

## **Approval Thesis Summary**

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**Analysis of Gender Aspect on Australian Development Assistance toward Indonesia**

**(2014-2017)**



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# **Analysis of Gender Aspect on Australian Development Assistance toward Indonesia (2014-2017)**

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## ***Abstract***

*The main purpose of this research is to analyze the factor of Australia inputs gender aspect in its development assistance to Indonesia from 2014 to 2017. Australia has been provided development assistance to Indonesia since 20th until 21st century. Began in 2014, the direction of Australian foreign policy was incline to increasing gender equality. It is proved that Australia inputs gender aspect in Australian aid and was continue until 2017 that Australia shows its commitment on gender through its new strategy of foreign policy which called as White Paper. That is the beginning of Australia gave development assistance to Indonesia in purpose to addressing gender issue. The research method used qualitative with descriptive analysis. This research use theory of decision-making process which explain about internal and external setting of decision-making. Therefore, there were internal and external setting of decision-making that influences Australia to input gender aspect on its development assistance to Indonesia in the year of 2014 until 2017. Based on the evidence collected, internal factors is the influence from female politician, meanwhile external factors is because women in Indonesia known as the poorest and marginalized group.*

*Keywords: Development Assistance, Gender, Indonesia, Australia*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Gender aspect in this globalization era should be considered as a global concern. It is related to gender aspect is supporting the promotion of equality between men and women. However, nowadays gender issues mostly faced by women. Women are vulnerable to become the victim of crime, for the example is human trafficking which reported 71 percent of women and girls globally become the target. Moreover, 35 percent from the total of women worldwide have been experienced physical or sexual violence

(Bigelow, 2018). In the case of inequality, women have smaller portion than men such as education and labor force. Unjust treatment for women also happened which has influence to women's right. Those examples of gender issues as the consideration that gender actually become global concern.

As gender becomes global concern, it creates some international organization like United Nation to addressing gender issue. Related to this situation, UN conducts World Conference for women since 1975 until 1985 which called as UN Decade for Women (United Nations). It is the conference about the strategy and plan to reduce violence and discrimination against women, empowering women in the development program. However, during UN Decade for Women, CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women) has established. The idea of CEDAW comes from UN General Assembly in 1979 which has been set as international treaty. Actually, CEDAW is ratified in 1981 by several countries (Australian Human Rights Commission). One of the countries that have big influence in the establishment of CEDAW is Australia.

Australia's role in CEDAW can be seen by Australia as the signatory in 1983. Australian women's organizations show their support on CEDAW strongly (Woman of the World - Australia's signing of Cedaw). It can be said that either Australian government or society prioritizing women become main concern in addressing gender issue. Actually, Australia becomes the first country that always initiates to input gender equality as their platform in international range. It is related that Australia also input gender aspect in relationship with developing countries. Related to this issue, there are several developing countries are located near to Australia. In the Indo-Pacific region, Southeast Asia still has developing countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines,

and Vietnam. However, developing countries in Southeast Asia that also concern on gender issue is Indonesia.

Indonesia's concern on gender issue is seen in its development program. For the example Indonesia has conducted human development for men and women. It is related to Indonesia known for high population which in the last report, the rate of population in Indonesia got 4th rank after China, India and United States. The number of population in Indonesia is around 262,787,403 peoples, which as the evidence of high population (U.S Census Bureau Current Population, 2018). Therefore, Indonesia to implements human development equally needs a time and big effort which in recent years the target still not achieved yet. This is the reason why Indonesia has made target to prioritizing gender aspect in development program. Indonesia believes Indonesia believes by focus on gender aspect will accelerating the implementation of development. As Indonesia concern on gender issue, it established the relation with Australia walks in the same path.

Indonesia and Australia's relation somehow has emerged common goals. It is related to their economic level has determined to their role. Australia as developed country becomes donor and Indonesia as developing country become recipient. As donor country, Australia has a role to provide assistance to Indonesia. Related to both of them have same concern, Australia input gender aspect on its assistance. In the beginning, Australia only focuses to provide development assistance to Indonesia. It can be seen in 1946 that Australia provides financial assistance to overcome several development issues in Indonesia. Those focus such as improve Indonesia's public utility, agriculture, food and commodity, education, health and social welfare. It is related that at that time, Indonesia still lack of development implementation. Therefore, Indonesia provided by development assistance from Australia.

