

CHAPTER I

A. Background

The history of human civilization is filled with patriarchal culture, both in the West and East. Patriarchal culture becomes a universal phenomenon that shows the existence of male hegemony over women in important sectors of life. This is what creates the inequality of roles between men and women. Gender inequality can be manifested in the forms of discrimination that are accepted by women, ranging from demands to only take care of the household (domestic) by men to the differences in employment opportunities (public) provided. Social construction in a patriarchal culture considers that matters outside of domestic affairs are roles that must be filled by men so that political, economic, educational and all matters relating to decision making should not be filled by women. It is this gender inequality that has come to be better known as gender issues.

Gender, speaking of gender many people directly connects it with women and men. But actually the perception is not right because women and men are gender. Whereas Gender and gender themselves are actually different. Gender is something that is present outwardly and naturally. Of course the penis and vagina have different biological functions, making men unable to menstruate or give birth like women. While gender is the difference in roles, rights, obligations, power, and opportunities between men and women in community life. If genitals are natural, gender is cultural, the result of social and cultural formation, can be very local and vary according to geographical location, and has the nature of "adjusting" with time, because someone's gender varies in certain regions, at certain times as well.

Gender itself is pursued to one's masculinity and femininity. Where at this time the difference in gender

became very clear that women became number two without any sort of separation between one's strengths and gender. Indeed, the nature of a man becomes number one, but in this millennial era we cannot use the old paradigm. Women themselves also have the advantage that they can adjust according to their place. In the world is incessantly promoting gender equality, where women are always number two after men, and women are considered unable to carry out men's activities. As in work, many companies refuse to accept female employees because of the labeling of "weak" women. And women should be at home to take care of the household making women become confined. In some countries sorting out gender occurs in the world of work. This treatment causes gender inequality based on the nature of a woman who is obliged to take care of the household.

Gender refers to social construction about roles, behavior, activities and appropriate attributes for men and women. In other words gender is a cultural formation about masculinity and femininity (Azizah, Gender dan Politik, 2017). Gender equality is defined as the view that all people, both women and men must receive the same treatment and there is no discrimination in access or control over a certain thing. Gender equality is a crucial issue in this era. There are still many gender disparities that benefit men, especially in developing countries, for example in the fields of education, health, employment, property rights, and so on. Many people still think that women are weak creatures and cannot be compared to men. Equality does not mean that women and men are the same but men's and men's rights women, responsibilities and opportunities do not depend on whether she was born male or female.

The existence of this gender issue has an effect that results in the injury to human rights that have been agreed in international treaties which in the agreement consist not only of men's rights but also women's rights. The rights to freely participate in politics carry out social activities, work

like men, have a high education, so that protection against discrimination and harassment of women cannot be fulfilled because of gender inequality. In addition, gender inequality also leads to development issues. One element of development is its human development which is not only high in quantity but also high in quality. Gender inequality only develops human males without giving opportunities and access to developing human females. In fact, humans are not only men but also women so that the quality and powerlessness of women will also lead to various development issues in countries in the world, especially for third world countries.

The issue of gender equality has only become a global concern and was recognized after the United Nations (UN) raised it to become one of the world's issues. It began with the formation of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 1946 as an intergovernmental body tasked with promoting gender equality. Then, with the encouragement of women's movements, the United Nations did the first real action with the holding of the First World Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975 by the United Nations as an embodiment of the International Women's Year campaign. Gender equality efforts are further strengthened by the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 as an international standard on women's rights which until 2018 had been ratified by 189 member states (Women U. N., Short History of CEDAW, 2009). Policies and international agreements that promote gender equality also continue to be developed and evaluated. The issue of gender equality itself is seen by the United Nations as a global issue that is not just about human rights but also the issue of great neglect of human potential, "By denying women equal rights, we deny the population the chance to live life at its fullest" (Goals, 2018). According to the UN, gender equality does not mean that women and men must be the same but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities

must be the same without see whether humans are women or men.

UN data shows that up to 2014, there were still 52 countries that did not want to guarantee gender equality in the country's constitution. Even from countries which have guaranteed, women are still 2.6 times less paid for their work in domestic work than men (Women U. , 2018). In matters of education, 1/3 of developing countries in the world still cannot achieve gender equality even at the elementary school level, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, Oceania, and West Asia (Nations, 2015)

This development is different from what happened in Europe. Even though in Europe there is still gender inequality, but the issue of gender equality actually came in Europe long before the United Nations recognized gender as a global issue in the 1970s. Gender issues began to be voiced since the 18th century by writers, such as Mary Wollstonecraft (A Vindication of the Rights of Women 1792) and Theodore G von Hippel (On the Civil Improvement of Women 1794) who published his writings on the existence of gender inequality and demands for achieving gender equality in Europe (Robinson, 2010). Even in the 20th century, women's rights to participate in politics and employment opportunities were obtained in several countries, such as: Finland, Spain, the United Kingdom, and France (Galligan, 2010).

