (47)</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,1
(N)	<b>11625</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>3200</b>	<b>1313</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>1500</b>
Mean	<b>7,47</b>	<b>8,69</b>	<b>7,53</b>	<b>5,08</b>	<b>7,35</b>	<b>8,15</b>	<b>8,25</b>	<b>7,04</b>
Std Dev.	<b>2,77</b>	<b>2,04</b>	<b>2,71</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>2,74</b>	<b>2,03</b>	<b>2,24</b>	<b>3,12</b>

One of the strategies for mainstreaming WPS is collaboration with CSOs. Indonesia also cooperates with CSOs to actively mainstream WPS issues in international relations. To some extent, the contribution of CSOs is closely related to promoting WPS because, in the 2017 joint statement, the AMS' foreign ministers pledged to strengthen the importance of women's CSO participation.

A joint statement on promoting WPS at the ASEAN regional forum explicitly mentions the encouragement of CSO's involvement that can "Increase the meaningful participation of women, including women's civil society organizations and networks implementing the Women, Peace and Security agenda, in the prevention, management, and resolution of armed conflict, and post-conflict peacebuilding reconstruction and rehabilitation." (ASEAN, 2019).

In order to support engagement with CSOs, the AMS foreign ministers urged the establishment and preservation of a secure environment for civil society to

strengthen the position of CSOs. This policy must follow international human rights standards (ASEAN, n.d.). So, with this mandate, Indonesia also invites Indonesian CSOs to promote the UNSCR 1325 agenda. That way, Indonesia is also trying to implement the order of UNSCR 1325 in increasing participation and supporting the significance of women in fostering an atmosphere of peace by involving CSOs in its implementation.

In addition, Indonesia also has significant CSOs contributing to the implementation of the NAP, one of which is AMAN Indonesia, which has become a strategic partner of the government to help accelerate the implementation of the NAP into local action plans (LAPs) in Indonesia. During the first NAP period (2014-2019), several regions in Indonesia were finally able to implement LAPs. This can be shown by the creation of working groups. Through these working groups, the KPPPA developed local regulations to regulate the implementation of LAPs in those areas. These regions are East Java, Lampung, Bengkulu, West Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua (ASEAN, n.d.).

Kholifah states in the interview that Malaysia and Thailand also invited AMAN Indonesia to share experiences on NAP implementation in Indonesia. The aim was to strengthen civil society engagement in decision-making in the context of WPS or extremism prevention in those countries. Kholifah argues that:

*“At that time, AMAN Indonesia was asked to conduct a sharing session with academics from Prince of Songkla University and Walailak University to provide input and public consultations with the government, civil society, religious leaders and the security sector on how to process security in Indonesia. Although there is no action plan yet, documents on the issue have been submitted to the Thai government.”*

Furthermore, Kholifah explains that AMAN Indonesia contributed to creating ASIA Women Peacebuilder in Malaysia. In addition, there was also a webinar discussing the security situation in Malaysia from the perspective of women and peace. AMAN Indonesia is also working with the IMAN research center to build engagement with the government and civil society. Although Malaysia considers its country to have no conflict, there are still many threats of

intolerance in the context of security, especially with migrants. So there needs to be an approach to strengthening the network in Malaysia with the "my initiative" program to encourage the implementation of the NAP on WPS. This step is proof that apart from the NAP policy, Indonesian CSOs can also partner with the government and CSOs of ASEAN countries in making policies to implement WPS (interview with Kholifah, March 12, 2023).

Besides AMAN, the Wahid Foundation, in collaboration with UN Women, created the concept of Indonesia's Peace Village. This concept emphasizes the participation and leadership of women peace agents as agents of peace to form community-based solutions, especially involving youth. The concept also emphasizes the importance of early detection of acts of extremism and fostering solidarity in various societies. Concrete examples of these activities are interfaith dialogues and economic-based activities. This agenda also received support from President Widodo and the Indonesian government through the BNPT to scale up capacity (ASEAN, n.d.).

