CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Human right is one of the global issues nowadays. The most important of human rights is about gender, where men and women differed by the attributes based on social construction not by the biological identity. Although gender is not always talking about woman, women and girls are the ones who most suffer gender discrimination. "Not all women are poor, and not all poor people are women, but all women suffer from discrimination."[1]

The prominent causes of discrimination are law and social norms which formed based by patriarchy, where men become dominant and place the women as subordinate in a number of ways. The discrimination happened around the world.

One of real example is happened in India, South Asia. India is one of countries which have a big gap in human rights issues especially in women sides. India is very influenced by the caste system and also patriarchal system that make women categorized as second class. This discrimination has been affecting women in various fields, from the socio-culture, economic, and also political life.

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[1]Kabeer, N., and Subrahmanian, R., *Insititutions, relations and outcomes: framework and tools for gender-aware planning*, IDS Discussion Paper, No.357, IDS, Brighton, 1996

To tackle the discrimination, women in India try made movements and struggled what they desire and deserve. One of their demands was recognized and considered by the government in terms of their participation in political sphere. Although the obstacles was too hard for women to involve in political aspect, but during the time women gain their right to join in political aspects through some actions.

The actions of women's movements in India produced an important role. It triggered the India government made and maintained their demand in political aspect. India constitution has guaranteed the women's chance to join in political life. Since Independence Day of India which is in 1947, India already declared the equality between men and women, form various administrative bodies which giving chance for women, and insert some feminist to run the government.[2]

The women participation in India appeared since Jawaharlal Nehru run the government. Although it is in a small number which is 5,4% or 20 women but it is adequate represent women participation in parliament in that time.[3] Women's votes in general election already existed at that time, though the participation of women was less rather men. From time to time womens' political consciousness increase, it dimmed the gap between men voter and women voter.

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[2]*Dari Chipoke Sati: GerakanPerempuan India Kontemporer*, retrieved from: http://www.kalyanamitra.or.id/kalyanamedia/1/3/wacana.htm, access on 16 Januari 2013

[3]Subaksh C. kashyap, *History of parliamentary democracy; from the earliest times to the end of Nehru era (New Delhi: shipran publication*, 1991, pg. 12

In 10th December 1948, United Nationss Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) issued but this declaration used international law instruments which based on masculinity point of view without any special attention towards women. In 1946, United Nations made Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) which concern in equality in man and women.[4] One of important International Law to guarantee women right is Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Although CEDAW already signed by 165 states but in the fact the women is still marginalized and still less represented in the political world.

Some International treaties and convention made the women right become so crucial then it resuscitate the women's movement desire automatically. Women's movements in India expected that the government not only made the equality concept in constitution but also made specific provisions in terms of political participation.

In 1998 National Perspective Plan for women offers 30% in all level of election until Panchayat level (local level of government) to support participation in the political root. Rajiv Gandhi introduced initiatives for the 33% *reservation seat* for women in Panchayat level in 1993. After 1993, the women participation

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[4]Commission on The Status of Women, retrieved from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/

in local level grew up. It attain one million women participate into Panchayat and other sectors. The reservation seats give empowering impact for Women in India.[5]

The significant progress of women political participation in India is strengthened by the existence of Fourth World Conference which is The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action that made in September 15th 1995. It made women advocacy in 12 aspects better. Moreover, the Beijing Platfrom for Action's mindset emphasized that the less participation of women in underdeveloped states it is not caused by the culture but by the system. India is the first State willing to adopt the contents of Beijing Platform for Action.[6]

B. Research Question

"How did the Beijing Platform for Action change women's political participation in India?"

C. Objectives

The objectives of this thesis are, first to show the change of women's norms in India, and second to denote and explain the influence of The Beijing Platform for Action towards women's political participation dynamics in India through the norms.

