



Estimating Trafficking of Myanmar Women for Forced Marriage and Childbearing in China

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List of Acronyms

AOR	Adjusted Odds Ratio
CKIE	Community Key Informant Estimation
CI	Confidence Interval
IDI	In-Depth Interview
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IRB	Institutional Review Board
KIA	Kachin Independence Army
KII	Key Informant Interview
KWAT	Kachin Women’s Association Thailand
NSS	Northern Shan State
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
UN DESA	United Nations Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Executive Summary

In 2017, the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health’s Center for Humanitarian Health partnered with the Kachin Women’s Association Thailand to conduct a mixed methods study (combining qualitative and quantitative research methods) in Kachin State and Northern Shan State in Myanmar, and Yunnan Province in China (Figure E.1). The study seeks to estimate the prevalence of trafficking for forced marriage and childbearing among women and girls from Myanmar (specifically Kachin State and Shan State) to China (specifically Yunnan Province), as well as to improve understanding of the migration patterns, including risk and protective factors relating to force, coercion, and trafficking. The definition of key terms used in this study are listed below.



Figure E.1: Map of Study Areas in Myanmar and China

Table E.1. Definition of Key Terms

Term	Operational Definition used in Study
Marriage	Formal or informal union of two persons, as self-reported by the respondent (i.e. the research will not require documentation or ‘proof’ of the marriage). ¹
Forced marriage	Formal or informal union of two persons, at least one of whom did not have the option of (i) refusing the marriage without suffering a penalty (or the menace of penalty), OR (ii) exiting the marriage without suffering a penalty (or the menace of penalty). Penalties include physical, sexual, emotional, financial or legal consequences. ²
Childbearing	The state of being pregnant, irrespective of the birth outcome.
Forced childbearing	Any pregnancy that occurs in a forced marriage, regardless of whether the sex or pregnancy occurred with the woman’s consent.
Human trafficking	The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. ³

¹ Developed in consultation with international and Myanmar human rights organizations, based principally on the definition of forced marriage stipulated in the Council of Europe. Parliamentary Assembly, *Resolution 1468 (2005) on Forced Marriages and Child Marriages*, 5 October 2005, 1468. 2005. Accessed November 29, 2018. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/43f5d5184.html>.

² Specific penalties considered in the study are: deprivation of food, water, and/or sleep, physical isolation or restraint, physical abuse such as hitting or slapping, sexual harassment and assault, emotional threat, verbal abuse, social exclusion, no longer able to see children, friends or family, loss of valuable goods, economic penalty, and loss of identity documents.

³ United Nations General Assembly. *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, 15 November 2000. Accessed October 22, 2018. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4720706c0.html>.

The study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, which are described in Table E.2 below:

Table E.2. Study Methodology

QUALITATIVE		QUANTITATIVE	
Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) (N=19)	In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) (N=28)	Household Surveys (N=394)	Community Key Informant Estimation (CKIE) Interviews (N=118)
Individuals with unique knowledge of the topic under study (i.e. experiences of marriage and childbearing among Myanmar women in China).	(a) Myanmar women (aged 18-55 years) who have experienced marriage and/or childbearing in the last five years with a Chinese man in China (n=17). (b) Friends and relatives of individuals meeting these criteria were also interviewed as part of the study (n=11).	Female who were aged 15-55 years, born in Myanmar, migrated to China, and have experienced marriage and/or childbearing in the last five years with a Chinese man in China.	Adults in the study sites who were believed to know about the presence or absence of Myanmar women and girls in their communities.

Fieldwork was conducted over a period from June 2017 to April 2018 in 40 sites in Kachin State (n=15) and Northern Shan State (n=5) in Myanmar, and Dehong Dai and Jingpo Prefecture (n=20) in Yunnan Province, People’s Republic of China. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health and by local ethical review committees in Myanmar and China.

This report summarizes the key findings of the study, organized into three sections: (A) prevalence of forced marriage, forced childbearing, and trafficking into forced marriage; (B) population estimates of migrant women from Kachin State and Northern Shan State who are in forced marriages in China as of 2017 or who have returned from China between 2013 and 2017; and (C) drivers and risk factors for forced marriage.

E.1. Prevalence Rates

Table E.3 provides a breakdown of the forced marriage construct developed using the study’s definition of forced marriage as outlined earlier. **A total of 157 (39.8%) out of 394 respondents experienced forced marriage.** About one-third (n=131) were unable to refuse the marriage at the time the union was formed while 14.2% (n=56) were unable to exit the marriage without menace or threat of a penalty. It should be noted that, among respondents, 56.4% (n=110) of women interviewed in Kachin State and Northern Shan State (after having returned from China), experienced forced marriage, as compared to 23.6% (n=47) of women interviewed in

China. This suggests either that returnees felt more open in disclosing these experiences (as compared to women still living in China) or that experiencing a forced marriage in China might be a reason for returning to Myanmar.

Table E.3: Forced Marriage in China

Row	Indicator	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) (%)			Total (N=394) (%)
		Kachin State ^a (n=148)	Shan State ^a (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	Kachin State ^b (n=92)	Shan State ^b (n=106)	Subtotal (n=199)	
A	Unable to refuse marriage at the time the union was formed due to threat or menace of penalty (n=131)	96 (64.9)	5 (10.6)	101 (51.8)	21 (22.8)	9 (8.5)	30 (15.1)	131 (33.2)
B	Subsequently unable to exit without menace or threat of a penalty (n=56)	22 (14.9)	4 (8.5)	26 (13.3)	22 (23.9)	8 (7.5)	30 (15.1)	56 (14.2)
C ^c	In forced marriage (n=157)	102 (68.9)	8 (17.0)	110 (56.4)	34 (37.0)	13 (12.3)	47 (23.6)	157 (39.8)
D	Not in forced marriage (n=237)	46 (31.1)	39 (83.0)	85 (43.6)	58 (63.0)	93 (87.7)	152 (76.4)	237 (60.2)
E^d	Total (N=394)	148 (100.0)	47 (100.0)	195 (100.0)	92 (100.0)	106 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	394 (100.0)

^a Refers to location of the interview

^b Refers to respondents’ birth state in Myanmar

^c Row C does not represent a direct sum of Row A and Row B, as the criteria for forced marriage overlap.

^d Row E is equal to the sum of Row C and Row D.

Table E.4 provides our estimate of trafficking into forced marriage among the sample population. To meet the criteria for this element of the trafficking construct (i.e. process), a respondent had to answer “yes” to at least one of the five criteria below:

- Did not cross the border of their own free will and the decision was made by someone else (excluding family members),
- Decided to leave based on the advice of someone else (excluding family members),
- Spent most of their travel journey to China with a recruiter or broker,
- Traveled with a recruiter or broker to reach their final destination in China, and/or
- Their marriage was arranged by an unrelated adult.

Among the 157 respondents in situations of forced marriage, **103 (65.6%) also used a recruiter or broker and, thus, met the criteria specified for being trafficked into forced marriage.** As was seen in Table E.4, the prevalence of trafficking into forced marriage was higher among women returned from China to Kachin State or Northern Shan State (43.1%, n=84) compared to Myanmar women interviewed in China (9.5%, n=19).

Table E.4: Trafficked into Forced Marriage in China

Row	Indicator	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) (%)			Total (N=394) (%)
		Kachin State ^a (n=148)	Shan State ^a (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	Kachin State ^b (n=92)	Shan State ^b (n=106)	Subtotal (n=199)	
A	In forced marriage but not trafficked (n=54)	22 (14.9)	4 (8.5)	26 (13.3)	19 (20.7)	9 (8.5)	28 (14.1)	54 (13.7)
B	Trafficked into forced marriage (n=103)	80 (54.1)	4 (8.5)	84 (43.1)	15 (16.3)	4 (3.8)	19 (9.5)	103 (26.1)
C	Not trafficked or in forced marriage (n=237)	46 (31.1)	39 (83.0)	85 (43.6)	58 (63.0)	93 (87.7)	152 ^c (76.4)	237 (60.2)
D	Total (N=394)	148 (100.0)	47 (100.0)	195 (100.0)	92 (100.0)	106 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	394 (100.0)

^a Refers to location of the interview

^b Refers to respondents' birth state in Myanmar

^c Includes one unknown response

Table E.5 below shows the proportion of respondents that experienced forced childbearing as well as being trafficked into forced childbearing. A total of 306 respondents (77.7%) bore a child with their current or most recent Chinese husband (in the last five years), and 119 respondents (30.2%) reported bearing children while in a forced marriage to a Chinese man and thus met the study's definition of being a victim of forced childbearing.

Table E.5: Forced Childbearing and Trafficked into Forced Childbearing

Variable	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) n (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) n (%)			Total (N=394) N (%)
	Kachin State ^a (n=148)	Shan State ^a (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	Kachin State ^b (n=92)	Shan State ^b (n=106)	Subtotal (n=199)	
Child with current or most recent husband in last five years	99 (66.9)	42 (89.4)	141 (72.3)	78 (84.8)	86 (81.1)	165 (82.9)	306 (77.7)
Experienced forced childbearing	67 (45.3)	8 (17.0)	75 (38.5)	32 (34.8)	12 (11.3)	44 (22.1)	119 (30.2)
Trafficked into forced childbearing	58 (39.2)	4 (8.5)	64 (32.8)	27 (29.3)	9 (8.5)	36 (19.1)	100 (25.4)

^a Refers to location of the interview

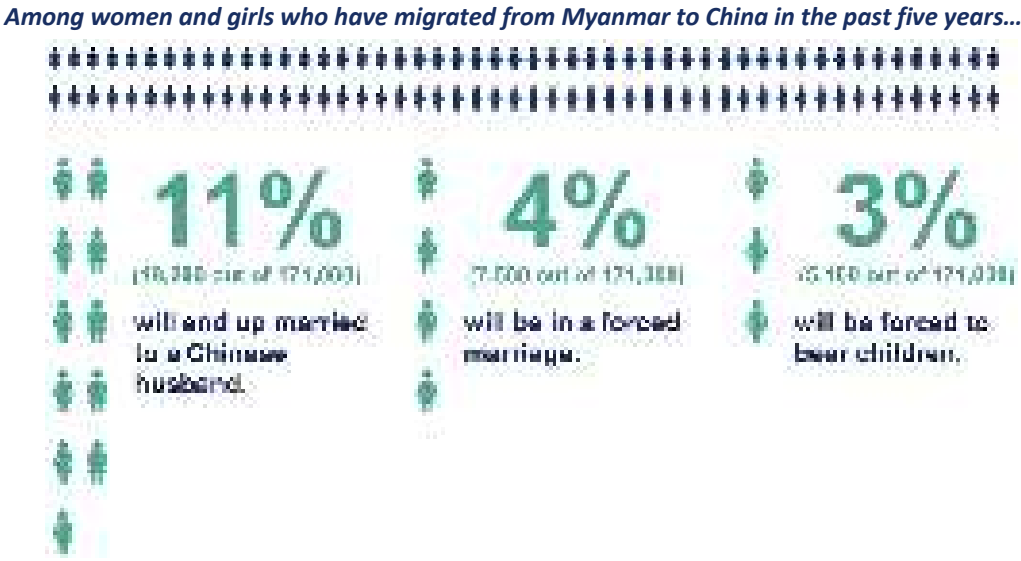
^b Refers to respondents' birth state in Myanmar

The rates of migration to China and marriages to Chinese men documented in this study exceed the typical ranges that are reported by the Myanmar and Chinese governments, which suggests several things: First, the vast majority of migrants go to China through informal routes and are unregistered. Second, official statistics may significantly underestimate the scale of migration to China, the population of Myanmar women married to Chinese men, as well as the number of victims of forced marriage and forced childbearing.

E.2. Population Estimates

Using prevalence data from our Household Survey, and population estimates derived both from our Community Key Informant Estimation (CKIE) interviews, as well as population census data from Myanmar and China, we have made several extrapolations (population projections, or estimates) based on assumptions that our study site data would apply to populations in larger administrative units. The figure below summarize the rate of forced marriage and forced childbearing across the study areas, namely, four districts in Myanmar and one prefecture in China.

Figure E.2: Rate of Forced Marriage and Forced Childbearing in the Study Area



For the Myanmar estimates of returnees from China between 2013 - 2017, the most plausible level of extrapolation is from the 15 study sites to three districts (Myitkyina, Mohnyin, and Bhamo) in Kachin State, and from the five study sites to one district (Muse) in Northern Shan State. Within these four districts, the full range of population estimates are presented in Table 4, with the mid-range estimates being:

- 106,000 female migrants have returned from China during 2013 - 2017;
- 7,800 of the female returnees were married to Chinese men;
- 5,000 of the female returnees were in forced marriages, including 3,900 who have been trafficked into forced marriage; and
- 2,800 of the married female returnees have been forced to bear children.

Table E.6: Population Estimates: Female Migrant Returnees from China to Kachin State and N. Shan State, Myanmar (2013 - 2017)

Area	Female Population in Area	Female Migrant Returnees (2013 - 2017)			Female Married Migrant Returnees (2013 - 2017)			Female Migrant Returnees in Forced Marriage (2013 - 2017)			Female Returnees Trafficked into Forced Marriage (2013 - 2017)			Female Returnees Forced to Bear Children (2013 - 2017)		
		Total	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid
Kachin State 3 Districts	741,597	19,282	78,609	175,758	2,025	7,075	12,655	1,395	4,875	8,719	1,096	3,828	6,846	780	2,724	4,872
N. Shan State 1 District	226,336	11,317	27,613	35,535	271	718	1,137	46	122	193	23	61	97	46	122	193
Total	967,933	30,599	106,222	211,293	2,296	7,793	13,792	1,441	4,997	8,912	1,119	3,889	6,943	826	2,846	5,064

For the China estimates of Myanmar women in China as of 2017, the most plausible level of extrapolation is from the 20 study sites to all of Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province. Within this prefecture, the full range of population estimates are presented in Table E.7, with the Mid-Range estimates being:

- 65,000 females from Myanmar living in China during 2017;
- 10,400 of the female migrants were married to Chinese men;
- 2,500 of the female migrants were in forced marriages, including 1,000 who have been trafficked into forced marriage; and
- 2,300 of the married female migrants have been forced to bear children.

Table E.7: Population Estimates: Female Myanmar Migrants in Yunnan Province, China (2017)

Area	Female Population in Area	Female Migrants in Yunnan (2017)			Female Married Migrants in Yunnan (2017)			Female Migrants in Forced Marriage (2017)			Female Migrants Trafficked into Forced Marriage (2017)			Female Returnees Forced to Bear Children (2017)		
		Total	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid
Dehong Dai and Jingpo Prefectures	599,662	59,367	64,763	91,149	9,558	10,427	15,769	2,256	2,461	3,721	908	991	1,498	2,112	2,304	3,485

These population estimates would certainly increase if we extrapolated the results from the 20 study sites to larger areas of Kachin State (four districts), Northern Shan State (seven districts) and Yunnan Province (four prefectures and prefectural cities) (Table E.8). These wider extrapolations, based on speculative assumptions, would increase the estimates to roughly 21,000 women and girls from Myanmar who were in a forced marriage to Chinese men between 2013 and 2017, and 18,300 victims of forced childbearing in the same period.

Table E.8: Extrapolations to Larger Areas of Kachin State, Northern Shan State and Yunnan Province (2013-2017)

Area	Female Population in Area	Female Returnees in Myanmar / Female Migrants in Yunnan			Female Married Migrant Returnees / Migrants in Yunnan			Female Migrant Returnees in Forced Marriage			Trafficked into Forced Marriage			Forced to Bear Children		
		Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Kachin State 4 Districts	787,488	20,475	83,473	186,635	2,150	7,513	13,438	1,481	5,176	9,259	1,163	4,065	7,270	973	3,401	6,083
N. Shan State 7 Districts	1,264,411	63,221	154,258	163,109	1,517	4,011	5,219	258	682	887	129	341	444	258	682	888
W. Yunnan Province 4 Prefectures / Prefectural Cities	3,442,725	340,830	371,814	523,294	58,964	64,324	90,530	13,916	15,180	21,365	5,602	6,111	8,600	13,037	14,222	20,017
Total	5,494,624	424,526	609,545	873,038	62,631	75,848	109,187	15,655	21,038	31,511	6,894	10,217	16,314	14,268	18,305	26,988

E.3. Drivers and Risk Factors

The findings from the Household Survey as well as the Key Informant and In-Depth Interviews reveal multiple complex and interrelated factors that influence the risk of forced marriage among Myanmar women and girls. They come into play at various points in the marital decision-making process and occur across multiple levels (e.g. individual, household, and community or societal). Forced marriage was found to be associated with a number of socio-economic factors, including education, age, and urban/rural status.

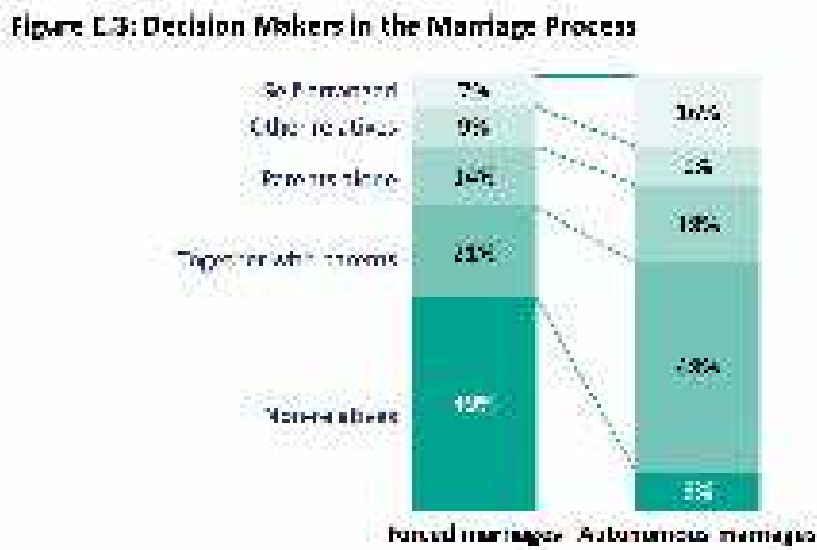
The qualitative and quantitative findings suggest that arranged marriage functions as a coping strategy for families living in poverty or financial insecurity. Bride price creates an additional economic incentive for arranged marriage, particularly with younger females, as they are typically considered more desirable and therefore command a higher bride price. The data also suggests that the younger a bride at her first marriage, the more children she has given birth to at the time of the interview. As one respondent explained:

Their [Chinese men's] main goal is they want to have one child. I have met many [Myanmar] woman who were trafficked and married for a few years and have one or many children. Most are not registered in the family, they have no identity cards and they are not Chinese citizens. So it was like they are hired just for bearing children. So, it is like giving money to women who can bear children. This is why the younger girls cost more. It is easier to get pregnant—to have babies. So, from my perspective, it is not because of love. (KII, Kachin Female, 24, China)

For example, respondents aged eighteen years and younger at first marriage reported, on average, giving birth to 3.4 children. Among respondents aged 25 years and above at first marriage, the average dropped to 1.9 children. Furthermore, Chinese husbands and their

families seem largely focused on childbearing. This was often the reason for marriage and willingness to pay higher bride prices. Some husbands were only interested in staying married until their wives gave them a child, while others expected the women to stay. For example: “Some women have children, but some do not. Their husbands re-sell them if they cannot bear children. This is why men like the younger girls... 16, 17 up to 25 or so. After that, they are called old and have problems giving birth” (KII, Ta-ang Female, 33, Myanmar).