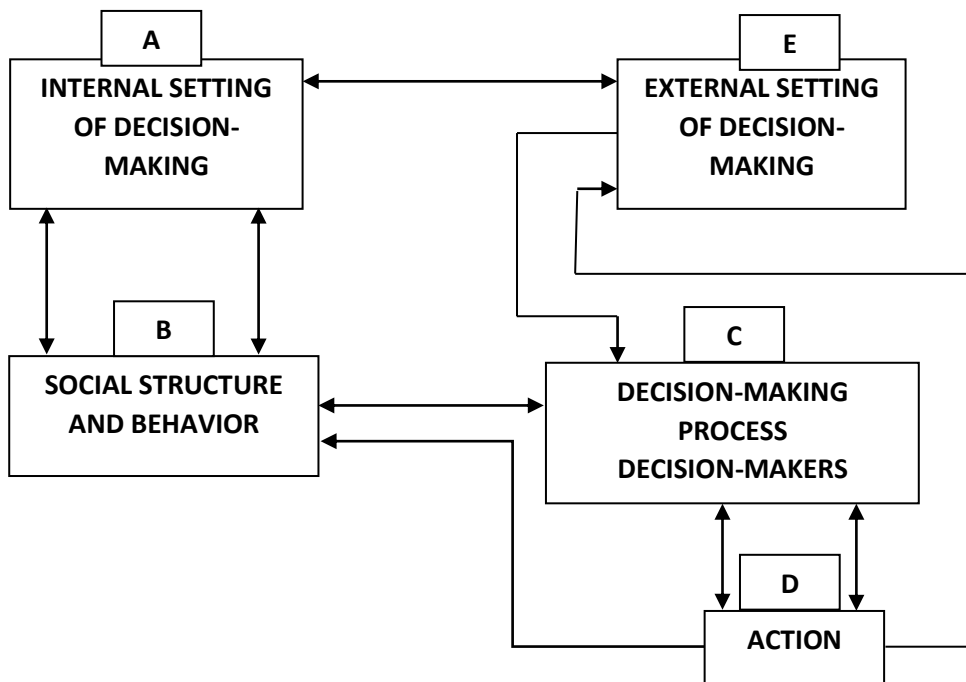
Australia provide development assistance to Indonesia continue until 21st century which also still conduct development program. However, began in 2014, Australia has provide development assistance to Indonesia which focus on gender aspect. It has relation which Australia and Indonesia actually have common interest. Indonesia integrate gender aspect on its development program. Meanwhile, Australia input in its foreign policy which specifically in its overseas assistance. In 2014, actually Australia has established the new strategy framework for development assistance policy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2014). It consist of has several investment priorities to be distributed to developing countries. One of the priorities is gender equality and empowering women and girls. Its commitment actually continues because Australia also input gender aspect in the new strategy of foreign policy which called as White Paper (Foreign Policy White Paper, 2017). It was the beginning of Australia focus to overcome gender issue in its development assistance to Indonesia since 2014 until 2017. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is created which aimed to examine the factor behind Australia inputs gender aspect on its development assistance to Indonesia as the period of 2014 until 2017.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Foreign Policy Decision Making Process**

In the case of Australia which inputs gender aspect on development assistance to Indonesia, there must be an internal factor that influences Australia in the final to have the decision. In other hands, the process while making the decision of foreign policy in the form of aid to Indonesia must be affected by some factors such as internal and external. For analyze it, Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin have been explained specifically the process behind a state decided to make foreign policy by using a perspective of an internal and external factor.

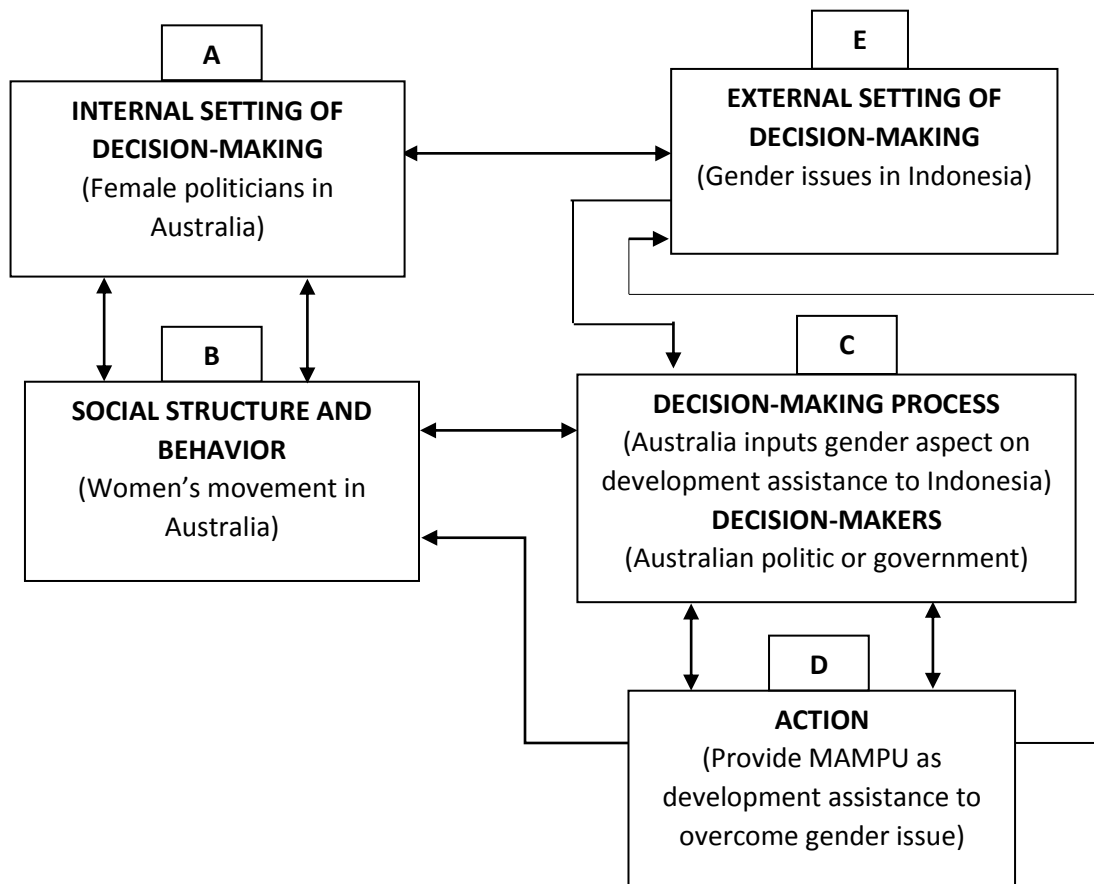
Diagram 1.1 Foreign Policy Decision-Making Processes



