

THE INFLUENCE OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORK FOR GENDERCIDE ISSUE IN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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Abstract

This article is aimed to explain and analyze the advocacy process to stop the practice of gendercide in People's Republic of China. Gendercide has long history in human civilization, this happened in several other countries, one of them is People's Republic of China. The practice of gendercide in People's Republic of China was getting worse with the implementation of One-Child Policy. It caused high number of abortion and most of the abort infants are female. Because of that, the issue of gendercide in People's Republic of China need to be advocated. To analyze the advocacy process in this issue, the writer uses Boomerang Pattern as a tool of analysis and most of the data comes from the secondary data using library research method. This research found out that the advocacy process is: 1) The local NGOs who face restriction from Chinese government build network with INGOs; 2) The INGOs cooperate to advocate the issue in international level and push United States, United Nations, and European Parliament to condemn Chinese government. As the result, the advocacy process above could reduce the number of gendercide victim and also influence the decision making of Chinese government.

Keyword(s): *Transnational Advocacy Process, Gendercide, People's Republic of China*

Introduction

The term of gendercide is introduced by American feminist Mary Anne Warren in her 1985 book, *Gendercide: The Implications of Sex Selection*. In the simple word, the term gendercide means the genocide based on the gender. This issue is also happened in several countries, such as India, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Republic of China, and People's Republic of China (Economist, 2010). Generally speaking, there are at least around 200 million missing women in this

world because of violence against women called gendercide (Fine, 2005). Moreover, the highest number of gendercide's victim comes from India and People's Republic of China.

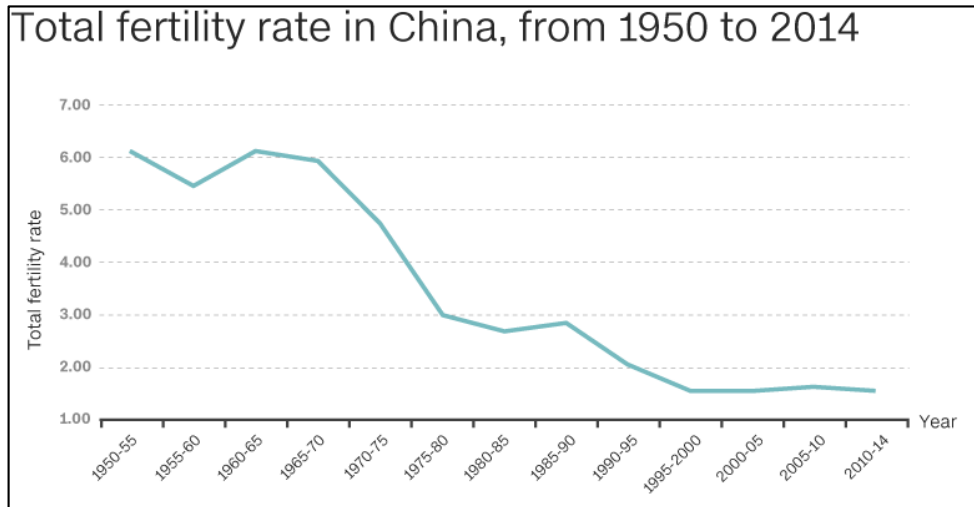
However, this research focuses in People's Republic of China because of in this country, the gendercide happens not only caused by the culture of Chinese ancestor, but also there are driving factors which is One Child Policy. This policy indirectly can boost the number of gendercide's practice in the People's Republic of China, especially through forced abortion in modern way, instead of using traditional method, such as drowning, exposure, suffocation, starvation, strangulation, stabbing, poisoning, and even burying alive the baby (Mungello, 2008).

Fundamentally, the cause of gendercide in People's Republic of China is caused by the son-preference culture which exist inside if Confucian faith. So, the Confucian teaches that female was inferior by nature, narrow-minded, unintelligent, and dominated by the emotions (Guisso, 1981). Besides, the Chinese families use patrilineal and patrilocality as the pattern of family. That condition puts women at a severe social disadvantage relative to men.

Even though the practice of gendercide in People's Republic of China has been existing since Chinese antiquity, but it did not result in the significant number of gendercide victim. In contrary, the implementation of One-Child Policy led to increasing of abortion in the People's Republic of China. According to the graphic of total fertility rate in the People's Republic of China from 1950 to 2014, it shows that the fertility rate in the People's Republic of China from 1950 to 1976 as the end of the Mao leadership is fluctuating. That fact could be counted as the high

number of fertility rate compared with the fertility rate after the end Mao's leadership.

