

CHAPTER IV

THE ADVOCACY PROCESS OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS TO SOLVE GENDERCIDE ISSUE IN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

In this chapter, the writer explains about the advocacy process in gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China conducted by Transnational Advocacy Networks who have several actors involved. The analysis uses Boomerang Pattern as a tool to analyze the gendercide's advocacy process. Moreover, this chapter is divided into three parts which are the advocacy process in domestic or local level conducted by local movements. The second is advocacy process outside of the People's Republic of China conducted by INGOs. The last is the advocacy process in international level conducted by pro-life state and also Intergovernmental Organizations regarding giving pressure to the People's Republic of China to stop the practice of gendercide.

A. The Local Movements Advocate Gendercide in the People's Republic of China

The advocacy process to stop the practice of gendercide in the People's Republic of China was started by the local NGOs who concern and struggle for it. According to the previous chapter of this research, there are two kinds of local NGOs, and they are a human right activist and religious institution. The human rights activist is Chen Guangcheng. Meanwhile, the actors who come from the religious institution is Pro-life Churches. Those

local NGOs have different strategy and type to advocate the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China.

1. Individual Activist

Started with the Chen Guangcheng's advocacy action of gendercide or in the issue of human rights abuses in the 1990s. The effort of Chen as an individual to advocate this issue is not enough, because of that Chen also build networking with the other attorneys and journalist in Beijing and Shanghai to handle and guide the case to the lawsuit. The example is in case of Liu Qinghua who is hiding from the family planning officials who pressure her to get sterilized with a tubal ligation. The purpose of Chen brought the case to the lawsuit to get the attention of people in the People's Republic of China. However, the domestic media inside of the People's Republic of China did not brave enough to publish the issue of gendercide that happened inside if the society. However, this advocacy process cannot be efficient when Chen should face those restrictions as the obstacle. That is why Chen needed to build networks with the international actors.

As a result, Chen 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). Especially for foreign journalist network, the New York Times did not show big interest regarding this issue, but then Chen finally 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. However, the more important is building the network with international media could gain the attention of

other INGO toward the effort of Chen Guangcheng who struggles as individual and they could help him in the advocacy process.

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, both of them took a trip to gather the evidence by met the victims, heard their stories, and wrote up their complaints (Guangcheng, 2015). 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. Even though this action cannot fully stop the practice of gendercide through forced abortion, this action was already improving public awareness that around them there were phenomena of human right abuses in the form of gendercide. Besides that, that action also gives pressure to the Chinese National Family Planning Commission to admit that there was an infraction of policy in the field.

The struggle of Chen Guangcheng was ended up when he was arrested by China's government, and it continued to be house arrest. To release him from that condition, Chen was helped by the several international INGOs such as ChinaAid, All Girls Allowed, and Women's Rights Without Frontiers. Even though, in previously during the advocacy action of Chen, the INGO did not involve too much but then, when this human rights activist faces the injustice condition just because of he talks about the truth, the INGOs who have similar concern were ready to help him. Like, for example, is ChinaAid who has focused on helping pastors and the human rights lawyers or activist to get freedom or releasing from arresting. That is why

Bob Fu is the first one who knows about Chen's dramatic escape from his house arrested in Shandong in April.

So, the strategies of ChinaAid to help Chen Guangcheng are looking for enough information regarding the Chen's condition in the People's Republic of China through. Later on, these underground networks who facilitated Chen's escape to the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. As long as the escape's journey of Chen Guangcheng, Bob Fu as the president of ChinaAid always make contact and update with the underground networks until Chen can safely arrive in U.S. Embassy (Raddatz, 2012). Besides that, Bob Fu also became the key actor in publishing to media across the world about the Chen Guangcheng's escape in the US to this case can get the attention of global society. Furthermore, Bob Fu and ChinaAid have the essential role in maintaining political pressure on the US government regarding ensuring that Chen Guangcheng had a chance to speak live to the U.S. Congress via telephone (BBC, 2012)