Source: (Bruck, Sapin, & Snyder, 2002)

Internal setting of decision-making is identified as domestic politics, public opinion and geographical position. Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin try to explain that the internal setting of decision-making which consists the aspect of nonhuman environment; society; human environment; culture and population. External setting of decision-making is the conditions and factors outside the territorial boundaries of the state. However, external setting consists of nonhuman environment; other cultures; other societies; societies organized and function as states and an act of government. Besides that, social structure and behavior are consisting of major common value orientations; major institutional patterns; major character characteristics of the social organization; role differentiation and specialization; groups consist of kinds and functions; and relevant social processes (Bruck, Sapin, & Snyder, 2002, p. 64). To apply the theory within this thesis, table below will explain the application based on the case:

Diagram 1.2 Application of Decision-Making Process Theory in the Australian Foreign Policy to Input Gender Aspect on its Development Assistance to Indonesia



Australia input gender aspect on its development assistance to Indonesia during 2014 until 2017 because there is an influence of internal and external setting in decision-making process. Internal setting as showed in diagram above that female politician related to Australia known as the first initiator country to involve women's role in its politics. It began with Australia has a history which women have leadership role in politics which is strengthened by Julia Gillard become the first female Prime Minister of Australia in 2012. However, after Julia Gillard becomes the Prime Minister it is emerge the other female politician to have a role in Australian politic. Besides that, Julia Gillard potentially has a big role in decision-making process of foreign policy because of her role.

Social structure and behavior actually become part of internal setting of decision-making. However, based on table above, the influence of internal setting of decision-making in Australian foreign policy comes from social behavior or structure. It is related in 1902, Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902 has established because there is a women's movement specifically the non-indigenous women won the right to have a vote in federal election (Electoral Milestones for Women, 2015). It influences government, which in 1903; women in Australia can have a vote in federal election. This relation is the reason why women's movement can influence the internal setting of decision-making in Australian foreign policy. Internal setting influences come from domestic politics and public opinion. Related to this issue, Australia has created White Paper<sup>1</sup> as the guide to issued policy. One of the foreign policies is a concern for human rights which is gender equality becomes the priority to overcome the issue of human rights in global. As Indonesia still faced by some gender inequality issues, it is related that Australian foreign aid, especially in development, can be addressing the issue well in Indonesia.

Decision-making process is the decision of Australia to input gender aspect on its development assistance to Indonesia. Australian government is become the decision-makers during the process of input gender aspect on development assistance. However, it is related to the period of 2014 until 2017 Indonesia still faced by high poverty and inequality issues. Australia provides a program to Indonesia which focuses on development program through input gender aspect. MAMPU (Empowering Indonesian Women for Poverty Reduction) as the action of Australian government in its commitment to have gender aspect on its development assistance to Indonesia.

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<sup>1</sup> White Paper is the framework of Australian Foreign Policy. The White Paper was launched by the Prime Minister of Australia and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Tourism and Investment on 23 November 2017 in Canberra, Australia.



External setting of decision-making is the condition outside Australia, which based to this thesis topic, is gender issue in Indonesia. This is related to the concept of development and gender which relevant to each other. According to Seers, development concept itself is *an art in improving society in developing countries from poverty, low literacy rate, high unemployment rate and social injustice* (Seers, 1979). It refers to Indonesia as developing countries and still has high poverty and social injustice issues such as gender inequality. In this condition if we look at gender concept can be defined as socially constructed where women's and men's roles in a given culture, it is strengthened by gender concept of Sudarta which said *focusing on differences in roles between men and women, formed by the community in accordance with social norms and socio-cultural values of the people concerned* (Sudarta). Based on differences of roles, in Indonesia, women's role has always become housewife meanwhile men's role will be livelihood seeker. However, in Indonesia women are often to be excluded from the development program, whereas populations in Indonesia are dominated by women. In this condition, most women in Indonesia are often aggrieved because their roles as housewife only, not become the breadwinner. It is because women are not able to improve their economic condition since they should depend on their husband. If this situation continues to happen, some women in Indonesia will face poverty issues.

Related to the issue, the concept of gender equality identifies that human being either women or men should have right to develop their personal abilities and choose without burden limitation which usually set by stereotypes, gender roles or prejudices. If it relates to women's condition in Indonesia seems still far to meet the definition of gender equality. As development's concept refers to social injustice and poverty reduction, it can decrease the unfortunate condition of some women in Indonesia.

Therefore, it is important that gender aspect should be included in development project especially in Indonesia which still facing poverty because of women within gender issue.

