

CHAPTER III

THE ACTORS OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS ON GENDERCIDE ISSUE IN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

This chapter explains about the transnational advocacy networks as the method to solve the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China. Furthermore, this chapter also explains about the other actors who involve in transnational advocacy enetworks in gendercide issues. The actors are the local NGOs against gendercide in the People's Republic of China, the International Non-Governmental Organization against gendercide, the pro-life states who against gendercide issue, and the involvement of Intergovernmental Organization toward the solving of gendercide issue, especially in the People's Republic of China.

A. Transnational Advocacy Networks

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.

First of all, the concept of transnational advocacy networks was introduced by Keck and Sikkink in their book, titled by *Activist Beyond Borders*. In their book

stated that transnational advocacy networks are the fluid and open relationship among knowledgeable, committed actors both individuals and organizations. These relationships have span nation-state boundaries type, and the existence of transnational advocacy networks is aimed for changing the international policy as well as make the changes real for ordinary people's lives (Keck, 2014).

Regarding the explanation above, there is cooperation among various actors. Specifically, there are seven actors who involve in the transnational advocacy networks, they are: 1) international and domestic non-governmental research and advocacy organization; 2) local social movements; 3) foundations; 4) the media; 5) churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, and intellectuals; 6) parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations; and 7) parts of the executive and/or parliamentary branches of governments (Keck, 2014). Even though there are seven actors, who will be involved in transnational advocacy networks, but generally speaking that the actors who involve only several of them. In fact, the most prominent actors in the transnational advocacy networks are international and domestic NGOs, because they usually make initiate actions and they pressure more powerful actors to take a position. Commonly, the NGOs also create the new idea, provide valid and vital information, and do lobbies to change the policy.

Moreover, inside the groups of advocacy networks, they also conduct the sharing values and exchanges information and services. The flow of information among actors are critical because information as the primary tool or weapon to conduct advocacy for certain issues. That is why the actors of transnational advocacy networks should have valid information regarding the issues. In another side, besides sharing the information among the actors in the advocacy networks, they also conduct framing the issue. In this context, framing the issue means that they generate and organize the information to be their material for the campaign. So, framing the issue also

means that they shape the issue to be more important, urgent, and need to be advocated as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, to measure the success of transnational advocacy networks in terms influencing the policy-making, Keck and Sikkink in their book, *Activist Beyond Borders*, introduce several stages or types should be passed by the advocacy networks. The steps are started with 1) the issue creation and agenda setting; 2) influence on discursive position of states and international organizations; 3) influence on institutional procedures; 4) influence of policy change in “target actors” which could be states, international organization, or private actor (company); and 5) influence on state behavior (Keck, 2014).

According to these stages, it explains that the stage of issue creation and agenda setting are aimed at provoking the media attention, public debates, and hearing. The framing of the issue is included in this stage. So, the first stage is coming under the critical stage because if they can make excellent framing of the issue, they will get attention from media, government, and people. Then, the flow of their advocacy agenda will be easier to show that their issue is the crucial and urgent issue. The second stage is an influence on discursive position means that the advocacy networks help to persuade the states and international organizations to support the international declaration or in some extent, they also pressure the state to sign the convention as part of the binding commitment. The third stage is an influence on institutional procedures, and it means that if the state or international organization are already signed and ratified the convention, the regulation will be adopted to the law. So, in the third stage, the advocacy networks keep supervising the process of adopting the regulation to the law with the influence on institutional procedures. The fourth stage is the influence of policy change in “target actors,” in this stage, the influence of advocacy networks not only targeted to the state, but also to the international organization and private actors or company. It because both additional actors previously also launch the policy and it needs to be supervised to suitable

for the convention. The last stage is an influence on state behavior, and this stage could be achieved if all of the element of in the states already adopted the convention to the regulation and the law, so the further action is changing the state behavior regarding the issue.

Therefore, using the transnational advocacy networks as a method to solve the gendecide in the People's Republic of China is a right one. However, regarding conducting the process of advocacy, it takes a long time and the involvement of various actors because the transnational advocacy networks is a complicated and long process of advocacy.

B. The NGOs Against Gendecide in People's Republic of China

The advocacy of gendecide in People's Republic of China begin from local movement in People's Republic of China. But then, generally speaking that the advocacy of human right, especially gendecide issue comes from the individual or activists. It because there is strict regulation regarding to the local NGOs in People's Republic of China cause of the socialist system in the state. That is why, the local movement or NGOs cannot be easy conducting their activity to advocate the gendecide issue.

