

# **THE WOMEN MOVEMENT ADVOCACY TOWARD MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs)**

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## **Abstract**

This research aimed to analyze the women's movement advocacy in putting the gender equality in Millennium Development Goals as the problem-solving in discrimination toward women in the world. Gender is the issues that are often reaped debate today, However, gender inequality effected the discrimination toward women, with the increasing the number of discrimination against women in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that caused by patriarchal culture effected the emergence of women's movement, which demands women's right as human right, and women's movement more develop until the women's movement finally in the 21<sup>st</sup> century influence international agenda, through international institution women's movement can minimize the discriminations against women in the world, which is the involvement of women's movement in the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals. To analyze the women's movement advocacy process in the international agenda, the writer uses Transnational Advocacy Networks and Agenda Setting as a tool of analysis. This research found out the advocacy of women's movement influence International Agenda by several things, first, opening of political opportunity. Second, taking collective action by establishing Transnational Advocacy Networks. Third, integrating women issues in international forum to influence the policy. As the result, the advocacy of women's movement solving the women's problems by the adoption of Millennium Development Goals by United Nations.

Keyword: Women's Movement, Transnational Advocacy Networks, Agenda Setting.

## INTRODUCTION

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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Fakih 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.

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. 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. And from the fourth conference of women in Beijing has produce several objectives that become influence Millennium Development Goals in Millennium Summit 2000 in New York. And also become the commitments of

United Nations and the members states to remove the discrimination against women in the world.

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 political struggle.

## **METHOD OF RESEARCH**

To know the advocacy process of women movement influence international agenda the writer use Transnational Advocacy Network Concept (TANs) and Agenda Setting as a tool of analysis.

### **1. Transnational Advocacy Networks Concept (TANs)**

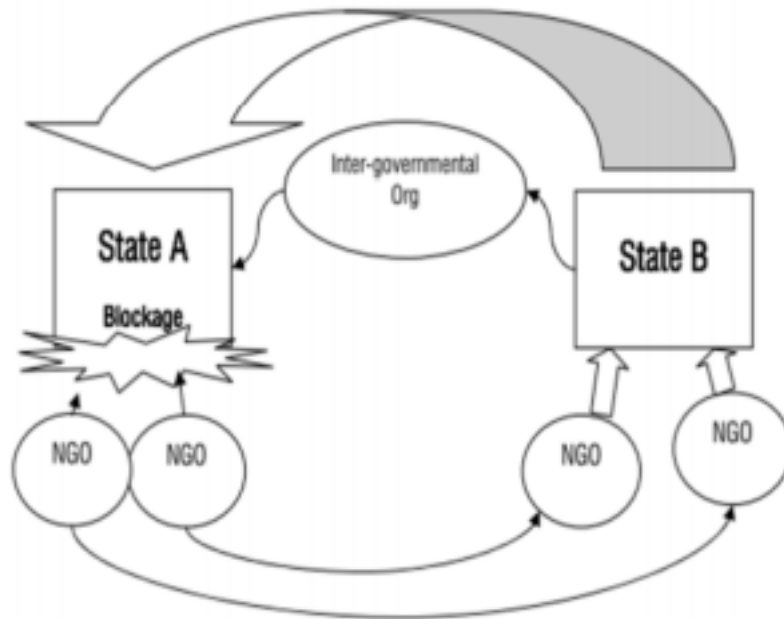
Transnational Advocacy Networks is a network of advocacy activities involving the activist from two or more countries that working together to achieve a goal or establish the networks with the activist from other countries. In another term, Transnational Advocacy is the structure of communication which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

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)

Transnational Advocacy Networks often have the disruption to access domestic arena in some country. According to Margaret and Sikkink, to solve the 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

