

The Increasing Number of Female Troops in Indonesia's Peacekeeping Operations: Why Women's Presence Matters?

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ABSTRACT

The theory and practice of foreign policy tend to contradict norms (idealist-liberal) with national interests with a materialist character (realist). In this case, constructivist analysis shows the relationship between norms and national interests. Therefore, this article aims to explain Indonesia's commitment to increasing the number of female peacekeepers in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKO). This analysis of Indonesia's foreign policy behavior used the constructivist framework of Martha Finnemore (1996) that states behave under a "logic of appropriateness" and a "logic of material consequences". The findings of this study indicate that Indonesia is committed to increasing the number of women as UN peacekeepers since Indonesia has the principle that women's empowerment has an important role in peace and is in accordance with the commitment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to carry out strengthening gender mainstreaming in Indonesian diplomacy. Indonesia's commitment also shows Indonesia's goodwill to comply with UN Security Council Resolution No. 1325, asking UN member states to increase women's participation in preventing and resolving conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, and peacekeeping. Indonesia's readiness to always adapt to this international norm (the logic of appropriateness) has resulted in various benefits, such as the election of Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in 2019-2020 and a Member of the Human Rights Council at the United Nations in 2020-2022 so that it can increase the bargaining position and its influence in international forums (the logic of material consequence). Thus, it is crucial to analyze foreign policy behavior based on norms to show that foreign policy must be based on a vision

to realize world peace and that this norm base does not have to conflict with Indonesia's national interest.

Keywords: Indonesia; Female Peacekeeper; United Nations; Peacekeeping Operation

ABSTRAK

Teori dan praktik politik luar negeri cenderung bertentangan dengan norma (idealis-liberal) dengan kepentingan nasional yang bersifat materialis (realis). Dalam hal ini, analisis konstruktivis menunjukkan hubungan antara norma dan kepentingan nasional. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan komitmen Indonesia dalam meningkatkan jumlah pasukan penjaga perdamaian perempuan dalam Operasi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian PBB (UN PKO). Analisis perilaku politik luar negeri Indonesia ini menggunakan kerangka konstruktivis Martha Finnemore (1996) yang menyatakan berperilaku di bawah “logika kepatutan” dan “logika konsekuensi material”. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Indonesia berkomitmen untuk meningkatkan jumlah perempuan sebagai pasukan penjaga perdamaian PBB karena Indonesia memiliki prinsip bahwa pemberdayaan perempuan memiliki peran penting dalam perdamaian dan sesuai dengan komitmen Kementerian Luar Negeri untuk melakukan penguatan, pengarusutamaan gender dalam diplomasi Indonesia. Komitmen Indonesia juga menunjukkan niat baik Indonesia untuk mematuhi Resolusi Dewan Keamanan PBB No. 1325, yang meminta negara-negara anggota PBB untuk meningkatkan partisipasi perempuan dalam pencegahan dan penyelesaian konflik, negosiasi perdamaian, pembangunan perdamaian, dan pemeliharaan perdamaian. Kesiapan Indonesia untuk selalu beradaptasi dengan norma internasional ini (logika kepatutan) telah menghasilkan berbagai manfaat, seperti terpilihnya Indonesia sebagai anggota tetap Dewan Keamanan Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa tahun 2019-2020 dan Anggota Hak Asasi Manusia. Dewan di PBB tahun 2020-2022 sehingga dapat meningkatkan posisi tawar dan pengaruhnya di forum internasional (logika konsekuensi material). Oleh karena itu, sangat penting untuk menganalisis perilaku politik luar negeri berdasarkan norma untuk menunjukkan bahwa politik luar negeri harus didasarkan pada visi untuk mewujudkan perdamaian dunia dan bahwa dasar norma ini tidak harus bertentangan dengan kepentingan nasional Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Indonesia; Penjaga Perdamaian Wanita; Persatuan negara-negara; Operasi penjaga perdamaian

INTRODUCTION

One of the goals of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. Since its founding charter was signed in 1945, the United Nations has established several world security

mechanisms, such as *Collective Security*, based on articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter (Samekto, 1991). Nevertheless, on its way, *Collective Security* was considered too political until the United Nations finally gave birth to UN Peacekeeping

Operations (UN PKO) as another mechanism to maintain and create world peace. Furthermore, the UN PKO is defined as an operation involving military personnel in the absence of enforcement powers established by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in conflict areas (Sarjoon & Yusoff, 2019). In addition, UN peacekeeping is an effective tool for the United Nations to help host countries navigate conflicts to peaceful conditions.

The UN PKO missions, on the other hand, are not only present to deal with the global peace and security problem but also to disseminate and contribute to UNPKO, which is impacted by each country's foreign and security policy (Meiske & Ruggeri, 2017).

Various research has been conducted on why a country's foreign policy and policy contribute to the UN PKO. According to various studies, the state contributes to UN PKO operations because it has a financial motive to preserve international peace and security (Gaibullov et al., 2009, 2015; Neack, 1995). Unlike idealists, liberals believe that the propagation of democratic and humanitarian ideals and principles is the primary reason for the state's contribution to the UN PKO (Lebovic, 2004; Pevehouse, 2002). On the other hand, realists believe that the state's participation in the UN PKO is motivated by national interests (Meiske & Ruggeri, 2017), such as the ability to shape the international system with greater or broader impact (Neack, 1995). Unlike previous research, this study examines Indonesia's contribution to the UN PKO, particularly the recent increase in female peacekeepers, using Martha Finnemore's (1996) constructivism perspective, stating that they act following the logic of

appropriateness and logic of material consequences.

Peacekeeping action first began in 1948, when observers were deployed in the Middle East. Then, in the years following the Cold War, the UN PKO practice focused on maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing the situation on the ground to resolve the conflict peacefully (United Nations, 2008). As the Cold War ended, the strategic context for UN peacekeeping changed dramatically, and the UN Security Council began to work more actively to promote the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts. This change in conflict patterns was also followed by a change in the concept of security. Now, the concept of security emphasizes state security and focuses on human security (Azizah et al., 2020). On that basis, the mission of UN PKO is now multidimensional; not only to maintain peace and security but also to facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in disarmament, demobilize and reintegrate former combatants, support the holding of elections, protect and advance human rights and help restore the rule of law.

