

# **CHAPTER I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **A. Background**

Indonesia's participation in realizing world peace is a constitutional mandate. The mandate of the 1945 Constitution is an essential foundation for the principle of peace in Indonesia. This is included in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, which confirms Indonesia's determination to create a world that is safe, just, and free from colonialization. This constitution also mandates the government to resolve conflicts peacefully and reject violence and discrimination in resolving problems. This is the basis for Indonesia to actively contribute to international diplomacy to realize the global vision and realize the national priorities that have been formulated in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Strategic Plan 2020–2024 and the National Medium Term Development Plan 2020-2024. One of Indonesia's foreign policy priorities is increasing Indonesia's contribution and leadership in the region and the world. In this case, the Indonesian government strives always to take part in the UN Peacekeeping Mission.

However, even though the principle of peace has been developing for a long time and various efforts have been made, in reality, the struggle is still far from what was expected. Progress toward achieving inclusive peace globally is still plodding, and conflicts still occur frequently. The Indonesian government specifically handles several international conflicts that require intensive peace efforts. The period 2019 to 2023 is the most formidable challenge for Indonesia in facing various international issues, including security issues. Peace-related problems include aspects of human rights and humanitarian issues. Among them is the Afghanistan conflict. Data quoted by Reuters from the annual report of the UN Mission for Afghanistan (UNAMA) stated that civilians killed in the Afghanistan and the Taliban conflict reached 8,820 casualties in 2020. This number of victims increased by 45 percent in the fourth quarter of 2020 compared to the same period in 2019 (Widodo, 2021). This increase occurred after the United States mediated peace negotiations between the Afghanistan government and the Taliban. This proves that the efforts to carry out peace negotiations had not been going well. Violence and killings were increasing.

Apart from that, in the conflict of Congo, there was an increase in casualties from 50 civilians to 272 civilians who died in the massacre in the eastern city of Kishishe in December 2022 (Sekarwati, 2022). This massacre was carried out by the M23 rebel group, who wanted to seize power from the Congolese government by force. In addition, the mass rape also occurred in the Congo region. The rape of women is no longer a sexual crime committed by an individual soldier but is classified as a hate crime committed in a planned manner and is included as a war crime. Most of their targets consist of vulnerable groups, not only women and children but also ethnic minority groups and people with disabilities (Jarzabek-Bielecka et al., 2014). There were so many cases of sexual harassment and rape of 11 underage girls committed by members of the Tanzanian UN peacekeepers stationed in Congo. According to the UN report, this case is not the first time this has occurred, but in the previous year, there were also 99 reports of cases of sexual harassment involving members of UN peacekeepers (Endah Lismartini, 2016).

This problem is increasingly important to be addressed immediately because it affects security and humanitarian issues, which are two sectors of fundamental rights and universal human rights that must be fulfilled. In various conflict areas, the majority of victims are women and children. Often, in this region, the status of women and children as civilians, refugees, combatant families, and asylum seekers become victims of human rights violations (GIWPS & Prio, 2021). They are forced to provide sexual satisfaction if they want to get food and shelter. Fear, hunger, and unfavorable circumstances forced them to do so.

The large number of cases of gender-based violence, sexual harassment, and exploitation of children in conflict areas shows the severity of the gross human rights violations that occur and how vulnerable their position as victims is. This is a traumatic experience that will disturb their psychological side. Indonesia and all countries must cooperate in dealing with this problem by international humanitarian law and paying attention to victims' rights. However, treatment and recovery for victims will be pretty tricky if the right approach and strategy are not used. Therefore, based on the analysis of the cases above, it can be concluded that the reason why peacebuilding is essential

is that the impacts arising from conflict are extensive, military force is not the best answer to various problems, and conflict hinders development and destroys people's lives.

