

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN STRUGGLE IN THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

A. Millennium Summit

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) are the road maps 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:

1. Promote gender equality and women empowerment as an effective way to combat poverty, hunger, and disease to stimulate sustainable development
2. Understanding the equal right and opportunities of women and men
3. Promising to combat all forms of discrimination against women to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The Millennium Development Goals not the United Nations goal, it is the goals and the responsibilities of all countries that have participate and also have committed to the Millennium conference, including for the domestic people and international level. MDGs have eight objectives and eighteen targets, and all of the objectives are related to each other, and also MDGs have time to achieve the objectives of reporting with comparative indicators internationally.

The creation of collective action from the Millennium conference is a great achievement of women's struggle, the implementation the value of women's struggle on MDGs will never occur without the long process of advocacy women's movement since 1919 until 2015. The existence of women issues on MDGs cannot be separated from the active mobilizing of women's movement, activist, and also the action or the responsibilities of scientist toward advocacy international politics. (Kabeer, 2005)

With the wide networking of women's organizations and also the experience of women lobbying in many conferences before, the women's activist has been delivered the women issues become the important issues to discuss in international agenda. It is because the expert on women's movement influencing the international agenda. According to Jutta M. Joachim, the advocacy did by women's movement cannot be separated into three important steps, there is the political opportunity, mobilizing, and also farming process. The success of women's movement influencing the international agenda at the various conferences before has led to the implementation of gender in Millennium Development Goals. According to the writer, from many of conferences that have been attended by women's organizations as well as actively participating, the UN decade become a determinant the women's movement advocacy toward influencing the Millennium Development Goals. Start from the first women conference in Mexico until the fourth women conference in Beijing. The success of women's movement influences the establishment of the League of Nations and also the establishment the United Nations has changed the world political constellation. In 1975 the general assembly declare 1975 as the International Women's Year, that aim to focus the United Nations and member states pay attention to women issues has show the successful women's movement, especially Women International Democratic Federation in collaboration with the Romanian government and NGOs to influence international agenda, so that the International Women's Year was able to encourage the United Nations to declare the UN

decade (1976-1985). With the declaration UN decade in 1976-1985, it has encourage the growth of women's organization in various countries and also open the access between women's organization and international elite, so that open the opportunity (window of opportunity) to women's organization to access international institution and also access to other women's organization in international level. This is an important step of women's movement advocacy toward international agenda, which Jutta call as the Political Opportunities.

To encourage the achievement of the UN Decade for women, the United Nations held a women conference in 1975 as the Mexico conference, in 1980 as Copenhagen conference, in 1985 as Nairobi conference, and also following the Beijing conference in 1995. These conferences emerge because the launch of the UN Decade for Women by United Nations, this conferences has open the access for women's movement cross-border by the conferences access, through the accessing the conferences then encourage women's movement to establish the feminist networks around the world to advocate the women empowerment in the social, economic and politics in various countries. The series of conferences has become the opportunity women's movement in taking action in lobbying and campaign the gender equality. The Copenhagen conference in 1980 attended more than 8000 women activist, and also successfully adopted CEDAW which signed by 60 UN members states, it is the concrete example the successful advocacy of international women movement at the United Nations to us the international norm to pressure the government, so that the government guarantee the policy that nothing discrimination against women in various countries. The enthusiast of women's movement increase during the Nairobi conference in 1985 by attending 15000 participants and also Beijing conference attended 40000 participants and 3000 NGOs, this shows the enthusiast of society for the important issues discuss in several conferences. The UN Decade for Women in 1976-1985 has facilitated the birth of

international women's movement organizations as transnational advocacy. (Pietila, 2007, p. 84), such as:

1. ISIS International

ISIS international was formed in 1974, ISIS International is the feminist advocacy organization that involves on the analyze of women issues, and also improve the quality of women's movement in using the media as the communication tool for build network and support the women's movement in other countries for advocacy. The advocacy of feminist group in 1974 for women's empowerment and women's right trigger the formed of ISIS to set up women's movement communication around the world, so that can share the struggles and the strategy of women's movement around the world as the women's movement solidarity. (ISIS International, 2018)