On the other hand, women and children become the most vulnerable objects and are subjected to arbitrary and discriminatory acts in conflict areas. In fact, women can be active agents of peace in armed conflict. Unfortunately, their role as key players and agents of peace change has largely not been recognized. It encourages the United Nations to recognize and integrate a different view and understanding, namely by including women's experiences and abilities into all aspects of UN PKO. It is also considered crucial in maintaining peace and striving for the success of UN peacekeeping.

The large presence of women in post-conflict countries, where women are often

involved in post-reconstruction grassroots activities, is an essential aspect of the contemporary UN PKO (United Nations Security Council (UNSC), 2000). The call to increase the number of women in UN PKO has created great pressure on the adoption of Resolution 1325, where this resolution urges the UN Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in UN field-based operations, especially among observers of the military, civilian police, human rights, and humanitarian personnel (United Nations Security Council (UNSC), 2000).

UN PKO adopted UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSC 1325). This resolution clearly states that gender equality and full participation of women as active agents in peace and security are highly required. The UN Security Council directly mandates the implementation of the resolution at all levels of peacekeeping efforts (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.). Based on UN documents, *namely* “Commitment to gender equality”, “Improvement of the Status of Women in the United Nations System”, and “Ten-year impact study of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security in peacekeeping” quoted in (Simić, 2014), DPKO did not officially commit to gender equality until 2005, at which time a goal of achieving 50/50 gender balance in professional, civic positions at all levels was launched. For the police contingent, DPKO in 2010 set the target of achieving 20% women in 2014, including increasing numbers of civilian women and uniforms in peacekeeping at all levels.

Now, WPS is also included in one of the eight joint commitment points for Action for Peacekeeping (A4P), in which A4P also sees WPS as an important key in

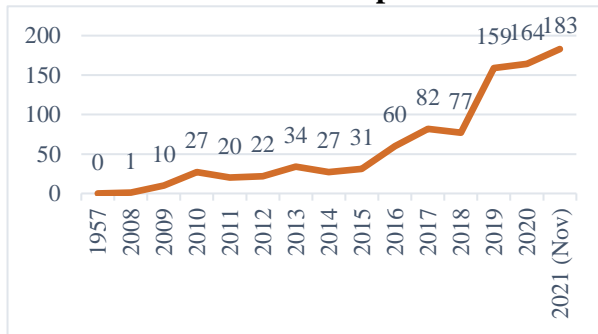
realizing more gender-responsive peacekeeping, including by increasing the number of civilian and uniformed women in peacekeeping in Indonesia at all levels. Increasing the participation of women’s contributions, especially to work directly as female peacekeepers in peace operations, was emphasized by the Secretary-General of the United Nations through the Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy 2018-2028. This strategy was born on the mandate of UNSC 1325 and ensures that the military component in UN PKO is diverse and inclusive of women (UN Department of Peace Operations, 2018).

Moreover, today, UN PKO has carried out 70 peacekeeping operations, of which, in April 2021, there were 12 active peace operations, with 71,028 military personnel on duty. Of the 71,028 military personnel on duty, 4,168 were female peacekeepers. At the end of 2019, 4.7% of the UN military personnel in the contingent were women. UN PKO’s main priority is to increase the number of female military personnel in peacekeeping operations, including increasing female staff and military observers to 25% by 2028; currently, 16.7% of military staff and observers in UN PKO are women (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.).

Specifically, Indonesia is a member of the United Nations that actively creates and maintains world peace. Indonesia’s active participation in the UN PKO is based on the state constitution, namely the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution (Hutabarat, 2018). As of November 2021, Indonesia had deployed 2,808 military and police troops, including 183 female soldiers. The deployment of Indonesian female peacekeepers, which began in 2008 with the deployment of one female peacekeeper in the United Nations Organizational Mission in the Democratic Republic of

Congo (MONUC), was likewise deemed insufficient (Pusat Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian Tentara Nasional Indonesia, 2011). However, the number of Indonesian female peacekeepers sent to UN peacekeeping missions has consistently increased over the previous 10 years.

Figure 1. Contribution of Indonesian Female Peacekeeper



Source : (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2021a)

Previous studies have revealed that efforts have been made by the Indonesian government in UN PKO, especially in increasing the number of female peacekeepers in recent times. Thus, this research focuses on the reasons behind Indonesia's commitment to increasing the number of female peacekeepers. Several studies related to similar topics have been conducted, such as a study (Murwanto et al., 2020), stating that Indonesia's increased commitment to PKO is driven by the Indonesian identity that acts as the *peacemaker*. In addition, research conducted by (Hutabarat, 2017) unveiled that Indonesia's participation in the UN PKO is increasingly based on realist understanding; namely, participation in peace operations can meet Indonesia's national interests. Using a different perspective, specifically constructivism, this study examines Indonesia's

commitment to raising the number of female peacekeepers at UN PKO.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Hutabarat (2017), the deployment of Indonesian *female peacekeepers* in the UN PKO is not only encouraged by the gender mainstreaming policy carried out by the United Nations but also shows how the role of Indonesian female *peacekeepers*, especially in operations. He also emphasized that Indonesia's commitment to participate in UN PKO is a form of embodiment of the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

Furthermore, in their research, Murwanto et al. (2020) argued that Indonesia's efforts in increasing the contribution of Indonesian *peacekeepers*, as in the *Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019* issued by the Indonesian government, is a manifestation of its role as a *peacemaker*. In addition to the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, the UN Charter Article 43 Paragraph 1 is also the basis and mandate of Indonesia's identity as a *peacemaker*.

Research initiated by Nur Azizah, Ali Maksum, and Muhammad Ammar Hidayatulloh (2020) disclosed changes in the characteristics of warfare and the human security framework. These changes encouraged the presence of peacekeepers to be closer to communities in conflict areas, which requires more women's participation.