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[5]Political Participation, retrieve from http://www.infochange india.org, access on 13th January 2013

[6]TutikHermiyatiArifah, Skripsi: KeterlibatanPerempuandalamParlemenPusat di India, 2007, Yogyakarta: UMY

D. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer and analyze main problem iabove, the writer use concept and theorieswhich will contribute on analysis and become a foundation to address the main problem or topic. MohtarMas'oed states that concept is an abstraction which represents an attribute, an object, or a specific phenomenon. While theory defined as general explanation to identifying the rising of the research question.[7]

The theory that will be used is Constructivism. Constructivism restructured the social as constitutive domain, stressed the variability of political practice, and reintroduced history as realm of empirical inquiry.[8] Constructivists argue that the reality is independent from human thought, pointing to the facts that reality is socially constructed. The main idea of constructivism revolves in concepts like social construction, *norm, identity, value, intersubjectivity, and discourse*.

Identity includes psyche and material which is an expression of reality of which do not know the essence.[9] While ideational and normative structures are seen as shaping actors' identities and interest through three mechanism, which are imagination, constraint, and communication. The imagination which is non material structures condition actor's identities will inform interest which will lead

[7]MohtarMas'oed, IlmuHubunganInternasional: DisiplindanMetodologi, 1990, Jakarta: LP3ES

[8]Scott Burchill and others, Theories of International Relations; Constructivism, 2005, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

[9]Pius A Partanto, M. Dahlan Al arry, KamusIlmiahPopuler, 1994, Surabaya: Arkola.

into action. [10] Constructivism argues that identities are constituted by institutionalized norms, value and ideas of social environment in which they act.

The most important thing in constructivism which relies on empirical research on social construction process is a norm that influences international politics. Norms can be defined as single standard of behavior which usually become reason for action. "Norms by definition embody a quality of 'oughtness' and shared moral assessment; norms prompt justifications for action and leave an extensive trail of communication among actors that we can study." [11], then believes by most of people.

According to constructivism, the life cycle of a norm consist of 3 stages which are norm emerges, norm cascade, and the last stage is international norms. [12]

First, the *norm emerge*s. Usually, the norm entrepreneurs arise randomly with the consciousness that something need to be change. This norm uses the organization that already existed (as the favor and buffer) such as the treaties from the UN. This norms use the treaties as the platform for framing the issue, thus it will enhance the audience. World or society system is contained by ideas and norms that influence the states (as actors) in International system. States gain

[10]Scott Burchill and others, Theories of International Relation; Constructivism, 2005, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, Pg. 197-198

[11]Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, International Norm Dynamics and Political Change, 1998, IO Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

[12]Ibid.

norms socialization which will steer into appropriate behavior through international organization.[13] In this stage, state will adopt the norms for domestic political reason.

Second is the *norm cascade*. State adopt the norm to International pressure (even if there is no movement or coalition that press the state to do so), they do this to enhance: the domestic legitimacy in order to it appear like state fulfill the domestic demands, conformity because the leader do not want stick out, self esteem which means that the state will being shamed as refractory and non conformist state by the international community if the state did not implement the norms.

International norm is the highest phase in this cycle. Codification and universal adherence became so natural to the state to conformity with it. Those states are in global norms regime that will form its domestic policy. When the representatives sign the international convention means they agree to relate the domestic policy and domestic political agenda with the international politics and agenda. It makes domestic or International norms define as standard for the appropriate behavior of a states.[14] Regional and international norm has strong relation, because international norms began as domestic/regional norms and it

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[13]Ibid.

[14] Rodger A. Payne, *Persuasion, Frames, and Norm Construction*, University of Louisville,USA, retrieved from:
www.communicationcache.com/uploads/1/0/8/8/10887248/persuasion_and_norm_construction.pdf

become international norms through some efforts.[15] A state implemented the international norms because of the International norms have to keep it influence through filter of domestic structure and norms in order to create compliance and interpretation.

The Concept that will be used is *Transnational Advocacy Network's (TAN's).* Trans Advocacy Networks are networks that contain non state actors (such as international and domestic NGOs, research, advocacy organization, local social movement, foundations, the media, activist, economic actor, parts of region and international intergovernmental organization, etc.) by the centrality of principles ideas/values in motivating their information and services, it works internationally, regionally and domestically.[16]

TNA's relies on *boomerang effect model*, it reaffirmed in *Global Strategies for Gender Equality: Comparing Quotas and Mainstreaming* by Mona Lena Krook. Boomerang effect model focus on 3 influential political actors which are state official, civil society organization (movements), and Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN's). Process of boomerang effect is started by the effort of women's movements to lobby the government (state official) about their demands. The government may reject the women's movement's demand. As the