## CONTENT

### Internal Factor of Australia inputs Gender in its Assistance to Indonesia

Internal setting or factor of decision-making within the Australian Government in provides Australian aid to Indonesia because there is an influence of female bureaucrat. Firstly, it is related to Australian political record in involving gender equality which in 1903 Australia involves women's role to have a vote and stand in the federal election. Because of the decision, makes Australia become the first initiator country to have a participation of women in their politic. The commitment within their politic to involve women's role continues until the 21st century where women have an opportunity in political leadership which in 2014 specifically in 7 July women contributes 29 percent in the parliament either from the upper House or the lower House (Representation of women in Australia parliaments, 2014). The table below shows female politicians in the parliament which compare with men's participation based in the data of 7 July 2014:

Table 4.1 Composition in Australian Parliaments by Gender and Region

Parliament	Lower House				Upper House				Total for both chambers			
	M	F	T	%F	M	F	T	%F	M	F	T	%F
Commonwealth	110	40	150	<b>26.7</b>	47	29	76	<b>38.2</b>	157	69	226	<b>30.5</b>
New South Wales	74	19	93	<b>20.4</b>	29	13	42	<b>31.0</b>	103	32	135	<b>23.7</b>
Victoria	59	29	88	<b>33.0</b>	27	13	40	<b>32.5</b>	86	42	128	<b>32.8</b>
Queensland	70	19	89	<b>21.3</b>	-	-	-	-	70	19	89	<b>21.3</b>
Western Australia	46	13	59	<b>22.0</b>	21	15	36	<b>41.7</b>	67	28	95	<b>29.5</b>
South Australia	35	12	47	<b>25.5</b>	17	5	22	<b>22.7</b>	52	17	69	<b>24.6</b>
Tasmania	16	9	25	<b>36.0</b>	9	6	15	<b>40.0</b>	25	15	40	<b>37.5</b>
Australia Capital Territory	10	7	17	<b>41.2</b>	-	-	-	-	10	7	17	<b>41.2</b>
Northern Territory	15	10	25	<b>40.0</b>	-	-	-	-	15	10	25	<b>40.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>435</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>539</b>	<b>26.6</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>35.1</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>824</b>	<b>29.0</b>

Source: (Representation of women in Australia parliaments, 2014)

Achievement of Australia in involving gender equality in politics area especially in the leadership position can be seen in 2016 which is the 45th Parliament. During this period is come after the election in 2016 which is the number of women in Parliament increased. Data below will show the portion of women in Parliament which based on various parties in Australia:

Table 4.2 Composition of the 45th Parliament by Party and Gender

Party	Lower House			Upper House			Total Parliament		
	M	F	%F	M	F	%F	M	F	%F
Australian Labor Party	41	28	<b>41</b>	12	14	<b>54</b>	53	42	<b>44</b>
Liberal Party	48	12	<b>20</b>	18	6	<b>25</b>	66	18	<b>21</b>
Nationals	15	1	<b>6</b>	3	2	<b>40</b>	18	3	<b>14</b>
Country Liberal Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Australian Greens	1	-	-	4	5	<b>56</b>	5	5	<b>50</b>
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Family First Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Jacqui Lambie Network	-	-	-	-	1	<b>100</b>	-	1	<b>100</b>
Katter's Australian Party	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Liberal Democratic Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	-	-
Nick Xenophon Team	-	1	<b>100</b>	2	1	<b>33</b>	2	2	<b>50</b>
Pauline Hanson's One Nation	-	-	-	3	1	<b>25</b>	3	1	<b>25</b>
Independents	1	1	<b>50</b>	-	-	-	1	1	<b>50</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>32</b>

Source: (Hough, 2016)

Female politicians' representation in the Australian Parliament is a basic process that will lead to the evidence of an internal factor that makes Australia to inputs gender aspect on development assistance toward Indonesia. I try to assume that by Australia involving women in the Parliament it is the commitment of Australia to increase gender equality in politics area. However, the role of women in the Australian Government can influence the government policy either in national level or international level. We can see that in national level female politicians has already influenced several government policies such as the focus on increasing the access of women in high education specifically university. It can be seen in 2016 that women who have a bachelor

degree have increased to 28 percent from 12.7 percent in 1996 (Kate, 2017). The example of a female politician that take a role in the politic of education area is Margaret Guilfoyle that become Minister for Education in 1975, followed by Susan Ryan in 1984, Amanda Vanstone in 1996, Julie Bishop in 2006 and Julia Gillard in 2007. Moreover, Australia has Workplace Gender Equality Agency that aimed to reduce the gap between men and women, and for the result in 2017 the gap between men's and women's incomes declined to 15.03 percent to 16.02 percent in 2016 (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2017). These achievements are one of evidence that female politicians can influence the government policy to make Australian women get same right as men and prevent the inequality issue arises.

Australian to inputs gender aspect on aid program is considered the policy in international level. However overseas aid to other country is the part of Australian foreign policy which is in this range Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the one who responsible as one of the decision makers besides Prime Minister. Development assistance which there is a gender aspect to Indonesia is in 2014 until 2017; hence during this period Julie Bishop is elected to become the first female of Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2013 until present. An assumption that I want to discuss is Julie Bishop as a female politician that has a role in making foreign policy that involves gender aspect. It is related to her track record before becoming Minister for Foreign Affairs that she is always prioritizing the issue of gender.

Julie Bishop's political career before her role in Ministry of Foreign Affairs she was selected as Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs in 2009. However, her commitment to gender equality is seen when she takes a role to become Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Women's Issue in 2006 until 2007 during the government of John Howard. After Julie Bishop takes a role as Ministry of Foreign

Affairs in 2013, the effective work begins in 2014 which is increase gender equality in foreign policy. Some foreign policies focus on gender equality during Julie Bishop takes a role as Minister of Foreign Affairs and become the commitment of Australian government in gender equality during 2014 until 2017:

- a. Investment Priority on Gender Equality and Women Empowerment (2014)
- b. Gender Equality Fund (2015-2016)
- c. Gender Equality and Women Empowerment's Strategy (2016)
- d. Gender Equality Focuses on Australian Foreign Policy White Paper (2017)

Julie Bishop's passionate on gender equality also showed that she is focused on women empowerment by increasing productivity in the field of the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), especially to encourage women to be more successful in life. It has resulted that 35 percent of women contribute to the technology sectors. Julie wants to empower women to have skills that usually familiar as men's skills. Julie views that women are successful when they achieve same rights as men. For example, by achieving STEM careers. This result is proved that by 2018 Australian girls join in the national Robotics Championship. In her view, the women should be empowered in economy by creating a program to guarantee 940,000 women to have financial access of online banking (Bishop, 2018); during her position as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bishop always shows her platform on gender equality by emphasizing women empowerment as the key part in Australia's policy goals.