If Bob Fu and ChinaAid lead the escape of Chen with their grassroots movement, it entirely different with the Women's Rights Without Frontiers. This INGO also conducts several actions like for example testifies five times in U.S. Congress, twice at European Parliament, as well as at the British and Irish Parliament. Besides that, this INGO also makes Chen Sunglasses Freedom Campaign to show that the international public is massively aware with the suffering of Chen, and the result is there are 500 Free Chen Sunglasses Portraits (Littlejohn, 2012). In this campaign, Reggie Littlejohn works hand in hand with Congressman Chris Smith as the pro-life politician actor. In addition, this INGO opens the petition to collect the demand of the international public to release Chen Guangcheng, and it resulted in 11,000 signatures on the Free Chen petition (Littlejohn, 2012).

2. Pro-life Group Activist

The advocacy process on gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China is not only enough with depending

on one prominent activist with his networks. The contribution of a grassroots movement of the religious institution is also important and giving significant impact. It stated in the explanation of Keck and Sikkink in their books that churches as the religious institutions include the actor who was involved in the process of transnational advocacy networks.

The following consequences should be faced by those pro-life churches regarding the advocacy activities conducted by them. One of the consequences is the form of rejection or restriction from Chinese's government. The restriction of Chinese's government toward specific movements who against the Communist Party's regulation or policy are common things. It because the People's Republic of China is authoritarian state who commonly have several patterns such as enforcing strict obedience to authority with sacrificing personal freedom, lack of concern with the opinion of others, dictatorial, and opposed toward individual freedom of thought and action (Ervine, 2011). The restriction of Chinese's government happened especially during the campaign of forced abortion rejection. Like for example what happened to Jonny Fan, in 2013 he was arrested together with few members of the church because they printed unapproved material for the campaign. Furthermore, in 2014, Fan printed 50,000 fliers for his church to distribute, but then one of the church members was beaten by the police officer for passing out the fliers (Press, 2014).

However, when pro-life churches insist on working alone in advocacy process of gendecide issue in the People's Republic of China, it would not give significant impact because of they face restriction from the government. Even, the worst possibility is the activist comes from religious institution could be arrested in jail. That is why, many of them open networking with the international actors, especially INGO who has similar concern and ideology with them. In addition, the spreading idea of against forced abortion comes from the United States. Because of that, most of the pro-life churches open networking with China Life Alliance, besides this INGO as the U.S. based organization, they need 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. The INGOs Advocate Gendercide in the People's Republic of China

Using the concept of Transnational Advocacy Networks and boomerang pattern as a tool to analyze the advocacy process of gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China, it means there is the involvement of international actors, especially the INGOs. The existence of those INGOs in this advocacy process shows that the domestic advocacy is not enough and it could give more significant changes. That is why, mostly the local actor of open advocacy networking with the international actors, both the international media and INGOs.

1. Press Conference in Capitol Hill

As mention in the previous chapter, there are at least three INGOs which advocate the issue of gendercide in the People's Republic of China. There are several actions conducted together as part of the process of advocacy, but also

there are other actions are conducted independently. In this explanation, the writer takes the advocacy process started in 2010 with the enforcement of Press Conference as the starting point. The Press Conference on Capitol Hill on 2010 is 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 human rights abuses especially the 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 notice, aware, and have the same perspective that gendercide is a form of violence against women and human rights as the general. However, this press conference was not only ended at this point, because there was following the action of this press conference as the beginning step to introduce the gendercide issue into civil society.

2. Coalition to end Gendercide

There was the following action of the press conference, which is making a coalition. On June 1, 2011, on Capitol Hill, All Girls Allowed launched a bipartisan coalition of Democrats and Republicans, pro-life and pro-choice member of Congress who same concern and vision. It is female infanticide wrong, and it is part of a crime that has to be stopped (Ling, 2011). The coalition named by Coalition to end Gendercide and it was signed by several actors from human rights activist, politician, demographers. The specifically are Nicholas Eberstadt as a demographer and political economist, Congresswoman Vicky Hartzler, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee, T. Kumar as a representative of Amnesty International Director of Advocacy for Asia and the Pacific, Chai Ling as founder of All Girls Allowed, Congressman Joe Pitts, 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).