Muhammadiyah also played a role in peacebuilding, especially the WPS agenda. The MOFA of Indonesia discussed cooperation in peace missions with Aisyiyah, especially in education for children and women in Mindanao, South Philippines (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2018). Several scholarships have also been given by Muhammadiyah to children in conflict areas such as Mindanao and Pattani, Thailand, to continue their studies at several Muhammadiyah universities in Indonesia, such as Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta (UMY), Muhammadiyah University of Malang (UMM), Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta (UMS), etc. Every year there are about 75 students studying at Muhammadiyah University (interview with Husein, May 1, 2023).

However, despite cooperation with CSOs, the government still needs to overcome significant challenges, namely greater resources (interview with Anwar, March 27, 2023), an inclusive process using an intersectional perspective. This RPA will become business as usual, where ASEAN will run its programs but not open space for broader participation where the inclusion of women and the presence of women in peace must be heard in all aspects (interview with Kholifah, March 12, 2023). In addition, the Indonesian government's diplomatic support in the process

of CSO cooperation with conflict countries because volunteers on duty need security in conflict areas, with this diplomatic support, it will facilitate the process and mechanism of cooperation in humanitarian assistance to communities in conflict areas in ASEAN (interview with Husein, May 1, 2023).

In a similar tone, Puja highlights three challenges a country faces in promoting the issue of WPS, first is how to formulate a strategy for gender mainstreaming at the grassroots level. Second, how to mitigate the harmful effects of technology, which on the one hand, can help mainstreaming at the grassroots level but, on the other hand, can cause misinformation. Third, how to provide an understanding that the issue of WPS involves not only women but also men because it involves human security issues. This issue is important to raise at the grassroots level, especially if it is related to local customs. This issue is a challenge at the grassroots level (interview with Puja, March 29, 2023).

In historical experience, Indonesia is considered a promoter of democracy after carrying out an agenda to support democratization in Southeast Asia, such as at the BDF. Indonesia is currently emphasizing the gender equality agenda, especially WPS, in its efforts as an advocate of democracy.

Moreover, to strengthen its position, Indonesia has an ego expectation to invite CSOs to contribute to mainstreaming the WPS agenda nationally and regionally. This strategy is also in line with the mandate of the ASEAN Joint Statement on WPS on how to strengthen the involvement of women in the peace agenda as well as supporting the contribution of women in understanding the peace circumstance.

Hence, there is an expectation from ASEAN countries that Indonesia can share its experience implementing its NAP, its engagement with CSOs in conceptualizing the peace program and collaborating with the CSOs to contribute to improving the education for women in the conflict area in the ASEAN region. That way, Indonesia can gain international support as a middle power in the WPS mainstreaming agenda in ASEAN.

## **2. A Significant Role as Regional Leader in ASEAN**

Self-identification as a natural leader of ASEAN is an essential aspect in the process of seeking status as a prominent force in promoting and mainstreaming WPS issues in the ASEAN region. ASEAN is an important region for Indonesia. This importance is stated in the MOFA Indonesia strategic plan. In the strategic plan, Indonesia identifies itself as a significant actor in ASEAN. ASEAN is one of the main priorities in Indonesia's foreign policy based on the vision “Through strengthening Indonesia's role and leadership in ASEAN cooperation, contribute to promoting the integrity of the 2015 ASEAN community that benefits an independent, advanced, united, democratic, safe, just, prosperous and prosperous Indonesia”. Indonesia also actively participates in ASEAN cooperation in the political-security, economic, socio-cultural, and development fields (*Rencana Strategis [Renstra] Kementerian Luar Negeri Tahun 2015-2019, n.d.*). Malaysian officials also emphasized this perspective, stating that there could be no peace in ASEAN without Indonesia and Malaysia (Antolik, 1990).