As well as with the advocacy's process in gendecide issue, almost there is no single local NGOs who officially brave to advocate the gendecide issue. So, the one who braves to advocate the issue is coming from the prominent individual activist or even religious institutions. There are several individuals who against the practice of gendecide as the abuses of human right the impact of gendecide itself make the imbalanced sex ratio in the People's Republic of China. The actors who come from the activist background are Chen Guangcheng, and the actor who comes from the religious institution is Pro-life Churches.

1. Individual Activist

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. In the first beginning, he studied traditional medicine at Nanjing University, but then law major was more interesting for him. Besides that, by studying law, he could use it to redress the discrimination toward disabilities. His part as a lawyer was begun when he returned from Nanjing University to his home in Shandong Province, he became the lawyer for someone who was willing to go to the court, and he defended for their right as ordinary citizens. Under that situation, the act of Chen was not dangerous and against Communist Party.

The awareness of Chen toward the implementation One-Child Policy and the victim of forced abortion or forced sterilization which already broke the human rights. Moreover, the couple who want to have the second or even third child or already have more than one child, they should pay around 4,000 Yuan to the government. That regulation also hits Chen's family, and Chen's mother should have looked for 4,800 Yuan. Besides that, the propaganda of government regarding the population control through slogans was so vicious, such as "If you need a bottle of poison, we will give it to you. If you need a rope, we can supply it." Moreover, "Better a river of blood than one more person" (Guangcheng, 2015). Based on those situations happened around him, then he decided to build 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. After he has recovered, he came to Chen and asked for help. Then, Chen suggested pursuing the case by legal means. 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). Furthermore, the advocacy efforts from Chen and human rights lawyers, they did the investigation by interviewing the women about their experiences regarding the forced abortion and forced sterilization. The result of the interview will be given to the foreign press to give pressure to the Chinese National Family Planning Commission.

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. Like for example on August 11, 2005, during the investigation conducted by Chen, Teng Biao, and Yushan in Dongshigu as part of Yinan County, there were some people following and watching them (Guangcheng, 2015). Then, when they arrived in Yitang township for interviewing victims, the mayor was already there with various cadres and officials, they were ready to stop Chen and teams from doing their investigation. The other examples are the officials also targeted people around Chen, such as Chen's cousin, Chen Guangdong, and his wife, and also Chen's neighbors named Du Dehong. All of them were forced to pay 4,000 yuan and forced sterilization. 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.

2. Pro-life Group Activist

Secondly is coming from the pro-life churches movement. In the past, there was no many pastors or church which concern about this issue because of one reason, according to their perspective, this issue was too sensitive to be discussed as a topic. Time passes, 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.

As the following impact from that situation, are thousands of churches or around 20,000 churches in mainland China who already preached about the idea of abortion is forbidden in Christian (Cheng, 2014). However, the problem is there is no exact data shows that the Chinese Christian churches who categorized as pro-life movements. 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). It means that there are more women saved from forced abortions and there are more churches which fight against abortion.

Moreover, there are other ways of advocacy process conducted by Chinese Christian churches, like for example is a campaign against the forced abortion, provide the education especially for second children, train the pastors regarding the forced abortion issue, and implement the adoption system. First of all is a campaign, the fact of this one is like the action of 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). Besides that, he also made polished pamphlets explaining the scope of abortion in People's Republic of China. In 2013, Fan expanded his campaign to the bus advertisement.

Second of all is providing the education of second children because the second children in the People's Republic of China will be difficult to get *hukou* or household registration. When the children are difficult to get *hukou*, they are also difficult to get the formal education. Because of that, Fan and his church, Early Rain Church provide them with private Christian school and seminary, so the lack of *hukou* will not be their obstacles to get a proper education (Cheng, 2014). The third of all, the other prominent church leader is Peter Wang also made a particular train for the church leader to the words about the forced abortion within their church networks. Wang already estimated that there are about 8,200 pastors preached about forced abortion in their churches in 2014 (Cheng, 2014). The last way, Fan also leads a small pro-life group which focuses on educating the church member regarding the abortion and the system of adoption care. So, this small group connected the abundant baby to the future family who wants to adopt them.

C. International Non-Governmental Organizations Against Gendercide

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 to articulate their demand to the government or at least to the public because the government of the People's Republic of China has a strict regulation regarding the NGOs movement. That is why, the local NGOs in the People's Republic of China need to open networks, especially the advocacy networks with external parts such as INGOs who have similar on concern, focus, values, and ideologies with those local movements.

