

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE REFORMULATION OF INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE AREA OF MINISTER RETNO MARSUDI TO ACHIEVE WORLD PEACE

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Abstract

Although international relations have experienced many rapid developments, especially since the end of the Cold War and increasing interdependence as a result of globalization, it cannot be denied that the issue of peace and security remains a central issue. So, it is natural that developments on this issue continue to get significant recognition from every country, including Indonesia which continues to prove its desire to be able to contribute better. This is in line with one of the three objectives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, namely Indonesia's leadership and role in influential international cooperation and can be demonstrated among them through the role of initiator, mediator and facilitator. Indonesia's contribution to peace and security issues concretely can be seen from Indonesia's success in becoming a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2019-2020. Under the leadership of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi since 2014 until now, there is an interesting aspect to be discussed but still in the same context, that is Indonesia's initiative to consistently initiate the promotion of the role of women in the issue of world peace and security.

Keywords: Indonesia, peace, security, women, Retno Marsudi

Abstrak

Meskipun hubungan internasional telah mengalami banyak perkembangan pesat, terutama sejak berakhirnya Perang Dingin dan meningkatnya saling ketergantungan sebagai dampak dari globalisasi, namun tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa isu perdamaian dan keamanan masih menjadi isu sentral. Maka, wajar jika perkembangan mengenai isu ini terus mendapat perhatian yang signifikan dari setiap negara, termasuk Indonesia yang terus membuktikan keinginannya untuk dapat berkontribusi lebih baik. Hal ini sejalan dengan salah satu dari tiga tujuan Kementerian Luar Negeri, yaitu kepemimpinan dan peran Indonesia dalam kerja sama internasional yang berpengaruh dan dapat ditunjukkan antara lain melalui perannya sebagai inisiator, mediator, dan fasilitator. Kontribusi Indonesia dalam isu perdamaian dan keamanan secara konkret dapat dilihat dari keberhasilan Indonesia menjadi anggota tidak tetap Dewan Keamanan PBB periode 2019-2020. Di bawah kepemimpinan Menteri Luar Negeri Retno Marsudi sejak tahun 2014 hingga saat ini, ada satu aspek yang menarik untuk dibahas namun masih dalam konteks yang sama, yaitu inisiatif Indonesia yang secara konsisten memprakarsai pemajuan peran perempuan dalam isu-isu perdamaian dan keamanan dunia.

Kata Kunci: Indonesia, damai, keamanan, perempuan, Retno Marsudi



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INTRODUCTION

Although IP has undergone many rapid and dynamic developments, especially since the end of the Cold War and the increasing interdependence due to globalization, it is undeniable that the issue of peace and security is still considered a central issue. However, security issues related to defense, which usually come from realism, are also countered by the presence of classical liberalism issues, such as international political economy and socio-economic development. In addition to the dichotomy of the two main theories, HI also gained a new perspective from the rise of feminist theories that emphasized the importance of women's involvement in the international political arena and the full equality of rights between women and men.

Thus, in addition to the issue of peace and security which seems to continue to be an issue that receives significant recognition, there is also attention poured into the increasingly massive development of feminism. Examples are Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Goal 5, where gender equality and empowering all women are goals that are sought to be achieved by 2030 by 193 countries that have ratified. Gender equality and women's empowerment are sought not only in relation to domestic work, inclusive education, the protection of women from gender-based violence, but also in relation to the inclusion of women in issues on a global scale, such as peace and security issues. (Nations, 2015)

The correlation between these two equally important issues is not spared from Indonesia's view that it continues to prove its desire to be able to contribute better to the world. Indonesia's desire is actually in line with one of the three goals of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, namely Indonesia's leadership and role in influential international cooperation and can be shown, among others, through its role as an initiator, mediator and facilitator. Under the leadership of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi since 2014 until now, Indonesia's initiative to consistently initiate the advancement of women's role in world peace and security issues is increasingly visible. Initiatives initiated by Indonesia can be seen at the High-Level Event

on Women Peacekeepers in Action 2020, Regional Training on Women, Peace, and Security: Women's Important Roles as Global Peace Agents, Dialogue on The Role of Women in Building and Sustaining Peace, Women in Building Sustainable Peace: Empowering rural women to build values of peace through their role in the family, to the 43rd Human Rights Council Session at the United Nations.