Furthermore, in promoting WPS issues in ASEAN, Indonesia utilizes its leadership role in ASEAN cooperation, such as in the ASEAN Women Entrepreneur Network (AWEN) and Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC). Firstly, AWEN, the regional network of women entrepreneurs, companies or economic entities managed by women in the ASEAN region. This organization is one of the platforms for women to increase women's capacity to build peace in the economic sector. AWEN's mission is to enhance the development and network of women entrepreneurs through networking activities. Moreover, in 2021-2023, Indonesia is chair of AWEN. With a program focused on people, planet, prosperity, partnership, and power, Dyah Anita Prihapsari (Nita Yudi) stated that with this chair status, Indonesia wants to improve and strengthen AWEN's network collaboration with strategic partners, namely the ACW, RBAC, SEOM, UN Women, OXFAM and other entities. Nita further stated that Covid-19 was a game-changer in the economic field. Despite experiencing an economic shock, Nita contends that in the future, the movement would prioritize digitalization of health and a bonding approach with consumers to keep up with the times. From this statement, through Indonesia's chair of AWEN it is trying to restore the role of

women in ASEAN in the economic field to increase its digitalization capacity. With the people, planet, prosperity, partnership, and power program, the Indonesian Women Entrepreneur Association (IWAPI) can contribute more to AWEN (*Indonesia Jadi Tuan Rumah Kepengurusan AWEN Periode 2021-2023, n.d.*).

In the KPPPA, Minister Bintang Puspayoga emphasizes the importance of Indonesia's commitment and role in enhancing AWEN's regional efforts to bring Indonesian women to the forefront of the economic sector. Puspayoga also emphasized Indonesia's commitment to providing input on AWEN's key priorities, mainly to engage the private sector (KPPPA, 2021).

Puspayoga states *“As a strategy for economic recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic, the Government of Indonesia has provided various stimulus programs to various targets, including ultra-micro, micro, and small businesses, half owned by women. In addition, we are also working to build digital literacy among women entrepreneurs as an essential skill for their businesses to survive during and after the pandemic. This is because, among more than 64 million MSMEs in Indonesia, only 12 million use digital platforms to support their businesses. We are working with relevant partners and stakeholders to achieve the digitalization of 30 million of MSME businesses by 2030”*. (Cited in KPPPA, 2021)

From the explanation above, the Indonesian government encourages the role of women in the entrepreneur spectrum. Indonesia also wants to act as an actor to bridge AWEN's cooperation with the private sector. In addition, Indonesia also emphasizes the importance of digital literacy for women entrepreneurs to survive the post-Covid-19 era. With the digitalization of 30 million MSME business plans, Indonesia wants to prove itself as a country with high digital literacy for women entrepreneurs in the ASEAN region.

Secondly, Andhika Chrinayudhanto (Deputy for International Cooperation at the BNPT) is the chair of the forum of the Working Group on Counter Terrorism (WG-CT) of the SOMTC. This working group presided over the development of the Work Plan of the ASEAN Plan of Action to Prevent and Counter the Rise of Radicalization and Violent Extremism 2019-2025 (the Bali Work Plan on PCRVE). This program is also the most significant initiative in ASEAN. This Working Group also invited ASEAN sectoral bodies to develop this work plan to obtain a

comprehensive Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) approach considering gender roles and women's needs in preventing issues of extremism among women (*Take Five: "Women Are More Suitable Actors in the Prevention of Terrorism and Violent Extremism"* - WPS-ASEAN, n.d.).

This forum also conducts research and reports on the gender analysis of violent extremism and the impact of Covid-19 on peace and security in ASEAN. The study's results show a trend of radicalization among women, especially in Indonesia. A survey conducted in 2020 in 32 provinces in Indonesia showed that young women are more vulnerable to radicalization than men. In addition, women's involvement in acts of terrorism has also increased, such as in the cases in Surabaya, Sibolga, and Makassar. This issue is occurring not only in Indonesia but also throughout the AMS. Therefore, Indonesia's experience in counter-terrorism issues can also be study material for other countries in the ASEAN region in countering the issue of women's involvement in extremism and terrorism.