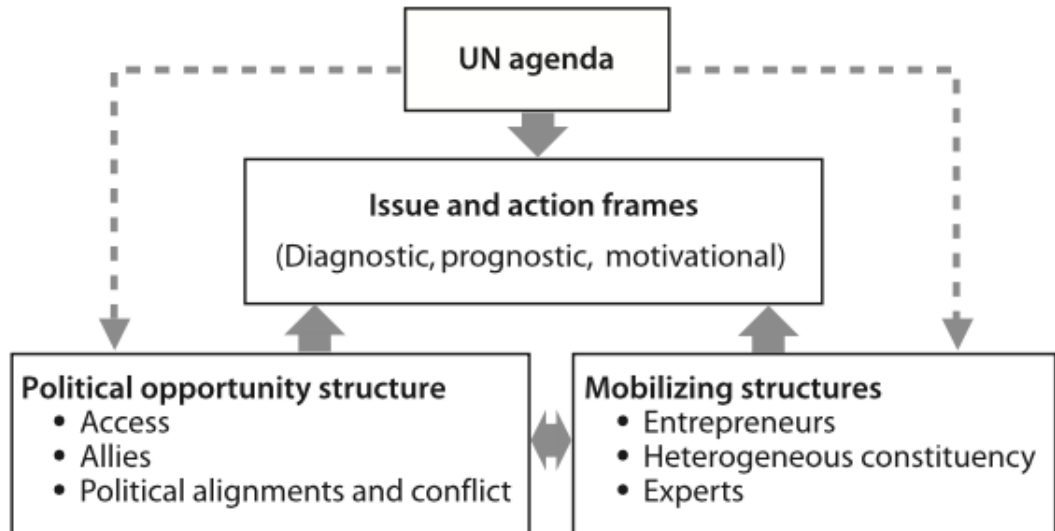
external pressure. To perform this interaction pattern, Margaret and Sikkink divided into four strategies, namely Information politics, Symbolic politics, leverage politics and accountability politics.

## **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. 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**



According to Jutta M. Joachim, Non-government Organization is the 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 farming strategy to tap into arguments their target audiences find resonant and credible (The point of public accept the issues) (Busby, 2017)

## **THE WOMEN'S ADVOCACY TOWARD INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

### **A. United Nations and Women's Movement**

The beginning the World War II is the end of the existence League of Nations, The failure League of Nation in stopping the second world war because there are lots of involvement European and Asia Pacific countries violate the main international goals and involve in warfare, responsible for this problem, League of Nations initiated to establish a new international organization, the new international organization is United Nations, and Franklin D. Roosevelt as the first people to introduce United Nations term. (United Nation, 1942)

When the United Nations began to be initiated to reduce the occurrence of war, the experience of women that have to participate in League of Nations very important to contribute to the established United Nations. Therefore in the establishment United Nations in San Francisco conference lots of women involved as conference delegates. There is four representative from Latin American, namely Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic. Two of them made as advisors, meanwhile, the United States sent four women as delegates, and three of US delegates become advisors, and also two delegations from Britain. (Pietila, 2007, p. 9)

With the experience of the lobbying process and the networks that have built by women's organization in League of Nations conference before, women massively lobbying in San Francisco conference, During the discussing of the formation UN Charter, women also urge the strengthening of basic right and the honor of individual

dignity, and most important they urge the equal right between men and women to be included in United Nations establishment agreement.

But what the women's movement struggling is not integrated with the San Francisco conference decision, so need a long struggle for women's movement. In fact, there are four different articles in the treatment. Namely the validating of basic right and freedoms for human, but there is not diversification about racial, sex and religious. Responding this case, Jessie Street, as a delegation from Australia who has great and support from women's organizations networks, Jessie Street had a big influence on the San Francisco conference, she urged the United Nations to include the article from League of Nations relating the position in the United Nations, there is the equality between men and women (Pietila, 2007, p. 10). this is formulated as article 8:

*“The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.”*

The submission of article 8 by women has including in the final text of the UN charter. Although many parties are opposed, just in the few years provide evidence that the agreement with this article has encouraged the participation of women in the United Nations position. (Pietila, 2007, p. 11)

