

Toward Political Changes: Transnational Advocacy Networks for Gendercide Issue in the People's Republic of China

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini memaparkan proses aktivisme yang dilakukan oleh negara dan organisasi non pemerintah dalam menghapus budaya gendercide yang terjadi di Republik Rakyat Tiongkok (RRT). Kasus gendercide atau genosida berbasis gender di RRT semakin masif dengan adanya 'kebijakan satu anak' sejak tahun 1970-an. Artikel ini mencoba menganalisis tahapan-tahapan NGO lokal di RRT dalam membangun jejaring transnasional sebagai upaya advokasi isu tersebut menggunakan 'pola bumerang'. Selain menganalisis peran NGO-NGO lokal yang terlibat dalam advokasi, penulis juga menganalisis peran Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB), Parlemen Eropa serta Amerika Serikat sebagai aktor negara yang ikut berpartisipasi dalam proses ini. Temuan dalam penelitian ini antara lain: 1) NGO-NGO lokal melakukan banyak tindakan dalam menentang pemerintah RRT dengan memproses kasus aborsi paksa ke pengadilan dan memfasilitasi rumah berlindung bagi perempuan hamil; 2) Jejaring advokasi transnasional terjadi ketika NGOs lokal berjejaring dengan INGOs untuk melakukan advokasi kasus-kasus gendercide di RRT; 3) INGOs berusaha menekan Amerika Serikat, PBB, dan Parlemen Eropa agar memberi respon kecaman kepada pemerintah RRT. Akhirnya, usaha advokasi ini mampu mengurangi praktik genosida berbasis gender lewat pengaruh terhadap proses pembuatan kebijakan publik di pemerintahan-RRT dari 'one-child policy' menjadi 'two-child policy'.

Kata kunci: gendercide, jejaring advokasi transnasional, Republik Rakyat Tiongkok.

Abstract

This article examines the activism process in the People's Republic of China (PRC) by substantial local civil state actors and local non governmental organizations (NGOs) in eradicating the custom of gendercide. Gendercide, which determines as gender-based genocide was getting worse after the adoption of the One-Child Policy in 1970s. Thus, this research tries to explain Chinese NGOs advocacy process in building the Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) to deliver the case of gendercide in the PRC using the 'Boomerang Pattern'. Besides analyzing the role of local NGOs, the authors also examine the United Nations (UN) and the European Parliament, hand in hand with the United States (US) as the state actor which involves in the advocacy process. The finding of this research are: 1) Domestic NGOs have carried out numerous actions against the Chinese government by filling the lawsuit of forced abortion to the court and protection by giving a safe house for pregnant women; 2) TANs is created when the domestic NGOs build a network with other INGOs to advocate this gender-based genocide in the PRC; 3) INGOs force the United States, the UN and the member in European Parliament to response the PRC's government by giving a condemn. As a result, these advocacy works can affect the gendercide policy though influencing the Chinese government's process of decision making. The policy changed into 'two-child policy' from 'one-child policy'.

Keywords: gendercide, transnational advocacy networks, People's Republic of China.

INTRODUCTION

The People's Republic of China (PRC) statistic proof indicates that male population is higher than the opposite gender. In 2011, the male population contributed to 51.9% of the total population which gave a gap of 3.8% to the female percentage (Brooks, 2013). UNFPA's report shows

in 1982, the mortality of 105-106 male infant in every 100 female infant. Then, there were 86 to 87 male babies died in 1990. Meanwhile, there were 70 to 71 male babies died in 2000. The last one was in 2005, 79 to 80 male babies who died. (Li, 2007: 5).

The change of sex ratio in infant mortality rates from 1982 to 1990 is the contribution of the One-Child Policy implementation. This One-Child policy strongly influenced Chinese society not to have more than one child. The policy tends to create a culture among society to preferably having male baby rather than girl. As the result, people choose to abort female infant during their pregnancy. This practice is called as gendercide or genocide based on gender (Warren, 1985) which according to the international agreement, it is opposite to the basic concept of human rights. The article 9 of Beijing Declaration which resulted in the UN 4th World Conference on Women, stated that, "Ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women and girls as an inalienable, indispensable and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms" (UN, 1995). This indicates that all state parties that have signed and ratified this declaration should recognize as part of human rights, the rights of women as well as the rights of girls children. In which they should have their basic human rights.

In fact, the PRC already provided domestic laws to explicitly rule the gendercide practice in society. Articles 1, 2 and 18 of the Population and Family Planning Act note that encouraging family planning as a key strategy for achieving demographic diversity through a comprehensive approach, including a policy on fertility (Zbierski, 2010). Under those articles, One-Child policy aims at achieving demographic equilibrium in the PRC by implementing a policy in fertility without any pressure or forced action. Therefore, when the phenomenon of gendercide still happen in the PRC, Chinese society will face several future threats, such as; 1) imbalance population where the number of women is insignificant; 2) more male population is predicted cannot get married (Brooks, 2013); and 3) the higher number of human trafficking.