After the European Union was formed in 1992, the development of gender equality in Europe has increased rapidly in the 21st century. At present the European Union can be said to have a high level of gender equality. President of the European Commission JeanClaude Juncker even said that the progress of gender equality in the European Union could exceed other regions and become an example for other countries, in his speech:

"Europe is a pioneer of gender equality and that is something we should be proud of. Be it in employment and occupation, vocational training, social security or access

to goods and services: women and men have to be treated equally. That is the law. Unfortunately the road to effective equality still has some bumps ahead. That is why we cannot let up. I made equality a cornerstone of the administration I lead and I am proud that two years on we have made enormous strides in reaching the 40% female management target. But if intolerance and chauvinism start to proliferate inside or outside our borders we have to push back twice as hard with a simple and thoroughly European message: gender equality is not an aspirational goal. It is a fundamental right.” (Commission, International Women's Day 2017: Gender Equality – a European export, 2017).

The existence of the European Union makes it even easier to address gender equality issues in Europe. From the end of the 20th century to the 21st century, the issue of gender equality became one of the subjects of discussion and evaluation for the work program of the European Union. However, of course it is not easy to hold something that did not exist before and change the view / mindset that was previously believed. To go to a high level of gender equality from conditions that are not constitutional or practical, it requires a short amount of time and requires a lot of intense changes and efforts from all parties.

The European Union has experienced many changes and expansions. From just economic cooperation to being a supranational organization as it is today. The space for the European Union to expand is also expanding as issues continue to grow, including discussions on gender issues. The existence of the European Union turned out to have a major influence on the progress of gender equality in Europe. In fact, the European Union has brought gender issues since the inception of the European Union itself. Since 1957, the principles of equality in the world of work both in the treatment and salary / wages between women and men have been written in the Roman Treaty and agreed upon by the 6 founding father countries at that time. From

there the issue of gender inequality in member countries is increasingly being considered and pursued its equality by the European Union.

The development of gender equality in the European Union at the end of the 20th century is an important sign of the start of the use of a gender mainstreaming approach that began at the end of the 20th century which later brought the European Union closer to increasing gender equality. Entering the 21st century, the development of gender equality in the European Union has experienced a significant increase in economic, political, and social. Guided by the approach to gender mainstreaming, the resulting gender equality is even more comprehensive and substantive. Women's movements such as the European Trade Union Confederation, European Women's Lobby, women members of the European Parliament are also very active in delivering their demands in this century. Progress was also made possible because of the large expansion of EU membership which naturally made prospective member countries be able to participate in equating state policies with what had been agreed in the European Union, that is, they must apply gender equality policies as well. In this century too, much of the increased gender equality achieved by the European Union, especially in the Nordic countries has been ranked from the beginning and has become a model of gender equality for countries.

In the 2015 report on world gender inequality, Europe was able to far above the average world gender inequality index and to be ranked top with a gap of 0.279 while the world average was still 0.443. This index is calculated based on indicators from the education, health, economic and political sectors (UNDP, 2018). 5 of the top 10 positions in the world gender gap index were also successfully controlled by the European Union countries, namely Norway, Sweden, Finland, Slovenia, and Ireland. Achievements for the European Union have also continued to increase in 2017. In the 2017 Global Gender Gap, all EU

member countries except Hungary have been above the average world gender equality index. Then, from the European Union member countries, 8 countries included in the top 15 positions, namely Norway, Finland, Sweden, Slovenia, Ireland, France, Germany, and Denmark (Forum, 2020).

If you look at the history of the world political order, the European Union is the pioneer in having female political figures. In 1979, Britain was the first country to have a female prime minister, Margaret Thatcher. Then followed by Gro Harlem Brundtland as Norwegian Prime Minister in 1990 (Arnett, 2016). Until 2015, 17 of the 28 European Union member states had women presidents or prime ministers, including Theresa May as Prime Minister of England 2016 and Angela Merkel as German Chancellor of 2005. Even in the European Parliament, the number of women had reached 35% (Ames, 2015). Even though it has not reached half of the total members of parliament, 35% have been able to influence the outcome of the parliamentary agreement. Then, even in the economic sector, the European Union has also increased to reach 65.6% for the average female worker in 2017 (Commission, International Women's Day 2017: Gender Equality – a European export, 2017).