Graphic 1.1 Total Fertility Rate in China from 1950 - 2014



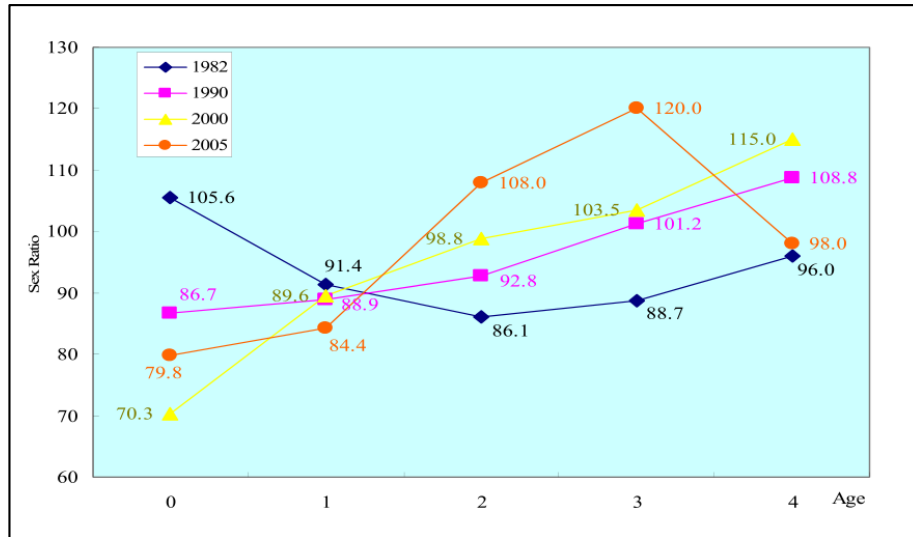
Source: (Senthilingam, 2016)

Moreover, the government does not provide exact number of female fetus who abort. Seeing the graphic above is not enough to explain that the practice of gendecide really happened in People's Republic of China. Because of that, the other indicator which indicate the practice of gendecide is through sex ratio of mortality rates of children age 0-4. Based on the picture below, it reflects that during 1990 to 2005 many baby girls died rather than baby boys. It because the graphic explains the sex ratio of mortality rates in which uses male as the benchmark. By taking the example in the year of 2000 for age 0, it is pointed that 70.3, it means that in 2000 for the infant (0 age) there is 79 to 80 male infant who died per 100 female infant who died. As well as in 2000 for one year, there is 89 to 90 male infant who died per 100 female infant who died.

The reason behind more girls died during 1990 to 2005 compared with the fact in 1982 in which there are more boys died caused by during the 1990 to 2005, the One-Child Policy has implemented fully and already strongly influence the

Chinese society to obey with the rule through avoid to have more than one children. Because of that during 1990 to 2005, the mortality rate of girl child was higher than boy child, as well as the influence of son-preference culture.

Graphic 1.2 Sex Ratio of Mortality Rates of Children Age 0-4, China, 1982-2005



Source: (Li S., 2007)

As explained with the prove above that the practice of gendercide in People’s Republic of China is really happened, it is already against the concept of human rights. That is why, the gendercide includes to the crimes against humanity, as well as the genocide. This argument could be relay on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It stated in Article 1:

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” (UN, 1948)

According to the Article 1, it reflects that all human beings had right to born in this world and treated equally and freely in all aspect of life. It is no matter the ages, the right to born equally and free should implement since human being exists in this world.

In addition, the other international platform which support the practice of gendercide is Beijing Declaration as the result of UN Fourth World Conference on Women, it states in Article 9:

“Ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women and the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms.” (UN, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995)

Based on the Article 9 above, it reflects that the state parties who signed and ratified this declaration agree to admit the women right as well as included girl child right as part of human rights. In which they should get their fundamental freedom of human rights. The People's Republic of China as ratified state parties, basically they should implement this idea that women and girl child should treat equally started in the womb.

On the other hand, the People’s Republic of China already provided it with the domestic laws explicitly ruled about the practice of gendercide or sex-selective abortion. It stated inside of The Population and Family Planning law in Article 1, 2, and 18:

“The promotion of family planning as a fundamental state policy to achieve a demographic balance through a comprehensive approach, including the fertility policy.” (Zbierski, 2010)

According to those articles, it shows that One-Child Policy is aimed to achieve demographic balance in the People’s Republic of China through fertility policy without any forced or torture action.

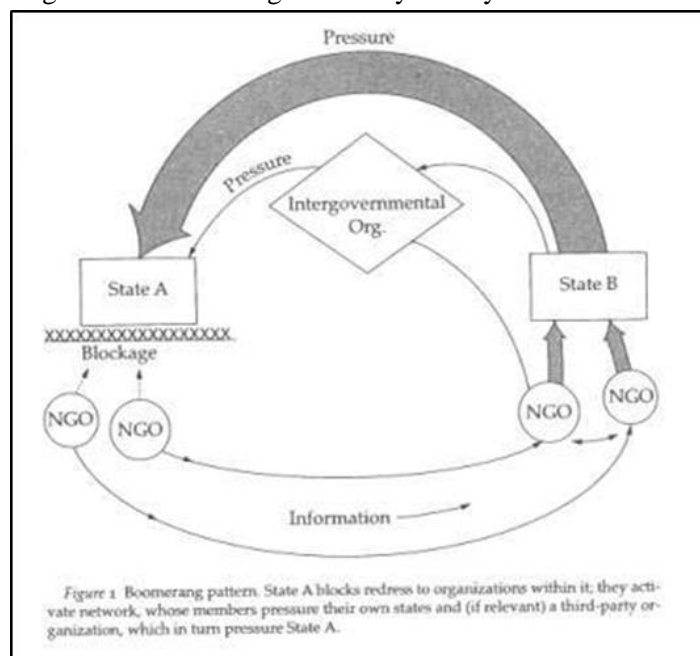
Based on those facts above explains about the gendercide in the People’s Republic of China and it is already against the human rights, as the following impact is the dangerous of gendercide for Chinese society in the People’s Republic of China. There are several future dangerous, they are:

