

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The position of women in social life tend to view as the second position, it is mean the women injustice and women as a minority position in social life, that becomes the interesting issue to discuss. Therefore encourage women to unite and demanding equality of their right. The progress of the world has changed the people view toward women, for example, the people view about women in social life, women have to focus in the domestic area, while men have a good position than women. With the development of emancipation cause, women more develop and get equal right to remove violence against women in the world. The inequality between men and women in the world has emerged the feminism ideology, that purpose the feminist for women better life (social) as a fairer place for everyone. (Ritzer, 2012)

Feminism is a cultural movement and political movement that want to change the way women think and change the inequality status between men and women in social life (Gender). The Gender issues are the big issue that discusses the world during renaissance 1648, eventually social, politic and economic situation improve the new idea that encourages the emergence of feminism in 18th century. (Azizah, GENDER dan POLITIK, 2017, p. 8)

The limitation of women participation in the public area has led to discrimination (unfair) toward women, this is caused by the patriarchy culture that is still being implied in the societies. Responding to this phenomenon of the discrimination toward women, Mansour Fakhri divided 5 elements in analyzing discrimination toward women. *First*, marginalization,

that is an elimination process in the economic field to impact women in the economic problem. *Second*, subordination, which is placing women in unimportant positions. *Third*, stereotype, which is labeling women's attitudes that could devalue women's values. *Fourth*, violence toward women, whether it is in a verbal or non-verbal form. *Fifth*, double responsibilities, that is an assumption that women have to be good in both domestic and public field. (Fakih, 2010, p. 15) The lack of women representation in politics caused women to lose their voice in public are.

The French Revolution is the new spirit for women, the different status of citizen phenomenon become strong reactions in French, especially women. Demanding the equality between men and women in the social aspect. The differences citizen status about active and passive citizen also received the responses from others citizen, the emerging of Mary Wollstonecraft idea as a support and comment about women have the same opportunity and quality to participate in building the new social order. This case encourages the emergence of women's identity to demand political right and to form organization as women's struggle, that triggers the deletion of women movement, until release the policy about the prohibition of women's presence in political parades by Napoleon, so that focusing women on the domestic realm and marginalizes toward women.

The violence against women also occurs in capitalist countries. The injustice of women in capitalist countries occurs in the social and economic aspect. In family life, the women in capitalist countries must depend socially and economically on men, when women work in capitalist countries they are exploited. So that the women in capitalist countries rated as a lower class (second class).

As the highest organization in the world, which facilitates the issues of international law,

international security, economic institutions and social protection of nations, the United Nations has an active role in responding the violence against women issues or gender issues, that have been the interest to discuss in international politics in recent years. The United Nations has transmitted the international agenda that focus to discuss gender, and also create the policy that adopted in domestic level, so that create this issues as an international instrument.

In 1967, formed the commission on status of the women, and began interesting to focus on women issues. And after the formed of the commission on status of the women, United Nations also held the first women conference in Mexico in 1975. The conference on women in Mexico is a part of the UN decade. This conference exists because the initiative of NGO (women movement) massively influences the United Nations. In the early 1970s, Women's International Democratic Federation led by Herta Kuusinen sparked "International Women's Years" and this proposal get support from the others NGO from Romanian delegate and also her government, by supporting the Romanian government to presented to Commission, the United Nations adopted the recommendation of "International Women's Years" that later became the beginning of UN Decade. This proves the activity of women movement seriously to build their existence and try hard to influence the international agenda so that continuing the others conferences that focus on the gender equality issue. (Pietila, 2007, p. 39)

All kind of international gender instrument that has been struggling by women movement and adopted by several countries, there is one of the most phenomenal and give big impact to several countries and influence the policy of United Nations. In 1979 the United Nations again held the conference, and from this conference, the women movement get their greatest result, that is the verification of Convention

on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) by United Nations. The verified of CEDAW is the greatest result of international efforts to protect and promote the human right, especially women's right around the world.

CEDAW is a phenomenal program with basic principles of human right and gender equality. There is a lot of countries have verified and also adopted the instrument contained in CEDAW. However, although the norm of gender equality has been institutionalized, but in the practice, the gender gap still exists until today.

In the economic field, according to Institute for Women Policy Research, women are almost half of the workforce they receive more college and graduate degrees than men, yet on average, women continue to earn considerably less than men. In 2015, female full-time, year-round workers made only 80 cents for every dollar earned by men, a gender wage gap of 20 percent. (clark, 2017)

Women discrimination occurs not only in the economic field but also in the political aspect. This is caused by societies' assumption that politics is for men. Women authority or women competence in politics (gender equality) have been focused on in many countries, including Indonesia. The Indonesian government has been giving authority for women by creating law as of obligation and women rights in politics. Women representations in public area have important roles in justice, legitimacy, stability, and symbol of politics. The activists in politics (women movement) and politicians that are fighting to increase the number of women's role in labor force usually stated that women will make difference in politics and they can meet perspectives, needs, and women interests.