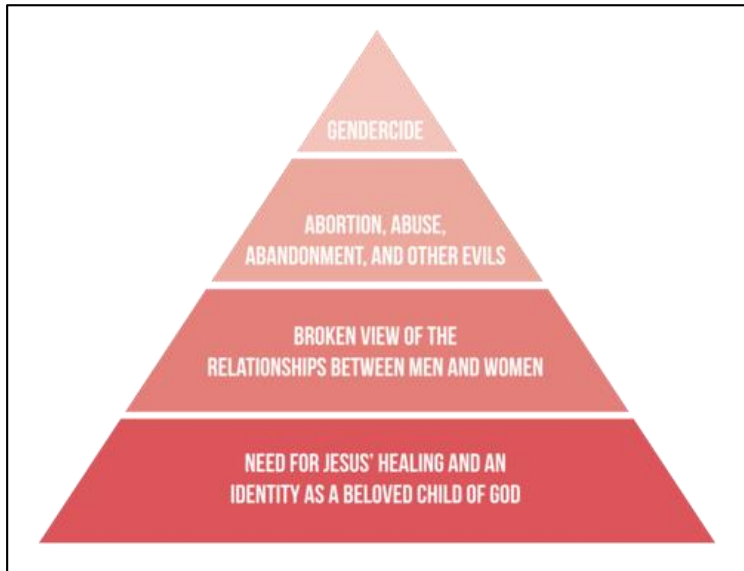
Based on those facts, there are several INGOs which have similarities on concern, focus, values, and ideologies with the local movements. Besides that, these INGOs want to fight

publicly for the solving the practice of gendercide and face the socialist system which implemented by People's Republic of China. The INGOs who against the gendercide in People's Republic of China are All Girls Allowed, Women's Rights Without Frontier, China's Aid, and China Life Alliance. In this part, it explains one by one the INGOs regarding to their action and stands to solve the gendercide issue in People's Republic of China.

1. All Girls Allowed

The first is All Girls Allowed, this INGO is established by Chai Ling. She is one of the prominent Chinese activists during 1989 Tiananmen Square student movement. She also writes a book, titled by 'A Heart for Freedom' which tell about her story started from her beginning of life into the destiny brought her to the United States, and she can establish All Girls Allowed. 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).

Figure 1 3.2 The Gendercide Pyramid



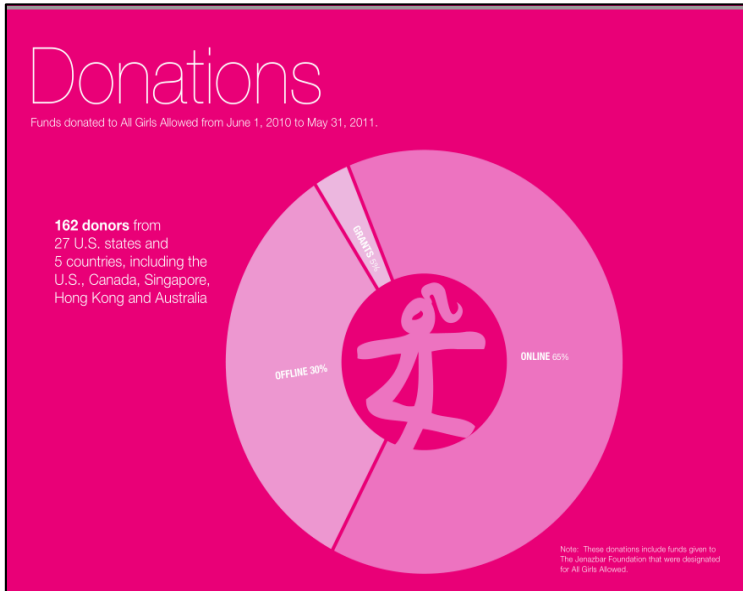
Source: Ling, Chai. 2012. 2012 Report on Gendercide and the One-Child Policy. Boston. All Girls Allowed, retrieved January 6th 2018

However, All Girls Allowed has different perspective to see the cause of gendercide and how to deal with it. The All Girls Allowed creates 'Gendercide Pyramid' which illustrates the gendercide in the People's Republic of China comes from the underlying layers of struggle. According to the diagram above, it explains that when the gendercide already happened inside of society, they mostly will do several actions such as abortion, abuse, abandonment, and other bad actions toward their female fetus or daughters. As the direct impact of those actions, the loss of baby girls ultimately happens. Based on the All Girls Allowed's perspective, those phenomena happened caused by the broken view of the relationship between men and women as the root problem of gendercide that is why in the

People's Republic of China the value of women is less than the value of men. To solve the root of the problem for gendercide, All Girls Allowed propose the solution through the love of Jesus. It because, in the Eyes of God, men and women are created equally. So, no matter their children are boys or girls, they are same. That is why All Girls Allowed comes to each church in mainland China to fight gendercide and restore women in the name of Jesus.