In 1946, the issue of women's right which is the issue that has struggle in League of Nations period become the interesting issue to discuss as the major issue on the international agenda, which is this issue is the first issue discuss after the second world war. The female delegation that prepare the document, this document is "An Open Letter to the Women of the World". This document introduces the United

Nations to all women around the world that the United Nations is the second attempt by the world community to live peacefully in a democratic community. And call on women to take important opportunities and responsibilities in promoting the goals of the United Nations in their countries. (Pietila, 2007, p. 11)

Through the collaboration of women's networks, the document spread around the world, with the initiate by French delegation and support by Mrs. Roosevelt as a United State delegation, she urged the US government to implement and also promote to all women in the world to take part in creating world peace, she argue that "United Nations can if we have to it as many works as we have given in the past to winning the war be an instrument to win the peace". This document then becomes the first female voice articulation in the United Nations and it is the description of women role in influence cooperation and international politics. (Pietila, 2007, p. 12)

In the UN Charter, there are three crucial elements that are important for women that are nothing in the League of Nations before, there are:

First, in political duties, the United Nations give the mandate to encourage the progress of the social economic development, the important organs are Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nation Development Program (UNDP), Food and Agricultural Organization (FO), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and World Health Organization (WHO)

Second, the attention to the human right, the United Nations encourage universal respect and human right, and also the fundamental freedom for all without exception racial, sex, language and differentiation of religion.

Third, the legitimacy of collaborative relations between NGOs and the United Nations. In article 71, this agreement provides a framework that NGOs can obtain consultant status with ECOSOC, and all of the women's organizations have active collaboration. (Pietila, 2007, p. 13)

In United Nations structure there is also a Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), which is same as the structure League of Nation before, firstly the position of Commission on the Status of Women is under commission ECOSOC, and after the struggle by women in 1947, CSW finally become independent commission, that leads by Bodi Begtrup and Jassie Strees as the deputy chairman of the commission. (Pietila, 2007, p. 13)

In 1946-1963s Commission on the Status of Women focused on mapping the legal status of women as citizens. Although CSW has just a few staff, however, the organization has a very significant role in preparing recommendations and report to ECOSOC. Its main purpose is to promote and encourage the women's right in politics, economics, education, and citizens. Beside making recommendations on certain issues in the international community, especially women, the Commission on the Status of Women had been successful to cooperate with 12 international women's organization in 1947. The organizations which were involved in the League of Nations conferences, are also organizations those had active role in the formation of the United Nations, CSW has a mission to cooperate with organizations, includes non-women's movement organizations, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), it is the strategy of CSW to build networks as partner to campaign issues, and the issue become UN recommendations, and to achieve this mission needs the collaboration between NGOs and Government and also United Nations. (Pietila, 2007, p. 15)

The long struggle of Commission on the Status of Women is to improve the quality of human right, especially to promote women's right. There are several focus commission on the Status of Women studies to improve the quality of human right, that is including the study of the political right, the right of law for women, women's access to education and work. This four aspect is become the concern CSW and UNESCO and also ILO in international conventions.

On the perspective of women, all of the conventions and the struggling women's movement to achieve women's right, there is the important convention that has achieved the target of women's movement, it is the convention in UN decade that result in the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) or in another term "Convention on Right of Women". This convention initiated by CSW in 1963, then continue with several occasions where the general assembly believes the human right in realization not fair between women and men. In 1963, CSW prepares a declaration and then offer a recommendation. In 1967 the declaration ejects and was adopted. The convention began in 1973, The result the adoption draft by the General Assembly, and become the international law for the country that modified the declaration. Nevertheless, the struggle of women's movement needs three years to make sure the member states agree on the draft as a basic principle. In 2006, 184 countries participate to apply CEDAW. This is the most human right convention on United Nations that implement by the countries around the world, although in the reality not all aspect of CEDAW can be able to implement by same countries but it is the concrete example of the women's movement struggle to deliver the gender equality norm as the indicators that considered by the international community.