2. The International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC)

IWTC is an international non-governmental organization established in 1976 following the UN International Women's Year World Conference in Mexico City. With a philosophical commitment to empowering people and building communities, IWTC provides communication, information, education, and organizes support services to women's organizations and community groups working to improve the lives of women, particularly low-income women, in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, Eastern Europe and Western Asia. IWCT is based in New York. (Yale College, 2018)

3. Association for Women's Right in Development (AWID)

Association for Women's Right in Development established in 1982, AWID is international feminist network or the dynamic network of women around the world, the members of Association for Women's Right in Development are students, activists, Academics, and Policy-makers. The mission of Association for Women's Right in Development is the strengthen women voice to advocate women's right, and also to achieving gender equality as women's human right around the world, the headquarters of Association for

Women's Right in Development in Canada. (AWID, 2009)

4. The International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC)

International Women's Health Coalition established in 1984 since 1984 International Women's Health Coalition has acted to influence the world politics to achieve the gender equality in domestic and international level. The International Women's Health Coalition established in New York, The mission of International Women's Health Coalition is connected the women issues in domestic level to international communities, so that can influence the international policy to improve the sexual and reproductive health and right of women around the world, especially in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and also Eastern Europe. (IWHC, 2018)

5. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN)

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) established in 1984 as the women's organization network from the economic South that working to economic field, gender justice and also sustainable democratic development, the Development Alternative with Women for a New Era focus to discuss and analyze the global issues that face by women, especially the poverty and marginalized women issues in South regions. DAWN also struggle to support women mobilization in domestic and international advocacy so that can develop the feminist alternative. Since 1984 DAWN has recognized as significant women network analysis in South countries on development and gender equality. (DAWN, 2018)

6. International Women's Right Action Watch (IWRAP)

The International Women's Right Action Watch established in 1985, The International Women's Right Action Watch establish in Nairobi Conference to promote the

recognition of women's human right on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) as the international treaty of human right. IWRAP become the umbrella organization for women's movement to build the communication between women's movement around the world and serves the activists. IWRAP lead by Dr. Marsha A. Freeman, and base at the University of Minnesota in the United States. (University of Minnesota, 2012)

7. The Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL)

The Center for Women's Global Leadership established by Charlotte Bunch in 1989, CWGL has been instrumental in fostering women's leadership in the human right field, UN monitoring and advocacy, and also a development of central resources. It is to achieve a strategic goal by using human right issues. CWGL become a major role in demanding toward women's right in the world. In 1990s CWGL focus fostered women's leadership by several issues, to achieve the goal, CWGL divided the program into two focuses, the first program including advocacy policy and the second the development leadership and women's human right education, with human right perspective as the solving problem of women issues. (Rutgers University, 2009)

8. Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO)

Women's Environment and Development Organization is the global advocacy organization to ensure women's right, social, economic and environmental justice, and also women's empowerment to claim the right of women in decision-making process especially in environment and sustainable development. WEDO established in 1991 and lead by Bella Abzug, Bella Abzug is the activist that struggle for the right to voice of women, WEDO based in New York, to achieve the healthy and peaceful condition of world by women's empowerment, WEDO try to unite women's movement around the world through the opportunities of women conference and also the opportunity in another international policy forum. (WEDO, 2004)

9. Women Living under Muslim Laws (WLUML)

Women Living under Muslim Laws is the international solidarity of Muslim network as the communication forum to support the women right base on Islam, Women Living under Muslim Laws established in 1984 in response to the problem that faced by women, especially women in Islamic countries, Women Living Under Muslim Laws base in London, in 1984 there are several Muslim women from the Action Committee of Women Living Under Muslim Laws to support the women right, and in 1986 this group become the women network and more than 70 countries joint in this network. (WLUML, 2014)

10. The KARAT Coalition

The KARAT Coalition is the Coalition of organization and activists to ensure gender equality, especially in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. KARAT established in 1997 as women movement and NGOs network to promote and also apply the principles of the Beijing Platform for Action as the outcome of the Beijing conference. There are 63 organization around the world join in KARAT, KARAT focus inequality, social justice and social change, and the activities of KARAT is to build the international network as monitoring organization, lobbying, and advocacy organization, to support gender equality. (Batory, 2018)

This is the mobilizing structure of women's movement to take advantage of the window opportunity, so that the ability to mobilize women's movement in window opportunity create the collective movement and actions, and also formulate the international women's movement as the transnational advocacy networks.