Not only the emergence of CEDAW the advocacy of Women's International Democratic

Federation in 1970 has successful influence political condition and trigger several women conference as the opportunity of women's movement around the world to unite each other, From the fourth conference of women in Beijing has produced several objectives that became influence Millennium Development Goals in Millennium Summit 2000 in New York, And also became the commitments of United Nations and the member states to remove the discrimination against women in the world.

On September 6-8 2000, the United Nations held a summit in New York, United States. The conference attended by heads of states and all of the head government the United Nations member states, who have committed to struggle together to create the world more prosperous, justice and peaceful. The agreement of this commitment become the formation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that discussed at the Summit conference in New York. (UNDP, 2016)

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is the roadmaps for the implementation of the millennium declaration that have been agreeing by 189 government in UN Millennium Summit, there are several commitment that is the main objectives in the declaration, there are, first to promote gender equality and women empowerment as an effective way to combat poverty, hunger, and disease to stimulate sustainable development, second to understanding the equal right and opportunities of women and men and the last is to promising to combat all forms of discrimination against women to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), from this committees result eight objectives of MDGs. There are eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve

maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and develop a global partnership for development. (UNDP, 2016)

Therefore, to know about the struggle of the women movement in advocating the principle of gender equality in international level is very important. There are a lot of international agendas discussing gender issues, and this is not the short process, it is the long process which can be accepted by the domestic and international community, through international politics women's movement had successfully implement the gender principle in Millennium Development Goals as the United Nations and the member state's commitment.

B. Research Question

Base on the background above, the research question the writer about "How does the advocacy of women movement influence Millennium Development Goals?"

C. Theoretical Framework

1. Transnational Advocacy Networks Concept (TANs)

Transnational Advocacy Networks is a network of advocacy activities involving the activist from two or more countries that working together to achieve a goal or establish the networks with the activist from other countries.

In another term, Transnational Advocacy is the structure of communication which is the members of this structure motivated by the same of the ideas, values. And they exchange information in a voluntary way. And have a shared discourse by working together to promote issues or the new phenomenon.

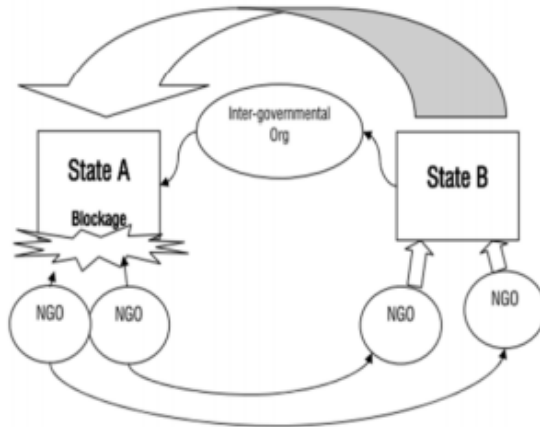
The actor incorporated in the concept of transnational advocacy networks does not rely on coercive ways, they spread their ideology by several propaganda, which is increasing influence over time so that make the issues adopted by the domestic and international community.

According to Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Transnational Advocacy Networks has the unique way of organizing and promoting ideas and norm, in promoting the issues and norm often involving individuals to participate in advocating the policy. In the campaign, often bring the special backgrounds, and also contribute to a decision-making process that only can access by state. These advocacy networks open that access by using their interest in the international agenda. In additional term, they use the issues by society to be accepted by public opinion. (Margaret E. Keck, 1998)

According to the concept of transnational advocacy networks, there are several actors that can give the contribution to advocacy, such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), local social movement, foundations, media, religious organization, trading actors, regional organization, intergovernmental organization, and executive or government. However, to form transnational advocacy networks, it is not necessary for all actors to be incorporated, with only a few actors such as government, activist and local social movement, the advocacy networks being established and running.

Transnational Advocacy Networks often have the disruption to access domestic arena in some country. According to Margaret and Sikkink, to solve this problem, TANs using the connections between international networks, and this model call as "Boomerang pattern". (Margaret E. Keck, 1998)

Figure 1. "Boomerang Pattern" The Model of Advocacy Network in International Politics by Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink



The interaction model of TANs is the Boomerang pattern, this pattern emerges because the disruption of domestic actors to share their aspiration to their government so that they take the step to build networks with international actors and get support from international actor to struggle and pressure by external pressure. To perform this interaction pattern, Margaret and Sikkink divided into four strategies, namely Information politics, Symbolic politics, leverage politics and accountability politics.