[15]Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, International Norm Dynamics and Political Change, 1998, IO Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

[16]Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink., Transnational Advocacy Networks in international and regional Politics, 1999, UNESCO, retrieved from http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic446176.files/Week_7/Keck_and_Sikkink_Transnational_Advocacy.pdf

consequences, women's movement in domestic reports the government's response to the transnational allies (as TAN's). The transnational allies lobbying to the International Organization to pressure recalcitrant state from outside (through international treaties, convention, platform, etc.), in this case the international treaties is Beijing Platform for Action can force India to made the Amendment 73th and 74th of India works effectively.

Women quota is declared as part of international norms or *Global Gender Equality Regime* through the norm cycle. This women political participation aims to increase the quality of women and give a chance to women as the emancipator movement. Moreover, it has purpose to "… increase the women representation in political process and as a means to ensure that women's political interest srema in articulated and represented."[17] Women's movements lobbying the state, the castes and patriarchal system in India (as the government consideration) actually rejected the demands. But the international norms existed, which pushed the debate of women quota in parliament formed (boomerang effect). Convention draft in which expected to be specified explicitly the quota (amount) to ensure the minimum quota for women in parliament. The India constitution in 73rd and 74th amendment states that 33 percent of the seats in municipal agency launched for women.

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[17]Dari Chipoke Sati: GerakanPerempuan India Kontemporer, retrieved from:
http://www.kalyanamitra.or.id/kalyanamedia/1/3/wacana.htm, access on 16 Januari 2013

Constructivist states that state behaviour will adjust to the 'logic of appropriateness' and logic of material handling with that action. A lot of similarity in the domestic policy of states, it mark that they guides by international norms. India government made the 73rd and 74th Amendment 1992 Act regarding the women reservation seats. The government of India is affected by the treaties and convention (before Beijing Platform for action made) which regulated the women right in the world.

After India government launched the Amendment in 1993, Beijing Platform for Action run in 1995. Unlike the international treaties before, The Beijing Platform for action is more complete. It contains specific point which regulates the women political participation in terms of power and decision making. India is one of member state of Beijing Platform for Action who agrees with the statement of Beijing Platform for Action.

Beijing Platform for Action is International Platform, so its content become International norms for those who member state and have to be obeyed. The states willing adopt international norms because they want to increase the reputation and identity as modern states. [18] The states want to follow the international norms willingly, to get the self esteem.

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[18] NurAzizah, Draft LaporanPenelitianuntukDesertasiFisipol UGM 2010: Politik Quota Perempuan di Indonesia, Unpublished.

E. Hypothesis

From research question above, it can be answered that Beijing Platform for Action gave significant impact towards women political participation in India through international norms that introduced by Beijing Platform for Action. This international norm triggered the women's movements in India to fight in order to get women quota as new norm. In addition, the new norms triggered political parties in India to served women reservation seats.

F. Methodology

The applied method in this study is qualitative research method because it will try to find and build theories that will explain the relationship of one variable through qualitative elements in research. The qualitative research helps the researcher to get the data by collecting from the articles, political books and journals and other references as the primary sources. The researcher will also use the secondary sources of data came from the interviews with the respondents. The respondents are come from academic field that have specialty in international relations or political study.

G. Time Frame

In this under-graduate thesis the writer limits the range of time from 1980 until 2012. This range of time is selected because Independence Day of India was in 1947 nevertheless the discrimination was still tight until in the middle of

20century. But, it is not impossible the writer will explain the moments out of this range of time, if the moments still relevant with the research.

H. Organization of Chapter

The writer divide this paper into some chapters, and each of chapter is related, so it become unity.

In Chapter I, Introduction which contained the reason of choosing the tittle, background, purpose of research, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methode of research, range of time and writting system.

Chapter II,Explain the prior norm pattern in India, women's movement in India, and also great debate before the women political participation in India gain its progress.

Chapter III,Elaborate the content and essence of Beijing Platform for Action.

Chapter IV,Elaborate the political system of India as well the political parties and its support towards women political participation.

Chapter V,Conclusion and closing which contained about conclusion and resume from paper as a whole.