Identify the platform of Australian foreign policy during 2014 until 2017 inclining to apply gender equality; however, it is because Julie Bishop becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs. As explained before, Julie Bishop has declared its seriousness in increasing women's rights both in Australia and at the global level. Regarding the hypothesis in chapter I, in policy making of development assistance to Indonesia during

2014 to 2017 there is an influence of a female politician, Julie Bishop. Julie Bishop takes a role as Minister of Foreign Affairs before; she was Minister for Women in 2006. It is considered that the commitment to improve gender equality especially for women is already seen in Julie Bishop since that time. After that, Bishop became Minister of Foreign Affairs which made her the only woman in the ministry cabinet under Tony Abbot government. At that time, Julie felt that she wanted to improve women's voices for women. It is related to the opinions of women are also as brilliant as men who are expected to influence policy programs specifically aimed at women.

Political career as Minister of Foreign Affairs, which began in 2013, Julie Bishop is expected to influence foreign policy that focuses on gender equality. Hence, the number of foreign policies such as the Australian aid program created and once again, issued its commitment to creating the strategy for gender equality and empowering women and girls. From 2014 to 2016, Julie Bishop was very serious about increasing women's rights. Therefore, if it is associated with a question such as who is the actor that influences development assistance to Indonesia, with its policy evidence, it leads to Julie Bishop. However, Julie Bishop is not the only female politician who has a role in influencing policy which focuses on women from 2014 to 2017. After that, I will explain further.

2016 was the year in Australia where women's rights began to become a focus, as Julie Bishop formed the Strategy for Gender Equality and Women Empowerment, Julie Bishop chose an Ambassador for Women to advocate its strategy (Ambassador for Women and Girls). Dr. Sharman Stone became the third Ambassador for Women after Natasha Stott Despoja. The reason why Julie Bishop chose Stone to be an Ambassador for Women can be seen in her political career which Stone showed the struggled to improve women's rights. This related to Stone has played an important role for 20 years

in becoming a federal member who represents Murray and her role in Liberal Party always prioritizing women's rights. In her political career, Stone has fought for women's rights to have a role in politics or other rights. Stone's efforts in promoting women's rights can be seen such as below (Clarke, 2016):

- a. Refusing the prohibition to use abortion pills on women (2006)
- b. Establish a quota system for women (2013)
- c. Reject the impact of cutting assistance to women and children (2013)
- d. Refusing women to pay full wages for leave (2014)

Stone's efforts toward women, she fought at the domestic level, national, and international level before. Hence her career in fighting for the rights of women showed when she was Vice Chair in the Asia-Pacific Population Development Group which was tasked to increase the rights of women and girls in the region. In 2014, Stone delivered the Australian statement of Women's Status at the UN General Assembly and in the same year Stone also played a role in regional dialogue for Pacific women's political leaders and policy-making at Pacific, the Australian-funded Pacific Women's Parliamentary Partnerships Fora and the Women Ministers and Parliamentarians Conference on Progressing Sexual and reproductive health and rights (Ambassador for Women and Girls).

Dr. Sharman Stone's career politics as Women's and Girls Ambassador in 2013, once again proved that Stone also influenced Australian foreign policy. The responsibility of Stone was appointed as an Ambassador to advocate the equality of women's participation in international political, economic and social relations. It was also emphasized that Stone was responsible for implementing gender equality and women's empowerment which is a key to Australia's efforts in diplomatic, development and regional security. Further evidence that Stone was played an important role when she

was Ambassador for Women and Girls in making decisions related to gender equality at all levels either at the domestic or international level.

I believe that in deciding to input gender aspects in Australia's development assistance to Indonesia in 2014 to 2017, Stone has a role in the decision-making process. In addition to being proven in her political career that always fought for women's rights and she is elected as Ambassador for Women and Girls. Hence, after taking office, in 2017 Stone visited Indonesia, Jakarta. Stone and the Indonesian Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection held a discussion. The content of the discussion is about health issues, migrant workers and empowering women such as holding small businesses. Her visit continued to Makassar to meet Islamic women leaders and the region. In her visit to Makassar, Stone will follow a campaign about ending forced marriage and early marriage commonly faced by teenagers in the region in Indonesia. The last series of her visit will meet with local governments related to Australia's program in Indonesia such as Empowering Indonesian Women for Poverty Reduction (MAMPU) (Australian Embassy, 2017). Stone's visit to Indonesia was a series of her duties as an Ambassador for Women and Girls. It shows that her efforts to fight for women's and girls' rights have prevailed in increasing women's voices to be heard.