This coalition still contributes to the significant action. This coalition is aimed at introducing the upcoming documentary movie about gendercide in the India and People's Republic of China, titled by 'It's a Girl' movie. Besides, inside of this coalition is also provided by the discussion about international security and economic implications of massive gender imbalance in India and People's Republic of China (Allowed, 2011).

3. Documentary Movie

On the other hand, 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. Even though, there is a high possibility that people in the People's Republic of China cannot watch this movie because of the strict regulation and the government rules the media. However, then, this movie can deliver the message to the global society and the pro-life states or institution. Like for example, this movie was screened in British Parliament and European Parliament. In addition, this documentary movie was also screened in Capitol Hill for U.S. Congress, cooperate with the

bipartisan Coalition to End Gendercide as one of the efforts from the coalition to end the practice of gendercide in this world.

4. Coalition to End Violence Against Pregnant Women

Besides the bipartisan Coalition to End Gendercide, the transnational advocacy networks also create the other coalition, which is the Coalition to End Violence Against Pregnant Women. In 2012, All Girls Allowed, ChinaAid, Women for Life International Inc., Canada Silent No More, Endeavour Forum Inc., and Jubilee Campaign created this coalition and filed the complaint to the UN Conference on the Status of Women, Human Right 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 (Casey, 2012):

- a. Those non-governmental organizations ask for formal complaint toward the People's Republic of China regarding the women's right violation to have their freedom and rights to get birth their children.
- b. There are several reports regarding the pregnant women who tortured and forced to come into family planning clinics to kill their infants by several techniques, such as dismemberment, decapitation, poisoning or vacuuming the child out of their womb.
- c. The People's Republic of China is well known for the massive propaganda about the fines as the punishment for the family who has second child without hokou. That kind of policy includes the injustice and crimes against humanity.
- d. There are many reports regarding the women who forced by the government to have abortions and sterilization.
- e. In the end, those non-governmental organizations condemn China's One-Child Policy because of it led to

the case of forced abortion, forced sterilization, paid expensive fines. Those kinds of the case included into the violation of human rights and discrimination against women. It because every woman has their rights to reproductive choices.

In fact, these complaint states were not received by the UN Women because of the deadline for submitting the complaint files was August 1. However, the commission still allows the related government to respond the report. As the following result with the pressure of international actors regarding the One-Child Policy abuses in the form of gendercide through forced abortion, in summer 2012, finally, the People's Republic of China issued an unprecedented document officially outlawing late-term forced abortion (Ling, 2012).

5. Hearing in Institutional Bodies

However, the advocacy action through submitting the complaint document is not enough because like in the previous complaint which is rejected by the UN Women. The other strategy is using the facility of hearing in the bodies of each institution, like for example in U.S. Congress, European Parliament, and United Nations. Regarding conducting the hearing, those transnational advocacy networks can do it both together or independently. First of all is the hearing 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)

It is quite different with the process of hearing in U.S. Congress which conducted together, but during the hearing in the European Parliament, they give testify independently. Started by Reggie Littlejohn with her Women's Rights Without Frontiers, she testified in European Parliament on March 22, 2011, and in British Parliament Palace at Westminster on March 23, 2011. Both of testimonies talk about Coerced Abortion in 'Sexual and Reproductive Rights' in China (Littlejohn, 2011). The impact of giving testimony to those institutions is the issue of gendecide 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 gendecide 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. She said that according to the WHO, there are 14 million victims of forced abortion in People's Republic of China every year (EU, 2011). In addition, she asks about the involvement Commission intend to take action to safeguard the wishes of millions of Chinese women. Then, the respond of Commission is The EU urged the Chinese authorities to take measures to ensure that the implementation of the family planning policy conforms with Chinese laws and China's international human rights obligations and this issue will be the concern of EU as well as they will follow the rise of this issue.

