### CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

Gendercide has been had a long history in human civilization, and this happened not only in one country but also several other countries in this world. First of all, the term of Gendercide is introduced by American feminist Mary Anne Warren in her 1985 book, Gendercide: The Implications of Sex Selection. She stated that:

"By analogy, gendercide would be the deliberate extermination of persons of a particular sex (or gender). Other terms, such as "gynocide" and "femicide," have been used to refer to the wrongful killing of girls and women. However, "gendercide" is a sex-neutral term, in that the victims may be either male or female. There is a need for such a sex-neutral term since sexually discriminatory killing is just as wrong when the victims happen to be male. The term also calls attention to the fact that gender roles have often had lethal consequences, and that these are in important respects analogous to the lethal consequences of racial, religious, and class prejudice." (Warren, 1986)

Based on this definition, it could be seen that the victim of gendercide is not only female but also can be male. It because of the culture and the division of social construction in the society which uses patriarchy. Therefore, the case of gendercide is not only occurring in one country, because there are similar culture and social construction among those countries. There are several countries which face the gendercide case, such as India, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Republic of China, and People's Republic of China (Economist, 2010). This case also has been expanding to the America continent, and this case has faced by Texas lately (Andersen, 2012).

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. Due to their practice of gendercide in both countries are common in society because their cultures support it directly or indirectly. However, then, this paper is going to examine the gendercide in the People's Republic of China because of in this country, and the gendercide happens not only because of the culture of the 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.

Talking about People's Republic of China, it is one of the larger countries, and it also faces the overpopulation problem since the 1950s. This kind of problem overgrew, and People's Republic of China's government could not control the population growth. That is the reason Deng Xiaoping instructed to apply One Child Policy in 1980 which legalized only one child for each family. This policy success to slow the rate of population growth in the Republic of China from 6.396.000.000 in 1965 to be 1.617.000.000 people on 2015 (Bank, 2017).

Behind the success of One Child Policy, there were critical fact that gendercide existed in Chinese society. The People's Republic of China has faced a significant number of abortion cases since the policy was implemented 35 years ago (Schwarzwalder, 2015). Even though the government does not release about the exact number of abortion, specifically the female fetus abortion, some scholars conduct research in this case. Moreover, the cause of this case is the population of the male is higher than female, the Chinese population on 2011 are 51,9% male and 48,1% female, the gap between both of them are 3,8% gap (Brooks, 2013).

However, the gendercide case should be eliminated from the Chinese society. However, then, practically speaking, the type of China's government is a socialist republic with one party domination. It means that mostly, the socialist government relatively closed government regarding their domestic politics. So, concerning gendercide case as the bad side of People's Republic of China's government, it will be difficult for the local non-governmental organization or even society to solve and advocate this case, especially to influence the decision making of China's government directly. Therefore, there is the involvement of Transnational Advocacy Network as the eternal part which can help and give contribution toward the advocacy of this case.

The definition of advocacy itself means that a set of coordinated actions aimed at influencing public policies, social attitudes, or political processes. Advocacy can include the following: a) Enabling and empowering people to speak for themselves; b) Giving support to a policy and persuading those with power to act in support of the policy at local, national, and international levels; c) Gaining and exercising power to influence a political action, and; d) Organizing efforts by citizens to influence the formulation and implementation of public policies and programs by persuading and pressuring state authorities, international financial institutions, and other influential actors (Rights, 2015).

Therefore, using the concept of advocacy regarding eliminating the issue of gendercide, there is cooperation among local and international actors who conduct the concept of advocacy. Those actors are under the Transnational Advocacy Network. The meaning of Transnational Advocacy Network is an organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal of communication and exchange regarding case's advocacy process. However, then if it talks about Transnational Advocacy Networks, actually it is not the only organization because the Transnational Advocacy Network also can be supported by the individual actor or called an activist. The prominent activist can contribute inside of the process of conducting Transnational Advocacy Network. Moreover, this advocacy organization and activists have the scope at the international level, beyond the state's border. Because of that,

the Transnational Advocacy Network is called by the name because of it advocates plead the causes of others or defend a cause or proportion, and they are standing for persons or ideas (Sikkink, 1999). Therefore, in this case, there are several local NGOs who involve such as Chen Guangcheng as the prominent and brave human right activist who fight against the practice of forced abortion and Churches alliance who against the idea of abortion because of it against the Christian thought. In the international level, there are a lot of NGOs who concern with this issue, such as Women's Right Without Frontier, All Girls Allowed, ChinaAid, China Life Alliance, and many more. Moreover, in the involvement of pro-life state and intergovernmental organization are also needed, such as the involvement of the United States, United Nations, and European Parliament.