- a. Imbalance population. It happens because the gap of sex ratio looks like little bit change since the 1980s and tends to be stagnant nowadays up to 2020. If the People Republic of China's government lets this problem flowing, the decreasing population insignificant number will happen because of the deficit of women.
- b. There are many men in the People's Republic of China were predicted cannot be married. According to prediction of expertise of demographic, one of them is Rob Brooks. He predicts that on 2020 there are 30.000 more men than women which in the condition of adulthood, but they cannot be married (Brooks, 2013). It caused of imbalance population that happens since the 1980s.
- c. Increasing of human trafficking. The People's Republic of China has become the destination and transit country for human trafficking. One of the factors of there are many women come from neighboring counties as the victim of human trafficking is the deficit of women in People's Republic of China. There are two kinds of women trafficking in the People's Republic of China, as a wife of marriage broker or sex labor and most of them come from neighboring countries such as Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, Mongolia, and North Korea.
- d. Increasing of social crime. Recently, the phenomenon on the increasing social crime is related with the deficit of women and surplus of men who unable to marry. It because they will feel psychology difficulties such as the pressure of family and the judgment of society. According to the data the crime rate in the People's Republic of China has doubled over the last 20 years and for social unrests have been risen from 40.000 incidents in 2001 to 90.000 incidents in 2009 (Winkler, 2014).

Method of Research

Regarding to the facts of gendercide in the People's Republic of China, starting from the method of kill the baby, big number of victim of gendercide's practice, and the the future dangerous of gendercide for Chinese society, that is why this issue needs to be advocated. However, using the common concept of advocacy such as the advocacy process which is conducted by the local NGOs, that is not enough. As the result, the writer decides to use the concept of Transnational Advocacy Networks as the tool to analyze the advocacy process of gendercide in the People's Republic of China, especially using the Boomerang Pattern as the model.

Figure 1.1 Boomerang Pattern by Kathryn Sikkink



Source: (Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, 1999)

The model of Boomerang Pattern is explained by Kathryn Sikkink in her book, *Activist beyond Border*. Inside the book, it explains that the Transnational Advocacy Network will appear because of several reasons, but in the context of gendercide in the People's Republic of China the reason is that of the channels

between domestic groups and their governments are blocked because of the government the one who becomes the primary guarantor of rights turns to be the primary of violators of rights. So, in this condition, it is difficult for the local NGOs advocates the issue. That is why, the local NGOs has built the cooperation with the international alliance. Furthermore, the TNO will cooperate with other state who has power and same concern toward advocating the issue.

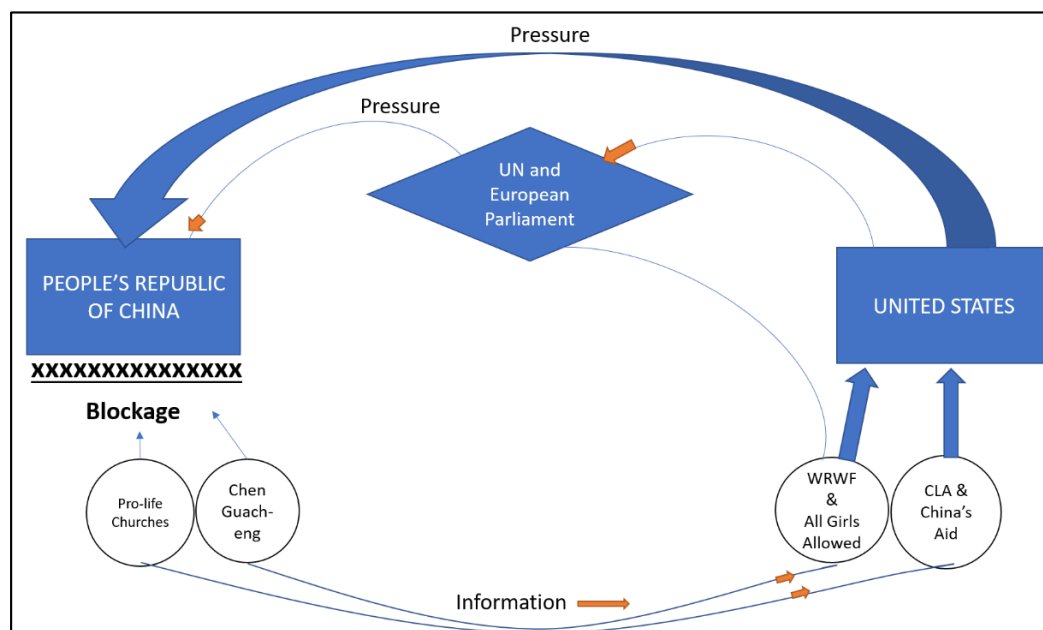
Through the support of the other states and TNO, they can give pressure from outside to the conflict state. The concrete form of pressure can be conducted in two ways. The first is the supporting state can directly give pressure to the conflict state through sanction, criticism, and the others. The second is the state and TNO can cooperate with the intergovernmental organization, like United Nations for example to gain the public opinion toward the case. So, even though the local NGOs cannot directly advocate the case and influence the decision-making process, they can use the links with the TNO, other supporting states, and even the intergovernmental organization to give pressure from outside of state into government.