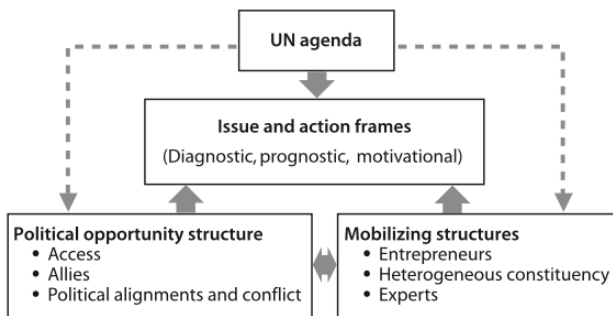
The information politics strategy is the collection and provision of information conducted by TANs to the public and also dramatize the fact by the victim to attract attention by the public. The strategy of symbolic politic is creating ceremony or commemorations of special days to remind society about the issue that struggles by TANs so that the issues come mutual concern. The strategy of leverage politics is a strategy to leverage or synchronization issues with the prestige of the state, the goal is to make

government interest with the issues and encourage the cooperation between government and foreign-run well, in this case, the advocacy networks will use the influence of world bank, IMF and others. The strategy of accountability politics is the strategy to improve government to always pay attention to policies and the agreement with international values.

2. Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of media in social life, it means the ability of media to create propaganda in society by spread the important issues. Agenda-setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. Two basic assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting: (1) the press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it; (2) media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. One of the most critical aspects in the concept of an agenda-setting role of mass communication is the time frame for this phenomenon. In addition, different media have different agenda-setting potential. Agenda-setting theory seems quite appropriate to help us understand the pervasive role of the media (for example on political communication systems). (University of Twente, 2017)

Figure 2. The process of Agenda-Setting NGO Influence UN Agenda by Jutta M. Joachim



Recently the relationship between media and politics become the issue that growing attention by the political scientist. Any issues raised by the mass media will be an interesting topic to discuss in politics. Agenda setting trying to explain how the issue becomes topic that must be discussed in public, and influence the political actors (government, parliament, political parties, and also international organization). Political scientist focuses their discussion on the agenda setting in public area, how the issues bring by media influence political actor, so that create new agenda (example conference) and then influence other political actors that create common policy.

According to Jutta M. Joachim, Non-government Organization are important actors in advocating thought influence international organization. There are several things in international agenda advocacy by NGO's:

1. Political opportunity structure
Political opportunity structure is the changing political constellations, influential allies, and access to the institution can provide windows for effective advocacy.
2. Mobilization structures

Only groups that have adequate mobilization structures and capacity may effectively utilize these windows, the capacity is defined as entrepreneurship, a heterogeneous international constituency, and credibility.

3. Framing strategy

Finally, groups have to find the right framing strategy to tap into arguments their target audiences find resonant and credible (The point of public accept the issues) (Busby, 2017)

D. Hypothesis

According to the analyze by using theory Agenda Setting and Transnational Advocacy Networks concept, the advocacy of women movement influences UN policy by:

1. The opening of political opportunity (window of opportunity), which is open the access of women movement to the alliance with the international elite that triggering the growth of the international movement, through various international forums.
2. Taking collective action by establishing Transnational advocacy networks.
3. Framing issues or integrating women issues and gender issues in the international forum to influence the policy

E. Research Methodology

In order to get data, the witter use a library research method by looking for references that are related to the subject of this research. This method is done by collecting references, whether it is in the form of a book, article, newspaper, and also electronic data.

In this research, the witter use quantitative research, which means this research focuses more on measuring aspects with an objective way towards social phenomenon. To be able to do the measuring, in

every social phenomenon is classified into some problem components, variable, and indicators.

F. Scope of Research

In this research the writer focus to discuss the process of women movement advocating the UN policy, especially the advocacy of Women's International Democratic Federation influence Millennium Development Goals in 2000 until 2015. Therefore the norm of gender equality implement by several countries including Indonesia.

G. Purpose of Research

The objectives of this research are:

1. Describe the obstacles that face by women movement in advocating the gender equality
2. Describe the influence of women movement in International Politics

H. Systematic of Research

Chapter I

In chapter I, the writer will explain about the background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methodology, the scope of research, the purpose of research, and also systematic of research.

Chapter II

In this chapter, the writer will discuss the emerging of historical feminism in the world, the obstacles faced by feminism early, and accepted the gender equality norm in United Nations

Chapter III

In this chapter, the writer will discuss the progress (steps) of advocacy by women movement influence UN policy and International Politics

Chapter IV

In this chapter, the writer will discuss the framing process, how the gender issues become the important issues and can influence the United Nations Policy.

Chapter V

This chapter is the last chapter, the closing part of the research, and will discuss the result of the research (conclusion).