Some recommendations from this report are that based on a gendered analysis of the causes of radicalization, what motivates men to join extremist groups may differ from what motivates women. Second, it distinguishes how ethnonationalism, right-wing, and communist extremist groups construct gender norms that facilitate or limit women's participation or increase the risk of violence against women. Third, women are not always the (stereotypical) victims of terrorism; they can also be perpetrators, supporters, influencers, and active participants. Fourth, the need to engage women and CSOs already combating violent extremism in their communities. Fifth, developing counter-representations that promote gender equality, including featuring the voices of women previously involved with extremist organizations (Monash Gender Peace and Security, n.d.). Chrinayudhanto explains that toxic masculinity or misogyny is the reason why women become radicalized and vulnerable to getting involved in acts of violent extremism. Thus, in creating the ASEAN RPA on WPS, the SOMTC provided insight into the vulnerability of extremism and terrorism to women (interview with Chrinayudhanto, April 18, 2023).

From the facts about the implementation of the NAP, Indonesia has the confidence to contribute to the development of the RPA on WPS in ASEAN. This

fact is evident in the active role of Indonesian representatives in the advisory members of the ASEAN WPS RPA. Indonesian representatives contributed suggestions and input in drafting the ASEAN WPS in this forum. Wijayanti said that, *“Indonesian representatives provided suggestions on the evaluation results of implementing the NAP in Indonesia and emphasized the preventive and counteraction on women's extremism issue”* (interview with Wijayanti, March 29, 2023).

Moreover, Sri Danti Anwar, a member of the ASEAN Advisory Group and the Technical Working Group for the formulation of the ASEAN RPA says, *“Indonesia is more focused on the issue of empowerment and protection of children in social conflict in accordance with the NAP in Indonesia”* (interview with Anwar, March 27, 2023.)

In conclusion, after the democracy program, Indonesia seems to promote UNSCR 1325 to strengthen middle-power status through the WPS issue. This interest can be analyzed in how Indonesia explicitly has articulated middle-power status in its foreign policy strategic design, then, in the next period, created a network program of mediators and negotiators in Southeast Asia. This program indicates Indonesia's seriousness in taking on the role of a regional leader in ASEAN in promoting UNSCR 1325. Indonesia, as the natural leader of ASEAN, also emphasized strengthening Indonesia's role and leadership on the WPS issue in that region. Indonesia puts itself forward as the “role model” of ASEAN. It provides some suggestions and recommendations on mainstreaming WPS issues in regional forums such as AWEN and the SOMTC WG-CT and through the creating process of the ASEAN RPA on WPS. Hence, this agenda and contributions provide evidence that Indonesia's ego and alter expectation also plays a role in how Indonesia's policies promote and strengthen the role of women in ASEAN to strengthen its status and act as a middle power in the WPS agenda.

### **3. Indonesia Active Involvement as a Bridge Builder on WPS Agenda in ASEAN**

As a middle-power in ASEAN, Indonesia can contribute to bridging the interests of small and large countries on WPS issues, especially in promoting UNSCR 1325 in

the Southeast Asia region. In the fifth program of interest - the strategic plan of the MOFA of Indonesia 2015-2019, Indonesia wants to shape and strengthen Indonesia's image as a country that actively contributes to maintaining world peace. This interest is shown by sending peacekeeping troops. Not to forget, Indonesia has also increased the number of female troops on peace missions. More than 2,800 Indonesian personnel have served in eight UN peace missions. Indonesia is the eighth-largest deployer of peacekeeping troops. Indonesia has also been able to increase the percentage of Indonesian female peacekeepers from 5.9% in 2020 to 6.7% in 2021 (*Pernyataan Pers Tahunan Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia Tahun 2022 / Portal Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, n.d.*).

Indonesia also passed the first resolution on women and peacekeeping UNSCR 2538 in 2020 (ASEAN, n.d.). This resolution encourages UN member states to collectively strengthen endeavors to encourage extensive, productive, and substantial participation of capable individual women in every field of peacekeeping missions at all levels and positions, including at senior leadership level (UNSCR, 2020). This step is a positive effort made by Indonesia to encourage the norm of the involvement of civilian and uniformed women in the peacebuilding process at the global level. Indonesia will likely do the same at the regional level, such as establishing a network of negotiators and mediators in the ASEAN region.