Based on the background that has been described, I feel interested in analyzing it further with the foreign policy model proposed by Minister Retno Marsudi through the model of Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Richard Snyder et al. Foreign Policy Model

In the decision-making model (the decision-making model) His, Richard Snyder emphasized that the foreign policy behavior of a country is influenced by various factors from external and internal. External factors can be in the form of various conditions and factors that are different outside the boundaries of a country, such as actions and reactions from other countries, non-human environments, other cultures, and other societies outside the territory of a country. Meanwhile, for internal factors include, the society in a country, the human environment such as the population and culture in the country and also the non-human environment. (Snyder, Bruck, & Sapin, 1962).

The basic assumption from Richard Snyder's perspective is that international action can be defined as a set of decisions made by domestic political units in which the leaders of countries, both individual and group, act as the main actors in the decision-making process. Through this perspective, Snyder puts his main emphasis on the analysis of complex organizational bureaucratic networks with their institutional procedures. Thus, it can be concluded that the important factors that can explain foreign policy according to Richard Snyder are: (Jensen, 1982)(Anderson, 1987)

1. The executive group (decision unit) con-

cerns motivation (values and norms adhered to) and the influence of various foreign policies on the choices of decision-makers, namely the king, president, prime minister, and ministers.

2. Group actors, this is focused on political parties, mass organizations, social movements, and the press, as well as the flow of information between them.

3. Environmental conditions (definition of situation), which is a situation or situation to make a decision (occasion for decision) which refers to the special situational characteristics that exist before and when a decision is made. This can be characterized by whether the domestic and international political environment is in a state of crisis or not, urging decision-makers to issue a policy.

4. The policy that is a projection of the considerations that have been carried out (Projected of action) in this case is reflected in the birth of Indonesia's initiative in an effort to promote the role of women in world peace and security issues which are specifically in the term of office of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the foreign policy decision-making model is very complex, where there are many influencing factors that should be considered. As previously explained, in this case, what plays a very large role in decision-making does not only come from external factors but also internal factors.

The Concept of Feminism

To understand the main ideas offered by feminist theory in international relations, it is important to first define the two terms that are key to any discussion: 'gender' and 'patriarchy'. First, it should be emphasized that 'gender' is not a synonym of 'sex' (gender) or biological differences between women and men. However, gender refers more to the complex social constructs of identities owned by men and women and the behaviors that occur in relation to each other. Quote "Feminism Meets International Relations", which is fundamental in the discussion of gender is the idea of

power and its dynamics among the genders used to analyze the power relations between men and women, how they are used, and how conventional, historical, and social interactions are implemented over time even though they are not born as a result of the inherent biological differences of the two sexes.(Thorburn, 2000)

Then, there is also the term 'patriarchy', which in the book "Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories" defined as a system in which women are recognized as subordinate (at a different level of hierarchy even below) men, in relation to power and status. This is based on the belief that the position where the man gives the order while the woman only serves as the party who submits and obeys the order is something right and reasonable. The roots of patriarchy itself according to the Lorraine Code can be traced to the history of Aristotle's statement that women's biological inferiority has similarities with their reasoning abilities.(Code, 2002)

Feminists use both keywords, both gender and patriarchy, to describe international relations as a field in which the main actors, such as diplomats, policymakers, heads of state, and academics, have been and still are dominated by men with social and political backgrounds who internalize patriarchy. This condition means that it will encourage a lack of consideration of the importance of involving women's roles in international politics because they are generally not used to appreciating and including women's perspectives. In this position, feminists assert that gender and patriarchal assumptions have prevented women from gaining equal rights to access positions that hold power over the world political arena. In fact, the exclusion of women certainly cannot be allowed given the potential for new contributions and perspectives that will be meaningful to international relations, both in terms of practice and what they are trying to achieve (Ruiz).