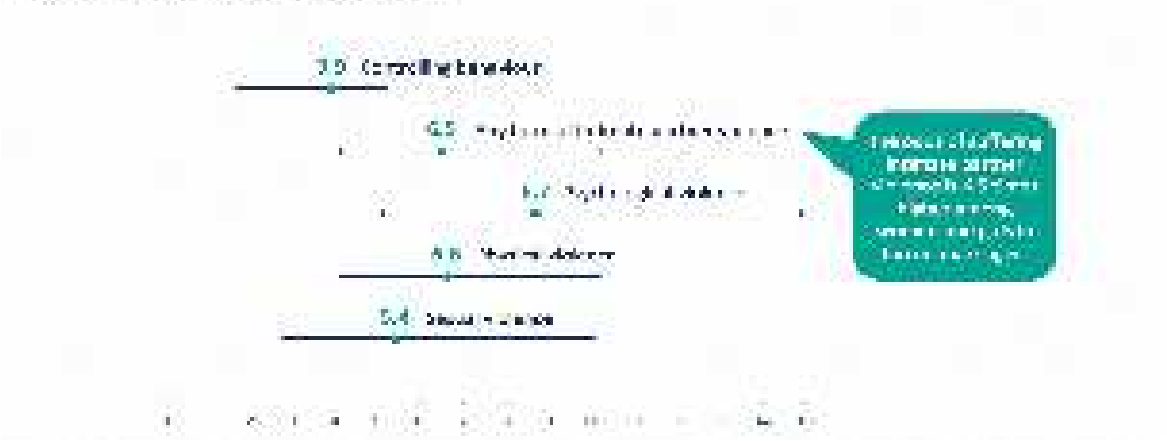
In terms of marital arrangements (Figure E.3), it was most often non-relatives who decided upon the forced marriages (49.0% versus 9.0% among respondents in autonomous marriages). Findings from the qualitative interviews suggest that generally, girls and young women are expected to play a passive and subordinate role in the household, which renders them powerless in challenging familial decisions about marriage. This is exemplified in the following quotation: “I do not love my old husband at all. I married him even though I did not want to because we already took his money, so I did not have a choice. I had to listen to my parents” (IDI, Kachin Female, 29, China). Very few respondents identified cultural/religious factors as driving forces behind forced marriage of Myanmar women and girls. The quantitative data also did not identify a correlation between forced marriage and religion or ethnicity.



Forced marriage was most prevalent among respondents with low educational attainment (i.e. none or incomplete primary education (39.4%) and respondents from rural areas (64.3%). The qualitative data supported and provided further insight and context into the quantitative findings, as exemplified by the following quotation: “Most of the young people do not finish high school and do not have good jobs for their futures, especially those who are from camps for internally displaced people. [They] do not have good education and jobs, so most of them

go to China since there are no other options for them” (IDI, Kachin Female, 31, China). Although the Household Survey did not reveal a statistically significant relationship, the qualitative data suggests that conflict and displacement (internal and cross-border) does increase the risk of forced marriage due to weakened social networks and the lack of protection systems.

Figure E.4: Odds of Abusive Behaviors Faced by Victims of Forced Marriage, Compared to Women and Girls in Autonomous Marriages



Respondents that experienced forced marriage were slightly younger when they first gave birth (22.8 years) relative to respondents in autonomous marriages (24.1 years). They also reported a higher number of children (3.6 versus 2.1, respectively). Forced marriage also had implications on a range of health outcomes. Among women and girls in forced marriages, the odds of experiencing intimate partner violence are 6.5 times higher compared to women in autonomous marriages (Figure E.4). They are also 4.7 times more likely to suffer a miscarriage or stillbirth and 4.6 times more likely to have at least one child dead (Figure E.5).

Figure E.5: Health Risks among Victims of Forced Marriage, Compared to Women and Girls in Autonomous Marriages

	Victims of forced marriage	Women and girls in autonomous marriages	Increased risk faced by victims
Not able to decide own reproductive care	80.9%	39.7%	2.0 times
Had miscarriage or stillbirth	28.1%	6.0%	4.7 times
At least one child dead	4.1%	0.9%	4.6 times

The qualitative data provided insight into how circumstances surrounding childbearing varied depending on the situation and the interests of the family the woman is married into. Some women experienced better living conditions once they were pregnant: “At first, they locked and fed her in a small room like an animal. Only after a few months when she got pregnant, they treated her like a family member and unlocked her from the room.” (IDI, Kachin Female, 64, Myanmar).

While some women found it difficult to raise children in these circumstances, others felt they could not leave after becoming mothers: “He doesn't have a good attitude. But he is the father of my child, so I am staying. We are struggling in a difficult situation. He would have an affair, use opium and beat me as well” (IDI, Kachin Female, 48, Myanmar).

Respondents who first married before the age of twenty faced a heightened risk of forced marriage and intimate partner violence. On average, respondents in forced marriages were aged 21.2 years at first marriage (versus 26.6 years among respondents in autonomous marriages). Among respondents whose first marriage occurred before they were 20 years of age, 65.3% experienced intimate partner violence, compared to 33.3% among those who first married at age 30 years and older. As one respondent commented: “I was so young... practically a child. I was 17 years old. He treated me like a child. I could not go freely in and out. I couldn't go anywhere. I was being controlled. I was so worried every day that I would be beaten. I was afraid. I wanted to leave, but I did not know how” (IDI, Shan Female, 21, Myanmar).

E.4. Recommendations

Below are some recommendations we would make to the governments of Myanmar and China, and to the international community.



To the Government of Myanmar

1. Take immediate steps to end the armed conflict in Kachin State and Northern Shan State, which has heightened levels of violence and increased levels of impoverishment, further spurring survival migration into China. The Government of Myanmar could start by declaring a unilateral nationwide ceasefire, followed by lifting existing restrictions on humanitarian access to internally displaced persons in all areas.
2. Institute policies to protect Myanmar residents, and would-be migrants, including the issuance of personal identification documents that would provide them with proof of

citizenship and nationality and enable them to obtain travel passes and work authorization in China.

3. Provide training on anti-trafficking and safe migration to border officials at major crossings such as Muse and Lweje, as well as to local police in at-risk communities where there are high rates of migration to China.
4. Regulate and monitor recruitment agencies, migration agents, marriage brokers, etc., as a means of preventing illegal and/or exploitative practices and holding offenders accountable.
5. Engage with the Government of China to promote policies and programs to protect Myanmar migrant worker rights in China. Develop joint procedures to safely repatriate migrants who experience forced marriage, forced childbearing and/or trafficking.
6. Support local programs to raise awareness about the risks of migration and forced marriage, including incorporating anti-trafficking messages into school curriculums, health services and microfinance initiatives.
7. Ratify legal instruments, conventions and protocols relevant to forced marriage including, but not limited to: The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children; and the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.



To the Government of China

8. Allow women, girls, men and boys fleeing the conflict in Myanmar to access safe refuge and humanitarian aid in China, thereby reducing their vulnerability to being exploited and trafficked.
9. Strengthen and enforce laws and regulations against forced marriage, forced childbearing, and trafficking as well as domestic violence. This includes training local police officers and judicial personnel to investigate reported cases, prosecute offenders and seek compensation for victims.

10. Provide training on anti-trafficking and safe migration to border officials at major crossings, such as Ruili and Longchuan, as well as to local police in destination towns where there are large populations of female migrants from Myanmar.
11. Engage with the Government of Myanmar to coordinate cross-border policies, including migration for work, marriage, and family reunification and reintegration, and the licensing of migration and marriage brokers.
12. Ratify legal instruments, conventions and protocols relevant to forced marriage including, but not limited to: The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children; and the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.



To the International Community (donor governments, UN agencies, NGOs, community organizations, academic institutions)

13. Apply pressure on the Government of Myanmar to declare a unilateral nationwide ceasefire to end the violence in Kachin and Northern Shan state. Provide humanitarian aid to internally displaced persons and cross-border refugees in order to reduce their vulnerability to being exploited and trafficked.
14. Cooperate with governance bodies of the ethnic groups, operating along the China-Myanmar border, to develop systems to address the trafficking in their respective areas.
15. Promote Sustainable Development Goals 5.3 and 8.7, which respectively call for the “elimination of child, early and forced marriage by 2030” and “effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking.” Develop multi-sectoral programs to address the interrelated issues of forced marriage, human trafficking, violence against women, and adverse maternal and infant health outcomes.
16. Develop standardized indicators for victim identification and joint reporting tools to share data across civil society organizations in Myanmar and China. This is especially vital for strengthening the evidence to inform programs and policies, as most migration journeys and inter-national marriages are informal and likely to be missed in official statistics.
17. Implement programs to prevent unsafe migration and forced marriage of Myanmar women and girls. This could include pre-departure training to prepare the migrants with

protective knowledge and skills, livelihoods training both pre- and post-migration, promotion of best practices including model contracts for labor migration and civil registration for cross-border marriages, and broader community awareness campaigns.

18. Provide protection and social support for survivors of forced marriage, forced childbearing and/or trafficking. This could include rescue programs for women in China, women's centers and safe houses in both countries, and counseling services.
19. Support further research into the determinants of forced marriage in order to appropriately expand social safety nets to alleviate socioeconomic factors contributing to forced marriage. It would also be of value to conduct research to identify 'positive deviants' among local groups with more equitable gender and familial relations and expand positive norms that are culturally appropriate.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In June 2013, the Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT) issued a report titled "Pushed to the Brink: Conflict and Human Trafficking on the Kachin-Burma Border," which documented 24 cases of trafficking from Kachin border areas since conflict with Myanmar government forces re-escalated in 2011.⁴ Most came from internally displaced persons (IDP) camps near the China border and all had been trafficked to destinations in China, mostly Yunnan Province. Ages of the victims ranged from 4 to 54, and all but two were female. The summaries of the cases varied, but 9 of the 24 cases made some reference to being "tricked into marrying a Chinese man."⁵

Building on work done since 1999 with displaced and conflict-affected Kachin and other ethnic minority populations inside and outside of Myanmar, and on previous publications in 2005 and 2008,⁶ the 2013 KWAT report documented a number of "structural problems that have led to mass migration and trafficking in the past and also spurred the recent conflict:"

*"The Burmese military's gross mismanagement of resource revenues from Kachin State over the past few decades, and ongoing land confiscation, forced relocation, and human rights abuse have pushed countless Kachin civilians across the Chinese border in search of peace and fulfillment of basic needs...Oppressive and destructive state policies resulted in extreme poverty for the majority of the population. Large-scale natural resource extraction projects, including mines, planned mega-dams, and massive commercial farms initiated by the military and government cronies forced local people from their lands and destroyed their livelihoods.... Landless and jobless, and facing spiraling costs, people migrated to China for work."*⁷

Compounding the problems facing Kachin who moved across borders was the Myanmar government's failure to provide citizen ID cards, which prevented Kachin migrant workers from securing border passes that would have facilitated safe migration and legal employment in China. Lacking these key documents increased the migrants' vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation. "Black market demands in China for brides, sex workers, and cheap labor made human trafficking highly profitable for brokers and traffickers, further driving the problem."⁸

⁴ In this report, we will use "Myanmar" to refer to the country (also known as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar or Burma) and its citizens, unless the word "Burma" is used in a quote. If the words "Burman" or "Burmese" are used they will refer, respectively, to an ethnic group and a language spoken by various populations in Myanmar, again unless they are used differently in quotations from other sources.

⁵ Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT). (2013). Pushed to the Brink: Conflict and Human Trafficking on the Kachin-China Border. Accessed at: http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs15/KWAT-pushed_to_the_brink-en-red.pdf.

⁶ See KWAT, (2005). Driven Away and KWAT (2008) Eastward Bound.

⁷ KWAT. (2013). Pushed to the Brink. p.8.

⁸ *Ibid*

But just how widespread was the problem of human trafficking of Kachin and other Myanmar minorities into China? What proportion of these populations who migrated to China ended up in situations of forced marriage and forced childbearing? What were the drivers and pathways that led into trafficking forced marriage? What were the risk factors and what might be protective factors that, if better understood, could provide a more solid evidence base for anti-trafficking programs and policies in Myanmar and perhaps in China as well?

A 2017 grant from the Pegasus Liberty Foundation to the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health's Center for Humanitarian Health, and the Kachin Women's Association Thailand provided an opportunity to conduct a mixed-methods (combining qualitative and quantitative research methods) study in Kachin State and Northern Shan State in Myanmar, and Yunnan Province in China. The study sought to estimate the prevalence of trafficking for forced marriage and childbearing among women and girls from Myanmar to China, specifically Kachin State and Shan State as well as to improve understanding of the trafficking patterns and networks, risk and protective factors, and to make recommendations for program and policy change. Specifically, the study had the following objectives:

1. *To estimate the number of women and girls from Myanmar trafficked to China for forced marriage and childbearing disaggregated by age, geographical region, and other demographic characteristics (socioeconomic status, education, ethnicity, religion, etc.);*
2. *To generate profiles of the "typical" victim and the common vulnerability factors and pathways leading to trafficking;*
3. *To identify the risk and protective factors (individual-, household-, community- and national- levels) that contribute to higher and lower rates of trafficking; and*
4. *To identify the typical transit routes used by traffickers and the facilitating factors and barriers influencing the process.*

The study was approved by an Institutional Review Board at Johns Hopkins University and by local Community Advisory Boards in Myanmar and China. Overall study design, development of sampling strategies and study instruments, and training was coordinated by Johns Hopkins researchers in partnership with KWAT. Qualitative and quantitative field work was carried out by KWAT interviewers between April 2017 and April 2018. Data analysis was conducted primarily by Johns Hopkins but with input from KWAT study team members, particularly in the processing of the qualitative interviews. Recommendations were developed together, focusing on issues specific to the border areas under research as well as broader policy and program recommendations.

Chapter 2: Background

The measurement of such complex phenomena as human trafficking, forced marriage and childbearing, particularly in the context of internal and international displacement and migration, requires not only some clarification of key terms, as was provided in the Introduction, but a discussion of population demographics. This chapter provides background information on the populations of Myanmar and China, specifically Kachin State and Northern Shan State in Myanmar and Yunnan Province in China. It also presents data from a variety of sources on internal and external migration within and outside Myanmar—including internal displacement in Kachin State and Northern Shan State, refugees from Myanmar in China and the region, and migration from Myanmar to China. Additionally, the chapter provides data on the marriage of foreigners—including migrants from Myanmar—in China and concludes with background information on trafficking in persons and forced marriage in Southeast Asia and in China.

In presenting these data, our main focus is to provide sufficient background so that our population estimates presented in later chapters of migrant populations, forced marriage and childbearing, and trafficking can be understood and assessed in proper context. We recognize that a discussion of migration and displacement within and outside of Kachin State and Northern Shan State might warrant a more detailed history of the many decades of conflict between ethnic minority populations and the Myanmar government and military, as well as the complex patterns of internal and external migration, including displacement, over that same period. For purposes of focus, we are confining our discussion primarily to more recent history and demographic trends, principally the last five to ten years.

A. Demographics: Myanmar (Kachin State and Northern Shan State) and China (Yunnan Province)

Myanmar is located in Southeast Asia and shares a border with China to the northeast while also neighboring Thailand, Laos, India, and Bangladesh.⁹ Table 2.1 indicates the total population of Myanmar and the populations of Kachin State and Northern Shan State. The 2014 census reported a total Myanmar population of 51,485,253, though recent estimates indicate the population has since grown to over 55,000,000.¹⁰ Overall in Myanmar, 48.2% of the national population is male and 51.8% is female. The population of Kachin State was estimated to be

⁹ In this report, we will use “Myanmar” to refer to the country (also known as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar or Burma) and its citizens. If the word Burman or Burmese is used it will refer, respectively, to an ethnic group and a language spoken by various populations in Myanmar.

¹⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook 2017, East and Southeast Asia: Burma, People and Society* (Jul 2018). <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bm.html>

1,689,441, and is the only state in Myanmar with a sex ratio above 100 (indicating more males than females).¹¹ Northern Shan State has a total population of 2,520,258.

Table 2.1: Myanmar, Kachin State and Northern Shan State Populations, Disaggregated by Sex

Myanmar (2014) ^a			Kachin State (2014) ^b			Northern Shan State (2014) ^c		
Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
24,824,586 (48.2%)	26,661,667 (51.8%)	51,486,253 (100.0%)	878,384 (52.0%)	811,057 (48.0%)	1,689,441 (100.0%)	1,255,847 (49.8%)	1,264,411 (50.2%)	2,520,258 (100.0%)

Sources: a. Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census, Highlights of the Main Results Census Report*. Volume 2-A. 2015. b. Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census, Kachin State Census Report*. Volume 3-A. 2015. c. Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census, Shan State Census Report*. Volume 3-A. 2015.

Kachin State includes four districts: Bhamo, Mohnyin, Myitkyina, and Putao. For purposes of this report, Northern Shan State refers to the districts of Hopang, Kunlong, Kyaukme, Lashio, Laukkaing, Matman, and Muse. The majority of the Kachin State population – over sixty percent – live in rural areas. Of the four districts in Kachin State, there are more women than men in every district except for one, Mohnyin. Northern Shan State also has a majority rural population. Kyaukme was the most populous district with a total population of 770,065. The sex ratio for Northern Shan is 99.3 men for every 100 women.

China (also known as the People’s Republic of China or mainland China) is the world’s most populous country, with over 1.3 billion people.¹² As of 2016, 51.2% of the population was male and 48.8% was female. This sex ratio imbalance reflects a history of preference for boys and sex-selective abortions of girls, leading to a gender imbalance that was estimated as 120 boys born for every 100 girls at the beginning of the 21st century.^{13,14,15} Since then, China’s national

¹¹ Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census Thematic Report on Gender Dimensions*. Volume 4-J. August 2017.

¹² National Bureau of Statistics of China. *China Statistical Yearbook 2017*. Table 2-1: Population and its Composition. 2017. Accessed November 01, 2018. <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2017/indexeh.htm>.

¹³ Zhou, Viola. “China has world’s most skewed sex ratio at birth – again.” *South China Morning Post*, October 27, 2016. Accessed November 06, 2018. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2040544/chinas-demographic-time-bomb-still-ticking-worlds-most>.

¹⁴ “A distorted sex ratio is playing havoc with marriage in China.” *The Economist*, November 23, 2017. Accessed October 03, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/special-report/2017/11/23/a-distorted-sex-ratio-is-playing-havoc-with-marriage-in-china>.

¹⁵ National Bureau of Statistics of China. *China Statistical Yearbook 2017*. Table 2-10: Household, population, sex ratio and household size by region, 2016. 2017.

ratio of boys to girls at birth has decreased, but, as of 2017, still remained among the world's highest at 114:100.¹⁶

Yunnan is one of China's most ethnically diverse provinces. At least 25 ethnic minority groups reside in Yunnan and comprise around one third of the provincial population.¹⁷ The province is located in southwest China, bordering Kachin and Northern Shan States in Myanmar. It consists of 16 prefectural divisions. The population of Yunnan is nearly 48 million, of whom 50.5% are male and 49.5% are female.¹⁸ The prefectural divisions of Baoshan, Dehong Dai and Jingpo, Lincang, and Nujiang all border Myanmar. The population of Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture grew from 1,211,440 in 2010 to 1,294,000 in 2016. Nujiang, a smaller region, grew from 534,337 to 544,000. Baoshan and Lincang have larger populations, both of which grew to over 2.5 million people by 2016).¹⁹

B. Internal and International Migration

Internal Displacement in Myanmar. Since 1961, there has been longstanding conflict in Myanmar between the government and the Kachin Independence Army (KIA). In northern Myanmar, the conflict stems from "a struggle for greater autonomy and against what [ethnic minorities] perceive to be a central government that has often politically and economically favoured ethnic Burman..."²⁰ In 1994, a cease-fire was brokered, which held for 17 years until it was broken and fighting broke out anew in 2011.²¹ Since then, sporadic armed conflict between the Myanmar military and the Kachin Independence Army has continued to displace civilian populations in Kachin and Northern Shan states.^{22,23} In 2012, the United Nations Office for the

¹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 2017*. Field listing: Sex ratio (2017 est.). 2018.

¹⁷ National Bureau of Statistics China. *Yunnan Statistical Yearbook 2014*. Table 15-3: Provincial population by nationality. 2014.

¹⁸ National Bureau of Statistics of China. *Yunnan Statistical Yearbook 2015*. Table 15-1: Historic population at year-end in significant years. 2015.

¹⁹ National Bureau of Statistics of China. "National population census of the People's Republic of China 2010." States.Gov.CN. 2010. Accessed July 22, 2017.
<http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/statisticaldata/censusdata/rkpc2010/indexch.htm>.

²⁰ Amnesty International. "'All the civilians suffer': Conflict, displacement, and abuse in Northern Myanmar." AmnestyInternational.org. 2017. Accessed February 09, 2018.
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa16/6429/2017/en/>.

²¹ BurmaLink. "Kachin: Background." Burmalink.org. 2018. Accessed December 01, 2018.
<https://www.burmalink.org/background/burma/ethnic-groups/kachin/>.

²² United States Campaign for Burma. "Human rights and conflicts. U.S. Campaign for Burma reports." USCampaignforBurma.org. 2012. Accessed February 11, 2018.
<http://uscampaignforburma.org/resources/reports/13-resources/67-human-rights-and-conflicts.html>.

²³ For more information on the conflict in Kachin and Northern Shan States, see also: Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT). "Burma's covered up war: Atrocities against the Kachin people." PeaceWomen.org. 2016. Accessed December 01, 2018.

Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) estimated that 75,000 people were internally displaced persons (IDPs); estimates increased to 107,000 by 2018.^{24,25,26} Of these, an estimated 92,000 IDPs are from Kachin State and 15,000 are from Shan State.²⁷

Refugees from Myanmar. In addition to IDPs, conflict and widespread human rights abuse in Myanmar has also produced refugees.²⁸ The estimate of all refugees globally who originated from Myanmar was 415,371 in 2012 and remained at a similar level until 2017, when it more than doubled to 1,156,732, due largely to military attacks on, and forced displacement of, Rohingya populations from Rakhine State beginning in August 2017.²⁹ The major countries of asylum for Myanmar refugees are Bangladesh, Thailand, and Malaysia.³⁰ Data regarding Myanmar refugees in China are scarce, but it is estimated that between 7,000 and 10,000 displaced Myanmar people sought refuge or temporary asylum in Yunnan Province in 2012.^{31,32}

Migration from Myanmar. The Myanmar Population and Housing Census of 2014 estimated that more than 2 million Myanmar migrants were living abroad, of whom 92,263 or 4.6% were reportedly living in China (see Table 2.2). Of note is that the Myanmar population living in China, at least according to official estimates, has 35% more males than females. But Myanmar government reports, themselves, suggest that the total number of migrants living abroad is likely higher than the recorded two million, as “many household respondents may not have reported about former household members living abroad, particularly if those persons had

<https://www.irinnews.org/feature/2018/01/18/northern-myanmar-long-forgotten-conflict-flares-out-view>; Kelleher, Gavin. “Beyond the Rohingya: Myanmar’s other crises.” *The Diplomat*, February 08, 2018. Accessed September 08, 2018. <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/beyond-the-rohingya-myanmars-other-crises/>; Amnesty International. “Myanmar’s borderlands on fire.” Amnesty.org. 2018. Accessed October 18, 2018. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/06/myanmars-borderlands-on-fire/>.

²⁴ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). *Myanmar Humanitarian Bulletin*. September 2012. Accessed December 11, 2018. <https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-bulletin-issue-september-2012>.

²⁵ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). “About UNOCHA Myanmar.” UNOCHA.org. 2018. Accessed November 6, 2018. <https://www.unocha.org/myanmar/about-ocha-myanmar>.

²⁶ Human Rights Watch. *World Report 2018: Burma*. 2018. Accessed November 01, 2018. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/burma>.

²⁷ OCHA, 2018.

²⁸ Refugees includes those in refugee-like situations, as per the UNHCR definition: Refugees include individuals recognised under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees; its 1967 Protocol; the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; those recognised in accordance with the UNHCR Statute; individuals granted complementary forms of protection; or those enjoying temporary protection. Since 2007, the refugee population also includes people in a refugee-like situation.” (UNHCR)

²⁹ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). “Population statistics reference database: Refugees whose origin is Myanmar.” 2018.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Human Rights Watch, *Isolated in Yunnan: Kachin Refugees from Burma in China’s Yunnan Province* (2012)

³² Boehler, Patrick. “Beijing finally admits to Kachin refugees in China.” *The Irrawaddy*, 2012. Accessed December 15, 2018. http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=23190.

travelled without any documentation. Moreover, some household informants may have been unaware that former household members were living abroad.”³³ Furthermore, if an entire household had moved abroad or became separated, then there would be no household informants left to provide information about their migration status.³⁴

Table 2.2: Myanmar Population Living Abroad and in China, Disaggregated by Sex, 2014

Myanmar Population Living Abroad (2014)			Myanmar Population Living in China (2014)		
Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
1,233,168 (61.0%)	788,742 (39.0%)	2,021,910 (100.0%)	53,126 (57.6%)	39,137 (42.4%)	92,263 (100.0%)

Source: Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census Thematic Report on Gender Dimensions*. Volume 4-J. August 2017.

Given the above caveats from the Myanmar government itself, it is reasonable to conclude undocumented migration would be under-counted as would households separated by displacement, economic disruption and other stresses. If Myanmar female migration into China is disproportionately affected by these dynamics, then the official data might be more of an undercount of females than of males. Table 2.3 below shows the recorded number of Myanmar people originating from Kachin State and Northern Shan State to anywhere abroad and to China. Note that in Table 2.3, totals refer to the entire Myanmar population abroad globally and in China, respectively.

Table 2.3: Kachin State and Northern Shan State Population Living Abroad and in China, 2014

Myanmar Population Living Abroad					
Kachin State ^a (% of Global Total)	Globally (2014)		Kachin State ^a (% of Total in China)	In China (2014)	
	N. Shan State ^b (% of Global Total)	Global Total (%)		N. Shan State ^b (% of Total in China)	Total in China (% of Total)
21,480 (1.1%)	76,610 (3.8%)	2,021,910 (100.0%)	6,137 (6.7%)	37,637 (40.8%)	92,263 (100.0%)
M ^c : 10,163	M: 36,432	M: 1,233,168	M: 2,623	M: 16,874	M: 53,126
F ^c : 11,317	F: 40,178	F: 788,742	F: 3,514	F: 20,763	F: 39,137

Sources:

a. Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census Shan State Census Report*. Volume 3-A. May 2015.

b. *Ibid.*

c. Gender breakdowns are from Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census Thematic Report on Gender Dimensions, Census Report*. Volume 4-J. (August 2017).

³³ Myanmar Department of Population and Ministry of Immigration and Population. *The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census Thematic Report on Gender Dimensions*. Volume 4-J. 2017.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

Kachin State and Northern Shan State populations living anywhere abroad made up only 4.9% (1.1% and 3.8%, respectively) of Myanmar people abroad in 2014. Among the Myanmar population living in China, however, a combined 47.5% (6.7% and 40.8%, respectively) originated from Kachin State or Northern Shan State. Of the 6,137 migrants from Kachin State in China, 2,623 (42.7%) were male and 3,514 (57.3%) were female. For Northern Shan State, of the 37,637 migrants in China (note not necessarily in Yunnan Province), 16,874 (44.8%) were male and 20,763 (55.2%) were female. So, even if Myanmar government statistics show overall that 57.6% of Myanmar migrants in China are female, data from Kachin State and Northern Shan State suggest that female migrants predominate.³⁵

According to World Bank statistics, the total number of migrants living in China was estimated to be between 1 - 1.5 million as of 2017.^{36,37} This is approximately double the estimates from the 2010 national Chinese census. The World Bank estimates that 39,776 (2.7%) of the migrants living in China are from Myanmar.³⁸ The 2010 Chinese census estimated a migrant population of 47,496 in Yunnan Province. Perhaps there is convergence around these two numbers, despite differences in sources and year of measurement; it is also possible that updated Chinese government estimates of migrants in Yunnan as of 2017 might show a higher number.

C. Marriage and Childbearing of Foreigners in China

From 2010-2014, according to official Chinese statistics, total marriages in China rose incrementally from 12,124,143 to 13,469,267 and registered marriages involving foreigners increased at roughly the same pace (See Table 2.4 below). In 2015 and 2016, however, the numbers declined, due perhaps to changes in marriage policies and preferences, and also to changing demographics. These trends were not reflected in Yunnan Province, however, where total marriages have continued to increase, falling only slightly from 2015 to 2016.

Yunnan Province has the highest number of registered marriages involving a foreigner of any Chinese province, and 13.1% of registered foreign marriages in China in 2016 were registered in Yunnan Province.³⁹ The total number of registered marriages involving foreigners (not necessarily from Myanmar) in Yunnan has showed a similar trend to those at the national level,

³⁵ Thailand and China are the main destination countries for Northern Shan State populations abroad; combined they host over 90.0% of the Northern Shan State population abroad. China hosts a large proportion of Myanmar from Muse District, Matman District, Hopang District, and Laukkaing District. Thailand hosts a greater proportion of Myanmar from Kyaukme and Lashio districts.

³⁶ The World Bank. "Bilateral estimates of migrant stocks in 2017." 2018. Accessed October 01, 2018.

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>.

³⁷ United Nations Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA). "Migrant Stock by Origin and Destination." 2017.

³⁸ The World Bank, 2018.

³⁹ Chinese Ministry of Civil Affairs. *Statistical Yearbook 2016*. "Marriage registration service." 2016.

rising from 2010 to 2015 and then declining in 2016. The proportion of all marriages in Yunnan that involve a foreigner, however, has shown a marked increase, from 0.17% of all marriages in 2010 to 0.80% in 2015. While the numbers themselves are not large, this four-fold increase in rates suggests that marriages to foreigners are increasing at a faster rate than marriages overall in Yunnan. What is not clear from the official data is how many marriages, total or to foreigners, are unregistered, though some reports suggest that many marriages, especially to foreigners in Yunnan Province, are unregistered.⁴⁰

Table 2.4: Registered Marriages in China, 2010-2016

China		Yunnan Province	
Total marriages registered	Registered marriages involving foreigners ^a (% of national total)	Total marriages registered (% of national total)	Registered marriages involving foreigners ^a (% of Yunnan total)
2016: 12,247,056	2016: 22,372 (0.18%)	2016: 458,235 (3.7%)	2016: 2,921 (0.64%)
2015: 13,067,426	2015: 26,092 (0.20%)	2015: 464,805 (3.6%)	2015: 3,723 (0.80%)
2014: 13,469,267	2014: 32,898 (0.24%)	2014: 452,075 (3.4%)	2014: 3,061 (0.68%)
2013: 13,235,949	2013: 28,730 (0.22%)	2013: 419,468 (3.2%)	2013: 2,561 (0.61%)
2012: 13,023,610	2012: 25,312 (0.19%)	2012: 390,662 (3.0%)	2012: 1,417 (0.36%)
2011: 12,410,189	2011: 22,705 (0.18%)	2011: 402,233 (3.2%)	2011: 1,281 (0.32%)
2010: 12,124,143	2010: 23,671 (0.20%)	2010: 342,918 (2.8%)	2010: 569 (0.17%)

Source: Chinese Ministry of Civil Affairs. *Statistical Yearbook 2016*. “Marriage registration service.” 2016.

^a “Foreigners” do not include residents of Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and overseas Chinese

Though data at the national and provincial level are lacking specificity, a study published in the *Journal of Baise University* in Yunnan, China examined patterns of cross-border marriage in Baoshan, a prefectural-level city located in Yunnan Province on the border of Myanmar. A 2017 study covering 70 sites in all five districts of Baoshan found of 7,512 foreigners from Myanmar married to Chinese nationals (see Table 2.5 below).

Of all the Myanmar foreigners married, over 98% were females. Additionally, only 8.1% of marriages involving Myanmar foreigners and Chinese residents were registered; 91.9% were unregistered. Of the 9,269 children born to these married foreigners, 5,532 (59.7%) had *hukou* or household registrations while 3,737 (40.3%) did not have registration (it is not specified how the registered and unregistered children are distributed by registered and unregistered marriage). Examining the numbers by district/county, just over three-quarters of all marriages involving Myanmar foreigners are found in Longling County (3,924) and Tengchong City (1,793). Proximity to the Myanmar border, rather than population size, is the likely explanation. Tengchong City (population 610,000) directly borders Kachin State, while Longling County

⁴⁰ Zhao, Shujuan. “Bian min kua jing tong hun zhuang kuang diao cha: yi Yunnan zhong mian bian jing wei li” (An investigation into cross-border marriages: the case of China-Myanmar border in Yunnan province). *Chu xiong shi fan xue yuan xue bao* (Journal of Chuxiong Normal University), Vol. 26 (10): 89-95 (2011).

(population 270,000) is directly adjacent to Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, the locus of significant cross-border movement from both Kachin State and Northern Shan State.

Table 2.5: Marriages between Chinese Residents and Myanmar Foreigners in Baoshan, Yunnan

Area	Foreigners	Males	Females	Registered marriages	Unregistered marriages	Total	Children	
							Registered (hukou)	Unregistered (no hukou)
Longyang District	801	6	795	115	686	756	587	169
Shidian County	759	41	718	2	757	701	625	76
Tengchong City	1,793	37	1,756	3	1,790	2,297	2,095	202
Longling County	3,924	50	3,874	486	3,438	5,264	2,113	3,151
Changning County	235	9	226	6	229	251	112	139
Total	7,512	143	7,369	612	6,900	9,269	5,532	3,737

Source: Fu, Yaohua and Shi, Xiang'an. "A study on cross-border marriages and governance of social problems in Yunnan border areas." *Journal of Baise University*. 2017. 30(2).

While the study is of only one prefectural-level city in Yunnan, the findings are suggestive of several things: The first is that marriage of Myanmar migrants skews heavily female. The second is that the vast majority of marriages between Chinese residents and Myanmar foreigners in Yunnan Province may be unregistered. And the third is that a substantial proportion of children born to these marriages lack hukou, or household registration.

D. Trafficking and Forced Marriage

Trafficking in persons is a widespread problem in East and Southeast Asia, though its full dimensions have not been fully or accurately measured. Myanmar is a major source country for trafficking of men, women, and children, with an increased risk of trafficking for those displaced by conflict, including those displaced in Kachin State and Shan State. The U.S. State Department's 2018 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report ranks Myanmar's efforts to combat trafficking at Tier 3, the lowest rank. Myanmar had previously improved from Tier 3 to Tier 2 Watch-list from 2016 to 2017, but reported complicity of Myanmar government officials in the occurrence of trafficking prompted the drop in ranking in 2018. The TIP Report notes the transportation of Myanmar women to China, stating that "Burmese women are increasingly transported to China and subjected to sex trafficking and domestic servitude through forced marriages to Chinese men; Burmese government officials are occasionally complicit in this form of trafficking." The TIP Report also noted that displaced women and girls in Kachin State are particularly vulnerable to trafficking via "forced or fraudulent marriages to Chinese men arranged by deceptive or coercive brokers." Other prevalent means of trafficking in Myanmar are forced labor and child soldier recruitment and use.⁴¹

⁴¹ United States Department of State. *2018 Trafficking in Persons Report*. Washington, DC: 2018. p. 116-120.

China was moved from Tier 2 Watch-List in 2016 to Tier 3 in 2017 due to a lack of “significant efforts” to eliminate trafficking and has remained at Tier 3 in the 2018 report. State-sponsored forced labor and sex trafficking are a major trafficking concerns in China. Women trafficked into prostitution have been detained by the government, and some foreign women have been returned to their trafficking circumstances after they had escaped and reported their abuses. Notably, China did not report identifying any trafficking victims or referring them to protective services in the past year, although they have in previous years. The report does note, however, that the government of China did cooperate with international authorities to address forced and fraudulent marriages.⁴²

The US Department of State’s annual TIP Reports provide rankings of different countries, including Myanmar and China, but generally do not provide much quantitative data on the scope, severity, or target populations for human trafficking, whether it be trafficking into sex or labor exploitation. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) recorded 1,045 cases of trafficking in Myanmar persons from 2012 to 2015 (Table 2.6). Of these, 409 (39.1%) were cases involving forced marriage, second only in number to cases involving forced labor (452 cases, or 43.3% of the total). While it is noted that the largest number of cases were linked to China, Thailand, and Indonesia, no country-level breakdown is provided.⁴³

Table 2.6: Cases of Trafficking in Persons of Myanmar Citizens, by Form of Exploitation, 2012-2015

Form of Exploitation	2012	2013	2014	Jan-Aug 2015	Total
Forced marriage	134	86	121	68	409
Forced labor	69	107	146	130	452
Sexual exploitation	50	60	41	25	176
Adoption	2	3	1	1	7
Other	-	-	-	1	1
Total	255	256	309	225	1,045

Source: Myanmar Anti-Trafficking Police, via United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Global report on trafficking in persons. 2016.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016.* Geneva: 2016.

Chapter 3: Study Methodology

This chapter highlights various issues related to the research design and methodology adopted with regards to the study. It presents key terms and definitions as well as outlines respondent profiles for the various methods used in the study, both qualitative (Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) and quantitative (Household Survey and Community Key Informant Estimation (CKIE) interviews).

A. Key Terms and Definitions

Please note that, in the context of this research, the term “marriage” refers to legal or formal unions as well as informal unions in which two individuals live together, even if a formal, civil, religious, or traditional ceremony has not occurred. The definition of marriage along with several other key terms that are used in reference to both marriage and childbearing throughout this report are listed in Table 3.1 below. The definitions below were also used to develop the forced marriage, forced childbearing, and trafficking constructs applied in this study; further details regarding each can be found in Chapter 4.

Table 3.1: Definitions of Key Terms used in Reference to Forced Marriage

Term	Operational Definitions used in the Study
Marriage	Formal or informal union of two persons, as self-reported by the respondent (i.e. the research will not require documentation or ‘proof’ of the marriage). ⁴⁴
Forced Marriage	Formal or informal union of two persons, at least one of whom did not have the option of (i) refusing the marriage without suffering a penalty (or the menace of penalty), OR (ii) exiting the marriage without suffering a penalty (or the menace of penalty). Penalties include physical, sexual, emotional, financial or legal consequences. ⁴²
Childbearing	The state of being pregnant, irrespective of the birth outcome. ⁴²
Forced Childbearing	Any pregnancy that occurs in a forced marriage, regardless of whether the sex/pregnancy occurred with the woman’s consent. ⁴²
Human Trafficking	The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. ⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Developed in consultant with international and Myanmar human rights organizations, based principally on the definition of forced marriage stipulated in the *European Parliamentary Assembly Resolution 1468: Forced Marriages and Child Marriages (2005)*, available at: <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/xref/xref-xml2html-en.asp?fileid=17380> [accessed 01 November 2018]

⁴⁵ UN General Assembly, *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, 15 November 2000, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4720706c0.html> [accessed 22 October 2018]

B. Overview of the Study Design and Timeline

As shown in Table 3.2 below, the study uses the following data collection methods: (1) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and (2) In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) (*Qualitative*) as well as (3) Household Surveys and (4) Community Key Informant Estimation (CKIE) (*Quantitative*). As illustrated in Figure 3.1 below, the study was carried out over a 22-month period and consisted of four main phases, though we will focus on Phases 2 and 3.

Table 3.2. Overview of Study Design

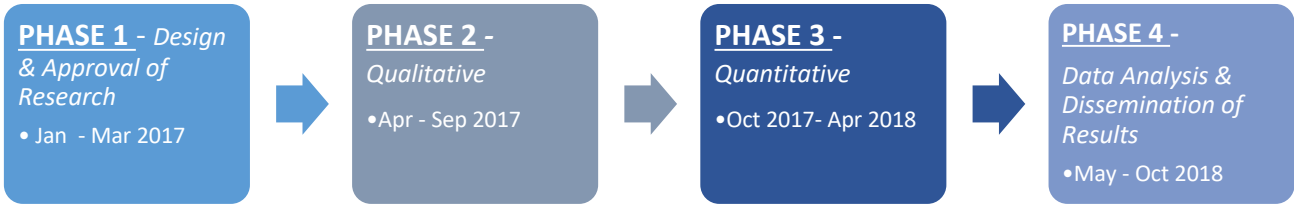
Data Collection Method	Profile of Respondents	Dates
Key Informant Interviews (n=19)	Religious leaders (n=5); Marriage and labor brokers (n=5); Community leaders (n=5); Service providers (n=1); Government officials (n=1).	June 01 – August 31, 2017 (Phase 2)
In-Depth Interviews (n=28)	(1) Myanmar women (aged 18-55 years) who migrated to Yunnan Province, China and married and/or bore children with a Chinese man in the last five years (n=17); (2) Friends and relatives of Myanmar women (aged 18-55 years) who migrated to Yunnan Province, China and married and/or bore children with a Chinese man in the last five years (n=11)	
Household Survey (n=394)	Myanmar women (aged 18-55 years) who migrated to Yunnan Province, China and married and/or bore children with a Chinese man in the last five years	January 01 – March 31, 2018 (Phase 3)
Community Key Informant Estimation (n=118)	Community members (≥ 18 years) knowledgeable about the general patterns of migration of Myanmar women in their community (as determined by local interviewers)	

Phase 2 (Qualitative Research) spanned a six-month period (April to September 2017) and consisted of a literature review to inform the development of data collection instruments followed by the collection of qualitative data (KIIs and IDIs). To ensure data quality, prior to full-scale implementation, all interview guides were drafted, pilot tested and refined based on feedback from interviewers, notetakers, and respondents. JHU researchers also facilitated initial and refresher trainings for interviewers and notetakers in Chiang Mai, Thailand. All KIIs (n=19) and IDIs (n=28) were completed by August 31, 2017. Audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and translated on an ongoing basis. The transcripts were analyzed using Microsoft Excel and the results were used to inform the design and implementation of the Phase 3 (*Quantitative Research*).