Indonesia's role in promoting UNSCR 1325 on WPS is also seen in increasing peacekeepers' capacity. This role is evidenced by endorsing and pledging to contribute to the Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System. Second, together with Thailand and Viet Nam, Indonesia pledged to host the Triangular Partnership Project to increase the capability of peacekeeping techniques in the Southeast Asian region. Third, Indonesia and Japan have planned to co-chair the Eighth ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) peacekeeping expert in mid-2020, but it failed to be implemented due to Covid-19 (ASEAN, n.d.). The program proves that Indonesia supports increasing contributions to the peacekeeping agenda.

In the peacekeeping sector, women's contribution is still relatively low. In the Gender ASEAN Outlook report by UN Women, in 2020, Indonesia sent over 2,600 troops and other personnel to UN peacekeeping missions. Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Viet Nam also contributed. In all cases,

male officers outnumbered female officers. Except for the Philippines, most countries' personnel contributions remained far from gender parity. Women were more likely to be deployed to work as individual police (29%) and as mission experts (21%) but were least likely to be deployed as troops (5 %) (*ASEAN Gender Outlook, 2022*).

**Table 4.3.**  
**Contribution of ASEAN Countries to UN Peacekeeping Agenda**  
**Source: ASEAN Regional Study on Women, Peace, and Security**

AMS	Disaggregated female Contributions	Male	Female	Total
Brunei	Contingent (0)	30	0	30
Cambodia	Contingent (71), Experts (4), staff (1)	684	92	776
Indonesia	Contingent (107), experts (3), FPU (29), Police (13), staff (7)	2663	164	2827
Lao PDR	N/A	0	0	0
Malaysia	Contingent (34), experts (3), Staff (1)	801	44	845
Myanmar	N/A	0	0	0
Philippines	Experts (5), police (3), staff (0)	16	11	27
Singapore	N//A	0	0	0
Thailand	Contingent (0), experts (1), Police (9), staff (1)	288	13	301
Viet Nam	Contingent (10), experts (1), staff (1)	64	12	76

Indonesia has tried to advocate several agendas to realize the WPS issue in ASEAN. The first is to encourage an increase in the role of women in peace processes and increase the capacity of women in Southeast Asia to negotiate and mediate in peace negotiations. Second, to encourage capacity building and produce women mediators in peace. The two programs are trying to be implemented through the Regional Forum on Women Peace Negotiators and Mediators initiated by Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi (Mauludiah, n.d.). Third, Indonesia, with Malaysia and the Philippines, emphasizes the importance of the role of women in conflict prevention, including preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE). Fourth, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Viet Nam are also interested in increasing the role of women in the peacekeeping agenda (ASEAN, n.d.).

In addition, Indonesia has also taken a diplomatic approach to the issue of mainstreaming WPS in ASEAN. The Indonesian government has also initiated and supported various agendas at various forums related to gender mainstreaming that

aim to accommodate the interests of women. For example, the AMMW, ACWC, and ACW. Through this agenda, Indonesia is expected to increase and expand cooperation between regional countries. For example, creating scholarship programs and capacity building in the social, economic, and cultural fields that target women as beneficiaries. This effort not only encourages the issue of women's empowerment and gender equality in the region but can also strengthen development in the region (Mauludiah, n.d.).

Indonesia also established the AWPR on November 13, 2017. The AWPR aims to integrate a gender perspective in preventing conflict through initiatives and strategies by engaging women experts in peace processes following the goals and principles of the ASEAN charter. Indonesia also increased its representation quota to three people in the AWPR (initially only Ayu Kartika Dewi and Shadia Marhaban, then added Arifah Rahmawati) (interview with Rahmawati, 2023). The addition of this representative can increase Indonesia's capacity in discussion forums, sharing, and Indonesia's recommendations in the AWPR. In addition, Indonesia and six other steering committees, namely the Philippines, Cambodia, Malaysia, Timor-Leste, and Thailand, became members of the SEANWPNM initiated by Indonesia in 2019. The SEANWPNM is considered a significant step in encouraging the achievement of the WPS agenda through the collaboration of networks or organizations that include women negotiators and mediators at the regional level.