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 has testified for three times in that chamber with bringing the message of forced abortion and gendecide under China's One Child Policy are the most significant crimes against women and girls in the world today (Littlejohn, 2015). The result of Reggie's testimonies in

United Nations, her message has published far and wide into the Chinese press, like for example Voice of America and Radio Free Asia. The testimony process was continuing to the U.S. Congress on December 3, 2015, with the issue of *China's New 'Two-Child Policy' & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children* (Littlejohn, 2015).

C. The Pressure of Non-NGO Actors (State, IGO, Supranational) toward People's Republic of China

The advocacy efforts of INGOs to stop the practice of gendercide and influence the policy regarding women's protection in the People's Republic of China are not enough. They need help and support from the other international actors who stronger than the INGO. So, the stronger international actor could give more pressure to the People's Republic of China to the government of China could change the One-Child Policy and make concrete action to stop the practice gendercide in Chinese society.

1. The United States

The United States is one of the prominent state actors who bravely advocates the issue of gendercide in People's Republic of China. The action of United States in this issue is based on the domestic law of the United States which prohibited both abortion and sex-selective abortion. In fact, the practice of gendercide or female infanticide is already part of human right abuses. It abuses the Article 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

"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, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948)

Based on the Article 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights above, it reflects that every single of a human being has equal rights to born in this world, no matter the

genders and sexes. Because of that, as the United States as the state who already ratified this declaration, they should combat all of the forms of human rights abuses, including the gendercide, especially through forced abortion. Besides that, it also includes the women's right because the women's right is also part of human rights.

Looking at the gendercide issue that happened in the People's Republic of China, this issue has been caused there are many abortions, especially the forced abortion of the infant. The further problem is most of the infants who abort are the female infant, and it caused by the existence of son preference culture in Chinese society. That is why, in the case of forced abortion, there is the practice of gendercide or female infanticide indirectly happened. As the state who uphold the human rights as one of the values, United States cannot be silent as a respond of this issue. Because of that, through Hillary Rodham Clinton as the Secretary of State under Barrack Obama administration, she 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.

However, United States still concerns with the human rights issue in the People's Republic of China. Because of that, United States has been provided funding for foreign operation program, especially on human rights issue in People's Republic of China since 2001. In fact, United States has been provided \$338 million through Department of State, and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) started in 2001 up to 2012 (Lum, 2013). Most of the fund, around \$279 million is allocated

for supporting programs of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and the other related activities. However, with the following issue of gendercide through forced abortion is massively and globally published in the international media, the worst stories were Feng Jianmei and Cao Ruyi case in 2012. It led to shaping the public opinion that they have to against the practice of gendercide in the People's Republic of China through sign petition from several INGOs who have concern and fight for the issue. Based on those pressures and situation, indirectly Unites States reduce or cut their financial assistance for People's Republic of China nearly 40% between 2010 and 2012 (Lum, 2013).

Realizing that is not all United States citizen as the pro-life supporter, but also there are some of them as the pro-abortion. However, at the state level, the behavior of state reflects that the United States against the forced abortion, especially abortion which is aimed at female infanticide. There is much pressure from the public, including the non-governmental organization and even the politician. Started from the non-governmental organization who stand for pro-life side, the example is Concerned Women for America as a conservative group gives respond toward the speech of Vice President Biden as the vice president during Obama administration during his visit in Sichuan University. Vice President Biden stated that he tends to be easy with China's One Child Policy. On the other hand, Concerned Women for America responses that use the coercive family planning is already crossed the line of ignorant and wrong. Besides, that policy does not in line with the principle of the United States, which is liberty. Because of that, the government should cut their spend to foreign family planning who supports the coercive family planning (James, 2011).