## **B. United Nations Decade and Women's Role**

After having the important role in the United Nations formulation forum, and the experience of women's struggle in League of Nations forum, women's organizations continue to influence the international agenda. In 1970 women movement struggle to influence international agenda, the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) led by Kuusinen from Finland, representing the organization as one of the CSW observers, Kuusinen proclaim the proposal to commission about the "International Women's Year". This proposal initiate by Kuusinen and the member of the Women International Democratic Federation, which is to bring the women's need and the women's views toward the United Nations system. the proposal can be eject by UN because the support by another observer, Women International democratic Federation get support from Romanian NGOs because the relation of Romanian NGOs and the government is care so that the proposal brought by WIDF support by Romanian NGOs and Romanian government to commission. Finally, with help from Romanian government and NGOs, the proposal eject by the commission and the commission bring the proposal to the general assembly, and the general assembly proclaims in 1975 as "International Women Year" which adopted by the general assembly in December 1972. (Pietila, 2007, p. 39)

Women struggle finally get the best result, through the idea of International Women's Year can be open the opportunities for women's movement, adopted International Women's Year by general assembly emerge the UN decade for women, wherein a decade, women's organization and United Nations focus on the women issues, and the issue will discuss in several women conference in 1976-1985, which was held in different place, there are:

## **1. Mexico Conference**

The Mexico conference becomes the first conference International Women Years in 1975, this conference is the first world conference to discuss specifically on women issues and the world issues but analysis by women perspective. 73% of the participants in this conference are women, and the conference attended by 133 female leader delegates. The agenda in Mexico conference discuss three major issues that become the big issues discussed in UN decade there are equality, development, and peace (Pietila, 2007, p. 42)

The impact of UN decade for women is the improve condition of women in the world, where the condition of women batters than before. For a decade the UN focus collects the information, fact and all issues related to women from different countries to solve the problem of women around the world.

At the first conference in Mexico, there is the result that becomes the foundation of women struggle in another conference, that is formulated "world Plan for Action", there is three aspect that focuses to achieve by United Nations and women's movement, first. the fulfillment of gender equality and elimination of discrimination against women, second. The integration and participation of women in development. And third. The improvement contribution of women in strengthening world peace.

## **2. Copenhagen Conference**

After the first conference in Mexico, the second conference of women held in Copenhagen in 1980, the conference attended by 7000 delegates. 145 members of the state gather in this conference to evaluate the development of the implementation result of the previous conference. Not only to evaluate the conference of women in Copenhagen also discuss about the gap of women's right that guarantee by the law and the ability of women to use their right that guarantee by the law, to overcome this

case, the conference in Copenhagen identified three aspect to concern, (United Nations, 2005) there are:

- 1) Equal access to education
- 2) Equal access to employment opportunity
- 3) Equal access to adequate health care service

The action program produces by the Copenhagen conference determine several actions that have to apply to countries. There are guarantee the ownership and control right of women on property especially land and house, strengthening the women right to inheritance, care, and citizenship, and the last encourage the changing of prejudices (habits) of attitudes of women and men.

### **3. Nairobi Conference**

The Nairobi conference attend 1600 participants, since the women conference the NGOs began to organize UN conference, as well as the women participants very enthusiast in discussing and giving her idea toward the conference as the experience of women did lobbying in other conference before, the outcome of the third women conference is the adoption of Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (NFLS) toward the advancement of women, which is the achievement gender equality in national level and encourage women's participation in development and peace. In this case, there are new approaches to overcome the obstacles faced by women, the NFLS strategy is a renewal of the blueprint for women in the future. (United Nations, 2005)

In the NFLS strategy make all of the issues that discussion is related to women issues, NFLS recognize women as "intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers, planners and contributor, and beneficiaries of development" which have place women as the important role as consideration for countries to consideration of political policies and political practices, this meant of women perspective in all aspect. In this



case, the government encourages to be responsible by the taking legal and constitutional action, equality and social-political participation and decision making, as well as united nations, encourage to create the focal point on women issues.