The PRC has become a gateway and transit country for human trafficking due to fewer women in the PRC. The victims come mainly from countries near PRC such as Vietnam, Burma, Mongolia, Laos, and North Korea. There are two forms of women trafficking in the PRC, as a marriage broker and as a sex worker. Recently, the increasing of social crime is related to Women's shortfall and men's surplus unable to marry. Further, it creates psychological

distress to them due to the pressure of family and the society's judgment. As reported by the study of the Institute for Study of Labor, they discover that an increase of 1% in the sexual ratio results in a rise of 5% in the crime rate (Winkler, 2014). Moreover, the result of the study also shows that the regions with most male-biased sex ratio, have a higher rate of prostitution, rape case, brides abduction, human trafficking case, alcohol, and drug abuse. Therefore, this article will focus from 2005 as a starting point of transnational actors activity in advocating gendercide issue in the PRC, until 2014 as the end of One-Child Policy.

From those future threats, several grassroots movements or Chinese NGOs decided to advocate the gendercide issue. However, the PRC holds communist system as their political ideology which makes the Chinese government easily to regulate and restrict the NGOs movement. Under the Chinese Communist Party's supervision, local NGOs are controlled in order to support all the government's goals (Qi, 2011). Hence, this article tries to analyze the effort of Chinese NGOs in advocating the PRC's gendercide issue under strong restriction from their government.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gendercide is a common issue in Asian countries such as Nepal, South Korea, Vietnam, and the highest among them are India and the PRC (Kiener, 2011). The similarity from those countries is a strong son-preference culture within their society. However, the case of PRC is unique because the government implements the One-Child Policy and communist system as their political ideology. This ideology makes restrictions for grassroots movements and limits the information from the government regarding the number of gendercide victim.

In 1990s, gendercide issue is rarely discussed. Following that condition, Julie Jimmerson researched the factors caused by gendercide in the PRC. Her article entitled Female Infanticide in China: An Examination of Cultural and Legal Norms analyzes the issue from various perspectives, such as historical context, social culture, political background, and legal law. Moreover, this article portrays the effort of the central government to control the issue of

sex-selective abortion during the 1980s. However, through this article, it shows an inconsistency of government's effort to handle the issue because they were controlling the population and protect human rights in the same time.

Then, in 2000s, Chu Junhong researched to figure out the real number of gendercide victim in the PRC. She uses mix-method research, combining a quantitative approach to get the real number of the victim and a qualitative approach to get deeper information and story from the victim. She writes the result of her research in the journal article entitled Prenatal Sex Determination and Sex-Selective Abortion in Rural Central China. Through this article, Chu Junhong shows the real data (in percentage) of son-preference culture in society and the number of sex-selective abortion cases.

The new research is conducted by Junsen Zhang (2017) on fertility rates after the evolution of China's One-Child Policy, following the end of the One-Child Policy at the beginning of 2016. In this article, he compares China's fertility rate with other developing countries, such as South Korea, Japan, Thailand, and Mexico. Moreover, he relates the fertility rate and the economic development in those countries. In the end, he argues that without the massive birth control of One-Child Policy, the fertility rate in the PRC would have declined after 1978, as same as the other comparison countries, caused by the trend of a slowdown of fertility rate (Zhang, 2017). However, this article does not explain about sex-selective abortion or gendercide issue.

A medical humanities scholar, Jing Bao Nie writes an article entitled Limits of States Intervention in Sex-Selective Abortion: The Case Of China. The article uses a different perspective compared with those articles previously mentioned above. This article explains the sex-selective abortion in the PRC from a state perspective or state-centered and coercive-oriented. He states that there are eight problems emerge because of the coercive state intervention in the case of sex-selective abortion. Furthermore, he explains that there are several possible ways to tackle this issue, such as through social program based on what women need, community-oriented movement, and voluntary in character (Nie, 2010).

Based on the previous research on China's gendercide

issue, the authors decide to use transnational advocacy approach to analyze the gendercide issue from a different perspective. Using TANs as a tool of analysis, it can show the contribution of international actors in advocating this issue. The authors believe that the local community is not enough to tackle the issue. This issue needs intervention from stronger external actors to push the Chinese government that restricts the local community movement. Moreover, in the current world, the sophisticated technology and the phenomena of globalization make one individual can easily to be connected. Therefore, by using the concept of transnational advocacy it can portrait the scheme about the process of advocating the gendercide issue with the cooperation of local communities and international actors.

RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, a qualitative approach is used to explore the actions of individuals or groups as the social problem in society (Creswell, 2014). Thus, in this context, the qualitative approach helps to examine the advocacy mechanism of TANs in tackling the issue of gendercide in the PRC.