Moreover, this research also has certain of methodology. Basically, this research uses qualitative method analysis with secondary data. In terms of get the data, the writer uses library research method as the data collecting method. In addition, this research uses the data from books, journals, and articles that relevant with the process of advocacy which is conducted by Transnational Advocacy Networks to advocate the issue of gendercide in the People's Republic of China.

The Advocacy Process of Gendercide Issue in the People's Republic of China

The issue of gendercide includes the complex problem and it needs the influence of more actors, not only domestic actors but also the international actors. It is getting harder because the state's system of the People's Republic of China is socialist, as common people know that the socialist state is hard to be influenced regarding lawmaking or the decision-making process. That is why the concept of Transnational Advocacy Networks is suitable to solve the issue of gendercide in the People's Republic of China.

Figure 1.2 The Implementation Boomerang Pattern to the advocacy process of Gendercide in the People's Republic of China



According to the Figure 1.2 above, it shows that there are three stages of advocacy process for gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China. The first stage is local NGOs, Chen Guangcheng as human rights activist and Pro-life churches conduct independent advocacy separately. However, their advocacy actions face the blockage from government in the form of restriction, spied, banned, and even tortured and jailed. Then, move to the second stage. In the second stage,

the local NGOs build networks with the other INGOs to make the process of advocacy becomes stronger and loudly in international level. The corporate INGOs in this context are All Girls Allowed, Women's Rights Without Frontiers, and China Life Alliance. The type of advocacy conducted by them divide into two parts as the independent advocacy and joint advocacy. The last is third stage. In the third stage, those INGOs pressure the United States, United Nations, and European Parliament to condemn the practice of gendercide through forced abortion in the People's Republic of China.

1. Independent Advocacy

The advocacy process is started in the domestic level with Chen Guangcheng and Pro-life churches as the actors of local NGOs.

a. Chen Guangcheng

First of all, the prominent activist is Chen Guangcheng. He is a lawyer, and he has a disability which is blind, and there are many people call him by a barefoot lawyer. He is well known as the civil right activist who works on human right issues in rural areas of the People's Republic of China. he started to advocate the forced abortion through making consultation home with his wife, Yuan Weijing. After that, many people come to ask advice on how to protect themselves concerning forced abortion or forced sterilization.

On the other hand, Chen also builds networking with the other attorneys and journalist in Beijing and Shanghai to handle and guide the case to the lawsuit, like for example is the case of Liu Qinghua who is hiding from the family planning officials who pressure her to get sterilized with a tubal ligation. She was hiding and

living her father, Liu Yuancheng. Because of the official cannot find Qinghua, they brought Yuancheng and tortured him. For further steps, Chen wrote a complaint to against the head of the Yinan County Family Planning Commission for implementing unlawful orders from the party. The aim of bringing the case to the lawsuit besides seeking justice, it will bring media attention to the vicious implementation of One-Child Policy. However, the fact says that the domestic or local media still were not willing to cover any aspect of family planning campaign (Guangcheng, 2015).

Consequently, during the advocacy efforts of Chen Guangcheng on the issue of gendercide in the People's Republic of China, he was spied, intimidated, and threatened by the commission's authorities. The most crucial part happened during Chen's visit to Beijing for the interview with the Washington Post, he was kidnaped by officials from Linyi County, part of Shandong Province for around 38 hours because of he revealed abuses of rural women in the of family planning policy (Cheung, 2005). In the end, he was arrested and prisoned for four years and continued by imprisoned in his home.

b. Pro-life Churches

Secondly is coming from the pro-life churches movement. in the past few years, there are many people, especially Chinese Christians who got some information from the pro-life message from U.S. based ministries, internet or overseas teachings, and even from reading the Bible. Therefore, started from there, the information and message have spread to tens of thousands of churches around the mainland China. Those churches conduct the advocacy process are not only through

preaching in church but also come door to door to persuade the women to take care and avoid the forced abortion. At least, each church who parts of pro-life movement can save two to five babies a year (Cheng, 2014).