Phase 3 (Quantitative Research) spanned a six-month period (October 2017 – April 2018) and consisted of the implementation of the Household Survey and Community Key Informant

Estimation (CKIE). Data were collected over a period of ten weeks (January 24, 2018 – April 4, 2018) using the mobile data collection platform *Magpi*. In October 2017, JHU researchers trained eight members of KWAT’s staff on the implementation of the Household Survey and CKIE. A follow-up training was held (December 2017) for data collectors on the use of *Magpi*. Mobile data collection forms were developed by JHU researchers and then translated to Burmese and Kachin. Prior to full-scale implementation, the mobile data collection forms were pilot tested, refined, and finalized.

Figure 3.1: Timeline of the Study, by Phase (January 2017-October 2018)



C. Qualitative Research

C.1. Qualitative Data Collection

Key Informant Interviews (n=19) and In-Depth Interviews (n=28) were conducted over an eight-week period (June 01, 2017 – August 31, 2017). Both the KIIs and IDIs were conducted by trained KWAT staff in either Burmese or Kachin using a semi-structured interview guide. Interviews took place at a mutually agreed upon date and location (e.g. respondent’s place of residence or employment). The findings from the KIIs were used to inform the development of the sampling frame and interview guides used in the conduct of IDIs, as described below.

C.1.a. Key Informant and In-Depth Interview Respondent Profiles

Key Informant Interviews. Qualitative interviews were conducted with a total of 19 key informants identified using purposive sampling. Individuals identified for the KIIs were selected by KWAT, in coordination with JHU, based on their unique knowledge of the topic under study (i.e. experiences of marriage and childbearing among Myanmar women in China). Stakeholder groups included religious leaders (n=5), marriage and labor brokers (n=5), community leaders (n=5), service providers (n=1), and government officials (n=1). Table 3.3 below illustrates the total number of key informants selected across the five groups in both Myanmar (n=15) and China (n=4).

Table 3.3: Categories of Key Informants, by Country of Interview

Stakeholder Type	Myanmar (n=15)	China (n=4)	Total (N=19)
Religious Leaders	3 (21.4)	2 (66.7)	5 (29.4)
Marriage and Labor Brokers	5 (35.7)	0 (0.0)	5 (29.4)
Community Leaders	4 (28.6)	1 (33.3)	5 (29.4)
Service Providers	1 (7.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (5.9)
Government Officials	1 (7.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (5.9)

Table 3.4 below displays the demographic details of key informants. Approximately eighty percent (78.9%, n=15) of the KIIs were conducted in Myanmar. Around half (52.6%) of the respondents were female and 84.2% were aged 30 years and older. Among the key informants interviewed in Myanmar, 53.3% self-identified as Kachin. The remainder self-identified as Burmese (20.0%), Ta-ang (13.3%), and Unknown (6.7%). Comparatively, half of the key informants interviewed in China self-identified as Shan (50.0%), followed by Chinese (25.0%) and Unknown (25.0%). The level of educational attainment was low among key informants. Seventy-four percent (73.7%, n=14) of key informants had not completed high-school. Seventy-five percent (75.0%) of key informants interviewed in China did not receive any formal education (versus 26.7% (n=4) of those interviewed in Myanmar).

Table 3.4: Profile of Key Informants (n=19), by Country of Interview ^a

Variable	Myanmar (n=15)	China (n=4)	Total (n=19)
Sex			
Male	6 (40.0)	3 (75.0)	9 (47.4)
Female	9 (60.0)	1 (25.0)	10 (52.6)
Age			
18 – 24 years	1 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (5.3)
25 – 29 years	0 (0.0)	2 (50.0)	2 (10.5)
30 – 34 years	4 (26.7)	1 (25.0)	5 (26.3)
35+ years	10 (66.7)	1 (25.0)	11 (57.9)
Ethnicity			
Kachin	8 (53.3)	0 (0.0)	8 (42.1)
Burmese	3 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (15.8)
Shan	1 (6.7)	2 (50.0)	3 (15.8)
Chinese	0 (0.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (5.3)
Ta-ang	2 (13.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (10.5)
Unknown	1 (6.7)	1 (25.0)	2 (10.5)
Education Level			
None	4 (26.7)	3 (75.0)	7 (36.8)
Primary (Grades 1-5)	1 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (5.3)
Middle (Grades 6-9)	6 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (31.6)
High (Grades 10-12)	3 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (15.8)
Tertiary (Grades 13 and higher)	1 (6.7)	1 (25.0)	2 (10.5)

^a Table 3.4 displays column percentages for interviews conducted in Myanmar (n=15), China (n=4), and Total (n=19)

In-Depth Interviews. As described earlier in this report, individuals participating in the IDIs included Myanmar women (aged 18-55 years) who migrated to Yunnan Province, China and married and/or bore children with a Chinese man in the last five years (n=17). Friends and relatives of individuals meeting the abovementioned criteria were also interviewed as part of the study (n=11). Characteristics of the final sample of IDI respondents (by category of respondent and country of interview), including sex, age, religious affiliation, and ethnicity, are displayed in Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5: Profile of In-Depth Interview Respondents (N=28) ^a

Variable	Migrant Women (n=17)			Friends and Relatives of Migrant Women (n=11)	Total (N=28)
	Myanmar (n=10)	China (n=7)	Total (n=17)	Myanmar (n=11)	
Sex					
Male	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	1 (3.6)
Female	10 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	10 (90.9)	27 (96.4)
Age					
18 – 24 years	5 (50.0)	4 (57.1)	9 (52.9)	1 (9.1)	10 (35.7)
25 – 29 years	2 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (11.8)	0 (0.0)	2 (7.1)
30 – 34 years	1 (10.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (5.9)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.6)
35+ years	2 (20.0)	3 (42.9)	5 (29.4)	10 (90.9)	15 (53.6)
Ethnicity					
Kachin	6 (60.0)	4 (57.1)	10 (58.8)	8 (72.7)	18 (64.3)
Burmese	2 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (11.8)	0 (0.0)	2 (7.1)
Shan	1 (10.0)	3 (42.9)	4 (23.5)	2 (18.2)	6 (21.4)
Chinese	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (9.1)	1 (3.6)
Ta-ang	1 (10.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (5.9)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.6)
Education Level					
None	3 (30.0)	1 (14.3)	4 (23.5)	4 (36.4)	8 (28.6)
Primary (Grades 1-5)	4 (40.0)	3 (42.9)	7 (41.2)	1 (9.1)	8 (28.6)
Middle (Grades 6-9)	2 (20.0)	2 (28.6)	4 (23.5)	4 (36.4)	8 (28.6)
High (Grades 10-12)	1 (10.0)	1 (14.3)	2 (11.8)	2 (18.2)	4 (14.3)
Occupation					
Religious Leader	0 (0.0)	1 (14.3)	1 (5.9)	1 (9.1)	2 (7.1)
Church Accountant	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (9.1)	1 (3.6)
Farmer/Agriculture	2 (20.0)	4 (57.1)	6 (35.3)	4 (36.4)	10 (35.7)
Other	0 (0.0)	1 (14.3)	1 (5.9)	3 (27.3)	4 (14.3)
Unknown	8 (80.0)	1 (14.3)	9 (52.9)	2 (18.2)	11 (39.3)

^a Column percentages are calculated separately for migrant women (n=17) and friends and relatives of migrant women (n=11)

*Migrant Women*⁴⁶ (n=17). KWAT staff conducted IDIs with a total of 17 Myanmar women (aged 18 – 55 years) that experienced marriage and/or childbearing with Chinese men in the last five years. Seven (7) of these respondents resided in Yunnan Province, China at the time of the interview and ten (10) resided in Northern Shan State

⁴⁶ Consists of both migrants in China and return migrants in Myanmar

(NSS), Myanmar (i.e. returnees). More than half (52.9%, n=9) of the migrant women were aged 25 years and younger. Approximately one-third (29.4%, n=5) were aged 35 years and older. Fifty-nine percent (58.8%, n=10) self-identified as Kachin. Twenty-four percent (23.5%, n=4) self-identified as Shan and 11.8% as Burmese. Eleven (64.7%) had completed at most a primary education. Of the eight migrant women for which occupation status was known, six (75.0%) were employed as farmers.

Friends and Relatives of Migrant Women (n=11). In-Depth Interviews were conducted with eleven friends and relatives of migrant women residing in Myanmar. More than ninety percent (90.9%, n=10) were aged 35 years and older and nearly three quarters (72.7%, n=8) self-identified as Kachin. Eighteen percent (18.2%, n=2) identified as Shan. Four (36.4%) of the respondents received no formal education and only two (18.2%) completed high school. Among the nine respondents for which occupation status was known, four (44.4%) were employed in agriculture.

C.1.b. Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative information was gathered through two data analysis workshops held in Myanmar (Myitkyina and Mai Ja Yang) with the members of KWAT's staff responsible for data collection (i.e. interviewers and notetakers) in September 2018. Facilitated by the study's translator and field liaison, the staff reviewed and coded all 47 transcripts according to major themes during the workshops. Key quotations were then extracted into Microsoft Excel for translation and analysis. All field notes, trip reports, and interview notes were also reviewed manually. Sociodemographic data from the qualitative research were recorded and analyzed together with the qualitative findings.

D. Quantitative Research

As described earlier in this chapter, the quantitative phase consisted of two methods: (1) Household Surveys (n=394), and (2) Community Key Information Estimation (CKIE) (n=118). The remainder of this section provides a description of both of these methods as well as a brief description of the types of analysis conducted.

D.1. Community Key Informant Estimation

Based on the information generated in Phases 1 and 2, forty geographically randomized communities (at the township (Myanmar) or county-city or county-level cities (China)) in Yunnan Province (n=20), China and Kachin (n=15) and Northern Shan States (n=5), Myanmar

were selected, from a list of all communities known to have at least one Myanmar female who has migrated to China in the five years preceding the survey.

To obtain information about the population of Myanmar women in China, semi-structured interviews were conducted with approximately three community key informants from each of the geographically stratified sites selected in Yunnan Province, China and Northern Shan State, Myanmar (40 sites in total) (Table 3.6). Each of these sites was visited by a trained team of two local interviewers to identify community key informants who were willing to provide information about Myanmar women and girls who have migrated there within the past five years, specifically those married to Chinese men. In order to participate, a respondent had to be: (1) 18 years of age or older, (2) resident of the target community for at least five years; (3) knowledgeable about the general patterns of migration of Myanmar women in their community (as determined by local interviewers); and (4) willing and able to provide reliable information about their place of residence.

Table 3.6: CKIE Sampling Sites, by Administrative Unit

Location of CKIE Sampling Sites	Total Sampling Sites
Kachin State	15
Bhamo Township	1
Mansi Township	4
Mogaung Township	1
Momauk Township	4
Myitkyina Township	1
Waingmaw Township	4
Northern Shan State	5
Kutkai Township	1
Muse Township	3
Nankham Township	1
Yunnan Province	20
Longchuan County	6
Mangshi County-Level City	6
Rulli County-Level City	7
Yingjiang County	1

Community key informants included a total of 118 adults in China (Yunnan Province) and Myanmar (Kachin and Northern Shan States), who were believed to know about the presence or absence of Myanmar women and girls in their communities. This included local church members, community leaders, business contacts, resident Chinese, and as well as recruiters/agents and brokers (migration, labor, and/or marriage). The average age of respondents was 28.3 years and ranged from 22 to 61 years. Slightly less than half (45.8%) of respondents were female, with males outnumbering females in China (36 males and 28

females), as opposed to Myanmar, where females outnumbered males (32 females and 23 males). Approximately twenty-two percent (22.1%) had received a university diploma or higher. On average, respondents lived a total of 10.2 years in the study site. Nearly all (94.8%) of the community key informants were Kachin, and more than half were employed by the government (58.7%). Close to twenty percent (19.8%, n=23) identified as farmers (Table 3.7 below).

Table 3.7: Profile of CKIE Respondents, by Country of Interview

Variable	Myanmar (n=59)	China (n=59)	Total (N=118)
State in Myanmar			
Kachin State	45 (76.3)	-	45 (38.1)
Northern Shan State	14 (23.7)	-	14 (11.9)
Township in Myanmar			
Waingmaw	12 (20.3)	-	12 (10.2)
Mansi	12 (20.3)	-	12 (10.2)
Mogaung	11 (18.6)	-	11 (9.3)
Muse	8 (13.6)	-	8 (6.8)
Bhamo	4 (6.8)	-	4 (3.4)
Kutkai	3 (5.1)	-	3 (2.5)
Momauk	3 (5.1)	-	3 (2.5)
Myitkyina	3 (5.1)	-	3 (2.5)
Nankham	3 (5.1)	-	3 (2.5)
County in China			
Ruili	-	20 (33.9)	20 (16.9)
Longchuan	-	19 (32.2)	19 (16.1)
Mangshi	-	17 (28.8)	17 (14.4)
Yingjiang	-	3 (5.1)	3 (2.5)
Sex			
Male	28 (47.5)	36 (61.0)	64 (54.2)
Female	31 (52.5)	23 (39.0)	54 (45.8)
Age			
18 - 24 years	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	1 (0.8)
25 - 29 years	1 (1.7)	3 (5.1)	4 (3.4)
30 - 34 years	4 (6.8)	5 (8.5)	9 (7.6)
35 - 39 years	10 (16.9)	12 (20.3)	22 (18.6)
40 - 44 years	14 (23.7)	10 (16.9)	24 (20.3)
45 - 49 years	12 (20.3)	11 (18.6)	23 (19.5)
50 - 54 years	13 (22.0)	13 (22.0)	26 (22.0)
55+ years	5 (8.5)	4 (6.8)	9 (7.6)
Ethnicity			
Kachin	55 (93.2)	51.9 (88)	108 (91.5)
Burman	2 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.7)
Other	2 (3.4)	20 (33.9)	8 (6.8)
Education Level			
None	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	1 (0.8)
Primary (Grades 1-5)	3 (5.1)	12 (20.3)	15 (12.7)
Middle (Grades 6-9)	23 (39.0)	27 (45.8)	50 (42.4)
High (Grades 10-12)	21 (35.6)	5 (8.5)	26 (22)
University	5 (8.5)	6 (10.2)	11 (9.3)

Graduate	5 (8.5)	4 (6.8)	9 (7.6)
Post-Graduate	2 (3.4)	4 (6.8)	6 (5.1)
Employment Status			
Government	38 (64.4)	21 (35.6)	59 (50.0)
Private	15 (25.4)	13 (22.0)	28 (23.7)
Employer	2 (3.4)	5 (8.5)	7 (5.9)
Self-Employed	4 (6.8)	18 (30.5)	22 (18.6)
Household Worker, Unpaid	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	1 (0.8)
Retired	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	1 (0.8)
Occupation			
Farming	8 (13.6)	15 (25.4)	23 (19.5)
Government	13 (22.0)	8 (13.6)	21 (17.8)
Unskilled	1 (1.7)	11 (18.6)	12 (10.2)
Livestock	2 (3.4)	1 (1.7)	3 (2.5)
Private	4 (6.8)	2 (3.4)	6 (5.1)
Small Business	2 (3.4)	2 (3.4)	4 (3.4)
Other	29 (49.2)	19 (32.2)	48 (40.7)
Marital Status			
Married	55 (93.2)	50 (84.7)	105 (89.0)
Single	1 (1.7)	7 (11.9)	8 (6.8)
Widowed	2 (3.4)	2 (3.4)	4 (3.4)
Cohabiting	1 (1.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.8)

During the semi-structured interview, respondents were asked to respond to a series of questions that spanned a five-year period (2012-2017), which included:

- Total population of Myanmar migrants each year from 2012 to 2017
- Estimated proportion female Myanmar migrants each year from 2012 to 2017
- Estimated number of Myanmar migrant women married to Chinese men from 2012 to 2017
- Estimated number of Myanmar migrant women trafficked for the purpose of forced marriage from 2012 to 2017

The total official resident population of each of the forty sites randomly selected for inclusion were also calculated. By taking the average of all community key informant estimates for each of the migrant-specific estimates, low-, mid-, and high- range estimate of migrant-related rates for each sample area were calculated and aggregated to produce sample totals. Modeled estimates of forced marriage prevalence among Myanmar women were then generated for the various levels (i.e. township- and state- levels in Myanmar and county-and provincial- levels in China). Please refer to Chapter 4 for the results of the population estimation exercise.

D.2. Household Survey

In these areas where it was established through CKIE Estimation that Myanmar women had migrated to China and had been or were still living with a Chinese husband, Myanmar women were recruited into the study to answer a questionnaire containing questions on the following topics:

1. Demographic characteristics (age, socioeconomic status (SES), religion, ethnicity, education, household size, etc.)
2. Migration history (origin, destination, purpose, use of brokers, duration, etc.)
3. Marital history and current status and experiences
4. Fertility, contraception, and reproductive health (including access to services in China and Myanmar)
5. Social network information (number of reciprocal friends)

In order to participate in the Household Survey, respondents had to be: (1) female; (2) aged 15-55 years; (3) born in Myanmar; (3) migrated to China, and (4) experienced marriage or childbearing with a Chinese man in China, within the last five years. Both migrants in China (n=199) and migrant returnees to Myanmar (n=195) were eligible to participate. A total of 394 household surveys were conducted.

Table 3.8 below displays the demographic characteristics of the Household Survey respondents (N=394) in both Myanmar (n=195) and China (n=199). At the time of the interview, the average age of respondents was 34.6 years, ranging from 18 years to 54 years. More than seventy percent (71.6%) of respondents were between the ages of 18 and 30 years. Less than eight percent (7.4%) were aged 40 years and older. On average, women interviewed in China were slightly older (35.0 years versus 34.1 years in Myanmar). More than sixty-five percent (67.3%) were married at the time of the interview. The next highest proportion of women identified as divorced (18.1%), followed by being in a partnership (8.4%), and separated (5.8%). Nearly seventy-five percent (73.0%) of respondents reported that they grew up in a rural area of Myanmar as rural. Seventeen percent (17.3%) grew up in a small city and less than ten (9.9%) grew up in a large city.

Table 3.8: Profile of Household Survey Respondents, by Country of Interview

Categories	Myanmar (n=195) n (%)	China (n=199) n (%)	Total (N=394) N (%)
Age (in years) (Range: 18-54 years)	34.1	35.0	34.6
Ethnicity			
Kachin	174 (89.2)	180 (90.5)	354 (89.8)
Shan	13 (6.7)	9 (4.5)	22 (5.6)
Other ^a	8 (4.1)	10 (5.0)	18 (4.6)
Religion			
Christian	176 (90.3)	184 (92.5)	360 (90.4)
Buddhism	19 (9.7)	13 (6.5)	32 (8.1)
Animist	0 (0.0)	2 (1.0)	2 (0.5)
Education			
None or Incomplete Primary	17 (8.7)	8.7 (15)	15 (7.5)
Primary (Grades 1-5)	80 (41)	41 (73)	73 (36.7)
Middle (Grades 6-8)	64 (32.8)	32.8 (73)	73 (36.7)
High School (Grades 9-12)	30 (15.4)	15.4 (31)	31 (15.6)
College	3 (1.5)	1.5 (3.0)	3 (1.5)
Graduate	1 (0.5)	0.5 (4.0)	4 (2.0)
Current Marital Status ^b			
Married	132 (70.2)	125 (64.4)	257 (67.3)
Divorced	34 (18.1)	35 (18)	69 (18.1)
In a domestic partnership	9 (4.8)	23 (11.8)	32 (8.4)
Separated	12 (6.4)	10 (5.2)	22 (5.8)
Widowed	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (0.5)
Employment Status ^b			
Own account worker	49 (26.1)	57 (29.4)	106 (27.7)
Household worker, unpaid	39 (20.7)	54 (27.8)	93 (25.2)
Private	54 (28.7)	27 (13.9)	81 (21.2)
Unemployed, active	16 (8.5)	23 (11.9)	39 (10.2)
Unemployed, inactive	16 (8.5)	14 (7.2)	30 (7.9)
Employer	9 (4.8)	12 (6.2)	21 (5.5)
Government employee	1 (0.5)	2 (1.0)	3 (0.8)
Disabled	2 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	3 (0.8)
Unknown / Refused to answer	2 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	4 (1.1)
Community of Origin in Myanmar			
Rural area	142 (75.5)	137 (70.6)	279 (73.0)
Small city	32 (17)	34 (17.5)	66 (17.3)
Large city	14 (7.4)	23 (11.9)	37 (9.7)
Forced or compelled to migrate in last five years ^c			
Yes	37 (19.7)	37 (19.1)	74 (19.4)
No	151 (80.3)	157 (80.9)	308 (80.6)

^a 'Other' includes Karen, Burman and Unspecified Other

^b Refers to status at time of interview

^c Includes both internal and international migration

D.3. Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative analysis of the Household Survey was carried out using Stata Version 13 to identify relationships or associations between independent and dependent variables. The chi-square test was a common measure of association used to determine if there was a significant relationship between independent and dependent variables. In the results of the analysis presented in the subsequent results chapters, the p-value used is equal or less than 0.05, indicating a statistically significant relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

E. Training and Implementation

The interview forms were developed in English, translated into Burmese and Kachin languages and then field-tested. Final changes to the forms were made after pilot tests in several locations. For the quantitative and qualitative data collection, ten interviewers were selected from KWAT's staff; all were Burmese. All field interviewers received a total of four five-day trainings. Prior to all interviews, respondents were read a consent form providing information about the study and its objectives, and then were asked to respond verbally if they gave consent to be interviewed or not. Respondents were provided a small cash payment (roughly \$US 5.00) to compensate for local travel and their time commitment. The study was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health as well as by local project IRBs established in Myanmar and China.