Library research method is used by the authors in this research. Besides, the authors also collect sources from secondary data, specifically on TANs activities between International INGOs and regional NGOs which engaged in gendercide advocacy in the PRC. The authors decided to use this method because there are many supporting secondary sources regarding the topics. Hence, the authors can identify the process of Chinese NGOs to build their networks from their website and report. Meanwhile, the authors can identify the respond of external actors from journal, articles, newspaper, report, the website of INGOs and the state commission.

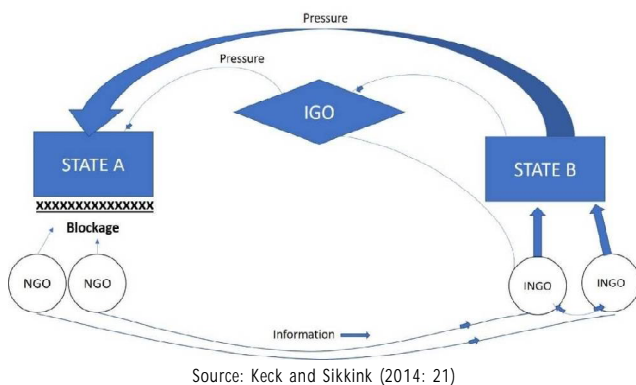
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gendercide in the PRC involved fetal abortion and a big number of women as forced sterilization victims which in future will be dangerous for Chinese society. Hence, it becomes important agenda, to advocate the problem of gendercide in the PRC. The concept of TANs generally has a purpose to persuade people and stimulate them to

create actions. Therefore, they conduct several ways such as interpreting facts and testimonies and framing the issues (Sikkink, 1999).

To analyze the process of TANs in China's gendercide issue, the authors use 'boomerang pattern.' Boomerang-pattern model was developed by Kathryn Sikkink (2014). This model explains the emerging of TANs. The first reason is that society's channels to aggregate their interest is blocked by governments or that the channels are unsuccessful in solving a dispute between government and society. The second reason is that activists consider that networking is the way to extend their campaigns and missions, especially in promoting issue through networking. The third reason is the types of transnational interaction such as conference and meeting could build forums for the establishment and strengthening of networks. (Sikkink, 1999).

Figure 1. Model of Boomerang Pattern



Based on that model, the TANs strategy in the PRC seemed to eradicate the issues of gendercide, hypothetically triggered by the blocking channels between governments and domestic group of society that makes state as the main violator of rights. Article 1 of the PRC's Population and Family Planning Act (President's Order No.63) clearly stated that: This Law is enacted, in accordance with the Constitution, for the purpose of bringing about a concerted development between the population on the one side and the economy, culture, capital and environment on the other, fostering family planning, protecting citizens's legitimate rights and interests, enhancing family happiness and contributing to the nation's stability and social progress (Zemin, 2001).

The government of PRC has violated citizen's legitimate rights to have more than one child by implementing One-Child Policy to reach a lower population rate. It is therefore difficult for local NGOs to campaign for the problem in this case, so there is a need to establish networking between other NGOs. To get more influential, transnational organizations needs to cooperate with other states that have power which has the same concern.

They could create pressure from outside to the conflicting state through the support of other states and transnational organizations. There are two possibilities: the first is to put direct pressure on the state of conflict by imposing sanctions, criticism, and the second is that state and transnational organizations must collaborate with the intergovernmental body to raise awareness of the issue. Hence, although local NGOs cannot directly influence the decision making process, their connection to transnational organisations including other supporting states and even intergovernmental body can help them to give pressure to government.

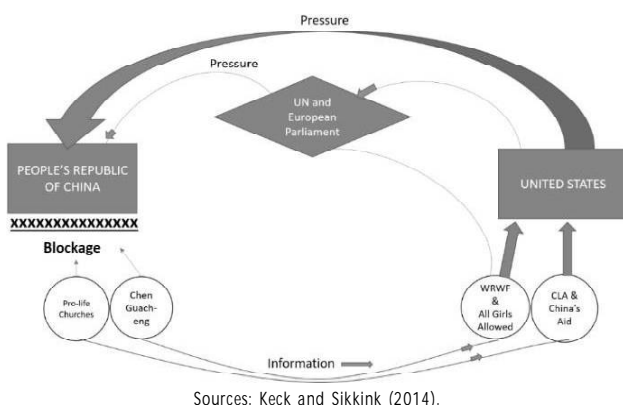
RESULT AND ANALYSES

Gendercide in the PRC was stimulated by various aspects, some of them are Confucianism teaching and the ideology of patriarchal that assumes women as subordinated group, second class, unintelligent, and emotionally dominant (Guisso, 1981). Eventually, these social constructions created a culture of son-preference in the PRC's society. When the PRC experienced overpopulation in 1950s, Deng Xiaoping started to adopt a One-Child Policy in 1980. This policy instructed family to have one child only. The implication of this policy is the gendercide practice by forced abortion, not using traditional methods such as vomiting, burning, suffocation or hunger (Mungello, 2008).