This initiative is expected to advocate for the role and voice the involvement of women in peace processes. In April 2021, the SEANWPNM officially became part of the Global Alliance of Regional Women Mediator Networks. This network of women mediators was launched in September 2019 during the UN General Assembly. The establishment of the network resulted from collaboration among the Mediterranean Women Mediators Network (MWMN), the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation (FemWise-Africa), the Nordic Women Mediators, and the Women Mediators across the Commonwealth. This network urges policymakers to accelerate the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and provide space for women to participate in peace processes (Launch of the Global Alliance of Regional Women Mediator Networks | MWMN - Mediterranean

Women Mediators Network, n.d.). In a broader scope, this is expected to establish collaboration and partnerships by embracing other women mediator networks both regionally and globally to strengthen the achievement of the WPS agenda on a global scale. The establishment of the SEANWPNM pioneers the network of women negotiators and mediators in Southeast Asia, following other regions that have previously established similar networks, such as Scandinavia, the Mediterranean, Africa, and Arabia (interview with Fitriani, April 13, 2023).

Indonesia and the SEANWPNM also had support from Mediators Beyond Borders International (MBBI) and Women in International Security (WIIS) Italy to organize the Regional Forum of Women Peace Negotiators and Mediators on June 15-24 2021. The forum aims to promote the role of women in the peace process, as well as increase the capacity of women in the Southeast Asian region in terms of negotiating and mediating peace. Marsudi, in her speech, emphasized three important points to ensure women's involvement in the peace process. First, political support from the highest level. Second, technical support and expertise. Third, support for sending women on peace missions. Then, she also emphasized that women's networks in the region, such as the SEANWPNM, become recruitment platforms for female mediators and peace activists (Mauludiah, n.d.). The idea of the SEANWPNM is not separate from the idea of Marsudi as the Indonesian minister of foreign affairs. In an interview with the ASEAN director of the MOFA of Indonesia Marsudi was concerned about the idea of gender mainstreaming in WPS issues. This idea was then emphasized in the MOFA strategic plan and was realized in 2019.

Marsudi received the Agent of Change award from the UN Agency for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (UN Women) and the Global Partnership Forum (GPF) in 2017 (Indonesian FM Retno Marsudi Receives UN Agent of Change Award - National - The Jakarta Post, 2017). She stated in her speech that, *“This award will encourage me to work harder, for the people of Indonesia, for global peace and prosperity, and for women around the world.”*

In her speech Marsudi emphasized "working harder" for Indonesia, world peace and women. Furthermore, this idea was implemented in the form of a program to establish the SEANWPNM in Southeast Asia. Therefore, it emphasizes

that the background of the policymakers also contributes to the issues that Indonesia brings to strengthen its position as a middle power.

Implementing the idea of “*working harder for women around the world*” brings the idea of negotiators, a new program in the women's peace network, whereas other networks only feature mediators in the name, not negotiators. So, Indonesia also emphasizes increasing the number of women mediators and negotiators. This notion can be seen in how Indonesia voices the vital role of civilians in peacebuilding. In UN women's data, the term “negotiator” only appears about six times as against 141 times for the term “mediator” (UN Women, 2019). The other regional women's networks also do not explicitly state the term “negotiator” in their names so this is a new nuance for the WPS framework.

In the concept of a bridge-builder, Indonesia seems to have a more structured strategy for promoting the WPS agenda at the global and regional levels. Moreover, the background of foreign policy makers also contributes to determining the middle-power agenda.

At the global spectrum, Indonesia was able to pass UNSCR 2538. This resolution encourages UN member states to collectively strengthen civilian women's contribution to peacekeeping operations. Then, at the regional level, Indonesia initiated various forums and networks to trigger civilians' involvement in the peacekeeping agenda. For example, in the AWPR members can discuss with each other across sectors and countries how to share and provide recommendations to the ASEAN IPR on gender and violence issues in ASEAN. In addition, with the initiation of the SEANWPNM, mediators and peace negotiators in Southeast Asia can join the Global Alliance of Regional Women Mediator Networks. This policy will further increase international expectations of Indonesia's role in advancing the WPS agenda at the regional and global levels.