Chapter 4: Prevalence and Population Estimates

This chapter focuses on the first aim of our study: To estimate the number of women and girls from Myanmar trafficked to China for forced marriage and childbearing disaggregated by age, geographical region, and other demographic characteristics (socioeconomic status, educational attainment, ethnicity, religion, etc.). To construct these estimates we have operationalized the stated definitions of forced marriage, forced childbearing and trafficking (see Chapter 3) to construct variables from the Household Survey data in order to estimate our prevalence rates. We then use the study site population estimates derived from the Community Key Informant Estimation (CKIE) interviews to estimate, at the study site level, the numbers of female migrants, married female migrants, as well as the number of females in forced marriages and the number trafficked into forced marriages. Finally, we use population data from the most recent Myanmar and China censuses, to make extrapolated estimates, for Kachin State, Northern Shan State (Myanmar), and Western Yunnan Province (China), of the numbers of female migrants, married female migrants, as well as the number of females in forced marriages and the number trafficked into forced marriages.

A. Prevalence of Forced Marriage, Trafficking into Forced Marriage, and Forced Childbearing

A.1. Prevalence of Forced Marriage

Figure 4.1 below provides a breakdown of the forced marriage construct developed using the operational definition of forced marriage as: a formal or informal union of two persons, at least one of whom did not have the option of (i) refusing the marriage without suffering a penalty (or the menace of penalty), or of (ii) exiting the marriage without suffering a penalty (or the menace of penalty). Penalties include physical, sexual, emotional, financial or legal consequences. Specific examples of each can be found in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Categories of Threats and Penalties Covered in the Household Survey

Physical	Sexual	Psychological	Economic	Legal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food, water, and/or sleep deprivation • Physical isolation or restraint • Physical abuse (e.g. hitting, slapping) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual harassment (e.g. unwanted and deliberate kissing or touching) • Sexual assault (including rape) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional threats • Verbal abuse • Social exclusion • No longer able to see children, friends or family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of valuable goods • Economic penalty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of identify documents

A total of 157 respondents (39.8%) out of 394 respondents experienced forced marriage. About one-third (33.2%, n=131) were unable to refuse the marriage at the time the union was formed while 14.2 percent (n=56) were unable to exit the marriage without menace or threat of a penalty. An additional 28 respondents (7.1%) indicated that they were unable to refuse their marriages, however, they did not experience menace or threat of a penalty (see Chapter 5 for additional details on specific threats and penalties faced).

Although the proportion of respondents unable to exit a marriage without menace or threat of a penalty was relatively similar across interviews in Myanmar (13.3%) and interviews in China (15.1%), the proportion of respondents unable to refuse the marriage at the time the union was formed was more than three times greater among respondents interviewed in Myanmar (51.8% versus 15.1% in China).

Table 4.1: The Forced Marriage Construct

Row	Indicator	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) n (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) n (%)			Total (N=394) n (%)
		Kachin State ^a (n=148)	Shan State ^a (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	Kachin State ^b (n=92)	Shan State ^b (n=106)	Subtotal (n=199)	
A	Unable to refuse marriage at the time the union was formed due to threat or menace of penalty (n=131)	96 (64.9)	5 (10.6)	101 (51.8)	21 (22.8)	9 (8.5)	30 (15.1)	131 (33.2)
B	Subsequently unable to exit without menace or threat of a penalty (n=56)	22 (14.9)	4 (8.5)	26 (13.3)	22 (23.9)	8 (7.5)	30 (15.1)	56 (14.2)
C ^c	Sub-total in forced marriage (n=157)	102 (68.0)	8 (17.0)	110 (56.4)	34 (37.0)	13 (12.3)	47 (23.6)	157 (39.8)
D ^d	Sub-total not in forced marriage (n=237)	46 (31.1)	39 (83.0)	85 (43.6)	58 (63.0)	93 (87.7)	152 ^f (76.4)	237 (60.2)
E ^e	Total (N=394)	148 (100.0)	47 (100.0)	195 (100.0)	92 (100.0)	106 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	394 (100.0)

^a Refers to location of the interview
^b Refers to respondents' birth-state in Myanmar
^c Row C does not represent a direct sum of Row A and Row B, as the criteria for forced marriage are met if either (or both) of the indicators listed in these rows is present.
^d Row D total includes one unknown response.
^e Row E is equal to the sum of Row C (respondents in forced marriages) and Row D (respondents not in forced marriages (or unknown)).
^f Includes one unknown response

Please note that the total in forced marriage is not a direct sum of the indicators found in Table 4.1 above. The criteria for forced marriage was met by a positive response to either or both indicators. Thus, 30 respondents met the criteria for both of the indicators listed in the table (i.e. unable to refuse the marriage at entry due to the menace or threat of a penalty and subsequently unable to exit due to the menace or threat of a penalty).

A.2. Prevalence of Trafficking into Forced Marriage

Table 4.2 below provides a preliminary estimate of trafficking into forced marriage among the sample population. Nearly one half (48.7%, n=192) of respondents indicated that they used a recruiter or broker to help arrange their migration to China and/or marriage to a Chinese man. To meet the criteria for this element of the trafficking construct (i.e. process), a respondent had to answer “yes” to at least one of the questions listed in Table 4.3 below. Among the 157 respondents in situations of forced marriage, 103 (65.6%) used a recruiter or broker and, thus, met the criteria specified for trafficking into forced marriage.

Table 4.2: Trafficking into Forced Marriage Construct

Row ^a	Indicator	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) n (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) n (%)			Total (N=394) n (%)
		Kachin State ^a (n=148)	Shan State ^a (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	Kachin State ^b (n=92)	Shan State ^b (n=106)	Subtotal (n=199)	
A	Used a recruiter / broker (n=131)	109 (64.9)	25 (10.6)	134 (51.8)	33 (22.8)	25 (8.5)	58 (15.1)	192 (33.2)
B	Sub-total in forced marriage but did not use a recruiter / broker (n=54)	22 (14.9)	4 (8.5)	26 (13.3)	19 (23.9)	9 (7.5)	28 (15.1)	54 (14.2)
C	Sub-total in forced marriage and used a recruiter/broker (i.e., trafficked into forced marriage) (n=103)	80 (68.0)	4 (17.0)	84 (56.4)	15 (37.0)	4 (12.3)	19 (23.6)	103 (39.8)
D ^c	Sub-total not in forced marriage (n=237)	46 (31.1)	39 (83.0)	85 (43.6)	58 (63.0)	93 (87.7)	152 ^e (76.4)	237 (60.2)
E ^d	Total (N=394)	148 (100.0)	47 (100.0)	195 (100.0)	92 (100.0)	106 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	394 (100.0)

^a Refers to location of the interview

^b Refers to respondents' birth-state in Myanmar

^c Row D includes unknown responses

^d Row E is equal to the sum of Row C and Row D

^e Includes one unknown response

Table 4.3: Trafficking Process Elements

Indicator	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) n (%)	Interviewed in China (n=199) n (%)	Total (N=394) n (%)
Did not cross the border on own free will and the decision was made by someone else (except family members)	13 (6.7)	3 (1.5)	16 (4.1)
Decided to leave based on the advice of someone else (except family members)	53 (27.2)	37 (18.6)	90 (22.8)
Spent most of their travel journey to China with a recruiter or broker	29 (14.9)	2 (1.0)	31 (7.9)
Traveled with a recruiter or broker to reach final destination in China	88 (45.1)	29 (14.6)	117 (29.7)
Marriage arranged by an unrelated adult	90 (46.1)	9 (4.5)	99 (25.1)
Total that used a recruiter / broker	134 (68.7)	58 (29.1)	192 (48.7)

A.3. Prevalence of Forced Childbearing

Table 4.4 illustrates the proportion of respondents that experienced forced childbearing as well as the proportion that were trafficked into forced childbearing. Nearly eighty percent (77.7%) of respondents bore a child with their current or most recent Chinese husband (in the last five years). The operational definition of forced childbearing used in this study is: any pregnancy that occurs in a forced marriage, regardless of whether the sex/pregnancy occurred with the woman’s consent. Based on this definition, nearly forty percent (38.9%, n=119) of respondents reported bearing children with their current or most recent Chinese husband in a forced marriage. This proportion was more than double among respondents residing in Myanmar (53.2%) relative to those residing in China (26.7%). Of the 141 respondents that bore children and resided in Myanmar at the time of the interview, nearly half (45.4%, n=64) were trafficked into forced childbearing. This proportion decreased to approximately twenty percent (21.8%, n=36) among the 165 respondents that bore children and resided in China at the time of the interview.

Table 4.4: Experiences of Forced Childbearing, by Country of Interview

Variable	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195)			Interviewed in China (n=199)			Total n (%) (N=394)
	Kachin State ^a (n=148)	Shan State ^a (n=47)	Total (n=195)	Kachin State ^b (n=92)	Shan State ^b (n=106)	Total (n=199)	
Child with current or most recent husband in last five years	99 (66.9)	42 (89.4)	141 (72.3)	78 (84.8)	86 (81.1)	165 (82.9)	306 (77.7)
Experienced forced childbearing	67 (45.3)	8 (17.0)	75 (38.5)	32 (34.8)	12 (11.3)	44 (22.1)	119 (30.2)
Trafficked into forced childbearing	58 (39.2)	4 (8.5)	64 (32.8)	27 (29.3)	9 (8.5)	36 (18.1)	100 (25.4)

^a Refers to location of the interview

^b Refers to respondent’s place of origin

B. Population Estimates – Study Sites

The tables below present results from the 118 CKIE interviews. All numeric answers were tabulated so that a range estimate could be provided per site, with the low answer providing the Low-Range, the highest answer providing the High-Range, and the average of all answers providing the Mid-Range. Answers at the individual site level were then summed to provide township level data for Kachin State and Shan State (separately) in Myanmar, and to provide county-level data for Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province, China.

Community key informants were asked to estimate total populations, as well as male and female populations in their areas (Table 4.5) as of 2017. They were also asked to estimate the migrant populations in China (total, as well as male and female) who migrated to China in 2017 (Table 4.6). Of the female migrants in China as of 2017, community key informants were asked to estimate how many were married to Chinese men and, of these, how many were estimated to be in a marriage that involved force and/or human trafficking (respondents were not given any definitions of force or human trafficking – this question was asked to elicit rough estimates based on community perceptions of these phenomena) (Table 4.7). Finally, community key informants were asked to estimate how many female migrants returned to their local areas in 2013, 2015, and 2017 and how many were or had been married to Chinese men.

B.1. Kachin State, Myanmar

Table 4.5. Estimated Total Study Site Population in Kachin State, 2017

	Total Population			Population, Male			Population, Female		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Mansi Township									
<i>Mansi (n=4)</i>	9,029	9,945	11,178	3,387	4,288	5,237	5,642	5,657	5,941
Momauk Township									
<i>Momauk (n=4)</i>	17,121	18,533	19,453	8,632	10,053	10,909	8,489	8,479	8,544
Waingmaw Township									
<i>Waingmaw (n=4)</i>	20,205	21,284	22,010	9,396	10,089	11,108	9,454	11,194	12,219
Myitkyina Township									
<i>Myitkyina (n=1)</i>	7,500	7,579	7,738	3,000	3,032	3,095	4,500	4,548	4,643
Mogaung Township									
<i>Mogaung (n=1)</i>	7,000	7,133	7,200	2,800	3,567	5,040	2,160	3,560	4,320
Bhamo Township									
<i>Bhamo (n=1)</i>	1,700	1,727	1,750	680	807	1,050	700	919	1,038
Kachin State (n=15)	62,555	66,201	69,329	27,895	31,836	36,439	30,945	34,357	36,705

Table 4.6. Estimated Migrant Population in China from Study Sites in Kachin State, 2017

	Total Migrant Population			Migrant Population, Male			Migrant Population, Female		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Mansi Township									
<i>Mansi (n=4)</i>	125	331	640	62	117	200	54	214	483
Momauk Township									
<i>Momauk (n=4)</i>	5,302	5,514	5,680	3,339	3,473	3,620	1,848	2,041	2,326
Waingmaw Township									
<i>Waingmaw (n=4)</i>	310	364	420	144	185	234	129	175	227
Myitkyina Township									
<i>Myitkyina (n=1)</i>	20	24	27	19	23	26	1	1	1
Mogaung Township									
<i>Mogaung (n=1)</i>	30	44	60	18	19	18	12	25	42
Bhamo Township									
<i>Bhamo (n=1)</i>	47	49	50	20	20	21	26	29	30

Kachin State (n=15)	5,834	6,326	6,877	3,602	3,837	4,119	2,070	2,485	3,109
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Table 4.7. Estimated Forced Marriage/Human Trafficking Among Migrants in China from Study Sites in Kachin State, 2017

	Total Female Population			Female Migrant Population			Migrant Population Married to Chinese Men			Migrant Marriages Involving Force and/or Human Trafficking		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Mansi Township												
<i>Mansi (n=4)</i>	5,642	5,657	5,941	54	214	483	73	109	162	20	46	66
Momauk Township												
<i>Momauk (n=4)</i>	8,489	8,479	8,544	1,848	2,041	2,326	66	92	123	0	3	5
Waingmaw Township												
<i>Waingmaw (n=4)</i>	9,454	11,194	12,219	129	175	227	12	33	47	4	11	17
Myitkyina Township												
<i>Myitkyina (n=1)</i>	4,500	4,548	4,643	1	1	1	4	5	6	0	1	2
Mogaung Township												
<i>Mogaung (n=1)</i>	2,160	3,560	4,320	12	25	42	15	17	18	8	10	13
Bhamo Township												
<i>Bhamo (n=1)</i>	700	919	1,038	26	29	30	1	2	3	0	1	2
Kachin State (n=15)	30,945	34,357	36,705	2,070	2,485	3,109	171	258	359	32	72	105

Looking at the Mid-Range estimates in the tables above, out of 34,357 Myanmar women estimated to be in the study sites, a total of 2,485, or about 7.2% (range of 6.7% - 8.5%), had migrated to China as of 2017. Of these migrant women, 258, or 10.4% (range of 8.3% - 11.5%), were married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man. And, finally, of the Myanmar migrant women married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man, about 72, or 27.9% were in a marriage or union that involved force or human trafficking (range of 18.7% - 29.2%).

Table 4.8: Returnees to Study Sites in Kachin State, 2013-2017

	Female Migrant Returnees (2013)			Female Married Returnees (2013)			Female Migrant Returnees (2015)			Female Married Returnees (2015)			Female Migrant Returnees (2017)			Female Married Returnees (2017)		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
<i>Mansi (n=4)</i>	37	58	93	5	14	27	37	57	90	2	14	24	23	95	153	9	30	66
<i>Momauk (n=4)</i>	18	334	914	2	12	22	57	642	1080	3	43	104	57	642	1811	2	9	12
<i>Waingmyaw (n=4)</i>	52	122	195	11	13	16	51	169	315	5	10	17	49	196	420	6	14	19
<i>Myitkyina (n=1)</i>	0	12	20	0	2	5	0	10	25	0	2	3	1	10	20	0	1	1
<i>Moe Gaung (n=1)</i>	2	9	15	0	5	10	5	17	25	3	8	10	10	12	15	4	10	10
<i>Bhamo (n=1)</i>	20	24	26	0	4	9	43	44	45	0	2	6	43	44	45	0	0	0
Kachin State (n=15)	129	559	1,263	18	50	89	170	656	1,560	13	79	164	183	999	2,464	21	64	108

As noted previously, community key informants in the 15 sites in Kachin State were asked about female migrants from that area who returned in 2013, 2015, and 2017 and, of these, how

many were, or had been, married to Chinese men. Since these numbers represent annual flows, we interpolated annual arrivals for 2014 and 2016 (2014 represents the average of 2013 and 2015, and 2016 represents the average of 2015 and 2017) and then summed over five years. In terms of female returning migrants, the Mid-Range level was 3,650, or an average of about 730 per year, though the annual number nearly doubled from 559 in 2013 to 999 in 2017 (the Low-Range five-year total was 809 and the High-Range was 8,711). The Mid-Range estimate of female migrants returning to the 15 sites who were, or had been, married to Chinese men, was 329 for five years, or an average of 66 per year (the Low-Range five-year total was 85 and the High-Range was 624). Community key informants were not asked to estimate how many of these marriages had involved force and/or human trafficking – these estimates will be presented in Section C below, using what we believe are more precise measures based on results from the Household Survey.

B.2. Northern Shan State, Myanmar

As with the sites in Kachin State, a total of three community key informants were interviewed in each of a total of five sites in Northern Shan State, three in Muse Township and one site each in Kutkai and Nankham Townships.

Table 4.9. Estimated Total Study Site Population in N. Shan State, 2017

	Total Population			Population, Male			Population, Female		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Muse Township									
<i>Muse (n=3)</i>	8,480	13,734	17,177	3,406	6,092	8,089	5,074	7,642	9,088
Kutkai Township									
<i>Kutkai (n=1)</i>	10,700	10,700	10,700	4,635	4,635	4,635	6,065	6,065	6,065
Nankham Township									
<i>Nankham (n=1)</i>	800	1,004	1,106	320	542	774	332	462	480
Shan State (n=5)	19,980	25,438	28,983	8,361	11,269	13,498	11,471	14,169	15,633

Table 4.10. Estimated Migrant Population in China from Study Sites in N. Shan State, 2017

	Total Migrant Population			Migrant Population, Male			Migrant Population, Female		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Muse Township									
<i>Muse (n=3)</i>	743	1,601	3,000	441	840	1,339	302	761	1,661
Kutkai Township									
<i>Kutkai (n=1)</i>	450	450	450	203	203	203	248	248	248
Nankham Township									
<i>Nankham (n=1)</i>	10	23	50	8	11	15	2	12	35
Shan State (n=5)	1,203	2,074	3,500	652	1,053	1,557	551	1,021	1,944

Table 4.11. Estimations of Forced Marriage and/or Human Trafficking among Migrants in China from Study Sites in N. Shan State, 2017

	Total Female Population			Female Migrant Population			Migrant Population Married to Chinese Men			Migrant Marriages Involving Force and/or Human Trafficking		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Muse Township												
<i>Muse (n=3)</i>	5,074	7,642	9,088	302	761	1,661	50	80	135	7	12	20
Kutkai Township												
<i>Kutkai (n=1)</i>	6,065	6,065	6,065	248	248	248	11	24	50	9	9	9
Nankham Township												
<i>Nankham (n=1)</i>	332	462	480	2	12	35	3	8	17	1	2	2
<i>Shan State (n=5)</i>	11,471	14,169	15,633	551	1,021	1,944	64	112	202	17	23	31

Looking at the Mid-Range estimates in the tables above, out of 14,169 Myanmar women estimated to be in the five study sites, a total of 1,021, or about 8.9% (range of 4.8% - 12.9%), had migrated to China as of 2017. Of these migrant women, 112, or 10.9% (range of 10.4% - 11.6%), were married to a Chinese man. And, finally, of the Myanmar migrant women married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man, 20.3% were in a marriage or union that involved force or human trafficking (range of 15.3% - 26.6%).

Community key informants in the five sites in Shan State were asked about female migrants from that area who returned in 2013, 2015, and 2017 and, of these, how many were, or had been, married to Chinese men. Since these numbers represent annual flows, we interpolated annual arrivals for 2014 and 2016 (2014 represents the average of 2013 and 2015, and 2016 represents the average of 2015 and 2017) and then summed over five years.