Internal factor which influences Australia to input gender aspects as explained earlier from domestic or Australian politics itself. Internal factor also influenced by social behavior or structure which can influence the government to make decisions. In this case, it is related to Australian women's thinking about politics and proved by the women's movement which began in the 1900s. As we know that, in 1902 was the year when Australian women in the age of 21 or more could have voting rights in federal elections and stood for the Australian parliament according to the Commonwealth Franchise Act. This policy arises because non-indigenous women have won the right to



vote in federal elections (Gender Equality Milestones, 2018). It is proved in 1908 when Australian women finally had the right to vote in elections in Victoria.

Continued in 1919, Susan Grace Benny became the first women's assembly member in the local government in Australia and 1920; Mary Rogers was also elected to the assembly in Victoria. This women's movement continued which women in Australia can have their votes in federal elections and then in 1943 made a history where women can play a role in the Australia parliament to become a member of the Upper House and Lower House. Enid Lyons became the first woman to be elected to the House of Representatives, and Dorothy Tangney became the first woman to be elected to the Senate. In 1962, through the 1962 Commonwealth Electoral Act which allowed non-indigenous women to have voting rights in federal elections. Rights for non-indigenous women continued to be fought until 1972 when the Victorian Aboriginal and Islander Women's Council voiced and lobbied the Australian government about its concerns. In the same year, 1972 the formation of Women 's Electoral Lobby (WEL) in Melbourne, which fought for women's rights to get protection from violence and discrimination against women, and this movement had a major influence on Australian politics (Gender Equality Milestones, 2018).

Continuation of women's movement in Australia showed again in January 1975 which women's conference established and International Women's Day was also issued at that time about the United Nation Decade for Women in 1975 until 1985. On 19 June 1975, the first World Conference for Women was held in Mexico City where Elizabeth Reid became a representative from Australia to attend the conference (Milestones for Australian women since 1975, 2017). The conference produced several decisions and targets for addressing women's issues such as (Ghodsee, 2010):

**a. Three goals were formed from the conference**

- 1) Enhancing gender equality and reducing gender discrimination

- 2) Increasing women's participation in the development
- 3) Increasing women's contribution to strengthening world peace

**b. Using a theoretical approach**

Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD)

**c. World Plan of Action**

This plan will make the minimum targets expected in 1980 will be achieved by focusing on equal access to women such as education, employment opportunities, political participation, health and nutrition services.

Women's movement in politics continues to show its struggle to have the same rights as men. This was proven after being involved in the International Women's Year in June 1975 to lead Australia to host the first conference on Women and Politics in Canberra in September 1975 (Milestones for Australian women since 1975, 2017). The conference discussed the rights of women who are concerned in the matter of politics and federal government and provide funding to overcome the cause of a problem. One of the goals in the UN Decade in Mexico City is to abolish gender discrimination, therefore Australia specifically South Australia to make the first law on sex discrimination, namely the Discrimination Act on 4 December 1975 and focus on eliminating discrimination on employment and education. The conference then gave influence which in the same year 1975, Margaret Guilfoyle, who previously served as senator, became the first female politician to be elected as federal Cabinet for the Minister of Education and Social Security (Milestones for Australian women since 1975, 2017).

The second World Conference on Women was held again on July 14, 1980, in Copenhagen. This conference discussed the weakness of the relationship between legitimate rights and women's ability to use these rights; the obstacles faced such as lack of recognition of women's contributions to society, attention to women's primary needs in planning and sources of financial needs (World Conference on Women, 2016):

Women's movement continued with Australia as a signatory to the convention to end discrimination against women on August 17, 1983, namely CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) (NGO CSW, 2016). This related to the previous law of the Sex Discrimination Act. As we know that the UN Decade against Women was held until 1985. Finally, in 1985, July 15, the third World Conference on Woman and the end of the UN Decade for Women held in Nairobi. The conference this time produced several agreements such as (1985 World Conference on Women):

**a. Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (NFLS)**

NFSL will be implemented until 2000, which is a strategy to improve the condition of women through the end of the century.

**b. Gender mainstreaming**

Gender mainstreaming is a concept to distinguish between women and men from each policy that has been planned; this involves legislation and programs in all areas and levels.

Role of Australian women in politics continues to increase as in the same year as 1986, Joan Child became the first female Speaker of the House of Representatives on February 11, then Janine Haines became the first woman to lead a political party in the Australian Democrats on August 14. On May 11, 1989, Rosemary Follet was elected as the first woman to become chief minister of the Australian Capital Territory. Carmen Lawrence also became the first woman to be chosen as premier in Western Australia on February 12, 1990. Joan Kirner's premier position was also obtained on August 10, 1990, to become the first premier in Victoria (Gender Equality Milestones, 2018). Regarding the increasing role of women in Australian politics, the Fourth World Conference for Women was held again on September 4, 1995, in Beijing. The fourth conference was

related to the Vienna Conference on Human Rights and discussing women's rights is human rights. It also focuses not only on women but also on the gender concept which recognizes the relationship between women and men. There was a focus on women's empowerment which adopted in the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 1996).