This condition has been worse with the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has increased the suffering of residents in conflict areas. The world situation hit by COVID-19 has had a significant impact on geopolitics and geoeconomics in the global order. There are 4.4 million refugees in the Asia and Pacific region who are starving, and a total of 952 thousand people have died in 34 countries in the area, including Afghanistan, Congo, Ukraine, Haiti, Nigeria, South Sudan, and so on (Winahyu, 2021). The distribution of aid, such as food and medicine, has been hampered due to the effects of the pandemic. This condition is a large-scale humanitarian crisis and is one of the challenges to realizing peace. Peace not only means a safe situation without conflict but is also seen from the aspect of people's welfare. Prosperity will not be achieved if many of society's basic needs are unmet.

Realizing this problem, Indonesia, through its foreign policy, makes continuous efforts to contribute to UN peace missions. Indonesia began to be active in international peacekeeping missions in 1956 when it sent Garuda Contingent troops to the Sinai Desert, Middle East (Kemlu RI, 2019). Indonesia is also among the ten contributing countries that have sent the most peacekeeping troops to the UN since 1956, with a total contribution of 3,545 personnel. It has had many achievements in handling international conflicts (Sekarwati, 2019). Peace diplomacy is one of the main instruments used by Indonesia to maintain regional stability, promote peace, and protect national interests. The Indonesian government realizes that Indonesia's involvement in efforts to maintain world peace is crucial for implementing international commitments and Indonesia's foreign policy.

Foreign policy results from a policy formulation process involving various actors within the government, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as interactions with other countries and international institutions (Rosenau et al., 1976). This policy continues to develop by changes in global and regional dynamics as well as changes in national priorities. Therefore, a country must have a good strategy for

facing various new and increasingly complex challenges. The Indonesian government continues to monitor and take steps to reduce conflict tensions and facilitate peace efforts. Indonesia, through its foreign policy, has the potential to become a key actor in international peace diplomacy. Indonesia's foreign policy adheres to the free-active principle, which means that Indonesia is active in international diplomacy but also remains neutral and not tied to any particular conflict. This principle makes Indonesia participate in various global issues without taking sides with one block or alliance. Indonesia's presence in international organizations and forums such as the United Nations (UN), ASEAN, G20, and so on provides opportunities for Indonesia to play a significant role in influencing policy and maintaining international peace.

The current Indonesian foreign minister is Retno Lestari Priansari Marsudi, commonly known as Retno Marsudi. Retno Marsudi is one of Indonesia's most influential diplomats and the first female foreign minister in history. She served as foreign minister from 2014–2019 and was reappointed during President Joko Widodo's administration in 2019–2024. In carrying out the President's orders, Retno Marsudi has a strong influence on Indonesian foreign policy. To achieve national interests, Retno Marsudi has different strategies and unique features compared to previous ministers in realizing peace. She is known for her efforts to advance Indonesian diplomacy in the international arena by upholding gender mainstreaming in Indonesian foreign policy (Nadira, 2020). This is proven by her various speeches and statements in international forums and conferences.

This shows that, in fact, the influence of gender, especially the feminist perspective, also exists in international relations. Feminism in international relations explains the emancipation of women in their efforts to align themselves with men. So far, masculinity is often considered an ideal type of how a country's foreign policy should work and how the government and its citizens should behave. Meanwhile, women tend to be associated with domestic matters, so they have nothing to do with international politics (Azizah, 2013). A country's foreign policy is greatly influenced by who leads that country. Thoughts about women and politics cannot be separated from studies about feminism because this idea makes people aware of the inequality of

power between men and women (Azizah, 2017). In addition, feminists in international relations tend to use the individual level of analysis. Therefore, it is essential to understand how Retno Marsudi carries out her strategies in voicing, managing, and formulating responses to global problems through peace diplomacy.

This condition is interesting to research because Indonesia, in the era of Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi in 2019-2023, carried out bilateral and multilateral peace diplomacy by prioritizing gender-responsive handling. Besides that, Indonesia was one of the countries that succeeded in achieving many peace diplomacy milestones during her term of office amidst the conditions of COVID-19 and the dynamics of complex international issues. This will be easier for the Indonesian government to achieve if it has a mature strategy to achieve the desired peace diplomacy. Thus, this research examines the peace diplomacy strategy that the Indonesian government carries out in the international arena in voicing, responding to, and dealing with various global issues. This research will contribute to how these strategies influence international peace and security stability. Apart from that, this research can be a basis for formulating and drafting Indonesia's future foreign policy.