Table 4.12: Returnees to Study Sites in N. Shan State (2013-2017)

	Female Migrant Returnees (2013)			Female Married Returnees (2013)			Female Migrant Returnees (2015)			Female Married Returnees (2015)			Female Migrant Returnees (2017)			Female Married Returnees (2017)		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
<i>Muse (n=3)</i>	105	255	379	1	5	10	95	346	399	0	9	10	130	415	699	2	7	12
<i>Kutkai (n=1)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	5	2	2	2	10	10	10	1	1	1
<i>Nankham (n=1)</i>	0	2	5	0	1	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	3	5	1	1	3
<i>N. Shan State (n=5)</i>	105	257	384	1	6	13	101	353	407	3	12	14	142	428	714	4	9	16

In terms of female returning migrants, the Mid-Range level was 1,734, or an average of about 347 per year, though the annual number increased from 257 in 2013 to 428 in 2017 (the Low-Range five-year total was 573 and the High-Range was 2,461). Most of the movement occurred in the three sites in Muse Township, which borders China and is the location of several active

border crossing points. The Mid-Range estimate of female migrants returning to the five sites who were, or had been, married to Chinese men, was 45 for five years, or an average of 9 per year (the Low-Range five-year total was 14 and the High-Range was 78). As noted, previously, community key informants were not asked to estimate how many of these marriages had involved force and/or human trafficking – these estimates will be presented in Section C below, using what we believe are more precise measures based on results from the household survey.

Comparing the results for Kachin State and Northern Shan State, migrant numbers—for both out-migrants and returnees—are higher in Kachin State, as would be expected, since Kachin State included 15 sites and a total study site population of 66,201 (Mid-Range estimate), while Shan State included 5 sites and a total study site population of 25,438 (Mid-Range estimate). Out-migration rates, however, were slightly higher in the Northern Shan State sites than in Kachin State: about 8.9% of women from Shan State study sites had migrated to China as of 2017, compared to 7.2% of women from Kachin State study sites (both Mid-Range estimates). Rates of marriage to, or informal union with, Chinese men were quite similar—10.4% of migrant women from the Kachin State sites and 10.9% of migrant women from the Shan State sites (Mid-Range estimates). Returnees as a percentage of the total site populations were higher in Kachin State (0.49%) than in Shan State (0.17%) and the proportion of married women among returnees was also higher in Kachin State (9.0%) than in Shan State (2.6%). Rates of forced marriage and trafficking will be discussed in more detail in Section C below, where we present extrapolations from the CKIE data to larger populations in Myanmar and China. But, as was seen in the prevalence rates derived from the household survey, women from Kachin State—whether interviewed in China or in Myanmar—who had married Chinese men in the past five years reported higher rates of forced marriage and trafficking as compared to their counterparts from Northern Shan State. This could explain why even with lower out-migration rates, and comparable marriage rates, higher proportions of women from Kachin State married to Chinese men are returning to their places of origin.

B.3. Yunnan Province, China

As with the sites in Kachin State and Northern Shan State, a total of three community key informants were interviewed in each of a total of 20 sites in Yunnan Province. All of the sites were in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous prefecture and included 6 sites in Longchuan County, six sites in Mangshi County-level City, 7 in sites in Ruili County-level City, and one site in Yingjiang County.

Table 4.13. Estimated Total Study Site Population in Yunnan Province, 2017

	Total Population			Population, Male			Population, Female		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Ruili County									
<i>Ruili (n=7)</i>	4,690	5,138	5,785	2,318	2,777	3,220	2,044	2,360	2,689
Longchuan County									
<i>Longchuan (n=6)</i>	16,380	16,578	16,890	12,500	13,083	14,195	2,590	3,496	3,985
Yingjiang County									
<i>Yingjiang (n=1)</i>	920	922	925	368	390	416	509	531	552
Mangshi County									
<i>Mangshi (n=6)</i>	4,991	6,478	7,842	2,883	4,045	5,109	1,820	2,433	3,020
Yunnan (n=20)	26,981	29,116	31,442	18,069	20,295	22,940	6,963	8,820	10,246

Table 4.14. Estimated Myanmar Migrant Population in Study Sites in Yunnan Province, 2017

	Total Migrant Population			Migrant Population, Male			Migrant Population, Female		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Ruili County									
<i>Ruili (n=7)</i>	645	799	1,131	299	446	570	246	367	561
Longchuan County									
<i>Longchuan (n=6)</i>	490	509	525	319	374	373	114	152	213
Yingjiang County									
<i>Yingjiang (n=1)</i>	35	35	36	23	23	23	12	12	13
Mangshi County									
<i>Mangshi (n=6)</i>	1,100	1,276	1,765	779	851	1,000	322	425	766
Yunnan (n=20)	2,270	2,619	3,457	1,420	1,694	1,966	694	956	1,553

Table 4.15. Estimations of Forced Marriage/Human Trafficking Among Migrants in Study Sites in Yunnan Province, 2017

	Total Female Population			Female Migrant Population			Migrant Population Married to Chinese Men			Migrant Marriages Involving Force and/or Human Trafficking		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Ruili County												
<i>Ruili (n=7)</i>	2,044	2,369	2,689	246	367	561	67	97	142	1	17	33
Longchuan County												
<i>Longchuan (n=6)</i>	2,590	3,496	3,985	114	152	213	21	23	26	1	4	8
Yingjiang County												
<i>Yingjiang (n=1)</i>	509	531	552	12	12	13	3	4	5	0	0	0
Mangshi County												
<i>Mangshi (n=6)</i>	1,820	2,433	3,020	322	425	766	21	41	79	1	2	3
Yunnan (n=20)	6,963	8,820	10,246	694	956	1,553	112	165	252	3	23	44

Looking at the Mid-Range estimates in the tables above, out of 8,820 total females in the study site population, 956, or about 10.8% (range of 9.9% - 15.2%) were Myanmar women living in the study sites. Of these, a total of 165, or about 17.3% (range of 16.1% to 17.3%), were married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man. And, finally, of the Myanmar migrant

women married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man, about 23, or 13.9% (range of 2.7% - 17.4%) were in a marriage or union that involved force or human trafficking.

C. Extrapolating Estimates Forced Marriage and Human Trafficking

The analysis below draws on findings from the CKIE estimates of female migrant populations and married female migrant populations in the study sites, then applies forced marriage and trafficking rates from our Household Survey data (in some cases, comparing these with rates derived from CKIE data), and extrapolates estimates for women from Kachin State, women from Northern Shan State, and Myanmar women in Yunnan Province, respectively, using population data from the 2014 Myanmar National Census and the 2010 China National Census.

This section examines our data from both the CKIE and Household Survey to estimate the numbers of Myanmar women who have experienced forced marriage and/or trafficking into forced marriage, focusing on several different populations: (1) married Myanmar women from Kachin State in Yunnan; (2) married Myanmar women returned to Kachin State from China; (3) married Myanmar women from Northern Shan State in Yunnan; (4) married Myanmar women returned to Northern Shan State from China; and (5) married Myanmar women in Yunnan.

C.1. Myanmar Women from Kachin State in China, 2017

C.1.a. Forced Marriage In the 15 study sites in Kachin State (located in six townships: Mansi, Momauk, Waingmaw, Myitkyina, Mogaung, and Bhamo), aggregated Mid-Range of estimates indicated that out of 34,357 Myanmar women estimated to be in the study sites, a total of 2,485, or about 7.2% (with a range of 6.7% - 8.5%), had migrated to China as of 2017. Of these migrant women, 258, or 10.4% (with a range of 8.3% - 11.5%), were married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man. The CKIE data, thus, provide us with rates of female migration and rates of marriage to/informal union with Chinese men among these migrant populations.

For estimation purposes, we will replace the estimated female population derived from the CKIE data (which only estimated study site populations, not township-level populations) with a more reliable estimate of the female population in the six townships obtained from the 2014 Myanmar National Census. These figures are: Myitkyina (158,464); Waingmaw (53,668); Mogaung (69,107), Momauk (21,314), Mansi (26,789), and Bhamo (69,159), which total to 398,501. Applying the CKIE migration and migrant marriage rates to this figure, and using Low, Mid, and High-Range estimates, we can estimate that 7.2%, or 28,692 Myanmar women, migrated to China in 2017 (Low-Range=6.7%, or 26,700; High-Range=8.5%, or 33,873). We can

further estimate that 10.4%, or 2,984 Myanmar women were married to, or in informal unions with, Chinese men in 2017 (Low-Range=8.3%, or 2,216; High-Range=11.5%, or 3,895).

The Household Survey data of interviews of women in China from Kachin State indicated that 37.0% were in a forced marriage (unable to refuse marriage at the time the union was formed or unable to exit without menace or threat of penalty). Applying this rate to our range of married migrant women, we can estimate that 1,104 women from the six townships in Kachin State were in a forced marriage in Yunnan in 2017 (Low-Range=819; High-Range=1,441).

We can extrapolate further, on the assumption that the six townships are representative of the female populations in the three districts in Kachin State where these townships are located: Myityina District (268,368); Mohnyin District (297,786); and Bhamo District (175,443), for a total of 741,597. Applying Low-Range, Mid-Range, and High-Range estimates for migration and Low-Range, Mid-Range and High-Range estimates for percentage of migrant women married to Chinese men, and finally applying the Household Survey prevalence rate of forced marriage for women from Kachin State interviewed in Yunnan, the estimated number of women from Kachin State in forced marriages in China in 2017 would be 2,054 (Low-Range=1,526; High-Range=2,681).

We can extrapolate still further, on the assumption that the six townships in three districts are representative of the female populations in all four districts in Kachin State: Myityina District (268,368); Mohnyin District (297,786); Bhamo District (175,443); and Putao District 45,891), for a total of 787,488. Based on this figure, the estimated number of women from Kachin State in forced marriages in China in 2017 would be 2,182 (Low-Range=1,627; High-Range=2,848).

C.1.b. Trafficking into Forced Marriage. Estimating the number of women from Kachin State in Yunnan who have been trafficked into forced marriage, we apply the prevalence rate of 16.3% (15 of 92, see Table 4.2 above) to the estimates of married migrant women from Kachin State in Yunnan. Extrapolating to six townships in Kachin State, the Mid-Range estimate of the number of women from Kachin State trafficked into forced marriage in China in 2017 would be 486 (Low-Range=361; High-Range=635). Extrapolating from six townships to three districts in Kachin State, the Mid-Range estimate of the number of women from Kachin State trafficked into forced marriage in China in 2017 would be 905 (Low-Range=672; High-Range=1,182). Extrapolating to all four districts in Kachin State, assuming that rates from our study sites apply across the whole female population, the Mid-Range estimate of the number of women from Kachin State trafficked into forced marriage in China in 2017 would be 961 (Low-Range=717; High-Range=1,255) (see Table 4.16 below).

C.2. Myanmar Women from Kachin State Returned from China, 2013-2017

C.2.a. Forced Marriage. As was calculated from data presented in Table 4.8 above, the Mid-Range level over five years of female returnees from China to study sites in Kachin State was 3,650 (Low-Range five-year total=809; High-Range=8,711). The Mid-Range estimate of female migrants returning to the 15 sites who were, or had been, married to Chinese men, was 329 for five years (Low-Range five-year total=85; High-Range=624). To estimate the number of forced marriages among returnees, we use the prevalence rate of 68.9% for forced marriage among the 148 married women interviewed in the Household Survey in Kachin State.

To extrapolate from the study sites to all of Kachin State, we must make an assumption that the six townships in three districts are representative of the population in all four districts in Kachin State (total female population of 787,488). On the assumption that the ratio or proportion of returnees to study site populations applies throughout Kachin State, and applying Low, Mid and High-Range estimates both of study site populations and five-year totals of returnees, we obtain a Mid-Range estimate of 83,474 returnees in five years (Low-Range=20,475; High-Range=186,635). Among these returnees, 9.0% were married to Chinese men (Low-Range=7.2%; High-Range=10.5%), and of these married women, using data from our Household Survey, 68.9% were involved in a forced marriage. Thus, our Mid-Range estimate for the five-year total of women from Kachin State returning from China having been involved in a forced marriage would be 5,176 (Low-Range=1,016; High-Range=13,502) (see Table 4.17 below).

C.2.b. Trafficking into Forced Marriage. To estimate the rate of trafficking into forced marriage among returnees, we use the prevalence rate of 54.1% for forced marriage among the 148 women interviewed in the Household Survey in Kachin State. Applying this rate to the estimated number of married women returning to Kachin State (extrapolating to six townships from the study sites within those townships) between 2013 and 2017, our Mid-Range estimate of returning women who have experienced trafficking into forced marriage would be 2,057 (Low-Range=589; High-Range=3,679). Extrapolating to three districts in Kachin State would give a Mid-Range estimate of returning women who have experienced trafficking into forced marriage of 3,828 (Low-Range=1,096; High-Range=6,846). Applying this rate to the estimated number of married women returning to Kachin State between 2013 and 2017, and extrapolating to all four districts in Kachin State, our Mid-Range estimate of returning women who have experienced trafficking into forced marriage would be 4,065 (Low-Range=1,163; High-Range=7,270) (see Table 4.17 below).

C.3. Myanmar Women from Northern Shan State in China, 2017

C.3.a. Forced Marriage. In the five study sites in Northern Shan State (located in three townships: Muse, Kutkai, and Nankham), aggregated, Mid-Range of estimates indicated that out of 14,169 Myanmar women estimated to be in the study sites, a total of 1,021, or about 8.9% (with a range of 4.8% - 12.9%), had migrated to China as of 2017. Of these migrant women, 112, or 10.9% (with a range of 10.4% - 11.6%), were married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man. The CKIE data, thus, provide us with rates of female migration and rates of marriage to/informal union with Chinese men among these migrant populations.

For estimation purposes, we replaced the estimated female population derived from the CKIE data (which only estimated study site populations, not township-level populations) with a more reliable estimate of the female population in the six townships obtained from the 2014 Myanmar National Census. These figures are: Muse (56,561); Kutkai (51,087); and Nankham (55,719) for a total of 163,367. Applying the CKIE migration and migrant marriage rates to this figure, and calculating Low, Mid, and High-Range estimates, we then estimate that 8.9%, or 14,540 Myanmar women, migrated to China from these townships in 2017 (Low-Range=4.8%, or 7,842; High-Range=12.9%, or 21,074). We then further estimate that 10.9%, or 1,585 Myanmar women from the Shan State townships were married to, or in informal unions with, Chinese men in 2017 (Low-Range=10.4%, or 816; High-Range=11.6%, or 2,445).

The Household Survey data of interviews of women in China from Northern Shan State indicated that 12.3% were in a forced marriage (unable to refuse marriage at the time the union was formed or unable to exit without menace or threat of penalty). Applying this rate to our range of married migrant women, and extrapolating from the study sites to three townships, we can estimate that 195 women from the three townships in Northern Shan State were in a forced marriage in China in 2017 (Low-Range=100; High-Range=300).

We can extrapolate further, on the assumption that the three townships are representative of the female populations in all of Muse District in Shan State where these townships are located: the district female population is 226,336. Based on this figure, the estimated number of women from Northern Shan State in forced marriages living in China in 2017 would be 270 (Low-Range=139; High-Range=417).

We can extrapolate still further, on the assumption that the three townships in Muse District are representative of the female populations in all seven districts in Northern Shan State: Muse District (226,336), Lashio District (312,718), Kyaukme District (393,962), Kunlong District (27,874), Hopang District (112,307), Matman District (117,406), and Laukkaing District (73,808): the total Northern Shan State female population is 1,264,411. Based on this figure, the estimated number of women from Northern Shan State in forced marriages living in Yunnan in 2017 would be 1,509 (Low-Range=776; High-Range=2,327).

C.3.b Trafficking into Forced Marriage. Estimating the number of women from Northern Shan State in Yunnan who have been trafficked into forced marriage, we apply the prevalence rate of 3.8% (4 out of 106, see Table 4.2 above) to the estimates of married migrant women from Kachin State in Yunnan. Extrapolating from the study sites to three townships, the Mid-Range estimate of the number of women from Northern Shan State trafficked into forced marriage living in China in 2017 would be 60 (Low-Range=31; High-Range=93). Extrapolating from the study sites to three townships, the Mid-Range estimate of the number of women from Northern Shan State trafficked into forced marriage living in China in 2017 would be 60 (Low-Range=31; High-Range=93). Extrapolating from three townships to one district (Muse), the Mid-Range estimate of the number of women from Northern Shan State trafficked into forced marriage living in China in 2017 would be 83 (Low-Range=43; High-Range=129). Finally, extrapolating to all seven districts in Northern Shan State, assuming that rates from our study sites apply across the whole female population, the Mid-Range estimate of the number of women from Northern Shan State trafficked into forced marriage living in China in 2017 would be 466 (Low-Range=240; High-Range=719) (see Table 4.16 below).

C.4. Myanmar Women from Northern Shan State Returned from China, 2013-2017

C.4.a. Forced Marriage. As was calculated using data from Table 4.12 above, the Mid-Range level of migrant returnees from China to the five Northern Shan State study sites was 1,734 (Low-Range five-year total=573; High-Range=2,461). The Mid-Range estimate of female migrants returning to the five sites who were, or had been, married to Chinese men, was 45 for five years (Low-Range five-year total=14; High-Range=78). To estimate the number of forced marriages among returnees, we used the prevalence rate of 17.0% for forced marriage among the 47 married women interviewed in the Household Survey in Northern Shan State.

To extrapolate from the study sites to three townships in Northern Shan State, we made an assumption that the study sites are representative of the populations in their respective three townships in Northern Shan State (total female population of 163,367). Applying Low-Range, Mid-Range and High-Range estimates both of study site populations and five-year totals of

returnees, we obtain a Mid-Range estimate of 19,931 female returnees in five years (Low-Range=8,168; High-Range=25,649). Among these returnees, only 2.6% were women married to Chinese men (Low-Range=2.4%; High-Range=3.2%), and of these married women, 17.0% were involved in a forced marriage. Thus, our Mid-Range estimate for the five-year total of women from Northern Shan State returning from China having been involved in a forced marriage would be 88 (Low-Range=33; High-Range=140) (see Table 4.17).

To extrapolate from three townships to one district (Muse), we made an assumption that the three townships are representative of the population in all seven districts in Northern Shan State (total female population of 226,336). On the assumption that the ratio or proportion of returnees to study site populations applies throughout Northern Shan State, and applying Low-Range, Mid-Range and High-Range estimates both of study site populations and five-year totals of returnees, we obtain a Mid-Range estimate of 27,613 female returnees in five years (Low-Range=11,317; High-Range=35,535). Our Mid-Range estimate for the five-year total of women from Northern Shan State returning from China having been involved in a forced marriage would be 122 (Low-Range=46; High-Range=193) (see Table 4.17).

To extrapolate from one district to all of Northern Shan State, we made an assumption that the one district is representative of the population in all seven districts in Northern Shan State (total female population of 1,264,411). On the assumption that the ratio or proportion of returnees to study site populations applies throughout Northern Shan State, and applying Low-Range, Mid-Range and High-Range estimates both of study site populations and five-year totals of returnees, we obtain a Mid-Range estimate of 154,258 female returnees in five years (Low-Range=63,221; High-Range=163,109). Our Mid-Range estimate for the five-year total of women from Northern Shan State returning from China having been involved in a forced marriage would be 682 (Low-Range=258; High-Range=1,574) (see Table 4.17).

C.4.b. Trafficking into Forced Marriage. To estimate the rate of trafficking into forced marriage among returnees, we use the prevalence rate of 8.5% for forced marriage among the 47 women interviewed in the Household Survey in Northern Shan State. Applying this rate to the estimated number of married women returning to Northern Shan State between 2013 and 2017, and extrapolating to three townships in Northern Shan State, our Mid-Range estimate of returning women who have experienced trafficking into forced marriage would be 44 (Low-Range=17; High-Range=70). Extrapolating from three townships to one district in Northern Shan State, our Mid-Range estimate of returning women who have experienced trafficking into forced marriage would be 61 (Low-Range=23; High-Range=97). Finally, extrapolating to all seven districts in Northern Shan State, our Mid-Range estimate of returning women who have experienced trafficking into forced marriage would be 341 (Low-Range=129; High-Range=444).

C.5. Yunnan Province, China

C.5.a. Forced Marriage. In the 20 study sites in Yunnan Province (located in four counties in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture: Ruili, Mangshi, Yingjiang, and Longchuan), we observed that out of 8,820 total females in the study site population, 956, or about 10.8% (with a range of 9.9% - 15.2%) were Myanmar women living in the study sites. Of these, a total of 165, or about 17.3% (with a range down to 16.1%), were married to, or in an informal union with, a Chinese man.