Moreover, there are other ways of advocacy process conducted by Chinese Christian churches, like for example is a campaign against the forced abortion. The open of campaign action is conducted by Jonny Fan as one of the leaders of Early Rain Reformed Church in Chengdu. He distributed brochures helped by other church members, the brochures urging mothers not to abort their infants on June 1, 2012, as a China Children's Days (Cheng, 2014). The other action provides the education especially for second children because the second children in the People's Republic of China will be difficult to get *hokou* or household registration. When the children are difficult to get hukou, they are also difficult to get the formal education

However, the efforts of local NGOs are not enough to solve the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China. It caused of the limited access of movement as the result of blockage from Chinese government. That is why, those local NGOs need to open networks, especially with INGOs who have similar on concern.

a. All Girls Allowed

This INGO is established by Chai Ling. She is one of the prominent Chinese activists during 1989 Tiananmen Square student movement. The All Girls Allowed is a non-governmental organization based on the Bible and Christian values as their ideology who concern to abolish the practice of gendercide in the People's Republic of China. Regarding their concern, they arrange some strategies as guidance for their advocacy activities. So, the strategies of All Girls Allowed are: 1) Exposing

the injustice of China's One-Child Policy; 2) Rescuing girls and mothers from gendercide in society; 3) Celebrating women by embracing them as equal image-bearers of God through their pledge, "In Jesus' Name, Simply Love Her" (Allowed, 2013).

All Girls Allowed also create several programs aimed for help the survival girl from gendercide and to reduce the number of gendercide case in the People's Republic of China. The first program is Baby Shower Gift. This program is designed for saving girls from prenatal sex-selection abandonment and trafficking. Technically, every month All Girls Allowed will give \$20 to support poor pregnant Chinese family. So, with those subsidies, husbands and in-laws will recognize the value of having daughters. The purpose of that kind of idea is they change their idea of abort and abandon the daughter. The results of this program are in 2011, All Girls Allowed can rescue around 550 girls from the threaten of gendercide through the Baby Shower Program (Ling, 2012).

The second program is an Orphan Scholarship, and this program is aimed at sending abandoned girls to school for better future of them. It because of there are many families both in the rural and urban area who afford for baby boys. the result of this program, at the end of 2011, at least All Girls Allowed can send 25 orphaned girls to get a proper education (Ling, 2012).

The third program is Defending Mothers, and this program is aimed at political and legal advocacy against forced abortion and forced sterilization. This program is launched because many victims experienced forced abortion and forced sterilization. Like, for example, is the case of Feng Jianmei who arrested illegally on May 30, 2012, because of she got pregnant with the second child and cannot pay

the expensive fines. The result of this program is for example in the case of Cao Ruyi who had five months pregnancy as a second child, and she was forced to abort her fetus. To save both Cao Ruyi and her child, there are many international media, including All Girls Allowed which publish the story of Cao Ruyi. As a result, the story of Cao Ruyi became highlights in international media, and it attracts public awareness. As the result of international pressure, the Women Rights in China as one of the All Girls Allowed partner accompanied Cao's husband to negotiate with the official to let Cao Ruyi return home. The official allowed it, but then Cao and her husband should sign a promise letter that they will abort the fetus on June 16 and pay for 10,000 yuan as collateral (Jing, 2013). Instead, abort their fetus on June 16, they chose to escape and hide from officials to get birth for their child.

b. Women's Rights Without Frontiers

This INGO is a group of international coalition of individuals and organization united into one belief that forced abortion and sexual slavery in People's Republic of China must be stopped. This INGO is established by Reggie Littlejohn as the lawyer. Moreover, this INGO has two kinds of missions, which is short-term mission and long-term mission. The short-term mission is raising public awareness regarding to the coercive enforcement of One Child Policy and its connection with the human trafficking in Asia and also the other human rights abuses which arise out because of this coercive enforcement. Meanwhile, the long-term mission is fighting for the freedom, justice, and women's rights worldwide, especially in the People's Republic of China. This mission can be achieved by exposing violations of women's rights in the media in order to gain public

understanding about those violations and extending help to the victims, as well as for those who stand up for women's freedom and justice (Littlejohn, t.thn.).