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background identification that has been explained, the research question to be discussed is **"How does the Indonesian government carry out its peace diplomacy strategy in 2019–2023?"**

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

Researchers use several concepts in international relations as a tool to analyze peace diplomacy practices carried out by the Indonesian government. The concepts used are peace diplomacy and gender mainstreaming policies. Here is the explanation:

### **Peace Diplomacy**

Peace comes from the original Latin word 'pax', which means pact, control, or agreement to end war or any dispute and conflict between two people, two countries, or two hostile groups (Khemanando, 1995). According to American military history, peace means the absence of war. According to Indonesian Dictionary (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*), peace means no war, no riots, safe, harmonious, and serene.

Meanwhile, peace means the cessation of hostilities (disputes and so on) and matters of peace (making peace) (KBBI V, n.d.-a).

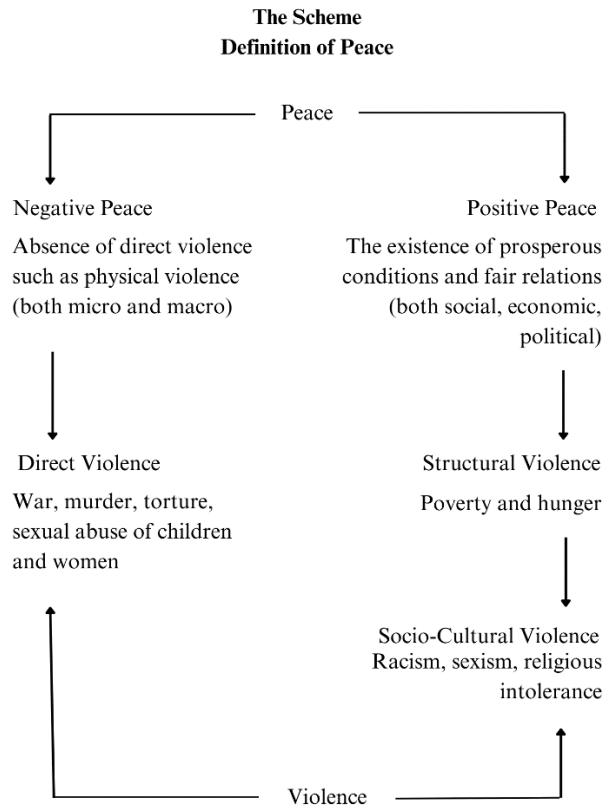
Definitions of peace are numerous and continually evolving. Initially, peace was defined as a condition of the absence of war. However, as time goes by, peace does not only mean the absence of war but also the absence of structural violence and cultural violence. A more complete explanation is given by Johan Galtung, in his book "Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization", defines peace as follows:

1. Peace is the absence or reduction of all types of violence
2. Peace is the non-violent, creative transformation of conflict

Apart from that, Johan Galtung divides the concept of peace into three categories, namely positive peace, negative peace, and comprehensive peace. Positive peace is the elimination of "structural" violence and "cultural" violence. Positive peace can be created when conflict resolution tools are democratic and non-coercive, social justice, economic prosperity, and political distribution are realized. Meanwhile, negative peace is the absence of "direct" violence between two or more parties, the absence of asymmetry of fear, and the absence of conflicts of interest. Negative peace focuses more on the lack of direct physical violence, such as war, torture, murder, and armed violence (Galtung, 1996). So, in the end, comprehensive peace emerges, a combination of the concepts of positive peace and negative peace. Meanwhile, the definition of peace from the book "Kajian Konflik dan Perdamaian" by Anak Agung and Nabilla Sabban is the condition of a society that can live side by side, even though the society has differences (Agung, 2015).

The scheme below is an illustration of the meaning of peace:

**Picture 1. 1 Peace Scheme**



Source 1. Definition of Peace by Author Document.

Thus, the operational definition of peace in this research is the absence of war or the threat of war that may occur, the absence of armed violence, the absence of sexual violence, the absence of poverty, hunger, and discrimination against ethnicity, race, religion, and between groups. Peace can only be achieved if these criteria are met.