According to Martha Finnemore's (1996) constructivist paradigm, the state acts in line with the logic of appropriateness and material consequences. In this situation, the state is viewed as a rule-abiding actor. Respect for established laws and normative systems

stems from the state's wish to be recognized as 'good' by other countries. Rather than considering profit and loss (the logic of consequences), state action is more likely to be viewed through the lens of appropriateness or good and evil (the logic of appropriateness) (March & Olsen, 2004). In this case, state interests are defined as globally accepted norms and definitions of what is right and appropriate (Finnemore, 1996).

Actions (including political activity) are directed by acceptable or exemplary norms of behavior (Kříž & Urbanovská, 2013). Rules are obeyed because they are natural, rational, predictable, and legitimate. Moreover, actors strive to meet the obligations that come with a certain position, identity, or participation in a political community or organization (Kříž & Urbanovská, 2013).

Countries take part in various peacekeeping operations because they feel they are necessary, acceptable, and exemplary (Kříž & Urbanovská, 2013). Participating in peacekeeping is a moral obligation and a way for them to fulfill obligations arising from their role, identity, and membership in a particular political community. The main obligation, in this regard, is to protect international peace and security, which countries agree to when they join the UN (Kříž & Urbanovská, 2013). It can also be driven by a desire to gain and retain respect in international interactions and establish or improve one's image and reputation.

Meanwhile, the logic of material consequences is seen to be linked to the concept of rationality, in which the acts selected are utilized as an effective instrument to attain the main objective rather than as the main aim itself (Kříž & Urbanovská, 2013). From this perspective, the UN PKO is viewed as a tool used by

states to achieve their objectives while maximizing profits.

Because of its status as an active member of the UN, Indonesia is believed to observe and follow numerous norms or agendas in the UN PKO. Furthermore, Indonesia implements UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which underpins the aim of raising the number of female peacekeepers at the UN PKO as a kind of corrective action to international norms. This compliance becomes a tool for Indonesia to strengthen its international influence and bargaining position.

Stephen D. Krasner defined an international regime either explicitly or implicitly as a set of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making processes related to the expectations of actors in which there is an interest in these actors in international relations (Krasner, 1983). In addition, Donald Puchala and Raymond Hopkins argued that regimes exist in every issue in international relations, where there are regularities of behavior, such as principles, norms, or rules that must be held accountable (Puchala & Hopkins, 1982). Puchala and Hopkins, in their work entitled "*International regimes: lessons from inductive analysis*," also argued that the presence of a regime can limit and regulate state behavior and how the agenda goes (Puchala & Hopkins, 1982).

In this case, UN PKO is an international regime. The basic principle of this regime is maintaining peace or lasting peace (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.). UN PKO has norms related to three implementation principles governing how this agenda works: the agreement of the parties, impartiality, and not using force except to defend oneself and maintain the mandate (United Nations, 2008). Other norms contained in the normative framework for these operations are the

United Nations Charter, especially in articles VI, VII, and VIII, human rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international humanitarian law consisting of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, two Additional Protocol of 1977, and the mandate of the United Nations Security Council (United Nations, 2008).

Further, the UN Security Council has the largest share in the decision-making process on UN PKO. It also has the prerogative to act as the institution responsible for maintaining international peace and security. In addition, the UN Security Council has the right to determine when and where UN PKO should be deployed (United Nations, 2008). It also consults with the TCC/PCC in the planning and decision-making process. Various consultations have been carried out, such as renewing the mandate or stopping, withdrawing and reducing operations.

In line with what Puchala and Hopkins stated, the UN, with its UN PKO regime, can limit and regulate state behavior and how the agenda goes. It is also stated under article 25 of the UN Charter that all UN members agree to accept and implement the decisions of the Security Council. While other UN organs make recommendations to member states, the Council itself has the power to make decisions that member states must implement (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.). The same applies to the UN PKO agenda.

Based on the international regime theory above, this study argues that Indonesia is committed to increasing female peacekeepers in UN PKO because Indonesia is encouraged by the UNSC 1325 Regime to adopt values, such as equality and gender mainstreaming, which has implications for the behavior and

policies issued by the UNSC and the Indonesia government, especially in the UN PKO.

This paper also utilized the gender mainstreaming concept as a perspective. Gender is defined as a basic trait used to identify differences between men and women in various aspects, such as social and cultural conditions, values and behaviors, mentality, emotions, and nonbiological matters (Marzuki, 2007). Gender is also the result of social construction that contains expectations and values considered good and bad by society related to men and women. In addition, gender construction between one place, time, and culture of another can be different (Azizah, 2017).

Furthermore, gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the impact of women and men on any planned action in regulations, policies, or programs in all fields and at all levels (Eriyanti, 2017). Gender mainstreaming is also a strategy for making women's and men's concerns and experiences a dimension of design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic, and social fields. It aims to benefit women and men equally and maintain equality. The ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2005).

Before, the UN Security Council laid out the agenda of UN PKO in Resolution 1325. The resolution recognizes how armed conflict can impact women and girls and recognizes the contributions of women and girls' children in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and peace-building efforts. On that basis, Resolution 1325 has established a framework that integrates gender perspectives into implementing the

peacekeeping mandate at the policy and operational levels. With the implementation of Resolution 1325, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) can expand operational policies and frameworks to ensure that gender perspectives are effectively integrated across all peacekeeping activities (Eriyanti, 2017).

Peacekeeping mission gender reforms also promote gender equality in host nations since peacekeeping operations are increasingly involved in advising and helping domestic institutional changes. UN peacekeeping forces have also included gender mainstreaming into their operations to achieve these objectives, covering a continuous evaluation of how policies affect women and men (Karim & Beardsley, 2017). UN PKO also continues to develop, which now has a mission to improve the broader humanitarian approach, such as increasing the contribution of female personnel (Hutabarat, 2017). In addition to adopting Resolution 1325, the UN Security Council also adopted the next nine resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, 2467, 2493) to seek the enhancement of women's full participation in UN PKO (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative method and analyzed why Indonesia is committed to increasing the female forces in the PKO, which was then described from the perspective of constructivism. The data obtained were secondary, namely through books, journals, mass media, and online media, where these data had relevance to the research. Data collection was done by analyzing and reviewing data sources.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Realist Analysis

Various perspectives may be used to give a realistic analysis of Indonesia's involvement in UN PKO. According to the realism perspective, the government will use all its resources and authority to protect the national interest (Neack, 1995). Contributing to the UN PKO can be utilized by a state to achieve its national goals (Hutabarat, 2017b). In this example, expanding Indonesian women's participation in the National Examination is part of a larger international integration strategy (Hutabarat, 2014). Indonesia's participation in the UN PKO also coincides with the country's ambitions to join the UN Non-Permanent Security Council in 2019-2020 (Hutabarat, 2017a).