DISCUSSION

The election of Retno Marsudi as Minister of Foreign Affairs since October 26, 2014

has recorded history. She is the first female Minister of Foreign Affairs since Indonesia was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. Indonesia's heavy task in the international arena, especially with regard to foreign policy, then became the responsibility of this diplomat from Semarang. His ability to play Indonesia's role on the world stage led him to return to fill the position as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the second term of President Joko Widodo. (Tempo.co, 2014)

Under his leadership, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia has achieved several prestigious achievements. Starting from the most news at that time, namely when Indonesia succeeded in becoming a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the 2019-2020 period. Indonesia was elected a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council along with Germany, South Africa, Belgium and the Dominican Republic on June 8, 2018. Although elected in mid-2018, Indonesia can only start its term of office from January 1, 2019 to December 31, 2020. Indonesia's membership of the UN Security Council is not the first time but the fourth time, after previously Indonesia became a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1974-1975, 1995-1996, and 2007-2008. This indicates that the range between Indonesia's membership in the current UN Security Council and its previous membership is as long as 11 years. (Kemlu, Keanggotaan Indonesia pada DK PBB, 2019)

In carrying out Indonesia's non-permanent membership for the 2019-2020 period, Indonesia has set 4 Priority Issues and 1 Issue of Special Concern, namely: (Kemlu, 2019)

1. Continuing the contribution of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in its efforts to realize world peace, among others, through strengthening the ecosystem/geopolitics of global peace and stability by prioritizing dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution.
 - Promotion of peaceful dispute resolution through partnership and regionalism;
 - Improving Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding;

- Improving the quality and effectiveness of peacekeeping missions;
 - Advancing partnerships in sustaining peace; and
 - Increasing the role of women in the peace process.
2. Building synergy between regional organizations to maintain peace and stability in the region. In this case, the need to strengthen regional organizations is emphasized, considering the current challenges that are very dynamic, the role of regional organizations is important and needed to deal with problems.
 3. Increase cooperation between countries and the UNSC to combat terrorism, extremism and radicalism.
 - Creating a comprehensive approach
 - Address the root causes of terrorism, radicalism and violent extremism.
 4. The Indonesian government will also try to synergize peacemaking efforts with sustainable development efforts
 - Ensure peace, security and stability to ensure the fulfillment of the 2030 Agenda, including in Africa;
 - Establishing a Global Partnership to discuss security implications on the economy, health and the environment; and
 - Increasing the role of women in the peace process.

In addition, Indonesia will also pay special attention to the Palestinian issue. Indonesia's membership in the UN Security Council not only serves to carry out its basic principles, namely Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and Dasasila Bandung as a product of Indonesia's monumental diplomacy which is the foundation of the world's social system, but also brings several other benefits that are no less valuable to Indonesia. Starting from proving the principles of Indonesia's foreign policy that are grounded and becoming a form of manifestation of the constitutional mandate of the 1945 Constitution to participate in implementing a world order based on independence, lasting peace and social justice. In

addition, Indonesia's membership shows an increase in Indonesia's leadership role at the international level. This is in line with one of the three objectives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, namely the realization of Indonesia's leadership and role in international cooperation which is influential and can be shown by increasing Indonesia's capacity to voice in international decision-making related to world peace and security issues.

Through the presidency of the UN Security Council as of May 2019, Indonesia has also made a track record for world peace through a series of main activities (signature events) titled "Sowing the Seeds of Peace" (Investing in Peace). The presidency began with Foreign Minister Retno who chaired the UN Security Council Open Session on the UN Peacekeeping Mission (MPP UN). An open session titled Investing in Peace: Improving Safety and Performance of UN Peacekeeping took place on May 7, 2019, and was attended by the UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, as well as 60 UN member states. The trial then resulted in Presidential Statement as the first document of the UN Security Council regarding strengthening training and capacity building of UN peacekeeping missions (MPP PBB). (Kemlu, 2019)