In the book “Pengantar Sosiologi Konflik” by Novri Susan, it is stated that the practice of peace is a long-term effort related to efforts to manage conflict and various interests. The practice of perfect peace is characterized by the absence of violence, tolerance towards differences, and social justice. The way to assess how peace practices can be realized is to examine how political elites implement and use their state authority (Susan, 2009). They are actors representing the people who can make various state policies. If they do not want to practice peace, then the policies that emerge tend to be in the form of violence, such as military operations and so on.

Then, etymologically, the word "diplomacy" comes from the French, namely "diplomatie", which is taken from the Ancient Greek "diplōun" meaning to fold, a folded document or a folded letter. This term refers to written documents given to envoys or official representatives of a country to prove their identity, authority, or goals in interacting with other countries. This document is often folded in two or more, giving rise to the term diplomacy with each use. Historically, these documents have often been used in the context of peace negotiations, trade agreements, or diplomatic relations between countries (Roy, 1991).

Heywood states that diplomacy refers to "*All processes, strategies, and practices involved in international relations and diplomatic communications between countries in the world* (Heywood, 2011)". The Oxford English Dictionary defines "*Diplomacy as the management of international relations through negotiation; where this relationship is harmonized and regulated by the ambassador and representatives; the business or art of diplomats*". The Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary states the definition "*Diplomacy is the art of negotiation, especially of treaties between states; political skills*". Sir Earnest Satow in his book "Guide to Diplomatic Practice" explains that "*Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states*" (Satow, 1957).

Harold Nicholson, in his book "The Evolution of Diplomatic Method" states there are at least five things related to diplomacy, including:

1. Foreign policy;
2. Negotiation;
3. Mechanism for implementing the negotiations;
4. Foreign Service Branch;
5. The abstract quality of the gift, which in a good sense includes expertise in the implementation of international negotiations; and in a bad sense includes more devious tactics (Nicholson, 1954)".

Then, K.M. Panikkar explains, "*Diplomacy in relation to international politics is the art of prioritizing the interests of a country in its relations with other countries* (Panikkar, 1957)". Svarlien defines "*Diplomacy as the art and science of state*



*representation and negotiation, the entire complex of a state's foreign relations, namely the foreign department including its foreign missions (Svarlien, 1954)”. Ivo D. Duchacek argues that "Diplomacy is defined as the practice of implementing a country's foreign policy by means of negotiations with other countries (Duchacek, 1961)”.*

According to S.L. Roy, *"Diplomacy is the art of advancing the interests of a country through negotiation with peaceful means if possible in relations with other countries. If peaceful means fail, threats of real power are permitted (Roy, 1991)”. Hans J. Morgenthau explains “Diplomacy is the promotion of the national interest by peaceful means (Morgenthau, 1966)”. The definition of diplomacy is also explained by Ian Brownlie as "Every method taken to establish and foster relationships and communicate with each other or carry out political or legal transactions which in each case are carried out through authorized representatives (Brownlie, 2008)”. According to Asep Setiawan in his book “Theory and Practice of Diplomacy”, explains *"Diplomacy is the art and practice of negotiating by a person (called a diplomat) who usually represents a country or organization (Setiawan, 2016)”. According to Clausewitz, “Diplomacy is a tool to prevent war. If diplomacy fails, meaning that peaceful means do not work, then war is the last resort”.**

Based on the definitions above, according to S.L. Roy, there are several vital elements related to diplomacy that can be concluded, including (Roy, 1991):

1. The main element of diplomacy is negotiation;
2. Negotiations are carried out to prioritize the interests of the state;
3. Diplomatic actions are carried out to safeguard and advance national interests as far as possible by peaceful means. Therefore, the main goal of diplomacy is to maintain peace without damaging national interests;
4. Diplomatic techniques are often used to prepare for war and not to produce peace;
5. Diplomacy is closely connected with a country's foreign policy objectives;
6. Modern diplomacy is closely linked to the state system;
7. Diplomacy cannot be separated from state representation (Setiawan, 2016).