The advocacy action of this INGO is field advocacy. It means that the Women's Rights Without Frontier fieldworker will go to each home and conduct door to door persuasive to change the decision of women for abortion their fetus (Derois, 2016). Besides that, to support the field advocacy, the Women's Rights Without Frontier also provides allowances for their daughters regarding supporting basic needed of daughters through Save a Girl campaign. The Save a Girl campaign is designed to combat gendercide and fight forced abortion. So, this campaign invites people to contribute \$25 a month with the allocation is \$20 goes to the women in People's Republic of China, and \$5 goes to cover organization cost and field worker. The concrete way of Women's Rights Without Frontier combat gendercide is giving monthly allowances for a year to mothers who will abort and abandon their baby girls, so it will reduce the pressure of mothers to abort or abandon their baby girls. As well as the way to fight abortion, this organization will give monthly allowances to support women who pregnant without the birth permit and hide to escape forced abortions. The result of this program or campaign, the Women's Rights Without Frontiers claimed that they have saved around 200 baby girls (Chretien, 2017).

c. ChinaAid

The third INGO is China Aid Association or well known as ChinaAid. This INGO was established in 2002 by Bob Fu. The advocacy action conducted by this INGO is providing the victims with lawyers to represent victims who caught by

officials, and they also provide the families with funds for paying fines and offer other help (WND, 2012). This program is called by Chinese Children Defense Funds, and it is aimed for against the violation of One-Child Policy which creates forced abortion and sterilization as a common thing in the People's Republic of China.

The program appears because of the case of Feng Jianmei in which, the infant of Feng Jianmei cannot be saved, and she should face the forced abortion. Instead of did not do anything besides publishing the story of Feng Jianmeni, ChinaAid tried to dig more in-depth about the cause of Feng Jianmei's forced abortion, which is she got pregnant for the second child, and she cannot pay 40,000 yuan as compensation to the officials. That is why, to prevent the similar case will happen in the future, ChinaAid launch the program of Chinese Children Defense as the prevention.

d. China Life Alliance

The fourth INGO is China Life Alliance. This INGO is established by Mark Li as an American missionary. She established China Life Alliance in 2010 with the vision to create a decentralized network of churches and ministries to share the pro-life message and help women keep their babies (Cheng, 2014). So, China Life Alliance is a network of individuals, churches, and ministries who seek to protect the lives of millions in People's Republic of China who are threatened by abortion, infanticide, abandonment, and trafficking (China, 2015). Moreover, this INGO is U.S.-based, but most of the work is conducted in the People's Republic of China in grassroots technique by using churches networks. Generally speaking, this INGO

is not fully decentralized, this INGO is semi-decentralized. It means that all the China Life Alliance and Ministry Partners are free agents and responsible for organizing their churches and initiative for the action of advocacy regarding the gendercide issue.

The role of China Life Alliance is helping the families who face the threat of forced abortion and sterilization to negotiate with family planning officials to revoke the abortion or sterilization and change it to be paying with fines to the family planning officials. Automatically, the China Life Alliance should provide them with the financial assisting to they can pay the fines. Moreover, the China Life Alliance needs to help the families in negotiation because of somehow the officials will insist on aborting the infant. It happened depends on how many babies have been born in the region, because every province has different quota for baby to born, like for example there are several provinces which implement 100 Days, No Babies (Andersen, 2012).

Besides, China Life Alliance also launches several programs to rescue the children and help the families. The programs are Safe House for Pregnant Women, Abortion Rescue Teams, and Christian Legal Aid Ministry (Cheng, 2014). Those programs are aimed at helping mothers to avoid the forced abortion and take care the babies after they born started from the aid assisting and the administration. To implement those programs optimally, the China Life Alliance cooperate with the native people to conduct those programs. Like for example is Sarah Huang, she is one of the house church leaders. She almost aborted her son in 2012, and after that, she realized the importance of protecting human being's life. Because of that, she decided to work with China Life Alliance to rescue the children. She helps mothers

who face the threat of forced abortion by look for safe houses to keep them away from the pressure of relatives or threaten to report family planning officials.

2. Joint Advocacy

The other advocacy actions conducted by NGOs, INGOs, and international actors also happened in joint advocacy or in the other words they advocate the issue of gendercide together to gain the power.

a. Local NGOs

Started with Chen Guangcheng decided to build networks with the foreign journalists, such as with the New York Times and Washington Post and Chinese foreign activists, such as Teng Biao as human rights lawyers, Jiang Tianyong, Tu Bisheng, and a scholar Guo Yushan (Guangcheng, 2015). Moreover, Chen can get in touch with Philip Pan as a reporter from the Washington Post, he agreed to write a story about the human right abuses in the People's Republic of China. As a result of that, on August 27, 2005, the Washington Post published the story under the headline "Who Controls the Family?" (Pan, 2005).

Through build networks with the international media, public in worldwide as well as inside of the People's Republic of China could put more attention and awareness that this issue exists around them. After the issue of gendercide has gotten the international attention, one door opened. Finally, Chen was succeeded to build a network with the domestic journalist, Li Jian who ran a website called the Civil Rights Defense Networks. They did the investigation by interviewing the women about their experiences regarding the forced abortion and forced sterilization. The result of interview besides will be published in the domestic

media, and it will be given to the foreign press to give pressure to the Chinese National Family Planning Commission. This action was quite useful because after the commission got pressure, finally they declared that there was an infraction of the policy in Linyi and the responsible officials had been asked to resign or given by another punishment.