Another realistic viewpoint is that using military force in the UN PKO mission will boost Indonesia's international bargaining position (Hutabarat, 2017a). UN PKO is also seen to sustain Indonesia's continuous position in international security as a rising power/economy country by expanding its contribution to the UN (Hutabarat, 2017a).

Liberal Analysis

From a liberal perspective, Indonesia's participation in UN PKO operations is strongly intertwined with the country's democratic status. Liberalism aspires to project the values of liberty, justice, and order into international affairs (Badmus & Jenkins, 2019). Intervention is required and legitimate in the particular instance of peace operations, according to the liberal position, since those participating in armed conflict and violence might suffer bad repercussions, and civil society can no longer restore sovereignty (Jabri in Badmus & Jenkins, 2019). Liberalism claims that democracy is the driving force for the country's participation in UN

peacekeeping missions. It is because democracy prioritizes individual rights and well-being (Lebovic, 2004). Participation in the UN Peacekeeping Operations is also linked to liberal democracy and respect for human rights in nations that participate in peacekeeping (Cunliffe, 2018).

In this context, Indonesia is a country that places a high value on human rights. The presence of human rights in the Indonesian constitution, both in the Preamble to the fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution and in the text of the 1945 Constitution, demonstrates this. Then, Law Number 39 of 1999 on Human Rights manifests Indonesia's responsibilities as a United Nations member to uphold and implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948. In this regard, eight of the nine major international human rights documents have also been approved by Indonesia. Indonesia's election to the United Nations Human Rights Council for the year 2020-2022 and the three preceding times demonstrates that Indonesia is engaged in promoting and preserving human rights at all levels.

On the other hand, democratic nations benefit the most from the growing number of democracies in the international system, as long as the UN PKO's purpose is to promote democracy rather than only stop wars. Peacekeeping missions can therefore help democracies improve their security by encouraging the spread of democracy (Andersson, 2000).

Constructivist Analysis

From the perspective of constructivism, especially the logic of appropriateness, Indonesia's resolve to raise the number of female peacekeepers at UN PKO is driven by the international community's acknowledgment of women's

vital role and contribution to peace, particularly in UN PKO operations. As a member of the United Nations, the agenda is seen as something just and must be followed. The Indonesian government has also committed to mainstreaming gender in Indonesia's diplomatic agenda, in line with the WPS agenda present at the UN PKO.

Moreover, Indonesia intends to encourage and promote the involvement of Indonesian female peacekeepers, particularly in UN PKO operations, to improve the efficacy of UN PKO mandated responsibilities in missions (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2018). It was followed by the Indonesian government recognizing the importance of women's roles in peace, for example, by identifying four major elements connected to UNPKO, in which the promotion of women's roles was also addressed (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2019b).

This study found that the use of norms as the basis of Indonesia's foreign policy did not contradict the country's national interests. According to the constructivist interpretation, based on logic appropriateness and logic of material consequences, Indonesia's adjustment to international norms resulted in benefits for Indonesia (the logic of material consequences), such as gaining various strategic positions in international forums, which might strengthen Indonesia's bargaining power.

Women in UN PKO

According to a 2000 study initiated by UN DPKO and the Division for the Advancement of Women entitled "*Mainstreaming Gender Perspectives in Multidimensional Peace Operations*," from peacekeeping missions in Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Namibia, and

South Africa, it was concluded that the presence of women could increase access and support for local women, making male peacekeepers more reflective and responsible, enhance the repertoire and style skills available on missions, and often reduce the effects of conflict and confrontation (Karim & Beardsley, 2017).

In addition, the United Nations said fielding more women in peacekeeping missions would create more effective peacekeeping. It is because female peacekeepers can improve peacekeeping's overall maintenance. Female peacekeepers also have greater access to the community. Involving many women in peace actions will help promote human rights and the protection of civilians and encourage women to play an essential role in the peace process. The presence of female peacekeepers also becomes vital since they can improve the performance of UN PKO. Having greater diversity and a wider range of skills from peacekeepers will certainly improve the performance of these operations, from the decision-making process, planning, and results. Accordingly, it will lead to greater effectiveness and operational performance. In addition, diversity in UN PKO peacekeepers can enable peacekeeper engagement with all communities they protect during operations (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2021).

Moreover, female peacekeepers can plunge into society better, including women and children. Female peacekeepers also can build trust and confidence with local communities. They also help improve access and support for local women, such as in conditions where women are prohibited from speaking to men (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2021). Furthermore, female peacekeepers can prevent and reduce conflict and

confrontation. Diversity in peacekeeping can help address the disproportionately negative effects of conflict, particularly on women's lives. Thus, women's foray into peacekeeping will effectively bring new perspectives and solutions to address the needs of women in conflict and post-conflict situations (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2021).

The United Nations also believes that female peacekeepers can inspire and be role models for other women. They can serve as strong mentors and role models for women and girls in post-conflict environments. They will set an example for women and children, advocating for their rights and pursuing non-traditional careers (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2021).

According to a study conducted in the United States and/or even worldwide, female peacekeepers use less physical force, reducing the likelihood of violent conflict. Moreover, there is a lower probability of problems arising from using excessive force (Azizah et al., 2020). Research conducted by Roohia S. Klein (2012), as cited in (Azizah et al., 2020), uncovered that women had a positive and supportive role in conflict resolution and peace processes. There are five types of conflict management (Klein, 2012). First, competing is to satisfy one's interests at the expense of others. Accommodating is sacrificing one's interests for the sake of others, avoiding and ignoring the concerns of both parties by delaying the problem. Then, conflict collaboration is an effort to find solutions that satisfy the interests of both parties, and compromising is by trying to fulfill some interests of the two conflicting parties. According to Cassandra K. Shepherd (Azizah et al., 2020), regarding Klein's work, women tend to use cooperative conflict management styles, such as collaborating, compromising, and

accommodating, while men are likely to use competing or avoiding strategies in conflict situations.