The agenda and initiatives undertaken by Indonesia prove that Indonesia can be a bridge-builder between international norms and regional practice in ASEAN. At the global level, Indonesia contributed to passing UNSCR 2538 and tried to increase the number of female peacekeepers. In addition, in regional forums, Indonesia also supports strengthening WPS issues such as in the AMMW, ACWC, etc. Also, Indonesia has initiated several women's forums and networks to

encourage the strengthening of women's networks in the peacekeeping agenda. From this agenda, Indonesia is attempting to meet international expectations so that there is a women's network in the peacebuilding agenda in ASEAN. With this strategy, Indonesia can position itself as a middle power in peacebuilding issues.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **1. Conclusion**

Indonesia plays an essential role in mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 on WPS in ASEAN as a middle power. This role cannot be separated from historical experience, ego, and alter expectations.

In the early days of independence, Indonesia raised issues about anti-colonialism. Currently, Indonesia is more focused on gender equality, especially WPS. Although there are several human rights violations in ASEAN countries, because the principle of the “ASEAN ways” prevents other countries in ASEAN from intervening in internal conflicts, therefore, one strategy is to mainstream peacebuilding issues by emphasizing the WPS agenda. In addition, on the issue of WPS, Indonesia has not made an effective program like the BDF. However, Indonesia tries to accommodate and strengthen cooperation with civil society. This strategy can be seen from how CSO involvement is solid in the WPS issue, especially in the process of localization of WPS to the grassroots level. Thus, this cooperation increases the expectation of countries in ASEAN that have not implemented their NAPs to learn about this pattern of collaboration.

As the regional leader of ASEAN, Indonesia also plays a role in strengthening the WPS issue in various aspects during its leadership in ASEAN forums, such as Indonesia's leadership in AWEN and the SOMTC WG-CT. In AWEN, where Indonesia emphasizes the role of women in the entrepreneurial field. Indonesia pursues strengthening cooperation between AWEN and the private sector. In addition, Indonesia emphasizes digital literacy for women entrepreneurs to survive the Covid-19 pandemic and follow increasingly advanced technology. In addition, at the SOMTC WG-CT, Indonesia has raised the issue of women's extremism. Consequently, Indonesia provides suggestions and recommendations for preventing extremism in ASEAN. This factor shows that Indonesia's ego expectation also plays a role in how Indonesia's policies promote and strengthen women's roles in ASEAN.

As a bridge-builder, Indonesia connects the international norm to regional practice. The norm that Indonesia tries to accommodate in this WPS issue is how to increase the contribution of civil society in peacebuilding. So, Indonesia initiated the AWPR and SEANWPNM programs as places for women in Indonesia to share about WPS issues. With the SEANWPNM forum, mediators and negotiators in ASEAN can join the Global Alliance of Regional Women Mediator Networks. With these various programs and forums, Indonesia can position itself as a middle power in peacebuilding issues.

In a nutshell, this research concludes that Indonesia acts as a middle power in promoting UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN. This role is significantly influenced by the background of Indonesia's Foreign Minister Marsudi. She has contributed to consideration of the WPS agenda regionally and globally. Those ideas play a vital role in how Indonesia's foreign policy looks from the gender perspective.

Moreover, the experience of implementing NAPs and the contribution of CSOs to the WPS agenda give Indonesia the capacity to be a capable actor in promoting WPS in the ASEAN region as a middle power. Indonesia also appears as a middle power with a foreign policy agenda with the South-to-South program through the WPS agenda. However, two factors make the interest in promoting WPS issues conflictual. First, cases of human rights violations in AMS are unavoidable, not only in Myanmar but also in Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and others. Second, ASEAN's principle of non-interference is an inhibiting factor in promoting UNSCR 1325 in ASEAN. Consequently, the ASEAN RPA on WPS uses the narration of promoting rather than ensuring the implementation of UNSCR 1325. In addition, Indonesia's capacity to identify itself as the leader of ASEAN and its strategic regional cooperation programs indicate that Indonesia has an agenda to seek power in the ASEAN region through women in peacebuilding, such as the initiative to establish the SEANWPNM. This program is vital to trigger building and improving the atmosphere of women's capacity in peacebuilding in the ASEAN region. Henceforth, Indonesia is positioning itself as a prominent actor in promoting UNSCR 1325 in the ASEAN region.