On the other hand, this strategy has resulted in increasing population growth in the PRC from 6.396 million in 1965 to 1.617 million in 2015 (Bank, 2017). Behind this achievement of the One-Child Policy, the PRC is dealing with a large number of abortion cases (Schwarzwalder, 2015). Between 1950 to 2014, according to the graph of the average fertility rate in the PRC, the early Mao fertility rate in the PRC between 1950 to 1976 was the highest

fertility rate relative to the end of the Mao regime. (Senthilgam, 2016). Based on the conditions, a domestic advocacy alone cannot easily solve the problem. That is why it is appropriate to use the idea of TANs to advocate genderice in the PRC. Figure 2 below shows there are three steps of the process of advocacy.

Figure 2. Boomerang Pattern Implementation in Gendercide advocacy



- The first step is local NGOs, the actor is human rights activist named Chen Guangcheng, and Pro-Life Churches, undertaking collective activism on their own. Nevertheless, their advocacy efforts face the government's blockade in the form of sanctions, spies, bans, and even tortures and jails.
- The second step is for local NGOs to create networks with other INGOs (Women's Rights Without Borders, All Girls Allowed and China Life Alliance) in order to develop active activism at the international level.
- The final step is to persuade the United States, the United Nations council and the President of the European Parliament to impose condemn on forced abortion procedures. There are two kinds of movements developed in this third step: individual advocacy and group advocacy. Through the individual advocacy, both international and national has their each way in gaining public and government interest. Since individual advocacy is not enough, they attempt to set up number of international coalitions in order to make their voices and campaigns louder, it defines joint-advocacy.

INDIVIDUAL ADVOCACY

CHEN GUANGCHENG

Chen Guangcheng is one of the prominent supporters who practiced the individual advocacy. He is a lawyer and known as a civil rights activist working in rural areas of the PRC on human rights issues. Chen started his advocacy with his wife, Yuan Weijing, by choosing the issue of forced abortion. They begin with hearing the stories of women who threaten to face forced abortion. Mostly, people ask how to prevent forced abortions and forced sterilization. Hearing those stories, they realize that there is something wrong and they tried to collect the evidence.

Chen also established a network with lawyers and reporters in Beijing and Shanghai to lead the case. For instance in Liu Qinghua's case, she denied the family planning officials in 2005 by hiding herself from it. Qinghua was coerced by family planning officers to get sterilized with a tubal ligation. She was hiding with her Father, Liu Yuancheng, to get out of this official policy. Officers took Yuancheng and battered him since they could not find Qinghua. Therefore, Chen brought this case against the Leader of the Yanan Country Family Planning Commission for carrying out the unlawful orders of the group in connection with this investigation. Besides aiming to bring the case to the lawsuit to fight for justice, he also tried to attract the attention of the media to the brutal enforcement of One Child Policy. Nonetheless, the national media were still unwilling to show any aspect of the regulation of family planning program (Guangcheng, 2015). In his advocacy works, Chen Guangcheng was threatened by some authorities in the council. Once Chen made a trip to Beijing to meet the Washington Post interview request, he was arrested by officials from Linyi County for about thirty eight hours after he revealed the violations of the family planning system (Cheung, 2005). He was eventually arrested and imprisoned for four years.

PRO-LIFE CHURCES

In recent years, there have been many people, particularly Chinese Christians, who have received many pro-life message content from U.S. churches, the media, and many international teachings, including from the Bible. For that reason, Tens churches across mainland China have received

information and letters. Besides engaging for mass teaching through churches, they come directly to women's house in order to convince women to take care of their child-birth. As the church claimed, the pro-life action is successfully save two until five infants every year. (Cheng, 2014).

Another way is through a public campaign to counter forced abortion. Jonny Fan, one of the founders of the Early Rain Reformed Church in Chengdu, started the movement during the Chinese Children's Day on 1 June 2012. With some helps from church members, he spread brochures to encourage the pregnant women not to kill their children (Cheng, 2014). Their other action is to provide an educational system, particularly for second children, as *hokou* (household registration) as one of the criteria for formal education will be difficult to get for the second children in the PRC.

ALL GRILS ALLOWED

This NGO is founded by Chai Ling. Ling is an influential activist in PRC since 1989 who involved in Tiananmen Square action. The philosophy of this organization is based on the Christian values and Bible's verses, which attempt to eliminate the gendercide practice in the PRC's society. They have some methods to guide the advocacy agendas, such as: 1) unveiling the brutality of China's One-child policy; 2) protecting all mothers and young women from the effect of gendercide; 3) glorifying women by accepting them as God's fair picture bearers by their promise, "In Jesus ' Name, Simply Love Her" (All Girls Allowed, 2013).

