

CHAPTER IV
FACTOR OF AUSTRALIA INPUTS GENDER ASPECT
ON ITS DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO
INDONESIA (2014-2017)

Chapter IV will be answering the research question of this thesis which is the factor that makes Australia to inputs gender aspect on development assistance toward Indonesia in 2014 until 2017. Moreover, this chapter will provide the evidence data or facts of the thesis statement which resulted from using theory and concept. As explained in chapter I, a theory that used in this thesis is foreign policy decision making process by Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin which explained the internal and external of foreign policy decision making. Moreover, there is a concept of development and gender to help the big answer in external factors.

A. Internal Factor of Australia inputs Gender in its Assistance to Indonesia

Internal factor that influences Australia to inputs gender aspect in development assistance to Indonesia comes from Australia itself. Australian Government is the one who initiates to put gender aspect on its Australian aid, so that is why this thesis will identify internal factor within Australia. Based on the theory of Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin with an internal setting of decision-making there is social behavior and structure which will also become the factor in internal that finally, Australia decides to involve gender aspects on their foreign policy. Internal setting of decision-making often related to public opinion and domestic politics, hence I will look after in the Australian government either national or international level. Moreover, in the international-setting decision, there is social behavior or structure which will influence government in making their policy. Therefore, I make a hypothesis that the internal factor of Australia decided to input gender aspect on development assistance to Indonesia

during 2014 until 2017 because in internal of Australia there is an influence of female politician or bureaucrat.

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 in the next page 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

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

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

Table 4.1 shows data of participation in parliament which consists of M is male politicians, F is female politicians, T is for the total number between male and female politicians and %F is for the percentage of female politicians in two houses. As the table above, start with the Lower House or the House of Representatives the comparison between male and female still dominated by male politicians who get 435 chairs and female gets 158 chairs. However, the representation from federal is fulfilled, and there are no empty chairs. The female participation in the Lower House have the biggest contribution comes from Australia Capital Territory for which the percentage was 41.2 percent. It is because of the differences between male and female politicians in the Parliament only three chairs. Moreover, the total number of all the federal countries was 26.6 percent of the female politicians' representation in the Lower House.

Upper House or the Senate we can see that there is less participation of female politicians than in the Lower House. It is related to the quota of the Upper House is less than the Lower House. Moreover, there are empty chairs from Australia Capital Territory and Northern Territory. Commonwealth gives its big contribution again which female politicians get 29 chairs. Western Australia is getting 41.7 percent of the female politicians in the Upper House it is related to the number of females in Western Australia, and the percentage shows the female politicians that get elected in the Parliament. The total percentage of female politicians in the upper house is 35.1 percent which bigger than the Lower House. However, the total percentage of female politicians in both chambers are 29.0 percent which it influences the rank of Australia's female politicians in Parliament wherein 2001 Australia got 20th meanwhile in 2017 declined to rank of 48th (Representation of women in Australia parliaments, 2014). Even though there is a decline, the achievement continues in the next period of Parliament.

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 from table 4.2 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	41	12	14	54	5 3	4 2	44
Liberal Party	48	12	20	18	6	25	6 6	1 8	21
Nationals	15	1	6	3	2	40	1 8	3	14
Country Liberal Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Australian Greens	1	-	-	4	5	56	5	5	50
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Family First Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Jacqui Lambie Network	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	1	100
Katter's Australian Party	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Liberal Democratic Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Nick Xenophon Team	-	1	100	2	1	33	2	2	50
Pauline Hanson's One Nation	-	-	-	3	1	25	3	1	25

Independents	1	1	50	-	-	-	1	1	50
Total	107	43	29	46	30	39	1	7	32
							5	3	
							3		

Source: (Hough, 2016)

The table above shows that various Australian parties that have a portion of male and female politicians in the 45th Parliament which major party such as Australian Labor Party and Liberal Party got a lot of chairs than other minor parties. However female politicians also show their participation in which there were 28 chairs in the Lower House and 14 chairs in the Upper House and compare to men's portion it gets 41 percent and 54 percent. Percentage total of ALP and LP in the Parliament are 44 and 21 percent. Unfortunately, Country Liberal Party, Derryn Hinch's Justice Party, Family First Party and Liberal Democratic Party are not having the portion of female politicians in the Lower House and the Upper House. It is creating the assumption either they do not implement gender equality or their female politicians are not selected in a federal election. But, the important thing that the percentage total of female politicians in two houses is increased from 29 percent in 2014 to 32 percent in 2016. Although in the Parliament number of male politicians still dominate, but it is proven that there is no discrimination in Australia toward women in the administrative area.

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.