Furthermore, the other politicians also give pressure toward the United States government, especially under the Obama administration. Like for examples are Congressman Chris Smith and Senator Marco Rubio as the Chair and Co-Chair of the bipartisan Congressional-Executive Commission

on China (CECC). Both politicians sent a letter to President Obama in 2015. The letter is sent for enforcing the U.S. law and implementing visa bans against Chinese officials who involve the practice of forced abortion (Sagnip, 2015).

2. United Nations

The involvement of United Nations as general as well as through its bodies, such as UN Women and UN Human Right Council 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).

Furthermore, the issue of genocide was also discussed during Fourth World Conference on Women in China which is resulted from Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, and both documents focus on the gender equality and women empowerment (Ertelt, 2015). During the discussion, especially the point of genocide and women's rights abuses in the People's Republic of China was delivered by Hillary Clinton as the First Lady of United States at that time during her speech.

Besides, the issue of genocide in the form of forced abortion was also becoming a highlight during 57th Commission on the Status of Women Conference in 4-15 March 2013 with the big focus is "*The elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls.*" During this conference, the Commission is strongly condemning all forms of violence against women and girls, including the sexual and gender-based violence which impact to the victims, survivor, families, communities, and societies (Nations, The elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls: Agreed Conclusions, 2013)

However, the effort of United Nations regarding advocating the genocide issue not only in the People's

Republic of China but also the gendercide issue all over the world. Because of that, United Nations launches several recommendations to tackle this issue, they are:

- a. More reliable data, this recommendation is aimed to provide reliable fundamental for policy and action development. The forms of data are the exact number of gender-biased sex selection, the health and social factors which become the cause of sex selection, and impact of interventions.
- b. Use of technology, this recommendation is needed to create and implement because in some cases the use of technology could be the root of sex selection. That is why, there are several requirements regarding using the technology, like for examples are promoting the responsible use, there is no gender discrimination means that both man and women could have same access toward health care, women still allow doing safe abortion.
- c. Supportive measures for girl and women, this recommendation is aimed at addressing the cause of gender discrimination, which is son preference culture. That is why, there are several programs to tackle these culture, such as easy access to information, healthcare service, nutrition, education, and personal security. Also, the government should make sure that the second and third daughter also get the same access as well as the first daughter concerning those facilities.
- d. Legislation and policy, in this recommendation, the function of legislation and policy are for promoting the legal framework and policies regarding the gender equality and equity, especially in the issue of gender-biased on sex selection.
- e. Advocacy, communication, and community mobilization. This recommendation has a purpose to combat the son preference culture in society. When they should change the culture, then they should use the soft way to approach. That is why, the role of aid from

agencies and government, as well as the media campaign, are quite effective to change the rooted son preference culture.

On the other hand, the contribution of United Nations to advocate the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China is not quite useful and brave like the other actors. Even though United Nations have all of the regulations, laws, and recommendations for the countries, it reminds there are several countries which violated those laws. Like for example in the case of Feng Jianmei and Cao Ruyi who experienced forced abortion, United Nations kept silence and did not give significant action to advocate the case. The reason behind it because there is high political pressure inside of United Nations bodies, considering that the People's Republic of China includes to the permanent member of Security Council and they have veto rights. This argument is strengthened with the opinion of Reggie Littlejohn as the women's rights activist. She stated that the People's Republic of China is a powerful country in United Nations, so rather than United Nations opposed People's Republic of China, they tend to play a role of blind eyes toward the most prominent women's rights issue in this world (Ellis, 2015).

3. European Parliament

The action of European Parliament in this issue is giving pressure to the People's Republic of China government. The form of giving pressure is condemning the People's Republic of China because of implementing the One-Child Policy which causes the gendercide was getting worse, and the number of gendercide's victim was raising. 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).