Still in relation to Indonesia, which is trying to increase its contribution in the field of peace and security, there is one interesting aspect that needs to be discussed further. This aspect is to increase the role of women in the peace process. This has actually also been stated in the description that explains Indonesia's number 1 and number 4 priority issues in its membership in the UN Security Council, namely seeking to strengthen the global peace and stability ecosystem by prioritizing dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution and synergizing peacemaking efforts with sustainable development efforts. The advancement of women's roles is a crucial point, this is because women play an important role in conflict prevention, conflict management, and post-conflict peacebuilding. So, it is very unfortunate that in fact, even though Indonesia occupies the 8th position out of 124 countries that contribute the most personnel in the Peacekeeping Mission (MPP) with a total of 3,080

personnel (as of May 2019), there are only 106 women (Kemlu, 2019)(female peacekeepers) who are personnel among them. Women's involvement in the peace process is still very limited. In addition, there is also an analysis of (Kemlu, 2019)UN Women, where in 1,187 peace agreements in 1990-2017, there were only 2% mediators; 5% of negotiators and 5% of witnesses and signatories of peace treaties are women.

If explored further, Indonesia's initiative in advancing the role of women in peace and security issues was indeed felt to be more significant during the period of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi. The emphasis on the importance of women's involvement initiated by Indonesia in the UN Security Council is not the only one. Other examples of these initiatives can be seen in the narrative that Indonesia is trying to raise in its activities, such as High-Level Event on Women Peacekeepers in Action 2020, Regional Training on Women, Peace, and Security: Women's Important Roles as Global Peace Agents, Dialogue on The Role of Women in Building and Sustaining Peace, Women in Building Sustainable Peace: Empowering rural women to build values of peace through their role in the family, to the 43rd Human Rights Council Session at the United Nations.

Indonesia basically believes that the existence of women as peacekeepers will contribute greatly to the success of a mission, because the role of women in social construction in society and includes its psycho-social aspects makes women can be said to have 'privileges' in humanitarian missions. The 'privilege' in question is that women are considered more sensitive to the local environmental and cultural situation so as to increase public acceptance of the existence of women peacekeepers in the region. The existence of female peacekeepers is also considered to be able to provide a sense of security and comfort, especially for children and women who are often victims of sexual violence in a conflict. In addition, female peacekeepers also plays the role of early peace-builders and role model for local women in encouraging peacebuilding activities, including those related to security aspects such as ceasefire processes, demobilization, and

reintegration, as well as negotiations. (Kemlu, 2019)

Based on the presentation of Indonesia's initiative in advancing the role of women in peace and security issues during the period of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, I am interested in applying the foreign policy model initiated by Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin. In the decision-making model (the decision-making model) Snyder emphasizes that a country's foreign policy behavior is influenced by various factors that come from external and internal. External factors can be in the form of various conditions and factors that are different outside the boundaries of a country, such as actions and reactions from other countries, non-human environments, other cultures, and other societies outside the territory of a country. Meanwhile, for internal factors include, the society in a country, the human environment such as the population and culture in the country and also the non-human environment. (Snyder, Bruck, & Sapin, 1962)

In general, the basic assumption from Richard Snyder's perspective is that international action can be defined as a set of decisions made by domestic political units in which the leaders of states, both individuals and groups, act as the main actors in the decision-making process. This model also explains that any determinant (determining factor) in foreign policy will be considered and considered by decision-makers (Jensen, 1982)(decision-makers). The advantage of this model is that the human dimension (both male and female) is considered more effective than the foreign policy process itself. Through this perspective, Snyder puts his main emphasis on the analysis of complex organizational bureaucratic networks with their institutional procedures. Thus, the important factors that can explain foreign policy according to Richard Snyder are (Yanyan Mochamad Yani, 2008)(Anderson, 1987).