Australia 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)

In 2014 which already explained in chapter III, Julie Bishop propose gender equality and empowerment of women and girls be included to become one of priority investment areas in Australian aid program (Commonwealth of Australia, 2014)

b. Gender Equality Fund (2015-2016)

In 2015-2016, establish the Gender Equality Fund which the amount is \$55 million for 2017-2018 to increase the quality of work in gender equality and women's program in the aid program. The Gender Equality Fund improves gender equality investment globally through the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women, The Joint UN Programme on Essential Services for Women and Girls Subject to Violence and The Global Acceleration Instrument for Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action (Gender Initiatives).

c. Gender Equality and Women Empowerment's Strategy (2016)

In chapter III also there is the commitment to gender equality and launched Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Strategy in 2016 which Julie Bishop is the one who initiates that (Commonwealth of Australia, 2016)

d. Gender Equality Focuses on Australian Foreign Policy White Paper (2017)

In Australian Foreign Policy White Paper 2017, Julie Bishop also ensures that gender equality should be involved in foreign policy because it can increase prosperity and stability (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 she 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

Stone's first attempt was in 2006 that she was striving to cancel the prohibition of RU-486 about legalizing the use of abortion pills. However, under Tony Abbot became Minister of Health; he was prohibiting the use of abortion pills. At that time, Stone opposed the prohibition with a reason of women's condition in remote areas are difficult to access of surgical

abortion. Because this relates to women in remote areas should go to the capital for abortion, but if the abortion pill is permitted, they do not need to go to the capital. Hence, the further effort did by Stone will not take part in the voting for the cancellation of RU-486 and participate in the campaign which aimed at the prohibition will not be implemented.

b. Establish a quota system for women

In 2013, Stone proposed a quota system to be implemented in the Liberal Party. This aimed to increase women's quota to have more representative in the Coalition. Another effort is to oppose the chief of staff, Tony Abbot because there are not many female members within the parliament in the government.

c. Reject the impact of cutting assistance to women

In the same year, 2013, Stone made a petition for the government which in the petition was related to the policy of Tony Abbot's government to cut funding for aid programs for developing countries. Its petition asks the government in cutting the assistance does not have an impact on services for women and children.

d. Refusing women to pay full wages for leave

In 2014, Stone petitioned again to reject female workers who had to pay full replacement wages for 26 weeks due to leave. Stone explained that the challenges faced by female workers not only work and make money but also must raise children and take care of the household.

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

This theoretical approach began with the term Women in Development (WID) which was first used by women's movements in developed countries such as the United States. Theoretically, WID shows the thinking about development is a bridge for advancing women and development will be implemented if there is the participation of women which they are not just passive recipients of development assistance, women must be active in development programs (Matthews, 2015).

WID approach must be corrected again because WID is deemed insufficient to overcome the problem of gender inequality and replaced by an approach with the term Women and Development (WAD). WAD is a theoretical

and practical approach, which theoretically shows the thought that there are special development projects for women to eliminate the stereotype that the field of development is only for men. In a practical approach, WAD shows that women with their unique characteristics in integrated into development will eliminate patriarchal injustice

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 (World Conference on Women, 2016):

- a. Lack of recognition of women's contributions to society
- b. Lack of attention to women's primary needs in planning
- c. Lack of sources of financial needs
- d. Lack of awareness among women about the availability of opportunities
- e. Lack of men's involvement in increasing women's role in the society
- f. Role of women in decision-making is low
- g. Lack of services such as co-operatives, day-care centers and credit facility to support the role of women in national life

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. Then it will declare all problems to be women's problems and women's participation in making decisions will be recognized. In this NFSL there are also three categories as a reference for achieving equality at the national level:

- 1) Constitutional and legal steps
- 2) Equity in social participation

3) Equality in political participation and making decisions

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. Gender mainstreaming is only a concept that was first proposed at this conference. Previously there was Gender and Development (GAD) focusing on differences between women and men in facing challenges to existing gender relations and roles (Shepard, 2015). Basically, GAD is not like WID and WAD that only focuses on women but focuses on how women and men can work together to participate in development.

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). BPFA has 11 focus areas

which are important for the advancement of women in the 21st century, and such as (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 1996):

- 1) Women and health
- 2) Women in the conflict area
- 3) Women and the economy
- 4) Women and poverty
- 5) Women in power and decision-making
- 6) Human rights of women
- 7) Girl child
- 8) Women and the environment
- 9) Women's education and training
- 10) Institutional mechanism for women advancement
- 11) Women and the media

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). With all of Australia's achievements in integrating women into gender equality programs, once again women's thinking in fighting for their

rights has been able to influence government policy to concern their problems.