Therefore, the main aim of diplomacy is to promote national interests through negotiations in peaceful ways. However, if peaceful means fail to safeguard national interests, then diplomacy using real force may be used.

According to Kautilya, the main goal of diplomacy is "*To safeguard the interests of own country and maintain security*". Apart from that, several other vital objectives of diplomacy are:

1. Advancing the economy;
2. Trade and commercial interests;
3. Protection of own citizens in other countries;
4. Developing culture and ideology;
5. Increased national prestige, and;
6. Gaining friendship with other countries and other interests.

Based on the objectives above, a country's diplomacy aims to achieve various national interests through negotiation and cooperation with other countries. Diplomatic goals can vary depending on the country's national interests. In practice, diplomatic objectives can change according to the development and dynamics of the international situation and a country's national policies. In addition, governments often use various diplomatic instruments such as negotiations, international agreements, diplomatic visits, and so on to achieve these goals (Denza, 2016). Diplomacy also has many forms, such as economic diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, technological diplomacy, and other diplomacy according to specific issues. One form of diplomacy is peace diplomacy.

The history of world peace diplomacy first appeared in the Treaty of Westphalia, which was signed in 1648 to end the major wars that had occurred for decades in Europe, one of which was the war between Catholics and Protestants, which lasted for 30 years. This treaty marked the beginning of the modern state system and created the concept of sovereignty of states respecting each other's territory and internal affairs. The Treaty of Westphalia is an essential milestone in developing international peace diplomacy (Amsir, 2021).

Over time, after World War II ended, which destroyed many countries and caused considerable casualties, the international community realized the need for more

effective mechanisms to maintain peace and prevent large-scale conflicts. This gave rise to the founding of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 through the United Nations Charter. The UN has several primary objectives, one of which is to promote international peace and security (United Nations, 2018). To achieve this goal, the UN established the UN Security Council as the main body responsible for handling international conflicts. The UN Security Council has the authority to take sanctions, arms embargoes, or even military intervention to resolve disputes and maintain world peace (United Nations, 2022).

Peace diplomacy is a form of diplomacy Indonesia uses to achieve its national interests, namely, realizing peace. According to Hans J. Morgenthau, diplomatic strategies must be based on national interests, not on moral, legal, and ideological reasons, which he considers utopian and even dangerous. According to Morgenthau, the national interest of every country is the pursuit of power, namely anything that can establish and maintain control of a country over other countries. This control can be carried out through coercive techniques or cooperation (Morgenthau, 1966).

This aligns with one of Indonesia's four diplomatic priorities, namely increasing Indonesia's contribution and leadership in the region and the world. Indonesia wants to optimize its presence and leadership in various regional and multilateral organizations to work together to solve multiple global problems, promote security stability, and create international norms and laws that are fairer, more inclusive, and peace-oriented. For this reason, Indonesia uses peace diplomacy. In carrying out diplomacy, Indonesia has the framework of free and active foreign policy principles since the beginning of its independence (Indrawati, 2019). Gunawan Santoso explained that Indonesia's foreign policy and the commitment of the 1945 constitution to realizing peace are reflected in the bilateral and multilateral diplomacy carried out by Indonesia. One of them is that every Indonesian embassy representative abroad can have the opportunity to contribute, both in the form of ideas and active participation in resolving conflicts in the world (Santoso, 2023).

Research related to peace diplomacy is not only carried out by Indonesia, but also in several other countries. Marika Theros explains that in the peace process, a

coercive peace approach must be carried out, so that it can change the interests and behavior of stakeholders to encourage the significance of peace. These researchers found that in the Afghanistan peace process (Theros, 2023). Markus Kornprobst has also researched the relationship between actors and peace. In this case, how diplomats define peace produces extraordinary results. Diplomats make broad promises about the peace they hope to achieve, strongly favoring restrained cooperation, principled compromises, and deliberate politics (Kornprobst, 2023).