Women usually experience higher poverty rates than men. Evidenced by Eurostat data available for EU Member States and in some cases before, violations of women's rights occur every day. Conflict worsens the situation and rape is used as a weapon of war. Women and girls are trafficked, enslaved and even sold as merchandise. Women still do not get the same wages as men and do not have the same access or control to productive resources as such. Social norms lock girls and women into unequal power relations, leaving many girls and women with little control over decisions that affect their lives, whether at home, in the community or at the national level, often discriminatory

laws, practices, or norms limit the social, economic and political participation of girls.

The European Commission also encouraged further progress in 2014, recommending that member countries increase salary transparency and address the salary gap. In the same year, the European Union took action to protect women from gender-based violence through legislation, practical steps on victims' rights and a comprehensive policy package against women. It also funded the national government campaign against gender-based violence, as well as projects led by non-government organizations. Indicates that the European Union is very committed to fighting gender inequality both within the European Union and outside the European Union.

The European Union recognizes that Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment is important for sustainable development and is important for meeting goals with international interests. The European Union considers women's economic and political empowerment as a driving force for achieving not only gender equality but also overall inclusive economic growth and poverty alleviation in developing countries. Furthermore, in all societies women are often influential actors in promoting sustainable development and social justice and as agents for peace and democracy in conflict or post-conflict situations. (Commission, 2015)

The European Union itself has become an important actor in the promotion of gender equality not only internally but also in cooperation with external parties. The European Commission and member countries have two approaches to gender equality, namely the twin-track approach (gender mainstreaming and specific actions). Political dialogue with partner country governments, gender mainstreaming in cooperation, and effective coordination between actors both internal and external. The European Union also adopted the 2010-2015 EU Gender Action Plan (GAP) aimed at making the European Union a role model in gender equality in the

international world by assisting donor countries in implementing gender equality policies, providing financial assistance to facilities for joint dialogue (DOCUMENT, 2010).

The European Union is the organization with the largest contribution of funds to the development of other countries, reaching 55% of the Official Development Assistance. Its donor countries are throughout the world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Since the signing of the European Union's collaboration with the African Caribbean and Pacific Countries (ACP), it is clearly written in cooperation that the European Union will assist in increasing the work of women, raising living standards, and expanding women's participation in production and development processes. There was a feminist debate about the UN program "Women in Development" which, according to feminists, gender equality is not centered on women and how women can be used in development (Debusscher, 2013). The progress of gender equality in the European Union does not always increase from year to year. Although there are a number of countries that have not experienced significant changes over the past decade, most EU member states have experienced policy progress and equality implementation in at least three to four important sectors or sectors of the countries needs (Equality, Gender Equality Index 2017 in brief: A snail's pace towards gender equality, 2017).

The European Union is one of the founders of gender equality values. Gender equality has been in the principles of the European Union since the inception of the European Union project. Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome (1957) introduces the principle of equal pay for men and women. Equality Commissioner Helena Dalli said:

"The pursuit of equality does not require any transfer from basket to basket. Equality is an unlimited resource, and there is enough for everyone. On the other hand, discrimination harms people who suffer and society as a whole, due to lack of personal recognition, lack of

meritocracy and loss of talent and innovation. With the Gender Equality Strategy we anchor gender equality as the core of EU policy development. We aim to ensure that women do not have to overcome additional obstacles to achieve what men have as a gift and instead be able to reach their full potential. "

The struggle for gender equality does not stop at the realization of policies that are aware of gender issues. Changes in policy can be considered as a step closer to the efforts of gender equality, but changes in the construction of community thought that is still attached to patriarchal culture must also be overcome. The situation at that time was difficult because in this century many wars involving the European region occurred and certainly affected its political and economic stability, such as in World War 1 and World War 2. These conditions made countries busy to repair losses so they did not have much time to take care of matters of gender equality that are considered not priorities. At that time, many women became cheap laborers during the war because the men were at war. However, after the war men returned to take the job with higher wages so that it even widened the difference in salary between men and women (Galligan, 2010).

Based on UN gender equality standards, the level of gender equality can be seen from its gender indices. Since 1995, the United Nations has used the Gender Development Index (GDI) as well as the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) in seeing the high or not high level of gender equality in the world. Broadly speaking, GDI represents indicators in the fields of education and health while GEM is more economic and political. Gender equality can be said to be high if the gap between men and women is above the world average (Global Gender Gap). The smaller the gap means the higher the level of gender equality (UNDP H. D., 2015).