In terms of population data for Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, we are constrained in that no breakdowns exist below the county level, so our extrapolations must be based on data at the county level (as opposed to township or a lower-level administrative unit). Estimating the female proportion at 49.5% of the population, female populations at county-level are: Lianghe (76,317) Mangshi (192,996); Ruili (89,410); Yingjiang (151,057); and Longchuan (89,882), for a total of 599,662. Applying a Mid-Range estimate of 10.8%, then 64,763 are Myanmar migrant women (Low-Range=59,367; High-Range=91,149). These numbers may overestimate the population of Myanmar migrant women, given that most of our study sites were in smaller towns and rural areas, and the county-level data includes larger cities like Ruili and Mangshi. Of these migrant women, CKIE estimates done in China suggest that around 10,427 Myanmar women (Low-Range=9,558; and High-Range=15,769) were married to, or in an informal union, with a Chinese man.

The Household Survey data of interviews of Myanmar women in China indicated that 23.6% overall were in a forced marriage (unable to refuse marriage at the time the union was formed or unable to exit without menace or threat of penalty). Applying this rate to our range of married migrant women in Yunnan, and extrapolating from 20 study sites to the entire prefecture, we estimate that 2,461 women were in a forced marriage in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Prefecture in 2017 (Low-Range=2,256; High-Range=3,721) (see Table 4.18 below). Note that we cannot say where, specifically, they came from, though, the general evidence from our study supports a conclusion that most came from Kachin State or Shan State.

If we extrapolate further, we can apply our study-derived Myanmar female migration, marriage/informal union, and forced marriage rates not only to Dehong Dai and Jingpo Prefecture but to the three additional prefectures and prefectural cities in Western Yunnan that

border Kachin State or Northern Shan State: Nujiang Autonomous Prefecture, Baoshan Prefectural City, and Lincang Prefectural City (total female population approximately 3,442,725). Applying the percentage migrant women and percentage married to Chinese men from our CKIE data (China-based interviews) and a forced marriage rate of 23.6% derived from the Household Survey, we can estimate that 14,127 women were in a forced marriage in Western Yunnan in 2017 (Low-Range=12,950; High-Range=21,365). Note that we cannot say specifically where they came from, though the general evidence from our study supports a conclusion that most came from Kachin State or Northern Shan State (see Table 4.18 below).

C.5.b. Trafficking into Forced Marriage. The Household Survey data of interviews of Myanmar women in China indicated that 9.5% were trafficked into a forced marriage (used a broker or middleman, and were unable to refuse marriage at the time the union was formed, or unable to exit without menace or threat of penalty). Applying a forced marriage rate of 9.5% to our range of married Myanmar migrant women in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Prefecture, we can estimate that 991 women were trafficked into a forced marriage in 2017 (Low-Range=908; High-Range=1,498). Note that we cannot say specifically where they came from, though the general evidence from our study supports a conclusion that most came from Kachin State or Northern Shan State (see Table 4.18 below).

If we extrapolate further to all of Western Yunnan Province, applying the percentage migrant women and percentage married to Chinese men from our CKIE data (China-based interviews) and a trafficked into forced marriage rate of 9.5% derived from the Household Survey, we can estimate that 5,687 Myanmar women were trafficked into a forced marriage in Western Yunnan in 2017 (Low-Range=5,212; High-Range=8,600) (see Table 4.18 below).

C.6. Summary

Below we present the summary findings of the three extrapolations we have done for Kachin State and Northern Shan State, and the two extrapolations we have done for Yunnan Province, using the study site data from the Household Survey and the CKIE interviews.

- For Kachin State, the first level of extrapolation is from the 15 study sites to the six townships in which the sites were located; the second extrapolation is from the six townships to the three districts in which the six townships were located; and the third extrapolation is to all four districts in Kachin State.
- For Northern Shan State, the first level of extrapolation is from the 5 study sites to the three townships in which the study sites were located; the second extrapolation is to district in which these townships were located; and the third extrapolation is to all seven townships that comprise Northern Shan State.

- For Yunnan Province the first level of extrapolation was from the 20 study sites to all of Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, where the study sites were located; the second level of extrapolation is to Western Yunnan Province, comprising two counties and two county-level cities.

We have discussed the particular details for each of these extrapolations above. The question for this summary discussion is: are they all equally plausible and justifiable based on the study data? Further, how do they make sense in light of one another? We would argue that, among the three extrapolations we performed with the study data on migrants from Kachin State and Northern Shan State either living in China as of 2017 or returned from China between 2013 and 2017, the second extrapolation (outlined in bolder lines in Table 4.16 and Table 4.17), which extrapolates from study sites to three districts in Kachin State and one district in Northern Shan State, is the most plausible, justifiable and consistent with other estimates. For the two extrapolations we performed with study data from the study sites in Yunnan, the first extrapolation, (outlined in bolder lines in Table 4.18) which extrapolates from study sites to all of Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, is the most plausible, justifiable, and consistent with other estimates. For ease of reference we will call these extrapolations *Kachin/Shan-2* and *Yunnan-1*.

As seen in Table 4.16, in the *Kachin/Shan-1* extrapolation, the Mid-Range estimate for female migrants from Kachin State and Northern Shan State in China was 73,539 (Low=60,551; High=92,233). While we don't know where all of these migrants were living in China, it is reasonable to assume, based on the characteristics of the respondents and their knowledge of the populations in China, that most of the migrants were living in Yunnan with a majority in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture. Estimates. These estimates overlap with those of Yunnan-1 which gives a Mid-Range estimate of 64,763 (Low=59,367; High=91,149) for female Myanmar migrants living in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture. While we cannot be sure all of these migrants were from Kachin State and Northern Shan State, it would be reasonable to assume that majority are.

It should be noted that both these estimates are for female migrants only. World Bank and China census data, by comparison (see Chapter 2), suggest there were 40,000–50,000 Myanmar migrants (male and female) in all of Yunnan. There may be many reasons for this discrepancy, of course, but one reason may be that counts by the World Bank and the China census may miss undocumented and unregistered migrants, who likely comprise the majority of Kachin and Shan migrants in Yunnan. Among those particularly at risk of undercounting may be female migrants in unregistered marriages, as one study in Baoshan City, Yunnan has shown (see Chapter 2).

Examining the estimates for female married migrants, female migrants in forced marriage, and female migrants, Mid-Range estimates from *Kachin/Shan-2* and *Yunnan-1* converge and overlap quite closely, suggesting that about 7,800-10,400 female Myanmar migrants are married in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, of whom about 2,400 are in forced marriages, and about 1,000 are trafficked into forced marriage.

Regarding the broader extrapolations, *Kachin/Shan-3* and *Yunnan-2*, they are less plausible and justifiable mainly because they extend the population projection outside the districts and prefectures within which the study sites were located. In the case of Northern Shan State, *Kachin/Shan-3* incorporates estimates for six districts not included in the sample sites. Many of these, while still in Northern Shan State are farther from the China border and closer to Thailand; migration from these areas certainly is occurring but it cannot be projected so reliably that the migration is to and from China specifically. For *Yunnan-2*, the other counties and county-level cities are close to the Myanmar border but they include a large and heterogeneous population of urban and rural residents, with different ethnic compositions from that of Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture. To justify a Mid-Range estimate of nearly 240,000 female Myanmar migrants in Western Yunnan in 2017 would require a broader empirical base upon which to build our models.

In sum, then, using the estimations from the *Kachin/Shan-2* and *Yunnan-1* extrapolations (see Tables 4.16 and 4.18), we feel our study data, and the population projections made from them, allow us to say that, as of 2017, at least 65,000-74,000 migrants from Kachin State and Northern Shan State were living in Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, of whom 7,700-10,400 were married to Chinese men. Of these married migrant women, 2,300-2,500 were in forced marriages and around 1,000 were trafficked into forced marriage. These numbers would almost certainly increase if we included larger areas of Yunnan Province, and larger areas of Kachin State, Northern Shan State, and elsewhere in Myanmar but those estimates must remain more speculative.

For returnees to Kachin State and Northern Shan State, using the estimations from the *Kachin/Shan-2* and *Yunnan-1* extrapolations (see Table 4.17), we estimate that around 106,000 female migrants (range: 30,600 to 211,300) returned from China, primarily from Yunnan, during the period 2013-2017. Of these, around 7,800 were married to Chinese men (range: 2,300 to 13,800), around 5,000 were in forced marriages (range: 1,400 to 8,900) and around 3,900 had been trafficked into forced marriage (range: 1,100 to 6,900). Again, these numbers would almost certainly increase if we included larger areas of Yunnan Province and elsewhere in

China, and included larger areas of Kachin State and Northern Shan State, but those estimates must remain more speculative.

Table 4.16: Extrapolations: Migrants from Kachin State and N. Shan State in China, 2017

	Female Population in Area	Female Migrants in China (2017)			Female Married Migrants in China (2017)			Female Migrants in Forced Marriage (2017)			Female Migrants Trafficked into Forced Marriage (2017)		
		Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Kachin State 6 Townships	398,501	26,700	28,962	33,873	2,216	2,984	3,895	819	1,104	1,441	361	486	635
N. Shan State 3 Townships	163,367	7,842	14,540	21,074	816	1,585	2,445	100	195	300	31	60	93
Total	561,868	34,542	43,502	54,947	3,032	4,569	6,340	919	1,299	1,741	392	546	728
Kachin State 3 Districts	741,597	49,687	53,395	63,036	4,124	5,553	7,249	1,526	2,054	2,681	672	905	1,182
N. Shan State 1 District	226,336	10,864	20,144	29,197	1,130	2,196	3,387	139	270	417	43	83	129
Total	967,933	60,551	73,539	92,233	5,254	7,749	10,636	1,665	2,324	3,098	715	988	1,311
Kachin State 4 Districts	787,488	52,762	56,699	66,936	4,379	5,897	7,698	1,627	2,182	2,848	714	961	1,255
N. Shan State 7 Districts	1,264,411	60,692	112,533	163,109	6,312	12,267	18,921	776	1,509	2,327	240	466	719
Total	2,051,899	113,454	169,232	230,045	10,691	18,164	26,619	2,403	3,691	5,175	954	1,427	1,974

Table 4.17: Extrapolations: Returnees from China to Kachin State and N. Shan State (2013 - 2017)

	Female Population in Area	Female Migrants Returnees (2013 - 2017)			Female Married Migrants Returnees (2013 - 2017)			Female Migrants Returnees in Forced Marriage (2013 - 2017)			Female Returnees Trafficked into Forced Marriage (2013 - 2017)		
		Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Kachin State 6 Townships	398,501	10,361	42,241	94,445	1,088	3,802	6,800	750	2,620	4,685	589	2,057	3,679
N. Shan State 3 Townships	163,367	8,168	19,931	25,649	196	518	821	33	88	140	17	44	70
Total	561,868	18,529	62,172	120,094	1,284	4,320	7,621	783	2,708	4,825	606	2,101	3,749
Kachin State 3 Districts	741,597	19,282	78,609	175,758	2,025	7,075	12,655	1,395	4,875	8,719	1,096	3,828	6,846
N. Shan State 1 District	226,336	11,317	27,613	35,535	271	718	1,137	46	122	193	23	61	97
Total	967,933	30,599	106,222	211,293	2,296	7,793	13,792	1,441	4,997	8,912	1,119	3,889	6,943
Kachin State 4 Districts	787,488	20,475	83,473	186,635	2,150	7,513	13,438	1,481	5,176	9,259	1,163	4,065	7,270
N. Shan State 7 Districts	1,264,411	63,221	154,258	163,109	1,517	4,011	5,219	258	682	887	129	341	444
Total	2,051,899	83,696	237,731	349,644	3,667	11,524	18,657	1,739	5,858	10,146	1,292	4,406	7,714

Table 4.18: Extrapolations: Myanmar Migrants in Yunnan Province (2017)

	Female Popula- tion in Area	Female Migrants in Yunnan (2017)			Female Married Migrants (2017)			Female Migrants in Forced Marriage (2017)			Female Migrants Trafficked into Forced Marriage (2017)		
	Total	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Dehong Dai Jingpo Prefecture	599,662	59,367	64,763	91,149	9,558	10,427	15,769	2,256	2,461	3,721	908	991	1,498
Western Yunnan Province	3,442,725	340,830	371,814	523,294	58,964	64,324	90,530	13,916	15,180	21,365	5,602	6,111	8,600

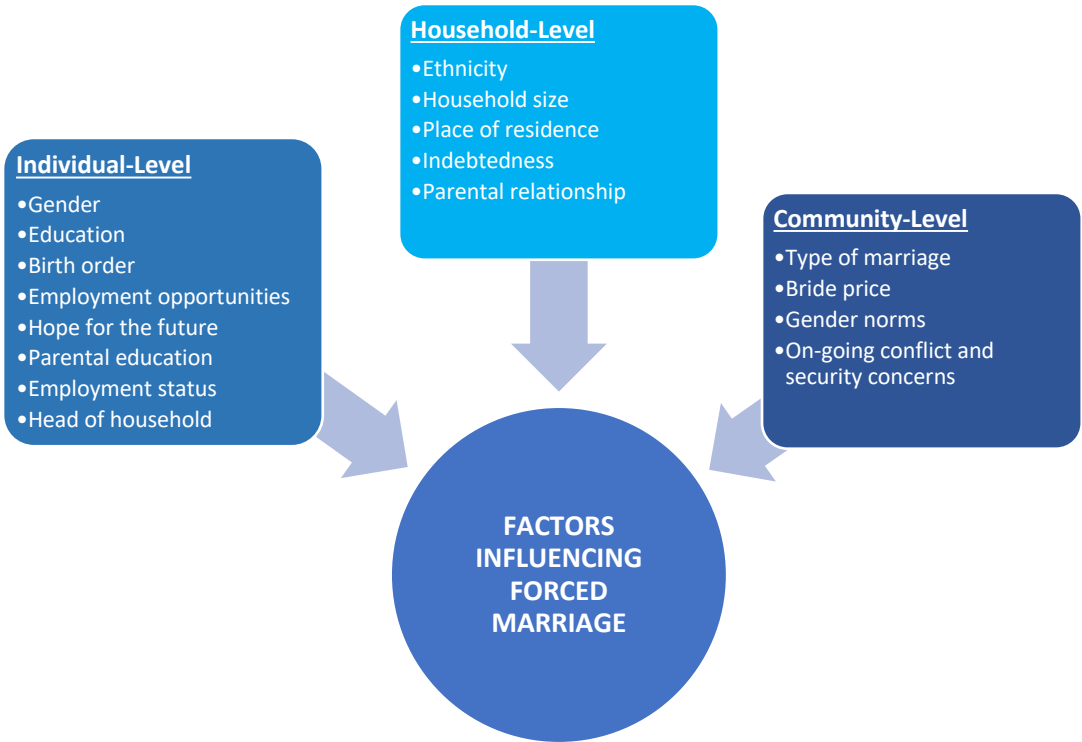
Chapter 5: Results – Victim Profiles, Pathways, and Risk Factors

This chapter presents the findings relating to three of our research aims:

- *What are the typical profiles of victims?*
- *What risk and protective factors are linked to higher or lower rates of forced marriage and trafficking?, and*
- *What are the typical transit routes into China, what actors and institutions help or hinder these transits?*

Section A presents the trends observed with regard to the profile of victims. Section B provides the foundation for the subsequent discussion of the causes and pathways into forced marriage. Sections B and C both consider the risk and protective factors for forced marriage. This chapter adopts a framework for the risk and protective factors associated with forced marriage, as presented below (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Drivers of Forced Marriage



A. Profiles of Victims of Forced Marriage

The sections of this chapter incorporate the findings related to the forced marriage construct described in Chapter 4. The main findings are organized into sub-themes and are based on the

various forms of qualitative (Key Informant Interviews, In-Depth Interviews) and quantitative (Household Survey, CKIE) data collected as part of this research study.

A.1. Demographic Characteristics of Victims of Forced Marriage

Table 5.1: Characteristics of Victims of Forced Marriage, by Country of Interview

Variables	Myanmar (n=89) n (%)	China (n=68) n (%)	Total (N=157) N (%)
Average Age at Interview (in years)	31.2	33.1	32.0
Ethnicity			
Kachin	79 (88.8)	63 (92.7)	142 (90.5)
Shan	9 (10.1)	3 (4.4)	12 (7.6)
Other ^a	1 (1.1)	2 (2.9)	3 (1.9)
Religion			
Christian	78 (87.6)	65 (95.6)	143 (91.1)
Buddhism	11 (12.4)	3 (4.4)	14 (8.9)
Education			
None or Incomplete Primary	7 (7.9)	3 (4.4)	10 (6.4)
Primary	35 (39.3)	17 (25.0)	52 (33.1)
Middle	28 (31.5)	33 (48.5)	61 (38.8)
High School	18 (20.2)	14 (20.6)	32 (20.4)
College	1 (1.1)	1 (1.5)	2 (1.3)
Marital Status ^b			
Married	18 (20.2)	55 (80.9)	73 (29.9)
Divorced	42 (47.2)	5 (7.3)	47 (46.5)
In a domestic partnership	16 (18.0)	7 (10.3)	23 (14.6)
Separated	11 (12.4)	0 (0.0)	11 (7.0)
Widowed	1 (1.1)	1 (1.5)	2 (1.3)
Single	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.6)
Employment Status ^b			
Own account worker	11 (12.4)	20 (29.4)	31 (19.8)
Household worker, unpaid	24 (27.0)	3 (4.4)	27 (17.2)
Private	18 (20.2)	13 (19.1)	31 (19.8)
Unemployed, active	20 (22.5)	6 (8.8)	26 (16.6)
Unemployed, inactive	7 (7.9)	12 (17.6)	19 (12.1)
Employer	4 (4.5)	11 (16.2)	15 (9.6)
Government employee	2 (2.3)	1 (1.5)	3 (1.9)
Disabled	1 (1.1)	1 (1.5)	2 (1.3)
Unknown / Refused to answer	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.6)
Community of Origin in Myanmar			
Rural area	53 (59.6)	48 (70.6)	101 (64.3)
Small city	25 (28.1)	15 (22.1)	40 (25.5)
Large city	11 (12.4)	5 (7.3)	16 (10.2)
Forced or compelled to migrate in last five years	28 (31.5)	8 (11.8)	36 (22.9)

^a 'Other' includes Karen, Burman and unspecified responses

^b Refers to status at time of interview

As described in Chapter 4, 157 (39.8%) of the 394 Household Survey respondents experienced forced marriage. The characteristics of victims of forced marriage (n=157) identified via the Household Survey across both Myanmar (n=89) and China (n=68) are displayed in Table 5.1 above. Among victims of forced marriage, the average age at first marriage remained relatively stable regardless of whether or not she was interviewed in Myanmar (22.2 years) or China (21.1 years). Ninety-one percent (90.5%) of forced marriage victims identified as Kachin. Less than ten percent (7.6%) identified as Shan, and this proportion was more than double among respondents interviewed in Myanmar (10.1%) relative to those respondents interviewed in China (4.4%). Ninety one percent (91.4%) of respondents identified as Christian. This proportion remained relatively stable regardless of whether the marriage was forced (91.1%) or not (91.3%).

Fewer than one-quarter of victims (21.7%) completed received a high school diploma or higher. Close to half (47.2%) of victims interviewed in Myanmar completed primary (complete or incomplete) education only. Educational attainment among victims interviewed in China was slightly higher with close to half (48.5%) having completed middle school. Among the victims interviewed in Myanmar, 47.2% were divorced at the time of the interview in contrast to 7.3% among victims interviewed in China. The proportion of respondents that identified as either unemployed or as an unpaid household worker was nearly twice as high among respondents interviewed in Myanmar (57.3%) compared to respondents interviewed in China (30.9%). Victims of forced marriage interviewed in Myanmar were also more likely to have been forced or compelled to migrate in the last five years relative to victims interviewed in China (31.5% and 11.8%, respectively).

A.2. Migration Arrangements

Among the victims interviewed in Myanmar, 60.4 percent migrated to China between 2007 and 2013. Forty-five percent of victims migrated to China between 2007 and 2013. This proportion was slightly higher among the respondents interviewed in Myanmar (60.4%) relative to the respondents interviewed in China (44.9%). More than half of the victims interviewed (54.8%) identified improving income / livelihood problems in Myanmar as their primary reason for migrating to China. Nineteen percent (19.1%) of victims migrated for the purpose of marriage. Thirteen percent (13.5%) of victims interviewed in Myanmar migrated for the purpose of marriage. This proportion was nearly twice as high among victims interviewed in China (26.5%). Twelve percent (12.1%) of victims crossed the border against their will while roughly half (48.4%) crossed via an official checkpoint. Compared to the victims interviewed in Myanmar, victims interviewed in China were twice as likely to have used a recruiter or broker on their most recent trip to China (50.6% and 23.5%, respectively).