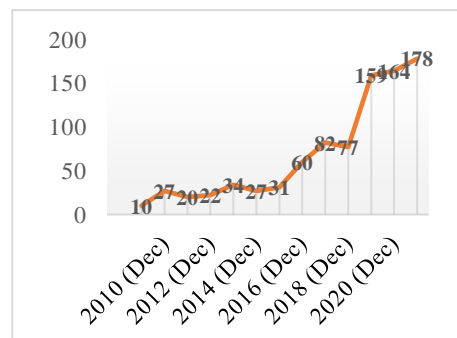
In this case, Indonesian troops, especially female peacekeepers, have a successful record in peacekeeping missions. Up to 200 troops from the MINUSCA Indonesian Engineering Company were given United Nations service medals for their commitment to peace and security in the Central African Republic (CAR) as of August 17, 2021. The military engineering company's involvement is crucial in carrying out the mission's mandate. The peacekeepers have aided MINUSCA in achieving its primary goal of protecting people by providing support for road, bridge, and airfield repair, among other things, to guarantee MINUSCA forces' movement in Bangui, Berberati, and Bossembele (southwestern CAR) (Kabatanya, 2021). They also have engaged in civil-military cooperation operations to improve relationships with local communities (Kabatanya, 2021).

With 1,300 troops, Indonesia has become the largest contribution to the UNIFIL peacekeeping deployment. Since 2006, Indonesian peacekeepers have monitored, observed, and reported on the situation on the ground, using mixed-gender patrols (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2020). The role of female peacekeepers in this assignment is crucial. Women's participation and contribution to UNIFIL have been crucial to preserving stability. As a result, Indonesian female peacekeepers performed critical responsibilities in various professions, including health workers, guards, and patrol activities (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2020). Also, in 2018, on UNIFIL's mission, Indonesian female peacekeepers captivated the local small girls with live music and Indonesian

traditional dance, demonstrating how encounters like these might assist peacekeepers and children in understanding each other and developing connections (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2018).

From 2009 until the present, there has been substantial growth in the number of Indonesian female peacekeepers. Indonesia deployed its first female peacekeeper to the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2008 (MONUC) (Pusat Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian Tentara Nasional Indonesia, 2011). The Indonesian government continued to deploy around ten female peacekeepers the following year, spreading them across three peace missions: two personnel in the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), seven personnel in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), and one personnel in the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS). In the years afterward, female peacekeepers have steadily increased, reaching more than 100 personnel in 2019.

Figure 2. Number of Indonesia Female Peacekeepers (2009-2021)



Source: United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

Indonesia's Contribution to UN PKO

Indonesia's active participation in contributing to the maintenance of world peace, especially in UN PKO, is part of its constitutional responsibilities as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. History records that Indonesia began to participate directly in UN PKO in 1957, at which time Indonesia sent 559 infantry members of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) to Sinai. In the following years, Indonesia continued to increase the deployment of other infantry personnel, such as in 1960 with 1,074 personnel and 3,457 personnel for the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) in the Republic of Congo (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019).

However, Indonesia's participation in peacekeeping missions did not always run smoothly. The G30S/PKI incident in 1965 was the cause of the decline in TNI participation in UN PKO (Syahputri, 2018). Then, TNI personnel did not do much in the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) or the International Commission for Control and Supervision in South Vietnam in 1971 (Syahputri, 2018). From June 1975 until the end of the Cold War, Indonesia stopped sending its peacekeepers due to deteriorating conditions in Vietnam (Syahputri, 2018). Broadly speaking, the TNI was not deployed in peace operations during the New Order regime until the early 1990s because, at that time, the military was mostly deployed in domestic security affairs (Wiharta, 2016).

In the first two decades since its participation in UN PKO missions, Indonesia only sent military contingents as peacekeepers. Then, since the 1980s, Indonesia has expanded the scope of its contribution to support the maintenance of world peace (Anwar, 2012). Not only

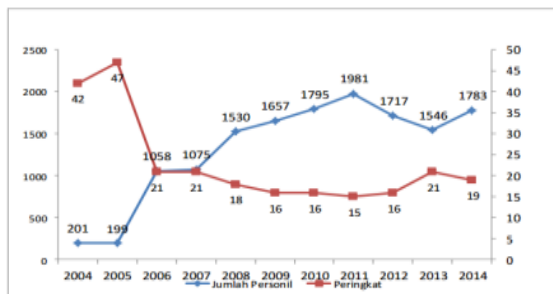
deploying military contingents, but Indonesia also deployed military and police observers, civilian police, and engineers. Later, Indonesia deployed nearly 2,000 peacekeepers to UNTAC (1992-94) (Wiharta, 2016).

According to David Capie (2016), in his journal article entitled "*Indonesia as an Emerging Peacekeeping Power: Norm Revisionist or Pragmatic Provider?*" several arguments explain why there was a significant increase in the role of Indonesia in UN PKO. First, increased peacekeeping indicates Indonesian leadership's growing confidence in Indonesia's ability to play a larger role on the global scene. Second, peacekeeping is a popular mission, particularly among the younger officer generation, and it is considered as helping to produce a more professional force. It gives practical experience, boosts advancement opportunities, and pays allowances. His other argument is that peacekeeping supports Indonesia's small defense manufacturing sector and is deemed a tool to further the country's defense diplomacy ambitions. It enables the testing of new capabilities, which has become a major means of interacting with other armed forces. He also argued that although Indonesia has a long history of involvement in UN PKO, there have been significant changes in its policies in the last decade, with much greater importance attached to peacekeeping operations, especially since 2011 (Capie, 2016).

Increasing Indonesia's role and contribution to realizing world peace and order and prosperity through various multilateral forums, including UN peace operations, is specifically listed as the Polugri agenda in the second period of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's (SBY) leadership (Aiyub, 2019). This increase is said to be following the

constitutional mandate, which encourages Indonesia to continue contributing to the United Nations' efforts to maintain international peace and security (Aiyub, 2019). Starting from the first period of President SBY's leadership, in 2004, Indonesia deployed the Garuda Contingent (KONGA) in various peace operations (Indonesian Armed Forces Peacekeeping Center, n.d.).