All Girls Allowed also perform various agendas in attempt to help the survival girls and reduce the total of gendercide victims. The first initiative is Baby Shower Gift, intended to save women from abandonment and slavery through prenatal sex selection. Technically, All Girls Allowed could send 20 dollars a month to help poor Chinese pregnant families. As a result, husbands and in-laws will recognize the benefits of raising daughters with these subsidies. The aim is to change their perspective on the value of their daughters. This program could rescue for about 550 women from the threat of gendercide in 2011 (Ling, 2012). The second initiative is a scholarship for orphans to take neglected girls to school for a better future.

There are about 25 orphaned girls sent by All Girls Allowed as part of this program and they received a proper education by the end of 2011 (Ling, 2012).

The last one, Defending-Mothers, aims to advocate forced abortion and forced sterilization cases legally and legitimately. The case of Cao Ruyi, who had been pregnant her second baby for five months and was forced to abort her pregnancy, and the story of Feng Jianmei, who had been unlawfully arrested on 30 May 2012, because of her pregnancy for the second child and was unable to pay an expensive fine. During this program, All Girls Allowed built cooperation with international media to publish Cao Ruyi story. As a result, the news of her has become a spotlight of foreign media and has gained public awareness. As one of the All Girls Allowed Partners, Women's Rights in China helped Cao's husband negotiate with the official to free Cao Ruyi. The official accepted, but Cao and her husband were obliged to sign a pledge on June 16 to terminate the fetus and pay 10,000 yuan as compensation. (Jing, 2013). Finally, they decided to escape from official's rule to get their child born safely, rather than following the official's rule to abort their fetus.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS WITHOUT FRONTIERS

This INGO is a global coalition which consists of many groups working against forced abortion and sexual slavery in the PRC. It is established by a lawyer named Reggie Littlejohn. They have two missions, the first is a short-term mission, to gain a public awareness of coercive implementation of One-Child Policy and its relation to human trafficking issues in Asia, as well as other human rights abuses induced by the policy. The second is a long-term mission to fight around the world, particularly in the PRC, for justice, democracy and women's rights. Reporting abuses of women's rights in the media is the best way to achieve that, because it can increase awareness and help victims, as well as those fighting for women's freedom and justice (Littlejohn, 2019).

The field advocacy used by INGOs indicates that Women's Rights Without Frontier field workers should persuasively lead directly to persuade women's decision to give birth to their children (Derois, 2016). Nevertheless, Save a Girl project is also giving grants to their daughters

to cover basic needs. The other way to eradicate gendercide is to award monthly compensation for one year to mothers who have plan for aborting or abandoning their baby girl, it works for reducing the pressure on pregnant women to abort their baby. In addition, the agency will provide monthly subsidies to help pregnant women without a birth permit and to conceal in order to escape forced abortions. Women's Rights Without Borders announced that some 200 girls had been rescued as part of this initiative project. (Chretien, 2017).

CHINA AID

Bob Fu designed this INGO in 2002. The INGO offers representation for individuals imprisoned by authorities and also provides resources for families to pay fines and other support as part of their advocacy activities (WND, 2012). This program is called the Chinese Children's Defense Funds and is inspired by the case of Feng Jianmei, who was forced to commit abortion because she was unable to afford 40,000 yuan in compensation when she got pregnant for her second child. In the future, ChinaAid implements the Chinese Children Support project to prevent similar cases. In the beginning, it needs to fight one-child policy violations that cause forced abortion and sterilization.

CHINA LIFE ALLIANCE

Mark Li as an American missionary, he becomes the founder of China Life Alliance in 2010. The INGO aimed to set up a distributed network of churches and organizations to campaign the pro-life movement and help women from forced abortion (Cheng, 2014). China Life Alliance networking consists individual, churches, and also ministries that have vision to protect woman who threatened by forced abortions, infanticide, abandonment and trafficking case in the PRC (CECC, 2015). Although this INGO is based in the USA, it builds collaboration with church networks. China Life Alliance and its affiliates are free agents and responsible for the operation of churches in resolving gendercide issues. China Life Alliance's role is to help families bargain with family planning officials while at the same time trying to reform the abortion and sterilization obligation to pay for fines. Women also receive fi-

ancial support from the China Life Alliance in order to be able to pay fines.

Nevertheless, the China Life Alliance is also pursuing a number of projects aimed at saving children and helping families. The services include Safe House for Pregnant Women, Abortion Rescue Teams and the Catholic Legal Aid Agency (Cheng, 2014). These programs help parents prevent forced abortion and caring for their children, through financial assistance and administration. The China Life Alliance cooperates with indigenous peoples to guarantee that these services are applied optimally. Sarah Huang, for instance, is one of the member of the House Church, in 2012, her child was almost aborted. Yet she understood the importance of preserving the life of a human being. Eventually, she joined China Life Alliance's working to save children, help mothers who threaten by forced abortion. To keep them save from family pressure, she also try to look for a safe houses for them.