On the other hand, the action of pro-life churches also face rejection from Chinese's government. when pro-life churches insist on working alone in advocacy process of gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China, it would not give significant impact. That is why, many of them open networking with the international actors, especially INGO who has similar concern and ideology with them, one of them is China Life Alliance. Basically, China Life Alliance needs the field grassroots movement to conduct the program of China Life Alliance. However, it does not mean that churches just follow the program of China Life Alliance, they also responsible for organizing their churches and initiating for creative action to advocate the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China. The involvement of China Life Alliance's leadership helps merely to guide the campaign, as well as produce the materials and resources to further the message of life.

Furthermore, the pro-life churches also work hand in hand with China Life Alliance concerning save the pregnant women who face forced abortions as threaten. Like for example, the China Life Alliance tends to advocate the victim of One-Child Policy abuses which means the pregnant women, and they provide financial assisting for paying the fines, safe house for pregnant women, abortion rescue teams, and Christian legal aid ministry. On the other hand, the pro-life

churches tend to save the children who save from the threaten of One-Child Policy. The pro-life churches provide the children with the private school and adoption family if it is necessary.

b. Joint Advocacy by INGOs

The existence of INGO is crucial in the transnational advocacy networks, especially when they cooperate together to advocate certain issues. In this case, those INGOs mentioned above also conduct joint advocacy with the purpose of making bigger power and louder voice in terms of advocate the gendercide issue.

There are several actions, they are:

- Press conference in Capitol Hill. This conference happened in 2010 facilitated by All Girls Allowed as co-hosting, cooperates with Congressman Chris Smith, Harry Wu as a former political prisoner, and Reggie Littlejohn as the founder of Women's Rights Without Frontiers. This press conference is aimed for discussing the issue of female infanticide, promoting awareness regarding the situation in People's Republic of China, and encouraging the Chinese government to end the One-Child Policy (Cummings, 2010). This press conference is not only discussing the issue, but also publish and spread the existence of this issue with the result of international society will aware about it.
- Coalition to end gendercide. This coalition as the following action of previous action, which is Press Conference in Capitol Hill. This coalition launched in June 1, 2011, on Capitol Hill. The initiator of this coalition is All Girls Allowed and it signed with several actors from human rights activist, politician,

demographers, such as Congresswoman Vicky Hartzler, T. Kumar as a representative of Amnesty International Director of Advocacy for Asia and the Pacific, Chai Ling as founder of All Girls Allowed, Dudley Poston, Jr as a professor of Sociology at Texas A&M University, Congressman Chris Smith, Zhang Yuhong as a victim of One-Child Policy forced abortion (Allowed, 2011). Moreover, this coalition is aimed at introducing the upcoming documentary movie about gendercide in the India and People's Republic of China.

- Documentary movie. Transnational Advocacy Networks make the soft approach conducting the advocacy action in gendercide issue as a whole, not only in the People's Republic of China but also the issue of gendercide that happened in India. The soft approach in the form of a documentary movie, titled by *It's a Girl: The Three Deadliest Words in the World*. This movie is a result from the collaboration of Shadowline Films and other human rights activist, such as Reggie Littlejohn as the president of Women's Rights Without Frontiers, Rita Banerji as gender activist of India, Mitu Khurana as the victim of gendercide in India, so on and so forth. This documentary movie is directed by Evan Grae Davis, and it tells about the practice of female infanticide in India and People's Republic of China which is categorized as a form of violence against women. The aim of making this movie is gaining public attention through the movie as interesting and easy-understand media.
- Coalition to end violence against pregnant women. Besides the bipartisan Coalition to End Gendercide, the transnational advocacy networks also create this coalition in 2012, as the parties are All Girls Allowed, ChinaAid, Women

for Life International Inc., Canada Silent No More, Endeavour Forum Inc., and Jubilee Campaign. This coalition is aimed to file the complaint to the UN Conference on the Status of Women, Human Rights Section, UN Women in New York (Francis, 2012). Together with the complaint files, this coalition also brings totally seventeen cases of One-Child Policy abuses experienced by pregnant women. There are five complaint states from this coalition to the UN Women, they are asking for women's freedom and rights to get birth their children, stop the tortured toward pregnant women, stop the rule of paying fines, stop the forced abortion and sterilization, and those INGOs condemn China's One-Child Policy (Casey, 2012).