Reinhard Drifte also research about Japan peace diplomacy, he states, “*Proactive Peace Diplomacy can contribute to reducing tensions and regional stability* (Drifte, 2016)”. For Japan, its national interests are not only related to economic interests but also geostrategic interests, which make the stability of countries the most important thing. This is supported by Masayoshi Ohira, which states that “*Japan maintains friendly relations with Asian and Western countries to ensure its prosperity and progress* (Ohira, 1964)”. These geographical and historical facts are the basis for Japan in determining its foreign policy. Therefore, Japan's strategy is pro-active peace diplomacy through bilateral and multilateral approaches (Ohira, 1964). These geographical and historical facts are the basis for Japan in determining its foreign policy. Therefore, Japan's strategy is pro-active peace diplomacy through bilateral and multilateral approaches.

Then, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian also analyzes Colombia's foreign policy on Bogota's peace diplomacy from 1978 to 2000 in the context of internal war. The study results show that the foreign policies of Colombia's six different mandates never developed a comprehensive and consensual state strategy toward peace. Various peaceful diplomacies were partly successful in maintaining the regime's politics, but others failed to achieve their goals. Therefore, a more serious, active, and simultaneous foreign policy is needed for peace (Tokatlian, 2000).

Dag Hammarskjöld argued in his last Annual Report to the UN General Assembly that lasting peace can only be achieved based on four fundamental principles, namely:

1. Equal political rights, both sovereign and individual;

2. Equal economic opportunities through higher standards and conditions conducive to economic and social progress;
3. A firm legal supremacy framework, which must underlie all activities of the international community;
4. Prohibiting violence except for "common interests" (Carsten Stahn, 2014).

Therefore, Elham Malik, Shail Shankar, and Puneet K. Bindlish explain the UN Security Council has an important role in the peace agenda. The Security Council's efforts to strengthen the UN's mediation capacity by launching campaigns, both at Headquarters and in organizations in the field, to place greater emphasis on peace diplomacy at the international level. In this case, researchers found that the campaign would be part of an overall call to emphasize peace diplomacy at the global level (Elham Malik, Shail Shankar, 2023).

Based on the literature above, it can be concluded that peace diplomacy is a tool or method used by countries to achieve their national interests. So, the operational definition of peace diplomacy in this research is the totality of normative policies and practical methods implemented by Indonesia bilaterally and multilaterally to achieve peace. This can be measured by the approach that Indonesia takes in resolving conflicts without using direct or indirect violence. Indonesia carries out representation, correspondence, and mediation in realizing peace. Such as normatively through written agreements, written agreements, written statements, resulting resolutions, and so on, which are formed and supported by international organizations. It could also be practical steps such as diplomatic visits, informal talks, sending peacekeeping personnel, and so on.

Based on its understanding and benefits in supporting the world peace process, peace diplomacy can be understood as a form of using the soft power possessed by a country. Soft power is the ability to fulfill the interests of a party by inviting or attracting the attention (persuasion) of another party without using coercion and violence (Vuving, 2011). The use of soft power can only be carried out if each party recognizes its existence, strength, and efforts and has the same goals to strengthen its determination to implement and achieve common interests. Stakeholders use this

capability to carry out foreign policy, such as collecting data and information, confirming aims and objectives, and building good relations with other countries.

### **Classification**

In the practice of international relations, diplomacy is often carried out through two ways, namely bilateral diplomacy and multilateral diplomacy.

#### **a. Bilateral Diplomacy**

Bilateral diplomacy is a form of cooperation between two countries to achieve common interests. Bilateral diplomacy can also be carried out by ministries or other official institutions collaborating on the bilateral agenda of both parties so that it is not only carried out by the foreign ministry alone. Bilateral diplomacy aims to fulfill mutual interests in various sectors, whether economic, political, social, and so on. In the security sector, bilateral diplomacy is also needed for both parties to work together to resolve disputes and differences. Usually, bilateral diplomatic relations are bridged by embassies located in the capital cities of partner countries to facilitate communication and coordination (Rana, 2018).

#### **b. Multilateral Diplomacy**

Multilateral diplomacy is the management of international relations through negotiations between three or more countries through diplomatic representatives, governments, or non-state representatives. The characteristics of multilateral diplomacy are multi-party, multi-role, multi-issue, and multi-value. Multilateral diplomacy is different from bilateral diplomacy, namely, from a much greater level of complexity and more extra diplomatic skills. One organization that carries out multilateral diplomacy is the UN. Apart from that, various global forums or conferences which involve many countries are also called multilateral diplomacy. Multilateral diplomacy can accommodate many countries' interests, including small countries that need multilateral forums to handle their essential issues (Rana, 2018).