The decision of European Union and European Parliament to condemn and concern with the practice of forced abortion through Feng Jiamnei case. Those decisions result from the trans advocacy networks with the pressure of INGOs such as Women's Rights Without Frontiers, All Girls Allowed, and ChinaAid who actively express their opinions and deliver the facts during the hearing. Besides that, there is involvement of media advocacy as the one who makes the stories of victims become the international highlight.

Through pressure from European Parliament with their resolution to condemn the forced abortion in the People's Republic of China and the other pressure come from international actors and international civil society. Finally, Chinese government suspended three local family planning officials in the case of Feng Jianmei and forced them to apologize to the Feng Jianmei as well (Barboza, 2012). Even though, through condemning cannot entirely stop the practice of gendercide in the form forced abortion, at least using condemn it shows that the international actor disagrees with this action. On the other hand, condemning also gives a highlight to the issue of gendercide as well as the international civil society will put more attention on this issue. Because of under those pressure from many sides, it could force the Chinese government to change the policy or try harder regarding reducing the practice of gendercide inside of Chinese society.

D. The Result of Transnational Advocacy Networks in Gendercide Issue

According to that analysis above using the Boomerang pattern from Keck and Sikkink which involved domestic and international actors, so the writer divides it into domestic and international advocacy. The domestic advocacy conducted by

the human rights activist and church. Those actors have the different way to advocate the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China. Like for example, the Chen Guangcheng brings the case of forced abortion to the court to seek for justice, and public attention and the churches do campaign to promote the value of having the daughter. However, those domestic actors should face some restriction from Chinese government because they tend to against with the government.

On the other hand, an interesting fact happened that Chinese government also conducts an advocacy program to eliminate son-preference culture inside of Chinese society. The advocacy begins with the field survey from two prominent demographers from Xi'an Jiaotong University Population Research Institute, and they are Prof. Chuzhu Zhu and Prof Shuzhuo Li. They surveyed regarding the gap of sex ratio after 1982 census with the object of mortality difference between boys and girls under the age of four years. It because, the sex ratio according to the 1982 census, it reaches 100 girls to 108.5 boys, in 1990 there were 100 girls to 111.3 boys, and the last in 2000 there were 100 girls to 116.9 boys (Daily, 2004). These data show that the sex ratio in the People's Republic of China was out of the normal condition because the normal sex ratio is 100 girls to 103/107 boys. The result of the survey proves that there was different treatment between boys and girls. More boys were born in the hospital while girls were born in the home, boys were fed with better nutrition than girls, boys were sent to the hospital when they got sick while girls just stay at home. Based on the result of the survey, both of scholar concluded that cause of this phenomena is the culture of son preference as the part of traditional culture in Chinese society. That is why they cooperate with the National Population and Family Planning Commission to solve the issue of gender imbalance in the People's Republic of China.

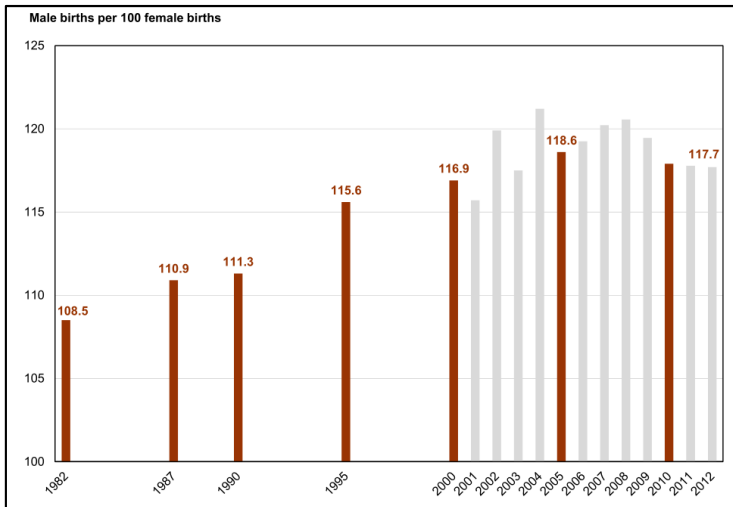
The cooperation between the Population and Economic Research Institute of Xi'an Jiaotong University represented by Prof. Chuzhu Zhu and Prof Shuzhuo Li and National Population and Family Planning Commission initiated to handle the pilot