Executive Group (Decision Unit)

It concerns motivation (values and norms adhered to) and the influence of various foreign

policies on the choices of decision-makers, namely kings, presidents, prime ministers, or ministers. In the context of this case, Retno Marsudi, who plays the role of foreign minister, certainly has a desire for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be able to achieve its goals. One of them is Indonesia's leadership and role in influential international cooperation, including in peace and security issues, including through its role as an initiator, mediator and facilitator. In achieving this goal, which is certainly not easy, there is a motivation to involve all active participation and participation from various elements of society, including women. In addition, Indonesia hopes that the role of women in peace and security should not be extraordinary, but rather the norm, because as conveyed by Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, namely "Investing in women equals investing in peace". (Kemlu, 2019)

The same point can also be examined in the narrative that Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi tried to raise in several other activities, including:

1. High-Level Event on Women Peacekeepers in Action 2020: Indonesia encourages all stakeholders to play a role in increasing women's participation in UN peacekeeping missions. In addition to the contribution of female personnel, other things that can be done include capacity building support by being given greater opportunities to participate in training and sufficient resources for missions. (Kemlu, 2020)
2. Regional Training on Women, Peace, and Security: Women's Important Roles as Global Peace Agents: At that time, Retno Marsudi conveyed 3 (three) suggestions to ensure women's involvement in security and peace affairs; First, emphasizing the importance of their role as agents of peace and tolerance; Second, redoubling efforts to prioritize their role in the regional peace agenda; and Third, building and fostering a special regional network for women negotiators and mediators. One of Retno Marsudi's statements that explicitly wants to include women's contributions is: "Women are not only part of the solution, but also the source of peace and security" (Kemlu, 2019)(ASEAN-ID, 2019)

3. The 43rd session of the UN Human Rights Council: As a continuation of the event Regional Training on Women, Peace and Security In order to increase the capacity of women in conflict resolution and mediation described above, the issue of women's empowerment again became an issue that was specifically mentioned when the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia spoke about the importance of inclusivity in the promotion and protection of human rights at the 43rd session of the Human Rights Council. According to her, women's empowerment is an important element in the promotion and protection of human rights. Indonesia's efforts in women's empowerment do not stop at the national level, but are also carried out at the regional and global levels. At the global level, Indonesia specifically encourages the contribution of Afghan women to the peace process in Afghanistan through the establishment of (Kemlu, 2020)Afghanistan-Indonesia Women's Network.

Group Actors

This element is focused on political parties, mass organizations, and the press, as well as the flow of information between them. In this context, I think the influential group has a wider scope because of its influence on a global scale, namely the United Nations (UN) as the highest political entity that has the potential to be able to embrace the differences that countries have, including a new perspective on women's involvement in issues that usually prioritize male participation, namely peace and security. In line with Indonesia's initiation in advancing the role of women, the United Nations has previously put forward the same expectations contained in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) goal 5, which contains gender equality and empowering all women, must be achieved by 2030. Other influential groups, which I think share the same goals and motivations, are mass organizations, such as (Nations, 2015) Women's March who also continue to move to break down the patriarchal wall by speaking out about the importance of women's representation and involvement in various fields. (Tirto.id, 2020).

Environmental Conditions (Definitions of Situations)

It can be interpreted as a state or situation to make a decision (occasion for decision) which refers to the special characteristics of the situation that existed before and at the time the decision was made, whether the situation of the domestic and international political environment was in a state of crisis, distressed, risky or not. In this case, Indonesia's initiative in advancing the role of women in peace and security issues is considered appropriate because despite the important contribution that women can make in peace and security, women's representation and role are still inadequate in various phases of the peace process. Thus, there is a crucial need to actively support women's participation and implement the commitment of women's involvement in sustainable peace processes before, during and after conflict (Kemlu, 2019).

Policies that are Projections Based on Considerations that have been Carried Out (Projected of Action)

In this case, after considering several things that have been described earlier, starting from executive groups, influential groups, and environmental conditions, it encourages the birth of Indonesia's initiative in advancing the role of women in peace and security issues as part of the policy that is a projection of the considerations that have been made.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the process of formulating foreign policy is very complex, where there are many influencing factors that should be considered. This is because the birth of foreign policy certainly does not only affect the implementation of domestic politics but also the country's relations with other countries. In fact, it can affect international political stability.

CONCLUSION

Based on what has been described, I conclude that the birth of Indonesia's initiative in ad-

vancing the role of women in world peace and security issues when analyzed with the foreign policy model initiated by Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, can be simply illustrated in the following chart:

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