Women's position at the international level continued to be fought by the United Nations on October 31, 2000, the formation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 about Women, Peace, and Security was formed. On August 18, 2001, the female premier continued to increase in Australia which Clare Martin became the first female premier in Australia to be more specific in the Northern Territory. The position of the female premier was also held by Marion Scrymgour where she was the first indigenous woman to become a Portfolio for Family, Community Services, Environment and Heritage for the Northern Territory on December 17, 2003. The state of Queensland also made history to allow Anna Bligh to become the first female premier on September 13, 2007. The level of female leaders in Australia continued to be equal with male politicians where on September 5, 2008, Quentin Bryce became the first female Governor-General in the Australian government. The history of the women's movement in Australian politics was also marked by Sarah Hanson-Young who became the youngest woman to sit in the Federal Parliament and became the youngest Senator at the age of 25 on July 1, 2008. New South Wales also had the first elected female premier on the December 4, 2009, namely Kristina Keneally. The highest level of female politician position, achieved by Julia Gillard, as we know, she was the first Australian Prime Minister on June 24, 2010 (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 1996)

As explained about the UN Security Council made the 1325 resolution of Women, Peace, and Security, Australia on March 8, 2012, also launched the National

Action Plan for Women, Peace, and Security for a six-year period at International Women's Day (Milestones for Australian women since 1975, 2017). Thereafter, Australia's commitment in overcome women's issues it cannot be simply ignored, as we know that Dr. Sharman Stone was elected as Women and Girls Ambassador in 2013, Penny Williams was the first Ambassador for Women and Girls on September 13, 2011 in Australia which its duty is not different from Dr. Sharman Stone. Women's movement in fought for women's rights to political positions and other access continued until Tony Abbot's administration to Malcolm Bigh Trumbull.

After the previous explanation about the milestone of social behavior which in this thesis focus on seeing how Australian women think about politics. We can see why social behavior in Australia can influence internal factors to inputs gender aspects in foreign policy. This is because Australia's domestic politics itself has been filled by several female politicians, from the level of local government, parliament to cabinet ministers. It is related to Australian women from the 1900s felt that they were trying to fight for their votes in the federal election. Then their role to contribute in voting rights is expected to increase their role to be elected members in federal elections. Moreover, the Australian women's movement also focuses on how the government can pay attention to the problems faced by women.

Since the UN Decade for Women, women's movement is not only in the political role but the role of development. Australia had several women's movements before in the aspect of development which also fought for women's rights. The movement was like the Country Women's Association formed in 1922 which focused on the interests of women and children in rural areas. In 1945, the Country Women's Association became a national body because delegates from six federal countries held a vote. Continued in 1972 there was a movement that demanded female workers to be paid

the equally as male workers at around 30% and the policy was called Conciliation and Arbitration Commission. In the same year, there was also a movement to fight for a single mother in Australia to be given financial assistance on condition that a divorced woman or her husband was in prison or a mental hospital (Gender Equality Milestones, 2018). The next year in 1974, the minimum wage for women was granted by the government. In the same year as the start of the UN Decade for Women in 1975, the Australian government was funding for female refugees who were victims of domestic violence.

In 1975, funding for women which become victims of violence were related to Australia was the first country to have the initiative to make budgeting that inputs equality aspects. Started in 1973 was to choose a female adviser to deliver women's issues such as domestic violence in government. In 1974 Women's Affairs Section was formed and in the following year 1975, the program began to be implemented in public service. During this process, the name of the Office of the Status of Women was formed and in 1984 began to form the Women's Budget strategy. The strategy contains reports from all government departments on the impact of their programs on women. Office of the Status of Women was renamed the Office for Women and remained responsible for making Women's Budget statement. The statement consists of progress from National Agenda for Women in 1985 to 1986 and the impact of the program on women. In 1990 to 1995 a booklet was made for the details of Women's Budget which were launched through the Minister of Publications under the name Women 2006-2007 Budget Information (Australia's commitment to gender equality, 2006).

### **External Factor of Australia inputs Gender in its Assistance to Indonesia**

The external factor that influences the Australian Government to inputs gender aspect on development assistance toward Indonesia from 2014 until 2017 is because

women in Indonesia are the poorest and marginalized group. It is related to Indonesia still faced by high poverty which until 2017 that the poverty rate reached 10.12 percent. Use the concept of development which the effort of a country to reduce poverty, social injustice, and unemployment. However, the relation between women and development is related to each other which poverty becomes the main issue in development and women in Indonesia are the poorest and marginalized group. Hence, women issue should become the concern in development because women closely as the important element in achieving the success of the development. The basic way to measure how successful a country in implementing development program especially that focuses on women is through the Human Development Index (HDI) which is the achievement of government in development equally. HDI itself is the percentage of men's and women's development. The table below shows the data of the Human Development Index in Indonesia from 2014 until 2017.

Table 4.1 Index of Human Development (HDI), 2014-2017

	Men				Women			
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017
<b>Index of Human Development</b>	73.36	73.58	74.26	74.85	66.27	66.98	67.44	68.08

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Actually, in HDI between men and women, to measure the disparity or gap of both HDI used the Gender Development Index (GDI). GDI will measure if there is a gap in the HDI of men and women. To analyze the HDI of women are lower, in the table below:

Table 4.2 Index of Gender Development (GDI), 2014-2017

	2014	2015	2016	2017
<b>Index of Gender Development</b>	90.34	91.03	90.82	90.96

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Both tables, either HDI or GDI can be said that the target to increase women's condition such as from poverty and social injustice through the development program still far to meet its success. Because the goal of human development is improving the people's opportunity and freedom to prosperity, but women's index in human development lower and there is still a gap which once again alienates women to have a better condition.