#### **4. Beijing Conference**

In 1995, United Nations held the fourth women conference after a decade of women, from the Beijing conference get the formulate of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA), (United Nations, 2005). There are 12 critical that become the concern in Platform for Action (United Nations, 2005), there are:

- 1) Women and poverty
- 2) Education and training of women
- 3) Women and health
- 4) Violence against women
- 5) Women and armed conflict
- 6) Women and the economy
- 7) Women in power and decision-making
- 8) Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- 9) Human rights of women
- 10) Women and the media
- 11) Women and the environment
- 12) The girl child.

The UN Decade for women in 1976-1985 was the most successful decade of the other UN decade, with the adoption of International Women's Year has become the important indicator to achieve the UN decade target. IWY is the concrete example of the women struggle that prepare in 1970 and realization in 1975 in Mexico, World

Plan of Action as the outcome of Mexico conference, then follow by the Copenhagen Program of Action, and also Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies have become a most powerful strategy for women struggle to establish a consistent and systematic policy process for advancement of women in the future. (Pietila, 2007, p. 39)

The participation of women in the international agenda of United Nations increase after the UN decade, the participation of women toward the international conference show how attractive women about the international issues and peace. NFLS has become the key for women, NFLS has influence women in the world, that all of the problems in the world are an important issue for women attention, and women have equal right to participate and involve in the decision-making process in all aspect policies. NFLS has influenced many women in the world to improve the intervention of women to solve the international problem not only in women issues, including in the United Nations system. in 1980s UN reports, programs and UN resolutions have reflected the participation of women, not only a legitimate right for women, but it is a social and political need for a better world and the future quality of human right. (Pietila, 2007, p. 40)

### **C. 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
2. The International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC)
3. Association for Women's Right in Development (AWID)
4. The International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC)

5. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN)
6. International Women's Right Action Watch (IWRAW)
7. The Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL)
8. Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO)
9. Women Living under Muslim Laws (WLUML)
10. The KARAT Coalition

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.

## CONCLUSION

The condition of women today if we compare to several decades ago is very different, the existence of feminism in the renaissance era has to emerge the long struggle of women to claim their right until today that far better than before. The involvement of women in establishment League of Nations has led the participation of women in the establishment United Nations so that they can influence the implementation of Millennium Development Goals. To be actively intervention in United Nations women's movement has to struggle to influence international agenda, with the intervention of women activist in 1919 has become the important experience to advocating United Nations, women intervention in the establishment of United Nations, UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Right is the involvement of women in the history of United Nations. With adopted 1970 as the International Women's Year is the biggest women struggle, which is the first international women conference and adopted CEDAW in the UN Decade. Women's movement then continues their struggle in 1995, which become the great consolidation in Beijing, women's movement shows the experience lobbying and using the networks to influence the conference so that outcome the Beijing PFA declaration.

Since 1970 mobilization action of women's movement in global scale have triggered the emerging worldwide women's movement, the involvement of women's movement to overcome the conflict (peace issues) has attracted the international attention, women's movement successfully influence the international agenda and make sure the international community that women has capacity in solve the problem faced by the world, finally recognized by international community at UN World Summit in New York in 2005 that to achieve the Millennium Development Goals need the women roles.



The success of women's movement advocacy toward influencing the Millennium Development Goals is the success of women's movement influencing the international agenda. The ability of women's movement to influence decisions in MDGs is determined by three stages. First, the opening of political opportunities, this result from the struggle of women's movement to open access for women in international institutions and access to another movement. Second, with the opening of political opportunities and access to women, and encourage the women's movement to mobilization alliance (Transnational Advocacy Networks), finally create collective action. Third, the women's movement encourages the world attention toward the issue that struggle by women's movement so that become the common issue, it is the framing process. These three stages have led the women's movement successful advocacy UN decision until the Millennium Development Goals as the concrete example of the influence women's movement toward United Nations. By the implementation of MDGs, it has reduced the number of poverty and discrimination against women in the world and also in Indonesia.

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