GROUP ADVOCACY OF CHINESE NGO AND INGO

Chen Guangcheng has started to build a network with Chinese foreign activists such as Teng Biao, Jiang Tianyong and Tu Bisheng as human rights lawyer and Guo Yushan as a scholar. (Guangcheng, 2015). He has also formed a network of reporters from abroad, one of whom is Philip Pan as a correspondent for the Washington Post. He focuses on human rights abuses that have taken place in the PRC. As a result, the Washington Post published this article on 27 August 2005 under the title 'Who is the family?' (Pan, 2005).

This international media is powerful enough to make people in both the global and the PRC could be more critical and educated of the fact that this issue is happening in society. It also provides an open network around Chen and Li Jian, a national reporter, who operate website called Civil Rights Support Networks. They explored gendercide by asking women about their history of forced abortion and forced sterilization. All the interview results will be released in domestic and foreign media. This is the effort to pressure the Chinese National Family Planning Commission. This intervention was quite fruitful as, after being pressurized by the Commission, they finally announce that there was a violation of the law in Linyi and

ordered the guilty officials to quit from their position or face further punishment.

In the meantime, the agenda of Pro-Life Churches faces restrictions from the Chinese government as well. As a result, many of them are developing networking with INGOs with similar concerns and ideology, the China Life Alliance is one of them. In practical terms, the China Life Alliance still wants a grassroots movement in the region to carry out its initiative, which tends to be collective collaboration.

This does not mean, however, that churches simply accept the China Life Alliance programme, but that they also have the duty to organize their churches and encourage active advocacy. The participation of the leadership of the China Life Alliance mainly helps to direct the campaign and to provide the materials and resources for the life announcement. Working together with the China Life Alliance, Pro-Life Churches are also saving pregnant women from forced abortion by providing financial assistance to pay fines, a safe home for pregnant mother, abortion rescue teams and the Christian Ministry of Legal Aid.

GROUP ADVOCACY BETWEEN INGOS

In this case, the above mentioned INGOs still work together to achieve more global attention in addressing the issue of gendercide. There are several acts, for example:

1. Coalition to end gendercide. The coalition was established in Capitol Hill on 1 June 2011. All Girls Allowed became the initiator of this coalition. The group was led by a number of human rights activists, politicians, demographers, such as Congresswoman Vicky Hartzler, T.Kumar as delegate of Amnesty International Department of Advocacy for Asia and the Pacific, Chai Ling as the Chairman of All Girls Allowed, Dudley Poston, Jr as Professor of Sociology at Texas A&M University, Congressman Chris Smith, Zhang Yuhong as Ally of One-Child Policy forced abortion (All Girls Allowed, 2011). The group is scheduled to screen the forthcoming film on gendercide in India and the PRC.
2. The documentary film. In 2012, these TANs have taken a gentle approach to addressing the problem of gendercide not only in the PRC but also in India through documentary film, *It's a Girl: The Three Deadliest Words in the World*. The documentary film is the product of the partnership of Shadowline Films with other human rights activists such as Reggie Littlejohn, Rita Banerji as a feminist from Pakistan, Mitu Khurana as a gendercide survivor in India and so on. The film is directed by Evan Grae Davis and talks about the phenomenon of female infanticide in India and the PRC, which is considered as a form of violence against women. The goal of making this film is to raise public awareness through cinema as an entertaining and easy to understand press.
3. Alliance to combat violence against pregnant women. The alliance is also being founded by TANs in 2012, as All Girls Allowed, ChinaAid, Women for Life International Inc., Canada Silent No More, Endeavor Forum Inc. and Jubilee Movement are affiliates of the coalition. The goal of this alliance is to lodge a complaint with the United Nations Committee on the Status of Women, Human Rights Department, United Nations Women in New York. (Francis, 2012). To addition to the case files, the program only contains a minimum of 17 accounts of one-child policy breaches reported by pregnant women. There are five demands asking for women's freedom and freedoms to give birth to their babies, to avoid the abuse of pregnant women, to stop paying penalties, to end compulsory abortion and sterilization, and to condemn China's One-Child Policy (Casey, 2012).
4. The other approach is to maximize the hearing bodies, for example at the U.S. Congress, on May 3 and 15, 2012, the TANs conduct it twice. Chai Ling, Bob Fu, Reggie Littlejohn, T. Kumar participated during this hearing, including Chen Guangcheng was invited to this hearing by phone. Meanwhile, the subject of the discussion is the realization of Chen Guangcheng from the PRC and the protection of his family after his escape to the US Embassy in Beijing. Besides, on 9 July 2012, Reggie Littlejohn, Bob Fu and Steven Mosher, as Chairman of the Population Research Institute, briefed on the case of forced abortion in the PRC. Feng Jianmei, Cao Ruyi, and Hu Jia were identified as survivors of forced abortion (Littlejohn, 2012). Furthermore, they give unbiased evidence at the trial in the Euro-

pean Parliament. Beginning with Reggie Littlejohn, she spoke at the European Parliament on 22 March 2011 and spoke of forced abortion in China's sexual and reproductive rights. (Littlejohn, 2011). The effect of giving testimony to these institutions is that the issue of gendercide could be exposed, and these institutions would work hand in hand to put pressure on the PRC to address the issue of gendercide within their countries. All Girls Allowed with Chai Ling as a delegate is the other INGO that testifies in the European Parliament. In 2012, she testifies and discusses the violation of human rights in the PRC, particularly with regard to forced abortion and forced sterilization.