There are three major issues that become the slogan of the United Nations in 1945 until 2005. There are Equality, Development, and Peace. (Azizah, *Advokasi Kuota Perempuan di Indonesia*, 2013, pp. 25-31) In 1945-2005 women's movement very massive influencing the international agenda, one factor that makes women's movement success in advocating international agenda is the expertise of women's

movement in framing issue. According to Snow and Benford, social movement organizations must be able to frame issue strategically, so that the society feel the existence of social injustice, so that the social support and also participate to take collective action. The framing process is needed by the social movement to make the thing that struggles with social movement fill by domestic and international level so that the decision maker pay attention before creating policy.

The success of women movement in integrating women issues and gender in international forum cause the expertise of women movement in framing issue, there are several examples of framing process of women's movement that becomes the center of attention international community are the frame of "women's right as the human right". (Pietila, 2007, p. 21) Discussion about human right will not complete without talking about women right. Women's movement framing the issue of the human right to urge the society to give attention to the human right violations against women. Namely, women trafficking. The "women's right as the human right" has been united the women in the world to discuss this issue in the international forum so that the union of women's movement has been influenced the Millennium Development Goals. Not only about the human right issue, women's movement also framing the issue of democracy and economics, with the framing is "common good", "economic growth", "democratization and human right" and "sustainable human development". Through the shrew of women's movement in lobbying and framing issue, women's movement has been delivered the slogan to the decade of women as Equality, Development, and Peace. This is the framing process did by women's movement in the influencing the international agenda, which then can influence the commitment of member states to implement the Millennium Development Goals.

B. MDGs, Beijing PFA and women roles

The contributions of women's movement have been lots of progress in civilization in the world, the contribution of women's movement from the 18th century until 20th century

has a lot of positive impact in domestic and international level. The massive struggle of women's movement in the 1970s has helped to minimize hunger and poverty that recognize by the international community. The advocacy women's movement in Mexico city was established the Beijing Platform for Action as the tool to solve the world problems, at the same time, the successful implementation of CEDAW and BPfA as the major indicator of achievement Millennium Development Goals. In the fact, five of the MDGs point is the values from Beijing Platform for Action. All of the commitment the member states to create better world condition that contained in Millennium Development Goals is very relevant with women issues, and the women's struggle is the key to achieving the goals, without the women's movement struggle of gender equality and women empowerment, the Millennium Development Goals cannot be achieved. (UN Chronicle, 2007)

In the opening Beijing+10 session of the CSW, Kofi Annan as the UN secretary general argue that the interaction between the Millennium declaration and Beijing PFA very strong, sixty years passed the formulation of United Nations and what was contained of UN charter in the first page which explains the equality rights between men and women are the solution to the problem that we face, he also argue that there are no tools effectively to achieve the development but women's empowerment. (Pietila, 2007, p. 98)

All contents of the Beijing Platform for Action are the instrument of women empowerment to solve the problem that faced by women in the world, according to the World Bank, promoting education, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health and reducing vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, is the one step to alleviate poverty, because indirectly it will affect the participation, productivity and income of women better and more improve, so that involving women as decision makers in the household is the way to achieve social prosperous. (UN Chronicle, 2007)