Figure 2. Number of Personnel and Indonesia's Ranking in UN PKO 2004-2014



Source: 2015-2019 Strategic Plan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia

In 2006, President SBY responded to a call from the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, to send troops to the UNIFIL mission in Lebanon (Capie, 2016). Then, in 2007, Indonesia expanded its contribution to include police personnel, deploying six individual police officers in UNMIS in Sudan (Wiharta, 2016). The increase in the number of peacekeepers in Indonesia from 2004 to 2014 is illustrated in the graph.

Then, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) wants to continue to expand its contribution, particularly the Formed Police Units (FPU) and female police, and has stepped up international training efforts for police cadres (Wiharta, 2016). During the peacekeeping summit in September 2015, Indonesia promised to deploy an infantry battalion, helicopter unit, and

police unit of 100, including 40 female officers (Wiharta, 2016). In this regard, Indonesia's contribution to the maintenance of world peace, especially in UN PKO, is part of its constitutional responsibility listed in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. Based on historical records, Indonesia began to plunge directly into UN PKO in 1957. At that time, Indonesia sent 559 infantry personnel who join the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in Sinai. In the following years, Indonesia continued to increase the fielding of other infantry personnel, such as in the 1960s with 1,074 personnel and 3,457 personnel for the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) in the Republic of Congo (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, Indonesia dan Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian PBB, 2019).

In the first two decades since its participation in UN PKO missions, Indonesia only sent a military contingent as *peacekeepers* (Anwar, 2012). However, since the 1980s, Indonesia has expanded its scope of contributions to support the maintenance of world peace. Not only did Indonesia lower the military contingent, but it also fielded military and police observers, civilian police, and engineers. Then, in 2004, Indonesia assigned the Garuda Contingent (KONGA) to various world peace operations to increase its role in international forums (Indonesian Armed Forces Peacekeeping Center, 2021). Currently, Indonesia has deployed 2,795 personnel spread across four UN PKO peacekeeping missions: United Nations - African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), and United Nations Mission in

the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) (United Nations, 2021).

In the past decade, Indonesia has also issued various regulations governing governance and encouraging Indonesia's participation in UN PKO, including Presidential Regulation No. 85 of 2011, and a Peacekeeping Mission Coordination Team (TKMPP) was established. TKMPP is chaired by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and consists of ministers/leaders of institutions related to UN PKO. The task of TKMPP is to prepare policy formulations and coordinate efforts related to Indonesia's participation in UN PKO based on national interests. In Article 2 of Presidential Regulation No. 85 of 2011, TKMPP was established to carry out various functions, such as (a) coordinating the planning, preparation, implementation, and termination of Indonesia's participation in world peacekeeping missions; (b) the preparation of comprehensive studies and the preparation of policy recommendations for Indonesia's participation in world peacekeeping missions; (c) the preparation and formulation of Indonesia's position and strategy in negotiations on Indonesia's participation in world peacekeeping missions based on national interests; (d) monitoring and evaluating Indonesia's participation in world peacekeeping missions.

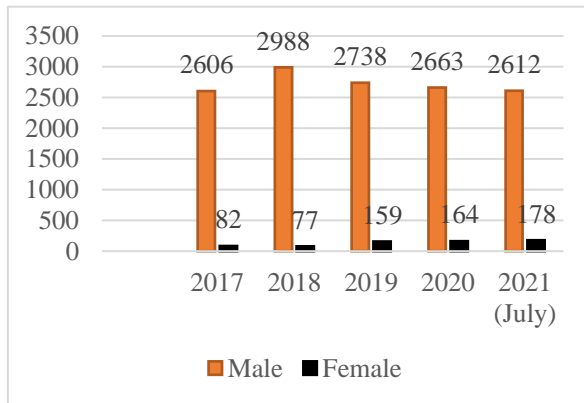
Further, the Peacekeeping Mission Center (PMPP) is established as an institution that aims to prepare Indonesian peacekeepers. In addition, PMPP is also a liaison for similar training centers in the region. The PMPP was inaugurated in 2011 by Indonesia's sixth President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Moreover, to increase its overall capacity to contribute to peacekeeping and humanitarian disaster relief missions, Indonesia built the

Indonesia Peace and Security Center (IPSC) in the same year in Sentul, West Java. IPSC has 7-in-1 facilities: the TNI Peacekeeping Mission Center (PMPP), TNI Standby Force Center, Counter-Terrorism and Deradicalization Training Center, Disaster Management Education and Training Center, Language Strategy Development and Diplomacy Center, Defense University (Unhan), and Military Sports Center (Defence Media Center/PPID, 2014), (Indonesian Armed Forces Peacekeeping Center, n.d.).

Indonesia also issued a legal foundation that houses the delivery of peacekeepers in UN PKO and regional organizations, namely through Presidential Regulation No. 86 of 2015 on the Delivery of Peacekeeping Missions. Furthermore, Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019 encouraged Indonesia to occupy the top ten countries contributing UN PKO personnel through the placement of 4,000 personnel from 2015 to the end of 2019. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also issued The Minister of Foreign Affairs Regulation No. 5 of 2015 on the Vision Roadmap of 4,000 Peacekeeping Personnel 2015-2019, which serves as a foundation for realizing the policy.

The objectives of implementing Indonesia's foreign policy and relations in principle include two closely related aspects: achieving national interests and contributing to world order following the mandate of the 1945 Constitution. To maintain world order, Indonesia optimizes membership in various regional and multilateral organizations to work together to solve various global problems, continue to promote stability and peace and create international norms and laws that are more just, inclusive, and peace-oriented.