### **Gender Mainstreaming Policy**

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to achieve justice and equality between men and women through various policy programs that include aspects of experience, aspirations, interests, fulfillment of rights, protection, and problems faced by women

and men. According to the Indonesian Dictionary, strategy is planning activities to achieve specific targets. Strategy is also defined as the science and art of using all the nation's resources to implement specific policies in war and peace (KBBI V, n.d.-b). Furthermore, in this strategy, there is also a process of planning, drafting, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating all policies that have been implemented.

Gender mainstreaming has several goals, namely (Fitriyah, 2015):

1. Ensure that women and men have equal access to development resources.
2. Ensure equal participation between women and men in the sustainable development process, including in the decision-making process.
3. Ensure that women and men receive an equal share in controlling development resources and obtain the same benefits from development results.

All countries in the world form alliances to achieve these goals. Indonesia, as a country actively involved in various peace and security programs, also supports gender mainstreaming on the national and global level (Kusuma & Payson, 2020).

In international relations, there are differences in the concept of security according to realists and feminists. According to realists, national security has always been exclusively focused on military security. Meanwhile, feminists use the idea of "common security" to describe a security that is more comprehensive and multi-dimensional, such as paying attention to political, economic, social, and environmental dimensions, which are as important as the military dimension (Azizah, 2013). So, when carrying out gender mainstreaming, especially in conflict areas, it is important to pay attention to the concept of security that has to be implemented. Gender mainstreaming must be carried out immediately in conflict areas because it will affect the aspects of community security, like security of victims, especially women and children.

International relations scholars have widely researched feminists in international relations. J. Ann Tickner, in several studies and books, namely *Gender in International Relations* (1992), *Self-Reliance Versus Power Politics* (1987), *You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists* (1997), *Gendering World Politics* (2001), explains that gender issues in relation relations in the past thought to be unrelated. It is challenging to introduce gender in international

relations because many previous experts did not clearly understand gender issues and acted in opposition to these issues. However, over time, many international relations scholars and other scientists have opened up about gender discussions. Then, Jean Bethke Elshtain in her books *Public Man, Private Women: Women in Social Thought; The Family in Political Thought* (1981), and the book *Women and War* (1995), discusses the assumption that men are assumed to be something in public while women are in the private and domestic realm, so that makes many people have an understanding regarding women is not relate with politics.

Then, research related to feminist foreign policy has been carried out by researchers from various countries, including Annika Bergman Rosamond in her journal entitled *Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy*, stating that foreign policy practices must focus on gender equality and eradicate gender-based violence (Rosamond, 2020). Research by Heather Smith also shows that feminist foreign policy and priority on human security, especially women, are also implemented in Canada (Smith & Ajadi, 2020). Similar policies were also carried out in Mexico. The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that his country was experiencing a major government transformation, so strategic partnerships and policy-making were carried out through a feminist and multilateral approach (Delgado, 2020). Relevant research was also carried out by other researchers in Europe. Feminist scholars are starting to appear in Europe and contribute to feminist foreign policy studies that discuss security issues. war, military, diplomacy, peace, and international development (Altan-Olcay, 2022).

In Indonesia, based on Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000, also concerning gender mainstreaming in the implementation of national development, several prerequisites and key components are required which can also be applied to gender mainstreaming at the global level, as follows:



**Table 1. 1 Scope of Gender Mainstreaming**

No	Prerequisites	Key Components
1.	Political will and leadership from related national and global institutions	Regulations, such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The 1945 Constitution</li> <li>- Government regulations</li> <li>- Resolution</li> <li>- Agreement</li> </ul>
2.	Policy framework is a form of the government's commitment to realizing gender equality in various development fields	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strategy</li> <li>- Policy</li> <li>- Programme</li> <li>- Projects</li> <li>- Agenda</li> <li>- Collaboration framework</li> <li>- Monitoring and evaluation framework</li> </ul>
3.	National and global government structures and mechanisms to support the implementation of gender mainstreaming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- National and global organizational or institutional structures that support the implementation of gender mainstreaming, such as: Council/Agency/Bureau/Section/Sub-Section</li> <li>- Mechanisms for implementation and evaluation of gender mainstreaming are integrated at every stage of development</li> </ul>