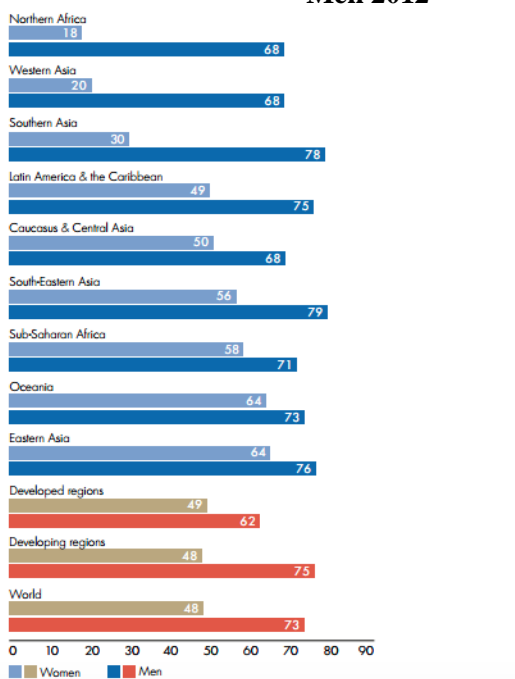
With the adoption of Beijing PFA and CEDAW in the Millennium Development Goals it proves the success of women's organization in advocating international institutions,

the implementation of MDGs as commitment the United Nations and member state to minimize discrimination against women, and make the condition of women better than before, this can be seen from the objectives Millennium Development Goals:

1. Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger

According to the survey of Millennium Development Goals in 2013, there was decrease world poverty, the decreasing poverty in the world faster than the target set, and there are decreasing in extreme poverty in various countries. However, the gender gap in employment continues even though the rate of female employment increases. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013, p. 8)

Figure 4. Employment to Population Ratio, Women and Men 2012



The UN women have the fundamental role in food security by distributing fairer assets to solve the problems so that women can achieve higher agricultural productivity. The UN women also work to resolve the legal issues of women economic empowerment (such as the right of land, inheritance of credit access), this is to overcome the poverty of women. UN women focus on ensuring social protection and equal employment rights for women and men. In this case, UN women help to open employment opportunities for women, but the job has to maintain social respect for women so that women have a role in household life and can minimize discrimination of women.

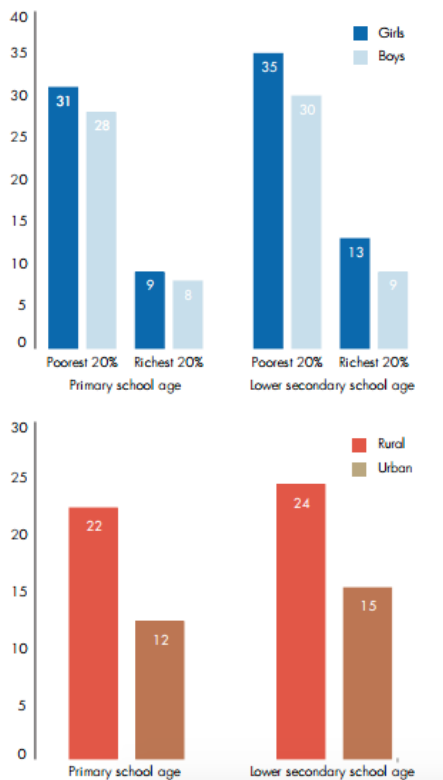
According from the Indonesian government report, Indonesia has made efforts to overcome poverty and hunger of its population. These efforts have also succeeded in reducing extreme poverty, namely the proportion of the population living with per capita income of less than 1 US dollar per day, from 20.6 percent in 1990 to 5.9 percent in 2008. In the period 1999-2004, the number of poor people in Indonesia experienced a significant decline of 11.9 million, from 48 million to 36.1 million. The decline occurred again in the period 2004-2009, although the number was not as large as the previous period, which was as many as 3.6 million people. In the 2009-2011 period, the number of poor people in Indonesia also experienced a decline even though the number was getting smaller and fewer, namely 2.6 million people. In September 2012 the number of poor people in Indonesia also decreased by 0.54 million people (0.3 percent) from March 2012, the number of which has reached 29.13 million people (11.96 percent) to 28.59 million people (11, 66 percent). In addition, Indonesia has also raised the size of the poverty reduction target and will pay special attention to reducing the poverty rate measured against the national poverty line from 13.33 percent in 2010 to 8-10 percent in 2014. With this explanation, Indonesia has succeeded in reducing poverty in 2015. (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010)