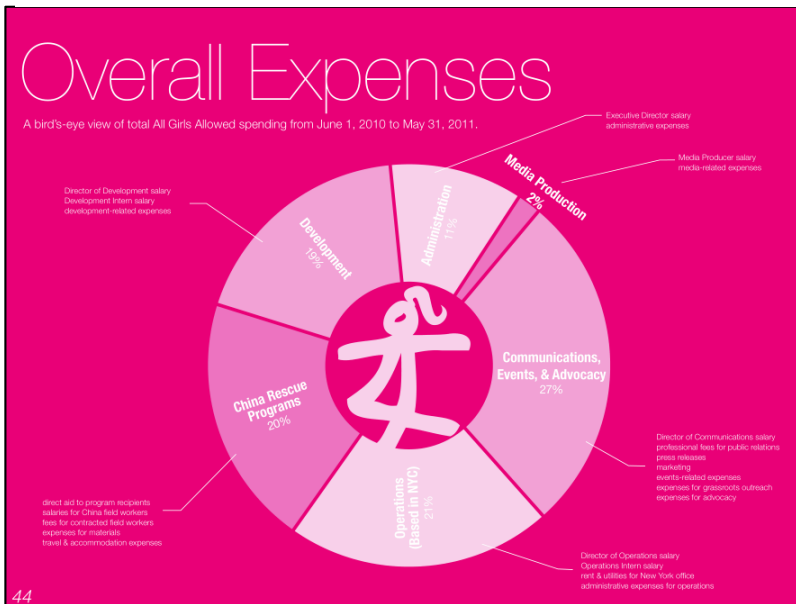
To support those efforts, the funding of All Girls Allowed comes from several sources. The first source is coming from The Jenzabar Foundation as the affiliation partner of All Girls Allowed. The Jenzabar Foundation provides financial support, marketing, and in some cases also infrastructure support of this INGO (Jenzabar, t.thn.). The fund of Jenzabar Foundation is allocated for the administrative expenses, such as salaries for all U.S. – based staff, U.S. office expenses, U.S. event expenses, hosting of www.allgirlsallowed.org, legal and accounting fees. On the other side, all of the public donation is allocated for China expenses, such as direct aid to baby girl and orphans, printing and distribution of anti-trafficking materials, hosting All Girls Allowed's anti-trafficking website in People's Republic of China, legal fees for Chinese lawyers, compensation for China-based staff and expenses (Ling, 2011).

Figure 2 3.3 The Funding of All Girls Allowed in 2011



Source: Ling, Chai. 2011. 2011 Report on Gendercide and China's One-Child Policy. Boston. All Girls Allowed, retrieved January 6th 2018

Figure 3 3.4 The Overall Expenses of All Girls Allowed



Source: Ling, Chai. 2011. *2011 Report on Gendercide and China's One-Child Policy*. Boston. All Girls Allowed, retrieved January 6th 2018

Besides from the Jenzabar Foundation, All Girls Allowed also gets the funding from 162 donors from 27 U.S. states and even five countries including United States, Canada, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Australia (Francis, 2013). So, the expenditure of All Girl Allowed mostly allocated in communications, events, and advocacy for 27 percent, the operation based in New York City for 21 percent, and in China rescue programs for 20 percent (Ling, 2011 Report on Gendercide and China's One-Child Policy , 2011). Besides making networks for donation, All Girls Allowed also build a network with UN Women, especially in Coalition to End Violence Against Pregnant Women (Francis, 2013).

Regarding advocate the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China, 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. This program is similar to the model of conditional cash transfer. It means that 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 \$20 is only allowed for providing foods, medication, and clothes for their daughters. In the end, the output of this program is gender ratios in these villages will return to normal as well as girls will have their freedom of life, value, and dignity. 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).

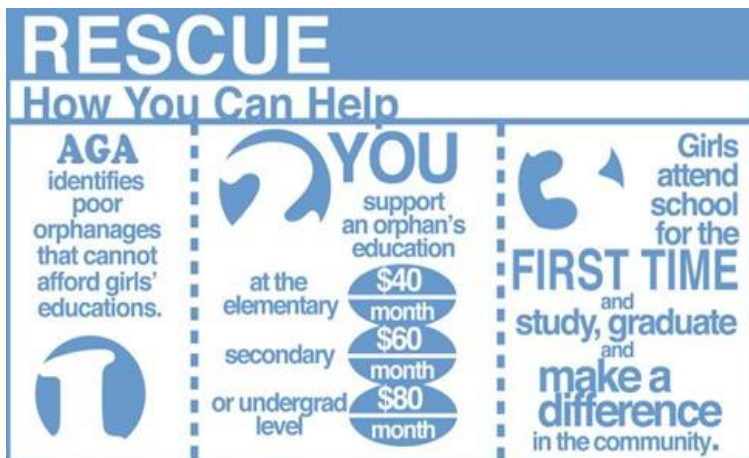
Figure 4 3.5 The Steps of Baby Shower Gift