The final hearing was based on the women's commission at the United Nations. Reggie Littlejohn is the one who testifies in this hearing. She testifies to the Status of Women Committee of the United Nations in 2015. She talks about the facts of forced abortion and gendercide under China's One-Child Policy as the most severe crimes against women and children (Littlejohn, 2015).

PRESSURE FROM THE UNITED STATES, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INGOS

As a follow-up to these advocacy process, there are two important steps in the process. The first one is interpreting facts and testimonies from victims. Chen Guangcheng conducts this step by hearing all of the testimonies of forced abortion and sterilization victim during the interview in rural China. On the other side, during the hearing of government institutions, such as in U.S. Congress, they bring the fact of gendercide in the PRC and testimonies of the victims. Both of the results of facts and testimonies are mostly published in domestic and international media. The other important step is activist groups are successfully framing the gendercide issue simply through the documentary movie, "It's a Girl: The Three Deadliest Words in the World". Those actions can easily persuade people to stand against the gendercide issue in the PRC and stimulate them to take action.

Therefore, the United States, the United Nations and the European Parliament council were called upon to take such measures. First of all, with Hillary Rodham Clinton

as Secretary of State under the Obama administration, the United States has denounced China's human rights as a stupid act (Latcha, 2012). Furthermore, the other US government bodies have criticized forced abortion in the PRC by setting up a report and hearing forums, for instance, the State Department for Human Rights condemns it in a document called 'China (including Tibet, Hong Kong and Macau) 2015 Human Rights Report'. By setting up a hearing platform and welcomed the survivor of abuses of one-child policy, Yanling Guo, The Committee on Foreign Affairs also condemned forced abortion in the PRC. As a result of the long process of advocacy in the United States, it is surprising that the United Nations Family Planning Fund (UNFPA) has been involved in China's coercive abortion, according to an investigation by Secretary of State Colin Powell under the Bush administration (Littlejohn, 2009). Moreover, under the Obama administration, the United States gives up to \$51 million to UNFPA (Foundation, 2019). Therefore, there are many INGOs and journalist criticize the decision of the government, such as Reggie Littlejohn and Chris Smith as the author of Public Discourse (Smith, 2014). As a result of this pressure, four months after the inauguration, President Trump withdraws the donor funding to UNFPA to prevent the practice of coercive and sex-selective abortion in the world, including in the PRC keeps continuing (Nichols, 2017).

As well as in the European Parliament, following the screening of a documentary film, the European Parliament is exerting pressure on the Chinese Government to strongly condemn the enforcement of forced abortion, in particular in the context of the One-Child Policy on Forced Abortion, as stated in the European Parliament resolution of 5 July 2012 (France Presse, 2012). The Commission and the European External Action Service are therefore asked to discuss forced abortion with the PRC in the next bilateral human rights dialogue (EU, 2012). Then, it happens in 2014 that the European Union and the PRC held the 33rd round of the EU-China Dialogue on Human Rights in Brussels. This meeting discusses the domestic violence and women's rights in the PRC (Team, 2014).

The participation of the United Nations in the PRC is not necessarily satisfactory, although the gender issue is a form of human rights and CEDAW violence. Generally,

the United Nations condemns the issue of forced abortion and forced sterilization worldwide (Worldwide, 2011). Besides advocacy, the United Nations also has a range of recommendations on fighting gender violence, such as endorsing programs for girls and women, law and regulation.

Thus, according to those advocacy processes, the pressure of INGOs is able to create louder voice and stronger action by collaborating with the states and supranational organizations. The involvement of state and supranational organization are crucial because they have more power to give direct pressure through withdrawing the donor as did the United States or face to face dialog as did the European Union.