program called Care for Girls in 2000. This program was created for improving the girl-child survival. The program was started in rural Anhui Province at the beginning. First of all, Prof. Chuzhu Zhu and Prof Shuzhuo Li established a Women Development Fund with the funding from US Ford Foundation and the local government. This small group is aimed at giving a loan to the women and taught them about income-generating farming and by-products production technology (Daily, 2004). Besides that, they also gave several pieces of advice regarding the idea of life, birth, and also gender equality. Furthermore, the program also provides a health examination for girls to ensure that they receive good care from their families. Besides, the program also offers several supporting cash and other incentives. Like for example in Fujian province, the authorities have provided 200 million-yuan (\$24 million) insurance for 490,000 households with daughters (BBC, 2004). Meanwhile, in Anhui Province, the households who have one or two daughters will get 2,000 yuan (\$ 240) in support funds and for free from agricultural taxes and nine-years compulsory education fees for their daughters. The special treatment for their daughters until they reach the marriageable age is totaling some 30,000 yuan (\$ 3,600) (Daily, 2004).

However, advocacy action of domestic actors is not enough because, in the field, the practices of gendercide as the abuses of One-Child Policy are still happened, especially in the form of forced abortion. Most of the pregnant women are dragged from their house and being tortured if they do not want to abort their infants. To stop those practices or at least reduce the number of practice and the victim, those domestic NGOs who face restriction or blockage from Chinese government decide to the open the relations or making networks with international actors such as INGOs. In this chapter, it explained that there are four INGOs which involve in the advocacy action to combat the gendercide in the People's Republic of China. Most of them have their own programs to save the pregnant women from the threat of forced abortion and rescue the abandoned child. Using those strategies, those INGOs could not

influence the policy of the People's Republic of China to abolish the coercive family planning. Because of that, they conduct several actions together to get more power.

Diagram 1 4.1 Sex Ratio at Birth of People's Republic of China 1982 - 2012

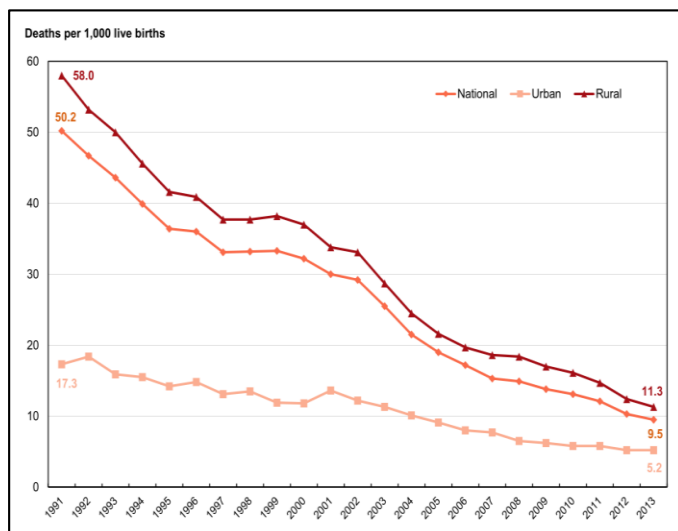


Source: UNICEF. 2014. Children in China: An Atlas of Social Indicators. Beijing. UNICEF, retrieved February 22th 2018

Furthermore, the INGOs also cooperate with pro-life state, supranational organization, and intergovernmental organization to give more pressure toward People's Republic of China regarding abolishing the son preference culture and coercive family planning. Some of them give strong and brave action, like for example European Union and the United States who condemn the practice of gendercide in the form of forced abortion, besides the United States also cuts financial aid to the People's Republic of China. On the contrary, the United Nations action only provides several laws, regulations, and recommendation as the basic guidance to advocate the gendercide issue in the People's Republic of China.