2. Achieve Universal Primary Education

Registration in education in developing countries reached 90% in 2011, this indicates that after the commitment of countries to MDGs has encouraged the increase in education aspect. In 63 developing countries, the girl tends to drop out of school than boys. Although there has been an increase in education, the gender gap still exists. In response, in this case, UN women focus to increase the completion of girl school. As well as improving the conditions of school for girl (infrastructure), From the report by UN Women, the problem faced by girls in education aspect related to the mothers education, a mother who has more education will be easier to support their children to participate in education, in this case UN women also empower women through education and economic opportunity, with the aim help women to better position in household making easier for mother to take decision to their children, especially for school, and also UN women also participate in campaign about the economic problem related the presence of girl in school. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013, p. 15)

Indonesia's efforts to achieve the MDG target of education basic and literacy have led to the achievement of the target 2015 (on-track). Even Indonesia sets basic education to exceed the MDG target by adding secondary schools first as the target of universal basic education. In the year of 2008/09 Gross enrollment rate (APK) of SD / MI including Package A has reached 116.77 percent and the net enrollment rate (APM) is around 95.23 percent. The main challenge in accelerating the achievement of MDG education targets is increasing equitable access to all children, both men and women, to get the quality basic education in all regions. (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010)

Figure 5. Primary and lower secondary school age children out of school by household wealth, sex, urban and rural areas, 63 countries, 2005-2011



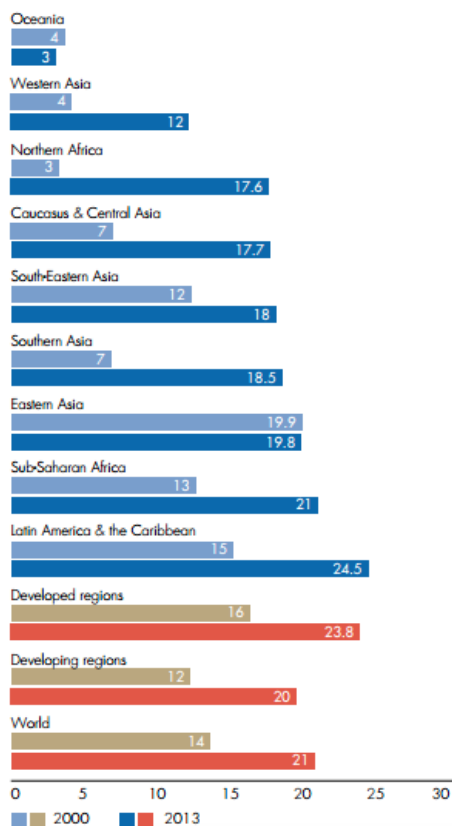
3. Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women

The MDGs target is to eliminate the gender gap in education from 2005 until 2015 in all of level education. In this case to women empowerment and promote gender equality, UN women work together with partners to promote education for women, and also promote women participation in politics, economic and leadership, the women empowerment is the main goals of UN women, this is to increase women participation in politics and improve the women right.

In 2013, 21.8% of women as members of parliament (lower houses) and 19.4% as senators (upper houses), this shows the growth 12% from 1997, the increasing women position in parliament is an indicator of the success of women empowerment. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013, p. 22)

According to the report from the Indonesian government, gender equality in Indonesia has increased considerably, both in education and in the political level, women's participation in education has increased from previous years, in 2009 the ratio of women to education reached 99.85%, this has achieved gender equality in education what you want to achieve in 2015. (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010) In the political sphere, women's participation has also increased, this cannot be separated from the advocacy of the Indonesian women's movement in Indonesian politics, this achievement supported by Indonesian women's movement, there are Gerakan Pemberdayaan Suara Perempuan (GPSP), SP, and also Koalisi Perempuan Politik Indonesia (KPPI) in advocating gender equality in politics of Indonesia. (Azizah, *Advokasi Kuota Perempuan di Indonesia*, 2013, p. 125)

Figure 6. The proportion of seats held by women in single or lower houses of national parliament 2000-2013