If based on the gender equality standard used by the United Nations above, at this time it can be said that the

European Union does already have a high level of gender equality. The European Union has fulfilled the requirements above to be considered high gender equality. The European Union considers that gender equality is a necessity and continues to take steps to close the gap between women and men. The European Union applies the values of independent economic equality for women and men, equality of work salary, equality in making decisions, ending and combating violence against women, promoting gender equality outside the European Union. To this day, the European Union is still committed to always supporting gender equality by adopting policies on gender equality both within the European Union and outside the European Union. Obstacles in the realization of gender equality policies continued in the European region until the European Union began to form and gradually succeeded in uniting the attitudes of European countries so that the development of equality was not only significant in policy but also significant in practice.

B. Research Question

From the background that has been described, then the formulation of the problem in this thesis is “How are the strategies made by the European Union in increasing gender equality in Europe??”

C. Theoretical Framework

This thesis uses 2 concepts and 2 theories. The concepts used are the concept of Gender and the concept of Feminism, while the theories used are International Regime theory, and Norm Life Cycle by Finnemore and Sikkink.

a. Concept of Feminism

The concept of feminism is defined as, "A series of thoughts that explicitly acknowledge that women are subordinated by men and try to find solutions to overcome these problems." Feminism assumes that the conditions of inequality that occur

between women and men are a result of social construction of gender, which construction can be changed if the construction in society is also changed. Therefore, feminism can also be called a political and cultural movement that strives to improve the condition of women to be equal to men (Azizah, Gender dan Politik, 2017).

b. Concept of Gender

Gender refers to the social construction of roles, behaviors, activities and attributes that are considered appropriate for men and women. Joan Scott defines gender as "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and a primary way on signifying relationships of power". Gender also includes community expectations of values, what is considered good and bad for women and men, and hopes for the roles that women and men can play in society. In other words gender is a cultural formation of masculinity and feminist. These qualities can differ from one place and another, and from one time to another and from culture to another culture. Gender is a form of a culture or social construction, and therefore gender can also change, appear, or disappear from time to time and from place to place. This gender distinction is considered to be a factor driving inequality between men and women (Azizah, Gender dan Politik, 2017).

c. International Regime Theory

According to Stephen Krasner, "Regime is sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given area of international relations." In regime theory, there are

4 things identified by Krasner as a set of things that make up the regime in an international relations environment. First, principles are beliefs about facts, causes, and honesty. Second, norms are rules / standards of behavior that exist in rights and obligations. Third, form certain rules for taking action. Fourth, policy making procedures refer to current practices (general practice) for making and implementing collective decisions (Azizah, INDONESIA AND THE GLOBAL GENDER EQUALITY REGIME, 2013).

Krasner's Regime Theory (1983) states that international regimes can influence the behavior of the state. The effect of the regime on the state is also caused because the regime is the result of the wishes of the actors themselves (the state). Regime by Krasner emphasizes the normative dimension in international politics as a middle ground between an explicit demand and commitment. Therefore, Krasner considers the regime is not something that is forced to be created.

The Krasner regime theory will be used in this thesis to prove the desires or hopes of the European Union countries for gender equality so that the gender regime can apply there. The regime will be proven by examining there or not the evidence of the existence of the regime itself, according to Krasner. The proof is a set of principles, norms, rules, and the process of policy making with regard to gender equality both explicitly and implicitly.

d. Norm Life Cycle by Finnemore and Sikkink

Finnemore and Sikkink put forward a perspective that the dynamics in international politics can be influenced by international norms. Where these international norms can also influence domestic norms in a country. The perspective of

Finnemore and Sikkink is an answer to the inability of the perspective of liberalism and realism to explain the micro problems that occur. In its dynamics, international norms can be accepted by the elites of a country through pressure in the domestic public or the international public. In this case, international organizations and non-governmental organizations can play a role in disseminating these international norms.

Finnemore and Sikkink have described how a norm can emerge through the life-cycle of norms. There are three propositions related to the emergence of international norms, which are processes in the norms that influence state and non-state behavior. And also which norms are relevant to be used and under what conditions these norms can be used. The influence in these norms can be explained through three stages of the process, namely:

The first stage is "norm emergence" in which new norms emerge and are introduced by norm entrepreneurs. Norm entrepreneurs will try to convince other parties to get the necessary support ("critical mass") so that they become norm leaders. The second stage is the "norm cascade", which is when the norm leader socializes the ideas and norms he believes to other countries so that they have norm followers. The third stage is internalization which starts at the final stage of the norm cascade. When there is internalization of norms, the norms are considered as taken-for-granted so that it is almost not a problem. For example, recently almost all also agreed that slavery, apartheid is something that is not useful and should not happen. The following article will describe the life cycle of norms on the issue of gender equality in Europe which is divided into

three stages, namely the emergence of norms on gender equality in Europe, the dissemination of norms on gender equality in Europe and the internalization of norms on gender equality in Europe.