Figure 3. Indonesia's Troop and Police Contribution to UN PKO (2017-2021)



Source: United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

The number of Indonesian female peacekeepers analyzed from the UN PKO official website is displayed above. Although there is a substantial disparity in the number of male peacekeepers, the number of female peacekeepers appears to be increasing every year. The improvement agenda has become part of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' strategic plan. As stated in point 5 in the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia document, "strengthening and maintaining Indonesia's position is in the Top Ten Contributing Countries to UN Peacekeeping Missions through strengthening professionalism and capacity of personnel, increasing the number of female personnel and increasing bilateral, regional, and international cooperation." (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2020) and point 24, "increasing women's participation in peace processes and peace-making efforts at various levels is through the development of partnerships with other regional and global mediation networks and organizations (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2020,).

Even more, Indonesia's contribution and participation in UN PKO can professionally encourage the improvement of individuals and organizations directly involved in UN PKO. In addition, the development of the national economy industry can also increase. The joining of Indonesia in UN PKO includes Indonesian products, such as Armored Personnel Carrier ANOA and KOMODO and SS firearms from PT. Pindad and national privately made military/police uniforms. Hutabarat (2017) stated that Indonesia's contribution to UN PKO is not only to meet the national interest but also to show how the role of peacekeepers, especially Indonesian *female peacekeepers*, in operations (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, Indonesia dan Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian PBB, 2019). On the international side, Indonesia's contribution can be a benchmark for its role in maintaining international peace and security.

Regime Resolution 1325 (UNSC 1325) as a Driver of Increasing Indonesia's Commitment to UN PKO

As Puchala and Hopkins mentioned, the presence of regimes can limit and regulate the behavior of the state and how the agenda works. In this case, the Resolution 1325 Regime, serving as a foundation in the blueprint of gender policy and UN PKO, can drive how the UN PKO policy works. Since its adoption by the UN Security Council on October 31, 2000, UNSC 1325 has contributed to affirming the important role of women, particularly in conflict prevention and resolution, peace negotiations, peace-building, and peacekeeping. UNSC 1325 also stresses the importance of equal participation and the full involvement of women in all world peacekeeping efforts.

Therefore, UNSC 1325 encourages all actors to increase women's participation and include gender perspectives in all UN peace and security efforts. Furthermore, UNSC 1325 also established a framework that integrates gender perspectives into implementing peacekeeping mandates at policy and operational levels.

In 2002, the UN Security Council issued a 2002/32 Security Council Presidential Statement calling on UN member states to establish national-level efforts to assist the implementation of SCR 1325, recognizing a lack of coordinated engagement with the framework of SCR 1325. In addition, in October 2004, the UN Secretary-General issued a report urging the member states to create NAPs (Barrow, 2016). In this case, as a member state of the UN active in maintaining peace, Indonesia also participated.

Aside from reducing military personnel in each UN PKO peace mission, Indonesia, through Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2014, issued the National Action Plan (RAN) P3A-KS in 2014 for 2014-2019. The RAN P3A-KS contains the implementation approaches to the WPS agenda at the national level, intending to protect and empower women and children during conflicts. Article 1, Paragraph 4 of the RAN P3A-KS mentions the participation of women and children in *peace-building*.

“Empowerment of women and children means the efforts to strengthen human rights, improve quality of life, and intensify the participation of women and children in peace-building.”

In addition to launching the RAN P3A-KS, since 2015, Indonesia has committed to increasing the number of *peacekeepers*, including *female*

peacekeepers, through its Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. In 2018, Indonesia had a peacekeeping contingent of more than 3,500 personnel, of which 72 were female peacekeepers. Then, in 2020, Indonesia continued its commitment to increase women's participation in peacekeeping and strengthen the protection system for women and children in conflict (WILPF's Women, n.d.). Indonesia, through the Indonesian National Army (TNI), together with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), held an international conference called *“Preparing Modern Armed Forces for Peacekeeping Operations in the 21st Century”* on June 25-27, 2019, in Jakarta. The conference brought together representatives from countries and members of the ASEAN Regional Forum and other countries, including Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Cambodia, China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Republic of Korea, Russia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor-Leste, the United States, Vietnam, and the European Union. The conference discussed further the implementation of International Humanitarian Law in the framework of peace operations, with a particular focus on developing issues, such as women in peacekeeping, protection of civilians, and medical services in times of conflict (International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 2019).

In line with the gender mainstreaming mission brought by the UNSC 1325 Regime in UN PKO, Indonesia assesses that women as peacekeepers will contribute greatly to realizing the success of the peace mission. Women also play a

role in social construction in society and psycho-social aspects that give them privileges in humanitarian missions (Hasan & Putra, 2020). As said by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Retno Marsudi, women are considered more sensitive to environmental and cultural situations, which increases public acceptance of the presence of female *peacekeepers* (InfoPublik, 2019). Moreover, the promotion of the role of women is also one of the four important points, according to Retno Marsudi, in realizing a purpose-effective peace mission. The existence of *female peacekeepers* in UN PKO can increase the effectiveness of the implementation of UN PKO (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2019). Retno also added in the eighth MIKTA Ministerial Meeting (PTM) in Sydney, Australia, on November 25, 2016, that the greater role of women can fill gaps in communication and increase the sense of security for women and children in conflict areas (Tempo.co, 2016).

Therefore, the Indonesian government continues to strive to increase the contribution of Indonesian *peacekeepers*, such as through Resolution 2538 (2020). Under the Presidency of Indonesia, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2538 on August 28, 2020. The resolution addresses female personnel in the UN peacekeeping mission. Resolution 2538 is also a tangible form of Indonesia's contribution to peace diplomacy. In the vision-mission in the future, Indonesia will continue to be committed to increasing the number and role of Indonesian *peacekeepers*. It aligns with the UN target of minimum female personnel of 15% as military observers and staff officers and 20% as police personnel in UN PKO

(Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2019).

Discussion

This study indicates that using international norms as a base for foreign policy did not undermine Indonesia's national interests. In this situation, Indonesia's compliance with international norms that call for more women to participate in conflict resolution and the whole peace agenda is manifested in the growing number of female peacekeepers, which has increased steadily over the previous decade. The WPS agenda was evaluated as something regarded proper and should be done as a member of the United Nations based on constructivist analysis, notably the logic of appropriateness.

Indonesia's commitment to deploying female peacekeepers is also in line with international norms, which call for greater involvement of women in peacekeeping and UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Indonesia benefits from Indonesia's desire to boost the number of women in the UN peacekeeping mission (the logic of material consequences). These advantages let Indonesia bargain more effectively in international forums.