Source: Ling, Chai. 2011. 2011 Report on Gendercide and China's One-Child Policy. Boston. All Girls Allowed, retrieved January 7th 2018

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. Usually, they prioritize the needed of baby boys, and many of them live in poor condition. As shown in Picture 3.5 below, it explained about the step of giving the orphan scholarships. In the beginning, All Girls Allowed will identify the poor orphans who cannot afford their daughter's educations. Then, All Girls Allowed will support the orphan's education from elementary school to undergraduate level. When the girl can get proper education and study more, there is a hope that they can make improvements in their communities when they already graduated. At the end of 2011, at least All Girls Allowed can send 25 orphaned girls to get a proper education (Ling, 2012).

Figure 5 3.6 The Steps of Orphan Scholarship



Source: Ling, Chai. 2011. 2011 Report on Gendercide and China's One-Child Policy. Boston. All Girls Allowed, retrieved January 7th 2018

The case of human trafficking in the People's Republic of China has existed for centuries, and it is categorized as the serious problem. According to China's Ministry of Public Security, at least in 2015, there are 1,362 individuals consist of women and children who become the victim of trafficking and at the same year, the authorities arrested 1,932 suspected traffickers (Braddick, 2017). That is why All Girls Allowed launches this program aimed at reuniting kidnapped children with their families.

To run this program, there are several steps conducted by All Girls Allowed. The first is the organization will publish the thousands of profiles of lost children on the website of All Girls Allowed. The next step is the teams of volunteer and parents whose children have been kidnapped, and they launch the rescue campaigns. The third step is they will work in an anti-trafficking campaign with the distribution of pamphlets, banners, and other printed materials to the almost all villages in the Peoples's Republic of China. The last step is they cooperate with the local police to rescue kidnapped children and reunite them with their families.

The next program is Search and Rescue Kidnapped Children, the result of this program is All Girls Allowed abled to help the Liu family to find their three-year-old daughter, named Doh-doh in 2010. In the late of December 2010, All Girls Allowed anti-trafficking volunteers launched second search and rescue campaign by spreading expansive banners displaying image of missing children. Then, there were people who know Doh-Don and called All Girls Allowed's hotline, and they cooperate with local police to rescue Doh-doh. From this case, the local police arrested nine suspected traffickers, and they are four suppliers and five buyers (Ling, 2011).

Figure 6 3.7 The Steps of Search and Rescue Kidnapped Children



Source: Ling, Chai. 2011. *2011 Report on Gendercide and China's One-Child Policy*. Boston. All Girls Allowed, retrieved January 7th 2018

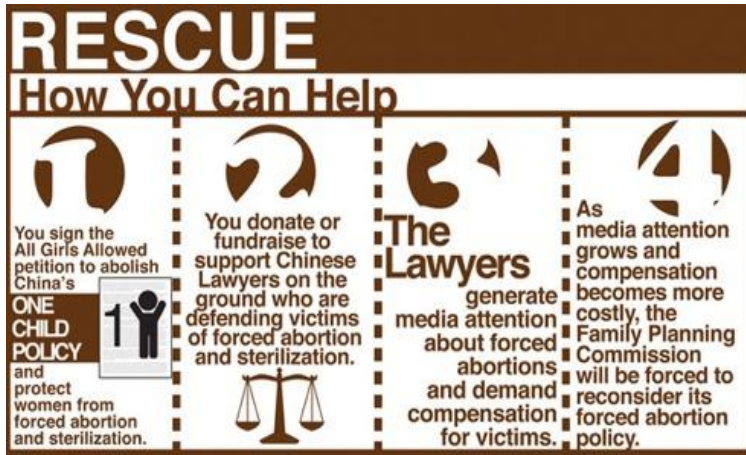
The last program is Defending Mothers, and this program is aimed at political and legal advocacy against forced abortion and forced sterilization. This program is launched because many victims experienced forced abortion and forced sterilization. Like, for example, is the case of Feng Jianmei who arrested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

Therefore, to advocate the similar case like Feng Jianmei's case, the All Girls Allowed conducting several steps to advocate the case. The first step has they launched a petition campaign contains materials to abolish China's One-Child Policy and protect women from forced abortion and forced sterilization. The petition aimed to call on the United States government to take action against One-Child Policy. In the first year of All Girls Allowed, they already launched a petition, and there were 2,081 petition signatures from U.S. voters and other countries around the world. The second step is making fund

raising and donation to support Chinese Lawyers on the ground who are defending victims of forced abortion and forced sterilization. The next step is the defending of the lawyer to the victims will get media attention about the issue of forced abortions, and it will be impacted to the demand of compensation to the victims. The last step is pressuring the Family Planning Commission with the to grow of media attention and the higher of compensation, and they will reconsider One-Child Policy as the cause of forced abortion.