So, this paper will examine the issue of gendercide through the system of advocacy, especially using Transnational Advocacy Networks as the tool to stop the practice of gendercide in Chinese society.

### **B.** Research Question

This research has the aim to explain the process of advocacy which is conducted by Transnational Advocacy Network to solve the gendercide case in the People's Republic of China. Therefore, based on the background described previously, the research question would be "How is the process of advocacy to stop the practice of gendercide in People's Republic of China?"

#### C. Theoretical Framework

To justify the analysis of this undergraduate thesis, the writer provides theoretical based for analyzing the case. Because of that, the writer needs a tool to analyze the case in this research, here the writer uses Model of Transnational Advocacy Network called Boomerang Pattern by Kathryn Sikkink.

#### 1. Boomerang Pattern

Begins with the question about "how does the process of advocacy to stop the practice of gendercide in the People's Republic of China?" the writer uses the model of boomerang pattern in Transnational Advocacy Network from Kathryn Sikkink.

In the book of Activist beyond Border by Kathryn Sikkink explains that the Transnational Advocacy Network will appear because of several reasons, the first reason is that of the channels between domestic groups and their governments are blocked or where such channels are ineffective for resolving a conflict of these networks. Commonly this kind of condition will run into boomerang pattern as a strategy to solve the issues. In another side, the second reason is the activists believe that networking will further their mission and campaigns, and actively promote networks. The last reason is the conferences, and other forms of international contact can create arenas for forming and strengthening the networks (Sikkink, Activists beyond Borders, 1999). According to those reasons, it could be seen that if the channel of participation the society or local groups are blocked, build up the networking with the international arena is the only choice for them to their issues can be recognized. Mostly, the kind of issues like in the circumstance uses the boomerang pattern as their campaign's strategy.

Furthermore, the boomerang pattern explains that this system of advocacy will appear if the government should be as the primary guarantor of rights turns to be the primary of violators of rights. So, in this condition, it is difficult for the local non-governmental organization advocates the case because the government is already blockage the way of advocacy or the way of influencing the decision-making process regarding the policy of the case. Therefore, the local non-governmental organization should find the other ways through an open link with the external parts, such as Transnational Advocacy Network as the international alliance.

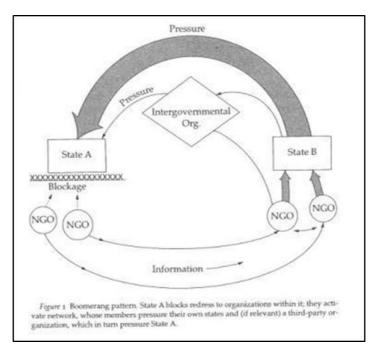


Figure 1 1.1 Boomerang Pattern by Kathryn Sikkink

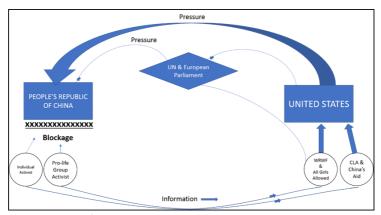
However, when the local NGOs has built the cooperation with the international alliance, the TNO will cooperate with the other state who has power and same concern

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.

According to the explanation of Boomerang Pattern below, it can be implemented in the case study of gendercide's advocacy in the People's Republic of China. In Figure 2, it shows that there are local NGOs, such as Pro-life churches and Chen Guangcheng which concern with human's right and women's right. They have difficulties in articulating their demand and influencing the decision making inside the government's body of the People's Republic of China regarding stop the gendercide's practice and to change One Child Policy. It caused by the blockage situation inside of the People's Republic of China. The definition of blockage here means that obstacles for local NGOs would be challenging to move. In this case, a blockage from the Chinese government happened to those local NGOs because of they against the China Communist Party as the ruling and one domination party with their decision of One-Child Policy. Besides, those actors include the illegal movements who capable to open the critical facts of One-Child Policy and the government can not control them.