- Hearing in institutional bodies. The other strategy is using the facility of hearing in the bodies of each institution, like for example in U.S. Congress, the transnational advocacy networks conduct it together for two times, on May 3 and 15, 2012. This hearing invited Chai Ling, Bob Fu, Reggie Littlejohn, T. Kumar, Chen Guangcheng by phone, so on and so forth. Meanwhile, with the topic of discussion is realizing Chen Guangcheng from the People's Republic of China and the security of his family after the escape of him to the U.S Embassy in Beijing. Besides, on July 9, 2012, Reggie Littlejohn from Women's Rights Without Frontiers together with Bob Fu from ChinaAid and Steven Mosher as President of the Population Research Institute, they testify about the case of forced abortion which happened in People's Republic of China. They bring the specific case of Feng Jianmei, Cao Ruyi, and Hu Jia as the victim of forced abortion (Littlejohn, 2012). Second is the hearing in the European Parliament, they give testify independently. Started by Reggie Littlejohn, she

testified in European Parliament on March 22, 2011 talked about Coerced Abortion in ‘Sexual and Reproductive Rights’ in China (Littlejohn, 2011). The impact of giving testimony to those institutions is the issue of gendercide could be highlighted, and those institutions could work together hand in hand to give pressure for the People’s Republic of China to tackle the issue gendercide inside of their country. The other INGO who testify in European Parliament is All Girls Allowed with Chai Ling as representative. She testifies in 2012 and mentions about the violation of human rights in People’s Republic of China, especially in the issue of forced abortion and forced sterilization. The last hearing is in the United Nations, focused on the women commission. In this hearing, the one who testifies is Reggie Littlejohn. She testifies in United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in 2015. She brings the message of forced abortion and gendercide under China’s One Child Policy are the most significant crimes against women and girls in the world today (Littlejohn, 2015).

c. The Pressure from The United States, United Nations, and European Parliament

As the following action of these advocacy process, it could pressure the United States, United Nations, and European Parliament to do such kind of action. First of all is the United States, as the state who uphold the human rights as one of the values, through Hillary Rodham Clinton as the Secretary of State under Barrack Obama administration, the United States condemned the China’s human rights as stupid action (Latcha, 2012). Furthermore, the condemn of United States is not stopped in Secretary of State, but then the other United States bodies of government

also condemn the practice of forced abortion in the People's Republic of China through making report and hearing. Like, for example, is State Department of Human Rights condemns it with a report, titled by '*China (Includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau) 2015 Human Rights Report*'. On the other hand, Committee of Foreign Affairs condemned the forced abortion in the People's Republic of China through hearing and invited the victim of One-Child Policy abuses, such as Yanling Guo.

As well as in European Parliament, they pressure Chinese's government with condemning the implementation of One-Child Policy which causes the genocide in the form of forced abortion. It was stated inside of European Parliament resolution on July 5th, 2012 that European Parliament was strongly condemned regarding the case and also the practice of forced abortions globally and especially in the context of the One-Child Policy (France-Presse, 2012). Moreover, the resolution of European Parliament, they also pointed the consideration about ongoing debate among intellectuals and scholars regarding the decision continuing Chinese's One-Child Policy or not. Besides that, they also call on the Commission and the European External Action Service to discuss forced abortion on the next bilateral human rights dialogue with (EU, Joint Motion for A Resolution , 2012).

On the other hand, the involvement of United Nations as general on the advocacy process of genocide issue in the People's Republic of China is not quite optimum, even though the genocide issue is a form of human rights and CEDAW abuses. United Nation as general is condemning the issue of forced abortion and forced sterilization in all over the world, such as North America, South America, Africa, Asia, and Europe (Worldwide, 2011). However, United Nations already

provides several recommendations regarding to tackle gendercide, such as use of technology, more reliable data, supportive measures for girl and women, legislation and policy, and the last is advocacy.

Conclusion

As the result of transnational advocacy conducted by local NGOs, INGOs, and the other international actors, the number of gendercide's practice in the People's Republic of China could de-escalate based on the percentage of the missing girl from 2000 to 2005 as the parameter. According to table below, it shows that started in 2005, the percentage of missing girl was decreasing slowly, but it was little bit fluctuate in 2008 and 2009. However, it decreases extremely in 2010. It indicates that the son-preference culture could be eliminated slowly with the programs aimed to support female children.

Table 1.1 Missing from 2000 through 2010

Cohort	Numbers at census time (million)		Expected SR	Numbers of missing girls (million)	Percentage of missing girls
2000	7.83	6.62	1.0588	0.77	10.44
2001	7.73	6.52	1.0590	0.77	10.60
2002	7.42	6.24	1.0591	0.77	10.93
2003	7.29	6.14	1.0593	0.75	10.86
2004	8.03	6.77	1.0594	0.81	10.73
2005	7.99	6.74	1.0595	0.80	10.55
2006	8.25	6.97	1.0596	0.81	10.39
2007	8.27	6.98	1.0596	0.83	10.62
2008	8.51	7.11	1.0597	0.92	11.45
2009	8.57	7.08	1.0597	1.01	12.46
2010	7.46	6.33	1.0595	0.72	10.18

Source: (Li, China's Missing Girls in the Three Decades from 1980, 2012)

On the other hand, the transnational advocacy networks also successfully influence Chinese government policy to change One-Child Policy to be Two-Child Policy. In fact, the One-Child Policy ended at the end of 2014 and in the beginning of 2015, the Two-Child Policy started to be implemented.

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