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 regarding the case of Cao Ruyi. Besides, there are many international actors from INGO and individuals who advocate this case and set free Cao Ruyi from arresting in Hunan Province Women and Children's Hospital. 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.

Figure 7 3.8 The Steps of Defending Mothers



Source: Ling, Chai. 2011. *2011 Report on Gendercide and China's One-Child Policy*. Boston. All Girls Allowed, retrieved January 7th 2018

However, All Girls Allowed also created a grassroots team to investigate new forced abortion cases and propose to the Intergovernmental Organization to in-depth investigation regarding the implementation of One-Child Policy. At the beginning is the Case Team, this team is a group of women who track Chinese websites, news, and Weibo in daily operation to find new cases regarding the One-Child Policy abuses (Ling, 2012). The mechanism of work for this team is interviewing the victim of One-Child Policy abuses to learn the detail of their stories, and it will publish to the media if the victim wants to share it publicly. The further action is this team will help the victim to make a connection with avenues where they can find help. Since the establishment of the Case Team in July 2012, they already found dozens of women who reported suffering abuses because of One-Child Policy. Using those data, All Girls Allowed makes a report and bring it to the coalition.

2. Women's Rights Without Frontiers

The second INGO is Women's Right 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. 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.).

Women's Rights Without Frontiers is established by Reggie Littlejohn as well as the president of this INGO. She is a lawyer who graduated from Yale Law School. However, during her work as a lawyer, she ever represented a refugee from the People's Republic of China who had given birth to two children and had been forcibly sterilized (Derois, 2016). Started from that as a turning point of Reggie, she decided to do something to help them who suffer from forced abortion and forced sterilization. Because of that, she becomes a women's rights activist who establishes the Women's Right Without Frontiers.

Moreover, the financial support of Women's Rights Without Frontiers comes from the online and offline donation of the public. Besides that, the financial support also comes from the result of It's Girl documentary movie produced by Shadowline Films featuring Rita Banerji and Reggie Littlejohn. Besides the financial support as the needs of advocacy action, Women's Rights Without Frontiers also needs cooperation or alliances. That is why, the Women's Right Without Frontiers

also establishes cooperation in advocating the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China, such as China Aid Association or well known as China Aid and also All Girls Allowed. It became, among Reggie Littlejohn, Bob Fu, and Chai Ling as the prominent actors in each INGOs have personal ties. It explained in Chai Ling's book, titled by *A Heart for Freedom*, that Reggie Littlejohn introduced the issue of gendercide to Chai Ling, and she finally decided to establish All Girls Allowed (Ling, 2011).

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 needs 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 of \$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).

3. China Aid Association

The third INGO who involve in advocacy process of gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China is China Aid Association or well known as ChinaAid. This INGO was established in 2002 by Bob Fu. He is one of the leading voices

in the world for persecuted faith communities in People's Republic of China. Meanwhile, his life as a human right activist started when he was a student leader during the 1989 Tiananmen Square student movement. Besides he was as a human right activist, he was also a house church leader in Beijing until he was imprisoned in 1996. After that, in 1997 he decided to move to the United States with his family as religious refugees (ChinaAid, t.thn.). Then, finally, in 2002 Bob Fu established a ChinaAid.

So, based on those background of ChinaAid, basically, the ChinaAid is non-profit Christian human rights organization which focuses on promoting religious freedom and rule of law in People's Republic of China. It because they believe that religious freedom is the first freedom as the foundation for all the human rights. Moreover, to achieve their goal, this INGO has several missions, called by 'Expose-Encourage-Equip' (ChinaAid, Our Mission, t.thn.). Regarding those missions, there is further explanation about it. The first is expose, here means that exposing the abuses. ChinaAid make maximum effort to expose the systematic persecution, harassment, torture, and imprisonment of Chinese Christians and human rights lawyers in China. Second is encourage, means that encourage the abused. ChinaAid will give financial support to the Chinese Christians and their families who have experienced persecution by People's Republic of China government. The third is equipped, means that giving proper equipment to the leaders. So, ChinaAid will provide leadership and the rule of law training for Christian and church leaders in the People's Republic of China to defend their rights under Chinese constitutional law and international law.