4. Reduce Child Mortality

The emerging of MDGs has decrease the mortality rate of child 41% from 1990 until 2012, to achieve the reduce child mortality, UN women work to prioritize maternal health, the mortality of child trigger by the health of pregnant women, therefore, the health of pregnant women become the indicator the health of child, UN women focus on the case of violence against women, that can be give the bad impact for child, UN women also influence the law and the attitude of society with

focus in girl and women access in health to reduce child mortality. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013)

The infant mortality rate in Indonesia shows a decline quite significant from 68 in 1991 to 34 per 1,000 live birth in 2007, resulting in a target of 23 per 1,000 live births in 2015 are expected to be achieved. However, regional disparities still occur in achieving the target reflecting differences in access to health services, especially in regions poor and remote. (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010)

5. Improve Maternal Health

The improving the maternal health is an important aspect to achieve the target that has committed by various countries during the millennium summit, in globally, the maternal mortality has decreased 47% over two decades, but need the great strategy for United Nations to achieve this target, and the women's empowerment is strategy to achieve all of MDGs, UN women in this case focus in marriage case, which is the early marriage too risk to mother and also her child, to achieve this target, UN women focus to improve the position of women in household and improve the condition of women in economic aspect, so that can decrease the early marriage and also improve the access health for women. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013)

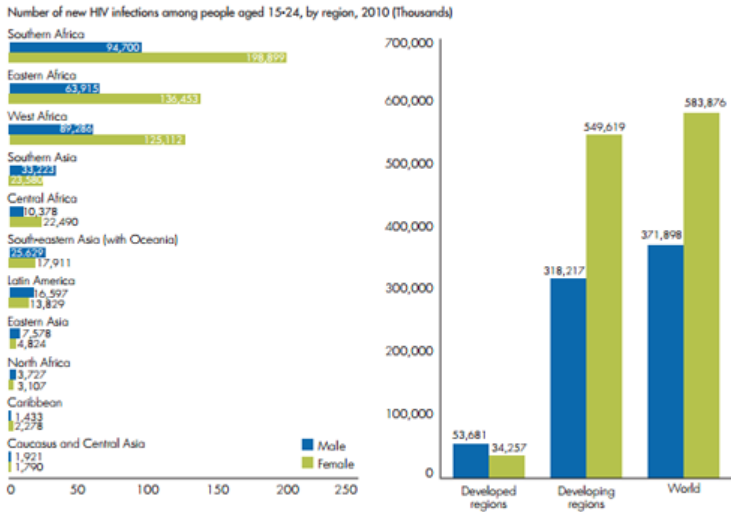
All of MDG targets, the performance of the maternal mortality rate decreased globally still low. In Indonesia, MMR (Maternal Mortality Ratio) decreased from 390 in 1991 to 228 per 100,000 live births in 2007. Efforts to reduce maternal mortality rates are supported also by increasing the number of contraceptive use and reducing unmet need which is done through increasing access and quality of family planning and health services reproduction. Going forward, efforts to improve maternal health are prioritized on expansion quality health services, comprehensive obstetric services, improvement of family planning services and dissemination of communication, information and education to the community. (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010)

6. Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other Diseases

Combat the spread of HIV/AIDS and achieving the health access in 2010 is the target United Nations, with the launch the MDGs the rate of HIV incidence in most regions while the women living who infection the HIV increase. According to UN AIDS report, 2.3 million people infected HIV, and the young women tend to infection HIV, women aged 15-24 have 50% higher HIV infection than men, the factor is the economic and the status social of women itself. However, the UN target in universal access in 2010 was not achieved. Responding to this case, UN women collaborate to government to eliminate the discrimination against women, this case cannot be solve without the role of government to apply the law that eliminate the discrimination against women, and also solve the poverty problem, because of the low position of women and the bad condition of women in economic trigger the early marriage, rape, sexual exploitation, and women trafficking. To solve this problem United Nations have to support fully and also ensure the gender equality apply in the international community. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013)