## **2. Recommendations**

This research focuses on the state's role in WPS, so I will provide several recommendations for follow-up research and the Indonesian government as the chair of ASEAN in 2023.

Firstly, for future research, researchers could explore the implementation of the WPS agenda at the domestic level. To some extent, they could use practice theory in relation to how a state transforms the international norms on gender into its NAP. On the other hand, the notion of bringing the gender perspective as one of Indonesia's foreign policies should be highlighted in the next research. In addition, the tendency of the WPS and YPS is growing; it will also be an interesting observation.

Secondly, for Indonesian stakeholders in the WPS issue: Indonesia can share the mechanisms, data, or field studies with other AMS about the WPS agenda. Indonesia can share the example of the involvement of women in the peacekeeping agenda. Indonesia can propose a scheme of civil society and government collaboration in implementing the NAPs. Increase the regional dialogue and negotiation forum on the WPS issue. Indonesia can propose a partnership with technology companies and ASEAN stakeholders to create a strategy to protect children from the digital era's negative effects and acknowledge the importance of personal data privacy. Indonesia can propose the data-sharing agenda across CSOs in ASEAN through the WPS website. Organize a WPS forum to share the perspective of protecting women and children for society at the ASEAN regional level. Recruit, profile, and increase the number of mediators and negotiators in ASEAN. Build cooperation with other regional-level groups, such as African Union or European Union women's organizations. Set up a regional group that includes experts, academics, and media to optimize the process of implementing the RAPS. Optimize the SEANWPNM's work when authority allows it to become involved in a reconciliation process. Indonesia should encourage the government of ASEAN countries to enable their involvement in conflict areas without strict regulation. Encourage the increasing number of women peacebuilders from AMS for UN and regional peace missions. Identify and formulate a strategic plan with cross-disaster

management institutions to build shelters and accommodate disaster victims based on gender principles.

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## APPENDIX

**Table 1**  
**List of Interviewees**

No	Name	Position and Institution	Role	Interview Date
1	Dr. Sri Danti Anwar	Senior Advisor Family Development Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection	Member of the ASEAN Advisory Group on WPS and Member of Technical Working Group for the formulation of the ASEAN RPA on WPS	27 March 2023
2	Mr. Andhika Chisnayudhanto	Deputy for International Cooperation of National Counter Terrorism Agency, Indonesia	Member of the ASEAN Advisory Group on WPS and Member of Technical Working Group for the formulation of the ASEAN RPA on WPS	18 April 2023
3	Ambassador I Gusti Agung Wesaka Puja	Executive director ASEAN IPR	Member of the ASEAN Advisory Group on WPS	29 March 2023
4	Kartika Budhi Wijayanti	Project Management Officer ASEAN ASEAN IPR	Member of Technical Working Group for the formulation of the ASEAN RPA on WPS	29 March 2023
5	Dr. Arifah Rahmawati	Researcher at the Center for Security and Peace Studies, UGM	Representative The ASEAN Women for Peace Registry (AWPR) from Indonesia	21 March 2023
6	Ruby Khofifah, M.A	Country representative of The Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN) Indonesia	Strategic partner of government to develop Local Action Plan (LAP) RAN P3AKS	12 March 2023

<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position and Institution</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Interview Date</b>
7	Rahmawati Husein	The Muhammadiyah representative in the humanitarian issue	Team for management and disaster risk reduction training courses in Mindanao	1 May 2023
8	Adriana Venny Aryani	Komisaris Komnas Perempuan 2014-2019	Trainer of Training (ToT) on WPS in the conflict area	15 March 2023
9	Fitriani, Ph.D	Researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)	Team for the development of Indonesia National action plan on WPS (RAN P3AKS)	13 April 2023
10	Directorate ASEAN MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Indonesia	Foreign Policy Actor	16 June 2023