On the other hand, the further actions of advocacy mostly happened near with period of 2012. It because there are many cases during 2012. Like for example Feng Jianmei and Cao Ruyi as victims of One-Child Policy abuses and Chen Guangcheng as human rights lawyer who advocates forced abortion issue started from grassroots. So, based on those cases, there are several strategies from ChinaAid to advocate those

cases. In the case of Feng Jianmei, because of the human rights activist and international media were a little bit late to publish and blow up this case. As a result, 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 Jianmei, 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. Because of that, ChinaAid provides 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.

Otherwise, to support the advocacy action conducted by ChinaAid, they need to build networks or alliance. These networks have several functions such as sharing the information regarding the issue, giving financial support, increasing the capability of human resources, so on and so forth. So, ChinaAid has built networks with several communities, like for examples are Release International, International Christian Concern, and Christian Solidarity Worldwide who concern for the persecuted Christian Church. The others are Freedom House and National Endowment for Democracy who concern with the expansion of freedom and democracy around the world. Besides that, ChinaAid also cooperates with Lantos Foundation who concerns with focusing on the rule of law, corporate responsibility, and freedom of religion, conscience, and belief (ChinaAid, Partners, t.thn.). On the other hand, ChinaAid also builds network with UN Women, especially for Coalition to End Violence Against Pregnant Women (Francis, 2013). So, in fact, ChinaAid is not only working for persecuted faith, but also for advocacy the human right abuses.

4. 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.

Because of the work of China Life Alliance is fully in the People's Republic of China even though this INGO is U.S.-based, it makes their actions and activities inside of the People's Republic of China is quite challenging. First, their movements are based on churches and pastors. Usually, they face difficulty to get from local churches because of the churches do not enough fund to advocate the other cases. Besides that, China Life Alliance also faces another obstacle that at the beginning of 2014, the People's Republic of China government official arrested several workers who have the connection with China Life Alliance and they said that China Life Alliance was under investigation (Cheng, China Beachhead, 2014). That is proven by the website of China Life Alliance (www.chinalifealliance.com) was blocked by People's Republic of China.

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 that, 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. Those actions are part of the program of Safe House for Pregnant Women and Abortion Rescue Teams. Moreover, they also help the families to pay the fines, or they offer the choice for the family who cannot pay the expansive fines, they can buy the hukou for their children in the black market with lower price.

For all those strategies conducted by China Life Alliance, it can contribute to rescue the children from the threat of abandoned, killed, or sold. It because China Life Alliance uses the networks of churches which is many churches are spreading in the mainland China. At least, up to 2014, there are 20,000 churches have heard about pro-life message and those

churches can save two to five babies in a year (Cheng, 2014). Even though, that is non-significant enough compared with the population of People's Republic of China, but then this kind of underground movement is still growing up in every year.

D. The Pro-life States Against Gendercide

Gendercide or female infanticide, especially through the modern way which is forced abortion is not only happened in the People's Republic of China. It also happens in several countries such as India, Republic of Korea, and even Texas. According to those facts, it does not close the opportunity that there is a practice of gendercide in the United States. Even though there is a concept of melting pot idea, means that everyone from any countries is received in the United States and he or she should be assimilated with the common culture which called by American culture. However, the American society could come from many countries such as People's Republic of China, South Korea, India, and Middle East countries. It could be denied that they still bring the boy preference culture and it could lead to the practice of gendercide or sex-selective abortion in the United States.

Basically, the regulation of abortion in the United States was legal and widely practice in 1880. However, in 1857 the American Medical Association articulate their demand to ban the abortion. As a result, in 1873 Congress of United States passed the Comstock Law which consist of banned abortion nationwide, and until 1880 the abortion was illegal almost in all the states. But then, in 1960s a women movement begin to try changing the Comstock Law with the demand of "*Free Contraception and Abortion on Demand*", this movement is represented by Women's Liberation Movement. As the result, in 1973 the abortion was legal in United States.

Moreover, based on the recent condition regarding gendercide or sex-selective abortion that happened in India and People's Republic of China, there is a worries condition among American. That is why, since 2013 The House of Representative tried to pass The Pain-Capable Unborn Child

Protection Act, but then it was failed, as well as in 2015. Finally, in 2017 The House of Representative could pass the legislation which would criminalize abortion after 20 weeks of pregnancy (Tatum, 2017). This bill passed in the House of Representative by the vote of 237 for and 189 against.