According to the data of SRB in national level from 1980 to 2010, it can be seen that started in 2000 the condition of SRB tends to fluctuate. The fluctuate condition still happened even though in the 2000s there was action from the Chinese government in the form of Care for Girls campaign. However, if it is compared with the data in the 1990s, it tends to increase gradually even though the number were smaller. The data in 2000-2005 quite fluctuates the high disparity between one year to another year. In 2005-2010, the data shows that the SRB is still fluctuated but tend to more reducing because the gap between one year with other years is not quite high, and even when there is increasing, it is not rising too high. On the other hand, based on the infant mortality rate shows that started in 2000, the infant mortality rate of People's Republic of China can decrease gradually both in the urban and rural area.

Graphic 1 4.1 Infant Mortality Rate in People's Republic of China 1991 – 2013



Source: UNICEF. 2014. Children in China: An Atlas of Social Indicators. Beijing. UNICEF, retrieved February 22th 2018

Table 1 4.1 Missing from 1980 through 2010

Cohort	Numbers at census time (million)		Expected SR	Numbers of missing girls (million)	Percentage of missing girls
	Males	Females			
1990	13.81	12.40	1.0555	0.69	5.24
1991	10.67	9.41	1.0557	0.70	6.97
1992	10.01	8.74	1.0560	0.75	7.86
1993	9.59	8.32	1.0563	0.76	8.32
1994	8.87	7.60	1.0565	0.79	9.39
1995	9.16	7.78	1.0567	0.89	10.27
1996	8.26	6.97	1.0569	0.85	10.83
1997	7.90	6.56	1.0570	0.91	12.24
1998	7.70	6.31	1.0571	0.98	13.40
1999	6.33	5.16	1.0574	0.83	13.79
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: Ebenstein, Avraham. 2010. The “Missing Girls” of China and the Unintended Consequences of the One Child Policy. The Journal of Human Resources, retrieved March 1st 2018

Meanwhile, according to the table 4.1 Missing girls from 1980 through 2010 which explains about the number of

female child mortality or it is called as female infanticide through forced abortion. The number of missing girls is also fluctuating, but during 1998 to 2003 it shows that there are reducing the number of missing girls. However, during 2004 to 2010 it tends to rise and decrease. Finally, it reaches the smallest number for late ten years which is in 2010 with there are 0.72 million girls who are missing.

Based on those data and facts regarding the program of Care for Girls and relating with the fact in the real using the SRB and the missing girl, the writer can conclude that the implementation of Care for Girls in the field is not entirely effective and success reducing the number of female infanticides. Because of that, the involvement of INGOs and the other international actors are critical and needed. Take an example that the percentage of missing girls during 2000 – 2004, it was a situation before the international actors did not give much more pressure and involvement inside of the gendercide issue and the eyes of civil society did not open yet that this issue existed. However, after the advocacy process of gendercide conducted by Chen Guangcheng was published globally in 2005 and he faces some obstacles and restriction which come from the Chinese government, the INGOs and other international actors started to advocate this issue massively. The result is a percentage of missing girl for 2005 – 2010 could decrease gradually. As well as the sex ration at birth and infant mortality rate in 2005 – 2010 which tend to decrease.

Besides the successful effort of transnational advocacy networks regarding reducing son-preference culture inside of Chinese society with using the parameter of decreasing the number of infant mortality rate and percentage of the missing girl from 2000 to 2005, they also successful to influence the decision making of the Chinese government. It is proved by the transformation of One-Child Policy to the Two-Child Policy, with the pressure of international actors, it could force the Chinese government to change the One-Child Policy at the end of 2014. Furthermore, with the implementation of Two-Child Policy started in 2015, it gives an opportunity for families who

struggle to have their second child. Besides, the implementation of Two-Child Policy could decline the number of gendecide's practice inside of Chinese society.