Source 2. Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000

This table shows that gender mainstreaming is a strategy that requires the involvement of many stakeholders. To successfully implement this strategy, the involvement of various stakeholders is crucial. Starting from the planning stage, the government must consider gender aspects in every regulation, policy, and program

created and implemented. Furthermore, in the drafting process, the government must consider how gender roles will be reflected in the designs so that no discrimination or inequality is overlooked.

Effective implementation also requires a strong understanding of the meaning of gender and gender roles in society, especially in various conflict areas where the majority of victims are women and children. Careful monitoring during implementation is also needed to ensure that the gender mainstreaming strategy works well. Finally, a comprehensive evaluation must be conducted to assess the impact of this strategy and ensure that gender equality goals are achieved. With the active involvement of various stakeholders at every stage of the development process, gender mainstreaming can become a reality that provides excellent benefits for global society as a whole.

#### **D. Hypothesis**

Based on the explanation above, Indonesia's peace diplomacy strategy in the era of Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi in 2019–2023 is through **multilateral and bilateral diplomacy**, as follows:

1. Make peace diplomacy a priority for Indonesian government.
2. Building cooperation in various regional and international forums to promote gender equality and justice to achieve peace for all countries.

#### **E. The Purpose of Research**

The aim of this research is to find out the Indonesian government's strategy in conducting peace diplomacy in 2019–2023.

#### **F. Research Methodology**

This research is qualitative study using descriptive analysis methods and secondary data as the basis for the research. Apart from that, to support this research, researchers also used discourse analysis methods, especially content analysis. According to Krippendorff, “*Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use*” (Krippendorff, 2004). Then, Berelson also states “*Content analysis is a research for the objective, system, systematic, and quantitative description of the*

*manifest content of communication*” (Berelson, 1952). The content analysis method is used to analyze the content of a discourse. The basis of discourse analysis is interpretation because discourse analysis is part of the interpretive method, which relies on the researcher's understanding and interpretation. This analysis employs research techniques to make reliable conclusions by interpreting and coding textual material. The data collection technique uses literature study by looking for literary sources related to the problem being studied, such as books, journals, government reports, credible online websites, government regulations, and so on. The data was then analyzed and concluded based on the researcher's theoretical framework.

Then, researchers also used VOSviewer to search for research from Scopus articles and other relevant articles, then analyzed and visualized the data to find research gaps and novelties. VOSviewer is software used to visualize bibliographies or data sets containing bibliographic fields (title, author, writer, journal, etc).

### **G. Scope of Research**

Researchers conducted data research by providing research coverage for five years, namely from 2019 to 2023. This is because, at that time, it was the second term of office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Retno Marsudi, and 2019 was the first time COVID-19 was discovered, changing the global geopolitical and geoeconomic situation. This situation challenges the Indonesian government in implementing its foreign policy commitments to achieve world peace. This research focused on one entity in international relations, namely state actors. Therefore, this research will discuss the peace diplomacy practices carried out by the Indonesian government as a representation of state actors.

### **H. Thesis Outline**

This thesis is planned to have a writing structure with the following division of chapters:

**CHAPTER I** is an introductory chapter that contains the background of the problem, which outlines the reason the researcher researched this topic, problem formulation, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research objectives, research methods, research limitations, and systematic writing in this thesis.

**CHAPTER II** contains hypothesis verification, namely, explanation and analysis using a conceptual framework regarding the peace diplomacy strategy carried out by the Indonesian government to achieve world peace, including through gender mainstreaming policies and the achievements that Indonesia has succeeded in building peace.

**CHAPTER III** contains conclusions from the discussion that has been described and suggestions for the readers based on the results of the analysis that has been carried out.