THE IMPACT OF TANS IN GENDERCIDE ISSUE IN THE PRC

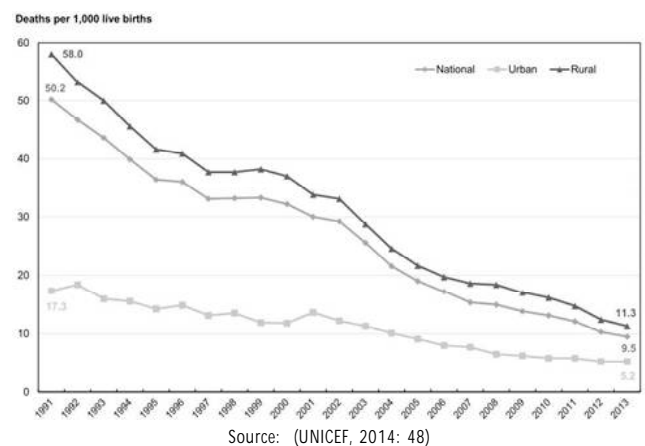
The advocacy of gendercide issue in the PRC began when unnatural of infant mortality risen, including female infanticide and practice of forced abortion. Those facts drive the Chinese NGOs to put the goal to end the One-Child Policy as the short term goal. Meanwhile, their ultimate purpose is eradicating the son preference culture inside of Chinese society. In order to achieve those goals, they use symbolic politics strategy by framing this issue into a critical issue. So, the Chinese societies can be aware that this is a violation of human rights and it needs to be advocated immediately. There are various types of framing this issue, such as Chen Guangcheng brings the case of Liu Qinghua to the court to get people's attention and the successful framing conducted by INGO through documentary movie, *It's a Girl: The Three Deadliest Words in the World* which can influence the perspective of international society in gendercide issue.

As they realize that individual advocacy cannot create a huge impact, especially with the restriction system in the PRC. So, grassroots movements and INGOs cooperate in group advocacy system. For example, Chen Guangcheng cooperates with other Beijing and Shanghai lawyers and journalists to guide Liu Qinghua's case to the lawsuit. The Pro-Life Churches also collaborate with the China Life Alliance to save pregnant women who face threats of forced abortion. Moreover, the cooperation of Chinese NGOs with INGOs, such as Pro-Life Churches toward China Life

Alliance is on the purpose of donor funding. Without the donor funding, the Chinese NGOs as grassroots movement cannot advocate the issue maximally.

Thus, with strong and good communication in the group advocacy system, they can use the power of media to influence people in a larger scope, not only in the PRC but also in international level. For example, Chen collaborates with Philip Pan, a reporter from the *Washington Post*, they use media to shape the perspective of the international society who has an important position in TANS as the one who push their states to have an action in responding this issue. When international societies have realized about the issue, the next step is creating a coalition as a serious and concrete action. In the international world, there are two coalitions against the gendercide issue, they are Coalition to End Gendercide in 2011 and Coalition to End Violence Against Pregnant Women in 2012. These coalitions provide an opportunity to create policy changes.

Figure 3. Infant mortality rates from 1991 – 2013 in the People's Republic of China



The power of media and coalitions also help them to organize communities as an effort to conduct field advocacy. There are several efforts, such as the campaign against sex-selective abortion both in the PRC and international world, screening the documentary movie in government body for example in the European Parliament meeting, and the last is The PRC's Pro-Life Churches come door to door to convince women to fight against forced abortion. The last step is using leverage politics strategy, work collaboratively with strong actors in a situation where the

weaker group of the network is unable to have any impact. In this part, the contribution of hearing in the institutional body and screening the documentary movie has effective contribution because through those media, United States decide to cut their donor funding to UNFPA and European Union held an EU China Human Rights Dialogue annually.

Based on the child mortality rate which started in 2000, the infant mortality rate in the PRC, which is slowly decreasing in both urban and rural areas, may de-escalate as a result of transnational lobbying by international NGOs, INGOs and other foreign stakeholders. The Chinese government finally launched the Chinese Girls Care program in 2005.

CONCLUSION

The gendercide advocacy process in the PRC conducted by Chinese NGOs faced many restrictions from the government, such as espionage, intimidation, and the threat from the commission's authorities. Moreover, there was a possibility for them of being kidnaped and prisoned. Those restrictions acts are faced by the local movement Chen Guangcheng during his struggle advocating the sex-selective abortion in Linyi and the Pro-Life Churches follower which got arrested during their demonstration on Children day. The government highly against them due to their action on anti-sex selective abortion would impact China's One-Child Policy. Hence, this advocacy process could not create significant result to tackle the gendercide issue in the country. They need to cooperate with INGOs which have the same value and concerns. Those are All Girls Allowed, Women's Right without Frontiers, China Aid, and China Life Alliance.

Two schemes have been adopted by INGOs, specifically working with local movements to advocate for this issue, such as Pro-Life Churches working hand in hand with the China Life Alliance to protect pregnant women from the threat of abortion. The second scheme is cooperation among INGOs to advocate the issue from outside of the PRC to get international attention. With this effort, they can put pressure on the United States, the United Nations and the European Parliament to take a stance on this issue.

Together with INGOs, the local movements succeeded reducing the number of sex-selective abortion as indicated in the graphic of infant mortality rate. The state commitment to tackle this issue is found relatively limited to only a pressure through condemnation. As a result of the accumulation of pressure, the PRC decided to change the situation by launching Care for Girl and transforming the One-Child Policy into a Two-Child Policy.

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