Development is identified to improving some sectors; specifically, development program for women is to increase the access of women in all of aspects. However, some aspects can be said is failed to meet its target which women still lack some access. Therefore, to analyze more about the reason of women in Indonesia become the poorest and marginalized group, I will show several data on each sector such as access of education, health, and employment to prove why women are the right target to receive development assistance either from neither domestic government nor Australia:

#### **a. Education**

Education is important for women, especially to pursue their career in employment; however, the access to education for women is still lower than men. Either they are faced with the financial issue or socially constructed that education for women is not important because they will end up as a housewife also. This stereotype and patriarchy system that makes women always considered to have a lower level or in other words women always behind men. In Indonesia, access to education for women already enough which marked that women also have reached their high education such as a university. However, in level education such as elementary, senior high and junior high school the



participation of girl still lower than a boy. To prove that, I will use the data such as below:

Table 4.3 Participation Rate in Three Levels of School by Gender, 2014-2017

Gender	Participation Rate			
	2014	2015	2016	2017
<b>Elementary school</b>				
Men	96.60	96.55	96.96	97.34
Women	96.29	96.86	96.67	97.04
<b>Junior High School</b>				
Men	75.87	76.16	76.13	77.51
Women	79.28	79.54	79.85	79.34
<b>Senior High School</b>				
Men	58.78	58.74	58.37	59.60
Women	59.95	60.77	61.61	61.18

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Data of participation rate between women and men in three level of Indonesian school can be said the access of women's education has increased. However, within the participation rate, we do not know between men and men that have longer participation in school. This focus can analyze more about the measurement of men and women in education aspect that can help to decrease the Index of Gender Development. IGD can be identified by achievement between the index of men and women in the Average Length of School (ALS). The table below shows the data based on gender in 2014 until 2017:

Table 4.4 Average Length of School (ALS) by Gender, 2014-2017

	2014	2015	2016	2017
<b>Men</b>	8.24	8.35	8.41	8.56
<b>Women</b>	7.23	7.35	7.50	7.65

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Even though each year the ALS between men and women always increased but still women have lower ALS. It is considered that the GDI still has a gap between human development between men and women because women are ALS are shorter than men. It relates that they may not continue their education because of financial issue or some of the girl still trapped in forced or

early marriage. For example in Sulawesi which is the Eastern island of Indonesia, patriarchal Buginese and Makassar's culture which continues to be implemented which young girls should get married that used as dowries (Salenda, 2016). In this case, women are vulnerable become victims of coercion because they are bound by a tradition that they cannot resist and avoid.

Moreover, nowadays in Indonesia, child marriage is in critical level in 2017 that girl under 18 years old getting married, it is related to the regulation in Indonesia about age can women getting married is the minimum of 18 years old. Because it is related to reproductive health that women under 18 years old are vulnerable to face by miscarriage because of the age of the uterus still weak. Therefore, development assistance from Australia such as provides expert to increase the awareness of reproductive health is indeed can address this problem.

**b. Health**

As explained before about reproductive health, unmet need is the example of health service that measures the reproductive age for women and women who want to delay their childbearing without using the method of contraception. However, Unmet needs service for women still low which proves by data below:

Table 4.5 Unmet Need Health Services by Gender, 2015-2016

	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>
Men	4.83	4.39
Women	4.49	4.27

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2015)

**c. Employment**

Gender Development Index in the employment sector will always compare the percentage between men and women in labor force. The last report

in 2017 shows the percentage between men and women through Labor Force Participation Rate (TPAK) in Indonesia show that the rate between men and women still create a gap. In 2017 TPAK of men gets 82.51 percent, while women only get 50.89 percent (Indonesia Investments, 2017). The rate of women is lower than men which only 50.89 percent of women to participate in the labor force; it can be said that women's access to the employment sector still low. However, there is a data from 2014 to 2017 that shows women's access to employment which in professional work, politics and 2014 to 2016 in civil servants:

Table 4.6 Women as Professional Workers and Women's Involvement in Parliament, 2014-2017

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
Women as Professional Workers	45.61	46.03	47.59	46.31
Women's Involvement in Parliament	17.32	17.32	17.32	17.32

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Table 4.7 Numbers of Civil Servants by Gender, 2014-2016

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>
<b>Men</b>	2.288.631	2.335.661	2.217.493
<b>Women</b>	2.166.672	2.222.764	2.156.856

Source: (BAPPENAS, 2016)

Employment sector is related to gender concept which identifies the role between men and women. In Indonesia men always considered become breadwinner and women become a housewife. However, in table 4.6, the assumption seems not true that women, especially in Indonesia, already contribute to the workforce. Related to social construct between men and women's role, it leads that women do not have a choice to become a housewife. Women are considered as a weak individual and men as a strong individual. Through this case, the choice of most women in Indonesia to depend on their

husband or not trying to pursue their career, it can influence to the rate of unemployment. Employment and unemployment are the condition that always becomes the opposite if, in this thesis women related to employment, it obviously will relate to unemployment also. The table below shows the data on unemployment but in a type of underemployment between men and women in Indonesia:

Table 4.8 Underemployment Rate by Gender, 2015 – 2017

	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
Men	8.43	7.63	7.46
Women	8.57	7.50	7.71

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Several data above prove that women still become gender inequality issue in Indonesia. It is related to social injustice against women still arise, from health and employment access. However, as we can see in education access for some women at three levels of school are dominating than men. Once again, women become the poorest and marginalized group in Indonesia because women are often excluded from development. This relates to the situation of Indonesian women in the region as well as being a source of root poverty in Indonesia. The problem of injustice and inequality always become a problem for women. That is the reason Australia decides to involve the gender aspect by focusing on addressing the problems often faced by women.

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