Because of that, the further step is local NGOs build networks with INGOs who have more flexibility to move and advocate the issue. In this networking, the local NGOs build cooperation with at least four INGOs, such as All Girls Allowed, Women's Rights Without Frontiers, ChinaAid, and China Life Alliance. After the networks are already established between local NGOs and INGOs, the INGOs can give pressure to the pro-life states, mostly developed states which have high respect for human's rights, such as the United States. At the same time, those INGOs also can give pressure to the intergovernmental organization such as United Nations and European Parliament to pay attention to this issue and realize that this case is needed to be advocated. So, together among INGOs, pro-life states, and intergovernmental organizations can give direct or indirect pressure and influence the decisionmaking in People's Republic of China government, notably the National Health and Family Planning Commission to change the One Child Policy.

Figure 2 1.2 The Implementation Boomerang Pattern to the advocacy process of Gendercide in the People's Republic of China



# D. Hypothesis

The process of advocacy to stop the practice of gendercide in People's Republic of China uses several steps, they are:

- The individual activist and pro-life group activist have conducted various actions that are highly restricted by Chinese government including advocacy by bringing the case to the court and protection by make shelter for pregnant women.
- 2. The local NGOs build networks with related INGOs, such as All Girls Allowed, Women's Rights Without Frontiers, ChinaAid, and China Life Alliance to advocate globally against gendercide in the People's Republic of China.
- 3. INGOs push the United States, United Nations, and European Parliament to condemn Chinese government toward the practice of gendercide in the form of forced abortion.

#### E. Research Methodology

This research uses qualitative method analysis with secondary data. Those data will be analyzed by the one concept which is determined before. The writer believes this method is the most efficient way to support the writer's arguments.

### 1. Type of Research

This research uses qualitative research which observes and analyze the process of advocacy which conducted by Transnational Advocacy Networks regarding solving the gendercide case in the People Republic of China.

## 2. Type of Data

Secondary data in this research is all of the information about the Transnational Advocacy Networks, specifically with the International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and local NGOs who involve in the process of advocacy in gendercide case in the People's Republic of China. Obviously, the data also talks about the fact regarding the gendercide itself. Those secondary data come from several literatures, such as book, journal, article, news paper, and report from INGOs, IGOs, and states.

### 3. Data Collecting Method

The data collecting method for this research is using library research method. 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. Those valid data could be accessed through libraries, website from international media, INGOs, IGOs, and the state comission.

### F. Scope of Research

The writer has chosen to discuss the process of advocacy which is conducted by Transnational Advocacy Networks to solve the case of gendercide in the People's Republic of China in 1980 - 2015 as preliminary research.

#### **G.** Purpose of Writing

The objectives of this research are:

- Describe the urgencies of gendercide case which makes this case is including to the critical case and need to be advocated.
- 2. Describe the process of advocacy which is conducted by Transnational Advocacy Networks to solve the case of gendercide in the People's Republic of China.

# H. Systematic of Research

#### CHAPTER I

In this chapter, the writer discusses the Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Method of Research, Purpose of Writing, Scope of Research, and Systematic of Research.

#### CHAPTER II

In this chapter, the writer will talk about the case of gendercide in the People's Republic of China, the causes of

gendercide, the facts about gendercide, and the impact of gendercide toward the society.

#### CHAPTER III

In this chapter, the writer gives a general overview of the Transnational Advocacy Networks. This chapter contains the actor's profile, a strategy of the campaign, networking, and so forth.

#### **CHAPTER IV**

In this chapter, the writer analyzes the process of advocacy which is conducted by Transnational Advocacy Networks to solve the case of gendercide in the People's Republic of China.

#### **CHAPTER V**

This chapter is the closing part of this research that contains conclusion taken from the whole chapters.