B. 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. 2 Index of Human Development (HDI), 2014-2017

Men				Women			
2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017
73.36	73.58	74.26	74.85	66.27	66.98	67.44	68.08

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Table 4.3 shows the index of development between men and women; however, the social injustice issue still faced by women as we can see in table 4.3. The index of women is

still lower than index of men even though from 2014 to 2017 the index is always increased. Index of men that higher than women can be considered the achievement of human development of men already meets the target. Unfortunately, the development program that should focus on women faced by HDI of women always shows the lower index in the last four years. 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. 3 Index of Gender Development (GDI), 2014-2017

	2014	2015	2016	2017
Index of Gender Development	90.34	91.03	90.82	90.96

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Gender Development Index from 2014 until 2017 is considered high which if the index of GDI gets higher if there is a gap in HDI of women and men. As we can see from table 4.4, the GDI in 2017 increased which can be said the gap in 2017 between HDI of men and women still exist. The GDI between 2015 and 2016 decreased, it is considered that the gap between the HDI of women and men is also decreased. From 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. 4 Participation Rate in Three Levels of School by Gender, 2014-2017

Gender	Participation Rate			
	2014	2015	2016	2017
Elementary school				
Men	96.60	96.55	96.96	97.34
Women	96.29	96.86	96.67	97.04
Junior High School				
Men	75.87	76.16	76.13	77.51
Women	79.28	79.54	79.85	79.34
Senior High School				

Men	58.78	58.74	58.37	59.60
Women	59.95	60.77	61.61	61.18

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Table 4.5 shows the participation rate between men and women in elementary school are dominated by men in 2014, 206 and 2017, in 2015 participation are of women higher than men which 96.86 compared to 96.55. However, the participation rate of men and women in Junior High School and Senior High School is dominated by women from 2014 until 2017. It can be said that the assumption of education access of women in Indonesia is still low, it is not true because in the level of senior and junior women dominating men's participation.

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. 5 Average Length of School (ALS) by Gender, 2014-2017

	2014	2015	2016	2017
Men	8.24	8.35	8.41	8.56
Women	7.23	7.35	7.50	7.65

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

The length of men and women in school based on the table above can be seen that men's ALS are longer than women from 2014 until 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. 6 Unmet Need Health Services by Gender, 2015-2016

	2015	2016
Men	4.83	4.39
Women	4.49	4.27

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2015)

Table 4.7 shows that the percentage of women to have Unmet Need health service, once again, still lower. In 2015 women only get 4.49 percent while men get 4.83 percent. It also happens in 2016 that men get 4.39 percent and women get 4.27 percent. It can be said that health service, especially for Unmet Need, has resulted in low access to women.

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 and politics:

Table 4. 7 Women as Professional Workers and Women's Involvement in Parliament, 2014-2017

	2014	2015	2016	2017
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)

Technology company is the example of a job that needs high ability which is called as professional work. It

can be said that women already achieve their career in the professional field, it is related that women in Indonesia from 2014 until 2017 have some high abilities hence they can participate. We can see the percentage from 2014 always increased but in 2017 decreased to 46.31 percent from 47.59 percent. However, as the average of women in professional work around 45-47 percent, so men's participation fills the rest of the percentage, but still the percentage of women in professional work is increased. Unlike professional work, women's involvement in parliament tends to lower than non-political work. We can see for four consecutive years the percentage of women in parliament did not increase or decrease, it was only stable. Moreover, the data below show the number of government employees between men and women:

Table 4. 8 Numbers of Civil Servants by Gender, 2014-2016

	2014	2015	2016
Men	2.288.631	2.335.661	2.217.493
Women	2.166.672	2.222.764	2.156.856

Source: (BAPPENAS, 2016)

Civil servants in Indonesia become the most favorite field of work which major population in Indonesia is struggling to get a job in civil servants. It is related to civil servants divided into some field such as a teacher, lecturer, staff at the ministry, and staff in public service such as local government. Data above shows the interest of people to work as civil servants and number comparison between men and women who work as civil servants from all the regions in Indonesia. However, three consecutive years the number of female participations in civil servants is always lower than men. Employment access for women always faced with a similar problem which still dominated by men. But still, in recent years

participation of women in the workforce is seen increased.

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 4.9, 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. 9 Underemployment Rate by Gender, 2015 – 2017

	2015	2016	2017
Men	8.43	7.63	7.46
Women	8.57	7.50	7.71

Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017)

Underemployment is the condition which workers who work in low hours (under one-third of normal working hours or less than 35 hours a week), but still want to accept work. Central Bureau of Statistics categorizes underemployment into two types, namely workers who have working hours of less than 35 hours per week because they are included (their own volition), and some are forced. Table 4.10 shows the underemployment between men and women; the women's

rate of underemployment is lower than men's rate from 2015 until 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.