In Indonesia HIV / AIDS prevalence rates tend to increase, especially in high-risk groups, namely drug users injections and sex workers. The number of reported HIV / AIDS cases in Indonesia doubled between 2004 and 2005. The malaria incidence per 1,000 population decreased from 4.68 in 1990 to 1.85 in 2009. (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010)

Figure 7. HIV infections take place among young women

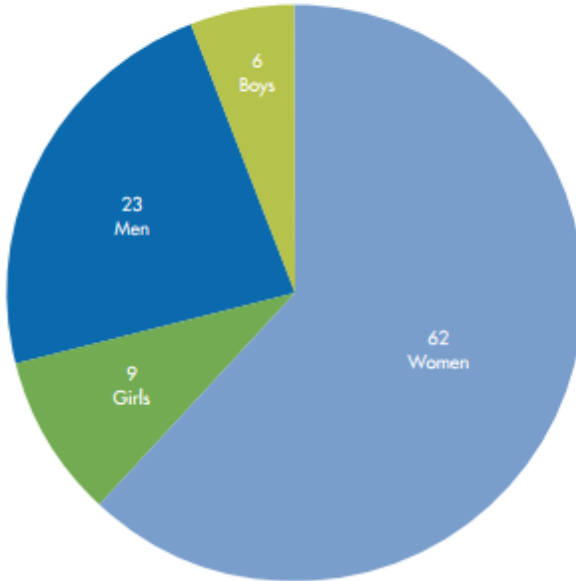


7. Ensure Environmental Sustainability

In this goal, the UN wants the integration of the sustainable development principle with the program policies in various countries, this is to support the drink and sanitation access. The access to water (drink) and also sanitation very important to women health, the bad level of sanitation and the far access to water in rural area caused the women to get the bad impact, in 1990 almost 49% of the world population has improved sanitation, the improvement of sanitation condition and also the access of water will reduce the morality of women. In response, this case UN women take part in solve the problem with the government to improve the policy and also programs to attention about women needs and will sustainable. UN women also advocating the women empowerment in mitigating and adapting to climate change, this is to achieve the target and reduce the mortality rate of women. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013, p. 54)

Figure 8. Women bear the main burden of collecting water

Distribution of the water collection burden among women, children under age 15 and men, in households without piped water on premises, sub-Saharan Africa, based on population-weighted averages from 25 countries, 2006/2009 (Percentage)



8. Establish a Global Partnership for Development

The last objective of MDGs is to improve and develop a financial and trade system without discrimination, and also cooperate with the private sector to create the new technology especially for information and communication. In 2013 there is project 6.8 billion cellular phone, but only 21% women can access and have own mobile phone, this is important because mobile phone and internet is the biggest technology for access information and communication. To promote gender equality and all aspect of MDGs related each other, UN women collaborate with all of the partners to train women in the using of ICT as education and economic empowerment, so that can

minimize the violence and discrimination faced by women. (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2013, p. 59)

Indonesia is an active participant in a variety international forum and have a commitment to continue develop beneficial partnerships with various multilateral organizations, bilateral partners and the private sector for achieve a pattern of economic growth which has an impact on the level of decline poverty (pro-poor).

Indonesia has benefited from development partners international. To increase the effectiveness of cooperation and management of assistance development in Indonesia, the Jakarta Commitment has been signed with 26 partners development in 2009. To improve access to communication and information, sectors the private sector has made substantial investments in information and communication technology, and access to cellular phones, PSTN networks, and internet communication has increased very rapidly over the past five years. In 2009, around 82.41 percent of Indonesians have access to cell phones. (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010) (Prof. Dr. Armida S. Alisjahbana, 2010)

All of the objectives of Millennium Development Goals related each other and very close with the women issues, all of the problems trying to solve that face United Nations and member states by commitment in 2000-2015 cannot be achieved without the women roles and the serious action of government to overcome the women problems. With the achievement of women's empowerment offer by Beijing PFA and also the commitment of the countries to implement CEDAW totally it is the indicators to achieve and to be a successful indicator of the Millennium Development Goals, that proclaim to achieve in 2015. With the adopted the MDGs as the common goals to achieve the better world condition is the success of women's movement advocacy toward international instrument from 1919 until 2015.