Consequently, Indonesia was elected as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for the fourth time in 2019-2020. Indonesia has previously served on the UN Security Council as a non-permanent member in 1974-1975, 1995-1996, and 2007-2008. Indonesia's major topics on this occasion were peacekeeping and increasing women's participation in the peace process (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2019a).

Indonesia was also elected as a United Nations Human Rights Council member.

Indonesia was re-elected to the UN Human Rights Council for the 2020-2022 session after receiving votes from 174 nations. Indonesia has previously served in the UN Human Rights Council four times, from 2015 to 2017, 2012 to 2014, 2008 to 2010, and 2006 to 2007. Indonesia also held the G20 presidency in 2022.

With the issues that Indonesia is currently facing, Indonesia's position, and various advantages, it will be able to assist Indonesia in fending off demands for an independence referendum in Papua made by the Free Papua Organization, which seeks support through international forums.

This research also unveiled that the Resolution 1325 Regime is the reason behind the increase in the contribution of Indonesian *peacekeepers*. Various efforts made by the Indonesian government to increase the contribution, number, and role of female *peacekeepers* align with the UNSC Regime 1325. The UNSC 1325 regime also encourages the Indonesian government to adopt the values of equality and gender mainstreaming, which have implications for the behavior and policies issued by the Indonesian government.

This research also supports the results of a previous study conducted (Hutabarat, 2017), mentioning that the Indonesia government has made various efforts to increase contributions to UN PKO, ranging from the establishment of PMPP to the commitment of the President of Indonesia to increase the number of Indonesian personnel in UN PKO, and the establishment of the International Peacekeeping Center in Sentul, Bogor. This study is also consistent with research carried out (Murwanto et al., 2020). This study disclosed that Indonesia's contribution to UN PKO is based on its responsibility to the 1945 Constitution.

However, there are differences in the study conducted (Hutabarat, 2017), which used a realist perspective to analyze the reasons for the increase in the contribution of Indonesian female *peacekeepers*. Using realist perspective analysis, the results unveiled that Indonesia's participation in peace operations could meet national interests. In comparison, this study discovered that the International Regime, in this case, the Regime Resolution 1325, is highly influential in encouraging the presence of gender *mainstreaming* in every Indonesian policy, especially in UN PKO.

Through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia emphasizes the necessity of expanding the involvement of women in peacekeeping operations, following past research and many UN statements. One of the most significant reasons for enhancing attendance is to increase the UN PKO's efficacy. Based on this research, expanding the number of peacekeepers, particularly female peacekeepers, has been on Indonesia's foreign policy agenda for the previous decade.

The number of female peacekeepers has also become a major emphasis, particularly under Joko Widodo's leadership. The publications of the Strategic Plan for Indonesia's Foreign Policy for 2014-2019 and 2019-2024 confirm it. Various policies, such as the Roadmap Vision 4,000 policy, have been created to address this issue. Over this era, there has also been considerable growth, particularly in the number of female peacekeepers, which has risen to over 150 personnel in the previous three years. Indonesia's female peacekeepers were also praised and honored for their contributions to different UN peacekeeping deployments.

The prominence of gender mainstreaming policies in Indonesian policy, particularly in the UN PKO, largely resulted from the Regime Resolution 1325. Indonesia's determination to expand the number of Indonesian female peacekeepers demonstrates not only the country's image and role as a peacemaker but also its support for Resolution 1325's aims and UN PKO.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Indonesia's participation in the UN PKO, particularly in expanding the number of female peacekeepers, could be interpreted via constructivist lenses, such as "logic of appropriateness" and "logic of material repercussions." This study believes that international norms as a basis for foreign policy did not undermine Indonesia's national interests. According to Martha Finnemore's (1996) constructivist paradigm, the state acts in line with the "logic of appropriateness" and "logic of material repercussions." In this situation, the state is viewed as a rule-abiding actor. Respect for established laws and normative systems stems from the state's wish to be recognized as 'good' by other countries. The presence of gender mainstreaming (PUG) in Indonesian diplomacy and UN Security Council Resolution No. 1325 also guide Indonesia in fulfilling and implementing the agenda and relevant international conventions of peace, particularly at the United Nations.

In addition, Indonesia recognizes and promotes the role of female personnel in the UN PKO related to the effectiveness of the UN PKO operation itself. Besides, the adjustment to Resolution 1325 is shown by increasing the number of Indonesian female peacekeepers at UN PKO in the last decade. This adjustment made Indonesia

gain various benefits in the form of increasing Indonesia's bargaining position in various international forums, which was marked by the election of Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, member of the UN Human Rights Council, and the election of Indonesia as the G20 presidency. In this regard, according to the issues currently being faced by Indonesia, the position and various advantages obtained by Indonesia will assist Indonesia in fending off these issues in international forums.

Moreover, Indonesia is actively involved in maintaining global peace, especially in UN PKO, as part of its constitutional responsibility listed in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. Indonesia's commitment to UN PKO has been recorded since 1957, at which time Indonesia sent 559 infantry personnel who were members of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in Sinai. In the following years, Indonesia continued to increase the fielding of other infantry personnel, such as in the 1960s with 1,074 personnel and 3,457 personnel for the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) in the Republic of Congo. Apart from contributing military personnel since the 1980s, Indonesia has also expanded the scope of contributions to support the maintenance of world peace by fielding military and police observers, civil police, and engineers.

Even more, Indonesia emphasizes the importance of women's participation in peacekeeping operations. It may be observed in the numerous efforts made, particularly in the previous ten years. Several regulations have been implemented to increase the number of peacekeepers, including female peacekeepers. It demonstrates the

significance of Indonesia's image as a peacemaker.

Through the analysis from the perspective of the international regime, Resolution 1325 has encouraged Indonesia to adopt the values of equality and gender mainstreaming, which has implications for the behavior and policies issued by the Indonesian government, especially in UN PKO. It has been reflected in various policies that Indonesia issued in the past decade, such as the RAN P3A-KS and Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. In addition, Indonesia has also made a more serious contribution through Resolution 2538 (2020), which the UN Security Council passed on August 28, 2020.

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