1) Stage One: The Origin / Emergence of Norms on gender equality in the European Union (Norm Emergence)

Equality between women and men is one of the founding principles of the European Union since its foundation. It goes back to 1957 when the principle of equal pay for equal work became part of the Roman Treaty. Much progress has been made in getting more women into the workforce. Ideas and ideas about gender equality are constructed to be the norm in the European Union. Starting from the demand for equal wages between men and women which eventually extends to other fields such as women's suffrage, equal treatment at work, the absence of discrimination between men and women. Prosecution on gender equality which previously only existed in the domestic area for country change and could become an international norm. (Commission, Gender equality in the European Union, 2011)

2) Second Stage: Dissemination of Norms on Gender Equality in the European Union (Norm Cascades)

The European Union also made the EU Gender Action Plan (GAP) 2010-2015 as another matter which contains operational documents more specifically at certain points of all the targets the EU wants to achieve, namely regarding cooperation with external

parties. In essence, this GAP aims to make the European Union a role model in gender equality in the international world by assisting donor countries in implementing gender equality policies, providing financial assistance to facilities for joint dialogue. In addition to the twin-track approach above, political and policy dialogue is a very important and effective approach to approach external parties and share issues of gender inequality and how solutions can be worked together.

3) Third Stage: Internalization of Norms on Gender Equality (Internalization).

After a joint political dialogue, the ultimate goal of this approach is to invite partner countries to change or create new policies that are gender sensitive. This dialogue covers all aspects without coercion, because it is voluntary and directive. These approaches are not only taken by the European Union but are monitored by the CEDAW committee or other relevant UN agencies. After the 2010-2015 period ended, the European Commission made a second period document, namely, "The European Union (EU) the new Gender Action Plan" Transforming the Lives of Girls and Women through EU External Relations 2016 - 2020 ", promising to consider gender considerations in all EU external relations and promote gender equality in the world. (Commission, EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development 2010-2015, 2015)

D. Hypothesis

The strategies made by the European Union in increasing gender equality in Europe are:

1. The European Union is able to form a gender regime that can improve gender equality in the European Union. The form of the regime created and agreed upon by the European Union:
 - a. Council Directive 2010/18/EU
 - b. Commission Decision 2008/590/EC
 - c. European Parliament Resolution 2013/C 251 E/02
 - d. Council Recommendation 2011/C 191/01
 - e. Hungary Government Resolution No.1004/2010 (I. 21.)
 - f. Sweden Amendment on Parental Leave 2016
2. In adopting and making policies, the European Union always involves an element of gender in it.

E. Research Purposes

Want to know the reasons and efforts that caused the European Union to be able to make significant changes so that the gender equality rate is high.

F. Research Scope

To keep the research at the core of the discussion, the authors limit the scope of research from the European Union in 2008 until the year this thesis was made, namely 2020. Then, all kinds of discussions in the study use the main analysis unit of regional organizations (European Union) and not on the research of each country.

G. Research Methodology

1. Case Study / Literature Review

In this research, the author will use data collection techniques in the form of case studies or library research sourced from books, scientific journals, scientific papers, magazines and articles

from internet sites, as well as other sources relevant to the problem in this research. The type of data that will be used in this study is secondary data, sourced from all written sources. Moreover, using data analysis techniques that are qualitative.

2. Data Collection Method

This thesis uses a method data collection using the secondary sources approach, where data collected comes from publications, reports, news, official sources, and others (Kumar, 2011).

3. Qualitative Approach

This thesis uses a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach is tightly defined as an approach in research that does not contain numerical elements or the sum of the expected answers. Not that this approach does not use numbers, but numbers are only used as evidence of the arguments built in this thesis. A qualitative approach is used to describe data or facts, contextualize the data in the social environment, know the purpose of data or information, know the process of data development, classify data, and finally connect these data into a qualitative analysis (Dey, 1993).

H. Writing System

Chapter I describes the background, problem formulations drawn from this background, the framework used to answer the problem formulation, and hypotheses. This chapter also contains research objectives, research methodology, and thesis writing systematics.

Chapter II will discuss more about the issue of gender equality in the European Union and how it is developing

Chapter III answers the first hypothesis about the ability of the European Union to form the gender regime by using evidence in accordance with the Krasner regime theory.

Chapter IV answers the second hypothesis about the dynamics in international politics that can be influenced by international norms. Where these international norms can also influence domestic norms in a country. It is proven by the existence of the norm life cycle theory by Finnemore and Sikkink

Chapter V contains the conclusions that can be drawn from the research that has been done and closes