On the other hand, regarding the sex-selective abortion law in the United States is not implemented nationwide. There are only a few states which implemented the sex-selective abortion law, such as Arizona, Kansas, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Arkansas, and Pennsylvania. According to the Table 3.1 below, it explains that almost all the Republican both in-house and Senate vote for ban the sex-selective abortion law. Meanwhile, the Democrats both senate and house mostly vote for against the law of sex-selective abortions in four states, such as Arizona, Kansas, North Carolina, and North Dakota. However, the implementation of banned sex-selective abortion in those states obviously with the purpose. The purpose of implementing this law is for expressing a disagreement toward misconception of moral value about sex-selective abortion. So, with the existence of this law, women who chose to do sex-selective abortion will feel isolated and shame among the society (Steinbock, 2017).

Table 1 3.1 Voting Records on Recently Enacted Sex-Selective Abortion Bans

	Arizona (2011)		Kansas (2013)		N. Carolina (2013)		N. Dakota (2013)		Oklahoma (2010)		S. Dakota (2014)	
	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate
Republicans (Total)	40	21	92	32	76	33	71	33	62	26	52	28
% voted for ban	95.00	100	92.39	87.50	97.36	96.97	83.01	72.72	96.77	92.30	98.01	89.29
% voted against ban	5.00	0	5.43	6.25	1.31	3.03	14.08	18.18	0	0	0	10.71
Democrats (Total)	20	9	33	8	43	17	23	14	39	22	18	7
% voted for ban	15.00	0	15.15	0	0	0	21.74	21.43	89.74	86.36	44.44	71.43
% voted against ban	80.00	55.55	75.75	100	93.02	70.59	73.91	64.28	2.56	9.09	55.56	28.57

Source: Citro, Brian, et al. 2014. Replacing Myths with Facts: Sex-Selective Abortion Laws in the United States. New York. Cornell Law Faculty Publications, retrieved February 10th 2018

E. The Involvement of IGO and Supranational in Ended Gendercide

Regarding the tools of analysis, which is using the Boomerang Pattern by Keck and Sikkink, it could be denied that the involvement of Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) regarding eradicating the practice of gendercide, especially in People's Republic of China. In this research, which is the advocacy process of gendercide in the People's Republic of China, there are two influential IGOs, which is United Nation, especially UN Women and European Parliament.

The first is the involvement of UN Women in the advocacy process of gendercide in the People's Republic of China. The involvement of UN Women to eradicate the practice

of gendercide or female infanticide in this world, especially in the People's Republic of China has been done through the arrangement of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and also the Beijing Platform for Action. First of all, in CEDAW as the convention which already signed and ratified by People's Republic of China, it stated in Article 5 that:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

(a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or stereotyped roles for men and women;

(b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases (UN, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979).

Based on that article, it reflects that the states parties, including the People's Republic of China as the ratified state, should modify the social and cultural patterns such as the culture of son-preference to create gender equality in society and there is no discrimination against the women.

Besides, inside of the Beijing Platform for Action also contains twelve critical areas of concern, such as 1) the decreasing poverty of women; 2) education and training of women; 3) women and healthcare; 4) violence against women; 5) the effect of conflict upon women; 6) women and the economy; 7) women in power and decision making; 8) mechanism to promote the advancement of women; 9) promotion and protection of the human rights of women; 10)

women and the media; 11) women and the environment; 12) the girl-child (DCAF, 2005). Based on those critical areas of concern, the issue of gendercide or female infanticide is included in violence against women as one of the forms of it. Moreover, during the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, Hilary Clinton as the first lady of United States at that time also highlighted the issue discrimination of women, especially the female infanticide. Like she stated during the conference that:

"It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines are broken, simply because they are born girls."
(Teyler, 1995)

Since the conference, the eyes of the world realized that there was the coercive policy which impacted of discrimination to women and human rights abuses.

The second is the involvement of European Parliament in the advocacy process of gendercide in the People's Republic of China. The involvement of European Parliament inside of Transnational Advocacy Networks to stop the practice of gendercide and change the One-Child Policy as the coercive family planning is suitable with the fundamental law of European Union. The law which rules this concept is stated in Article 3 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), this article emphasizes universal values to the member states, such as pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity, and equality between men and women (EU, 2012). As well as in Article 8 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) which consists of gender mainstreaming, such as eliminate inequalities and promote equality between men and women. Because of that, that is normal when the European Parliament concerns with the issue of gendercide in the People's Republic of China. On the other side, United Nations and European Parliament were not only making convention and resolution, but they were also hosting several audiences with the INGOs such as Women's Rights Without Frontier.