Table 5.2: Migration Arrangements among Victims of Forced Marriage, by Country of Interview

Variables	Myanmar (n=68) n (%)	China (n=89) n (%)	Total (N=157) n (%)
Year of most recent migration to China			
2007-2012	6 (8.9)	2 (2.2)	8 (5.0)
2013	35 (51.5)	27 (30.3)	62 (39.5)
2014	8 (11.8)	11 (12.4)	19 (12.1)
2015	6 (8.8)	21 (23.6)	27 (17.2)
2016	7 (10.3)	14 (15.7)	21 (13.4)
2017	5 (7.4)	9 (10.1)	14 (8.9)
Primary reason for migrating			
Improve income / livelihood problems in Myanmar	58 (65.2)	28 (41.2)	86 (54.8)
To be married / join spouse in China	12 (13.5)	18 (26.5)	30 (19.1)
Escape family problems in Myanmar	7 (7.9)	10 (14.7)	17 (10.8)
Join family or friends in China	2 (2.2)	4 (5.9)	6 (3.8)
Escape physical or sexual abuse	2 (2.2)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.3)
Other	8 (9.0)	8 (11.8)	16 (10.2)
Crossed border unwillingly	12 (13.5)	7 (10.3)	19 (12.1)
Passed through official checkpoint	51 (57.3)	25 (36.8)	76 (48.4)
Possessed official passport at border crossing	4 (4.5)	9 (13.2)	13 (8.3)
Left village/town based on advice of anyone else	43 (48.3)	35 (51.5)	78 (49.7)
[If yes]: Advised by: (N=78)			
Family member	10 (23.3)	15 (42.9)	25 (32.1)
Friend	16 (37.2)	12 (34.3)	28 (35.9)
Recruiter	13 (30.2)	7 (20.0)	20 (25.6)
Stranger	2 (4.6)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.6)
Other	2 (4.6)	1 (2.9)	3 (3.8)
Traveled with recruiter / broker on most recent trip	45 (50.6)	16 (23.5)	61 (38.8)
[If yes]: Type of recruiter / broker (N=61)			
Private individual in China	8 (17.8)	2 (12.5)	10 (16.5)
Private individual in Myanmar	30 (66.7)	12 (75.0)	42 (68.8)
Other	7 (15.6)	2 (12.5)	9 (14.8)
[If yes]: Paid recruiter / broker a fee (N=61)	10 (22.2)	10 (62.5)	20 (32.8)

A.3. Marital Arrangements

Eighty-three percent (83.4%, n=131) of forced marriage victims indicated that someone had forced them into marriage (i.e. unable to refuse without suffering a penalty, or the menace of penalty) with 30.5% (n=40) younger than 18 years of age at the time the union was formed. Over two-fifths (42.7%, n=56) of victims were unable to exit their marriages without suffering a penalty, or the menace of penalty. Forty-eight percent (47.7%) of forced marriage victims reported that their marriages were arranged by a non-relative. This proportion was significantly lower among respondents who did not experience forced marriage (9.2%).

Table 5.3: Marital Arrangements among Victims of Forced Marriage, by Country of Interview

Categories	Myanmar (n=68) n (%)	China (n=89) n (%)	Total (N=157) n (%)
Unable to refuse marriage to current or most recent Chinese husband in past five years	57 (83.8)	74 (83.1)	131 (83.4)
Marital arrangements			
Non-relative(s)	18 (26.5)	26 (29.2)	18 (26.5)
Self-arranged	12 (17.6)	11 (12.4)	12 (17.6)
Parents only	10 (14.7)	16 (18)	10 (14.7)
Together with parents	9 (13.2)	15 (16.9)	9 (13.2)
Older relatives (e.g. aunts, uncles, etc.)	7 (10.3)	8 (9.0)	7 (10.3)
Unknown / Refused to answer	5 (7.4)	6 (6.7)	5 (7.4)
Had a say in choosing husband	41 (60.3)	48 (54.0)	89 (56.7)

Relative to respondents that did not experience forced marriage (n=229), respondents that experienced forced marriage married at a younger age (21.2 years versus 26.6 years, respectively). However, age at the time of the interview remained relatively stable for respondents who experienced forced marriage versus those who did not. The analysis of the age gap between respondents and their husbands revealed the trend that the younger a girl is when she gets married the larger the gap between her age and her husband’s age. The data also demonstrates that respondents who were married as minors (i.e. aged less than 18 years) were, in general, married to men relatively older than themselves, compared to those who were married as adults.

A.4. Experiences of Abuse and Controlling Behavior

The Household Survey revealed a link between forced marriage and higher levels of intimate partner violence, abuse, and controlling behaviors. Among the 157 victims of forced marriage, 72.0% also experienced various forms of abuse and/or controlling behavior (oppression) throughout their marriages. Although explored in greater detail later in this chapter, it is important to note the particularly high-levels of violence, specifically psychological, physical, and sexual violence, documented among victims of forced marriage (Table 5.4). Among the respondents that did not meet the criteria for forced marriage (hereafter referred to as “autonomous marriages”), 9.7% experienced psychological abuse. This proportion increased to 48.4% among victims of forced marriage. Similarly, 41.4% of victims of forced marriage experienced physical abuse (versus 9.3% of respondents who were not in forced marriages). Fifteen percent (14.7%) of respondents experienced sexual abuse. This proportion was also statistically significantly higher among respondents in forced marriages (26.8%) relative to those who were not in forced marriages (6.3%).

Table 5.4: Experiences of Abuse and Controlling Behavior, by Type of Marriage

Forms of Abuse Experienced	Forced Marriage (n=157) n (%)	Autonomous Marriage (n=237) n (%)	Total (N=394) n (%)
Controlling Behaviors			
Unable to visit unescorted to place outside village/neighborhood	73 (46.5)	28 (11.8)	101 (25.6)
Unable to visit unescorted to a place within village/neighborhood	72 (45.9)	27 (11.4)	99 (25.1)
Prevented from returning to Myanmar see family and friends	67 (42.7)	16 (6.8)	83 (21.1)
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others outside of home	65 (41.4)	17 (7.2)	82 (20.8)
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with family	66 (42.0)	13 (5.5)	79 (20.1)
Forced to do chores for the household, even if ill	46 (29.3)	15 (6.3)	62 (15.7)
Forced to do work outside the household, even if ill	23 (14.6)	9 (3.8)	32 (8.1)
Identification papers taken away	27 (17.2)	2 (0.8)	29 (7.4)
Not allowed to have visitors	12 (7.6)	13 (5.5)	25 (6.3)
Not permitted to seek or receive medical care if ill	14 (8.9)	5 (2.1)	19 (4.8)
Intimate Partner Violence			
Psychological abuse	76 (48.4)	23 (9.7)	100 (25.4)
Physical abuse	65 (41.4)	22 (9.3)	87 (22.1)
Economic abuse	57 (36.3)	17 (7.2)	74 (18.8)
Sexual abuse	42 (26.8)	15 (6.3)	58 (14.7)

Seventy-six percent (75.8%) of forced marriage victims reported at least one pregnancy in the last five years. The majority of women that participated in the IDIs explained how they remained in their marriages for the sake of their children, as exemplified by the following quotation from a respondent interviewed in Myanmar: “He doesn't have a good attitude. But he is the father of my child, so I am staying. We are struggling in a difficult situation. He would have an affair, use opium and beat me as well” (IDI, Kachin Female, 48, Myanmar).

B. Causes and Pathways into Forced Marriage and the Factors Influencing Risk

Based on both the qualitative (Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and In-Depth Interviews (IDIs)) and quantitative (Household Survey and CKIE) findings, this section explores the causes (i.e. drivers) and pathways into forced marriage among Myanmar women. It begins with an overview of the various types of marriages experienced by respondents (*B.1*), followed by a discussion of the key decision-makers and influencers in the marital decision-making process (*B.2*). This information lays the foundation for the subsequent discussions regarding (a) the various risk and protective factors that impact Myanmar women’s risk of entering a marriage without full, free, informed consent; and (b) the factors that result in their inability to exit their marriage. Finally, it concludes with a discussion of the various migration routes from Myanmar to China and the key stakeholders involved in the process.

B.1. Marital Arrangements

Table 5.5: Marital Arrangements among Ever-Married Household Survey Respondents, by Type of Marriage

	Forced Marriage (n=157) n (%)	Autonomous Marriage (n=239) n (%)	Total (N=386) n (%)	p-value
Marital Arrangements^a				
Together with parents	32 (20.9)	109 (48.2)	141 (37.2)	<0.001
Non-relatives	75 (49.0)	21 (9.3)	96 (25.3)	
Parents alone	22 (14.4)	40 (17.7)	62 (16.4)	
Self-arranged	11 (7.2)	37 (16.4)	48 (12.7)	
Other relatives	13 (8.5)	19 (8.3)	32 (8.4)	
Had a say in choosing husbands (n=197)^b	88 (77.2)	21 (25.3)	109 (55.3)	<0.001

^a Excludes “Refused to answer” (n=2) and “Unknown” (n=5) responses

^b Excludes respondents that indicated that indicated they arranged their marriages “together with their parents” (n=141) and those that indicated their marriages were “self-arranged” (n=48)

Decision-Makers. As emphasized throughout this report, the findings suggest that the marital decision-making process is complex with multiple influencing factors operating at various levels (individual-, household-, community-, and societal- levels). However, perhaps most critical to understanding the pathway to forced marriage are the stakeholders who are involved in the marital decision-making process. This includes not only the bride and groom (i.e. the individuals who are directly impacted) as well as their family members and local leaders able to influence community attitudes and behaviors regarding marriage as well as motherhood. In order to develop a more nuanced understanding of this process, ever-married Household Survey respondents were asked a series of follow-up questions regarding the characteristics of their marriages, including whether it had been arranged or had been chosen; the primary individual who made decisions regarding the marriage (if it had been arranged); the length of time she had known the groom before the wedding; and whether she was able to refuse the marriage.

The findings suggest that the marital decision-making process occurs primarily within the household with potential input from a range of stakeholders, specifically (1) other family members; (2) recruiters, agents/brokers, and other intermediaries (formal and informal); and (3) village elders. Concurrently, the degree of agency or influence exercised by respondents varied markedly during this process.

Table 5.5 above illustrates that slightly more than half (55.3%) of the Household Survey respondents were involved in the marital decision-making process. Compared to respondents in autonomous marriages, this proportion was significantly lower among respondents in forced

marriages (77.2% and 25.3%, respectively; $p < 0.001$). This finding was supported by evidence from the qualitative data, as respondents commonly reflected on how Myanmar women have little choice and influence over when and whom they marry:

I met my husband at work and I went there [to China] to be with him. But sometimes women do not have the chance to choose their husbands. Some of the Myanmar women I befriended here in China—their parents selected their husbands. They did not even know they were to be married until a few days before the ceremony...It is sad really—they met their husbands on the day of their marriage ceremonies and they had no chance but to marry him...Sometimes their parents had already received gifts from the Chinese man's family, so there was nothing she could do... (IDI, Kachin Female, 22, Migrant)

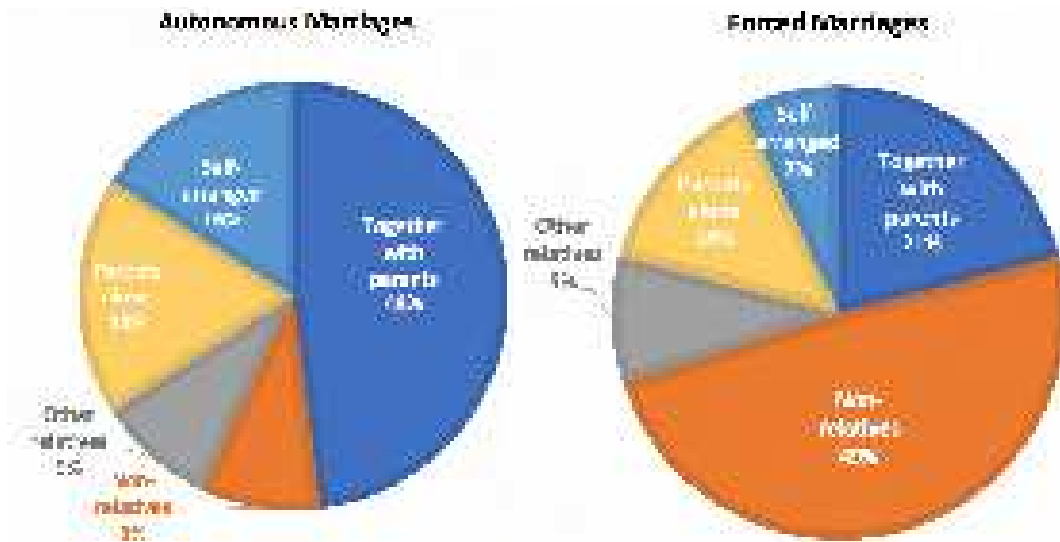
In the simplest of terms, another respondent stated: “Sometimes Kachin women have no chance to choose their husbands...They are either forced or tricked into it by their parents or relatives and most often their agents” (KII, Kachin Male, 53, Pastor). As also illustrated in the quotation above, respondents who were not involved in the marital decision-making process typically did not meet their husbands before becoming engaged and met each other only a few times before they were married. By contrast, among respondents who participated in the selection of their husbands, the choice was often based on affection and personal compatibility. Several In-Depth Interview respondents described meeting their husbands before they were engaged either at school or other places prior to being married.

A statistically significant difference was also detected in terms of the decision-makers identified by respondents ($p < 0.001$) (Table 5.5 and Figure 5.2). Among respondents in autonomous marriages, 48.2% selected their spouses in collaboration with their parents, as compared to only 20.9% of respondents in forced marriages. Comparatively, the proportion of marriages arranged by non-relatives was more than five times higher among respondents in forced marriages (49.0% versus 9.3% among respondents in autonomous marriages). The proportion of respondents who indicated that their parents alone selected their spouses remained relatively stable (16.4%) across marriage type (forced: 14.4%; autonomous: 17.7%). As one IDI respondent commented: “I feel angry with all people including my parents because they are the one who arranged the marriage with this man saying he is good” (IDI, Kachin Female, 22, China).

Self-arranged marriages were also more common among respondents in autonomous marriages (16.4%), relative to those in forced marriages (7.2%). During their interviews, respondents often remarked on how autonomous marriages have become increasingly

common among Myanmar women in recent years. Several respondents referred to such marriages as “love marriages.”

Figure 5.2: Decision-Makers in the Marriage Process Reported by Household Survey Respondents, by Marriage Type



For example, a key informant interviewed in Kachin State, Myanmar commented: “Most of the marriages are love marriages. There is no distinction between Chinese and Myanmar women” (KII, Kachin Male, 37, Pastor). Similarly, in describing how her marriage to a Chinese man was arranged, a Shan woman in Yunnan Province, China explained: “I was not forced to marry him. It was a love marriage...We got married because we love each other. We get married according to Chinese tradition” (IDI, Shan Female, 44, China). Although explored in greater detail later on in this chapter, the quantitative data also revealed significant differences in responses about choice and pressure concerning marriage among respondents who were married as adults (aged ≥ 18 years) compared to those who were married as minors (aged ≤ 17 years).

Bride Price. An important aspect characterizing marriage is the financial transfer. This transfer is usually made at the time of marriage between families involved. Transfer groom’s family to the bride’s known as bride price as practiced in China at the time of marriage. This creates an additional economic incentive for arranged marriage, particularly of younger girls, as they are typically considered more desirable and therefore command a higher bride price, which also varied based on geographical location. As a teacher in China explained:

In this border area, the Chinese usually pay 30,000 Yuan (US \$4,339) for a girl and 1,000 Yuan (US \$145) to their agents. The price of the girls is higher in Central China...around 100,000 Yuan (US \$14,446) . And for younger girls, it can be as high as 300,000 Yuan (US

\$43,338). Some women get sold into marriage many times...just like animals. (KII, Chinese Female, 41, Teacher)

Although the quantitative data did not reveal a significant relationship between forced marriage and the acceptance of gifts (including cash) from the groom's family at the time of marriage, many KII and IDI respondents described how the parents of the Myanmar women married to Chinese men often faced extreme hardship and married off their daughters to obtain bride price in order to improve their financial situations. Female children are thus viewed as a source of income and economic relief, and their marriages are deemed a necessary survival strategy for their households. In some cases, parents encourage their daughters' marriages in the belief that this will benefit the children both financially and socially, as well as relieving the family's financial burdens. As a marriage broker from Northern Shan State explained:

My daughter understands the situation and says: 'Let it be, Mother. If you agree, I will marry.' She made the decision because she felt pity when she saw people demanding debt from me. Because we are in such a difficult situation, we did not know what else to do. (KII, Kachin Female, 34, Marriage broker)

The mother of a Myanmar bride expressed a similar sentiment:

I supported my family of seven to eight people by making charcoal for ten years. Recently, my husband told me they [the family] would have nothing to eat if I was not staying with them. Just like the saying: If family man is not responsible, anything can happen. I feel like she [my daughter] should go to Shan Tong [in China] and get married there. You, social workers, should forgive me for my wrong doing. (IDI, Kachin Female, 45, Myanmar)

B.3 Community-Level Factors

On-going Conflict. Conflicts and humanitarian emergencies exacerbate girls' vulnerability to child marriage due to the increased risk of poverty and sexual violence in contexts where social support systems and protection mechanisms are dismantled. As noted above, although the quantitative data did not identify a statistically significant relationship between age at first marriage or forced marriage and displacement, the qualitative data illustrates the central role that it plays in terms of increasing a Myanmar women's/girl's risk of forced marriage. It also reiterates the complexity of the pathway into marriage due to the interplay of various factors at the individual, household, and structural levels. The following quote demonstrates how poverty, limited opportunities for employment as well as education, and conflict intersect contribute to the practice of arranged marriages, including those involving force. As one respondent remarked: "Most of the young people do not finish their high school and do not have good jobs for their futures. Especially, those who are from [Internally Displaced Persons]

IDP camps do not have good education and jobs. So most of them go to china since there is no other option for them.” Another respondent described how he has observed an increase in forced marriages in his hometown in Myanmar following the start of the conflict:

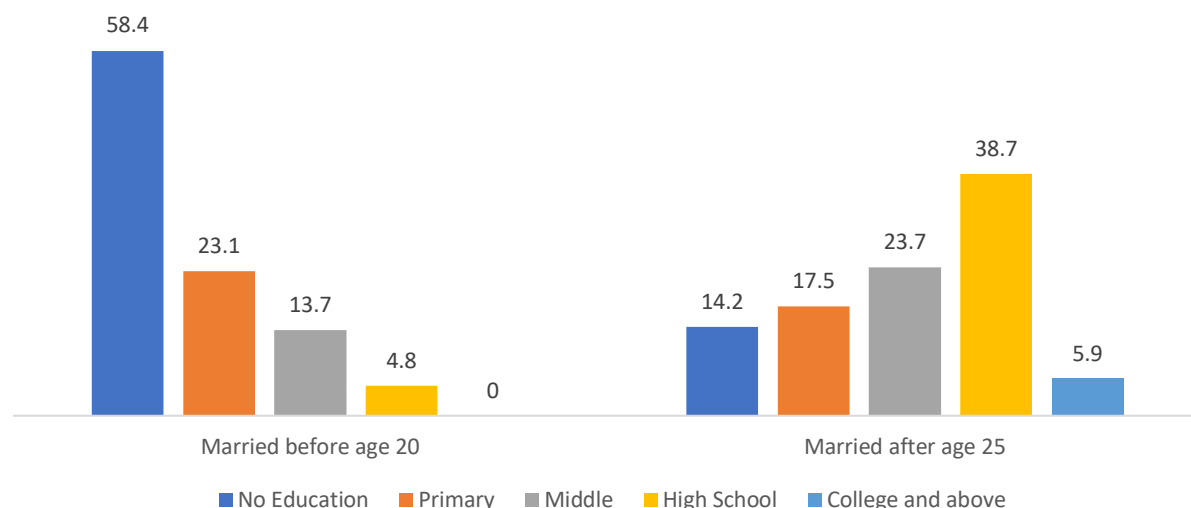
After civil war, incidents of forced marriage have increased. It might be the consequences of families' difficulties. Normally, in my area [of Myanmar], women would marry Chinese people, but it was very rare. I do not know what is happening now. In my opinion, maybe they went to China, because they have more choices and opportunities than Myanmar. (KII, Kachin Male, 42, Pastor)

Limited Opportunities and Access to Education (Gender). Marriage, regardless of whether or not force is involved, is a gendered phenomenon, which impacts males and females differently in all countries of the world. Thus, it is critical that the drivers of forced marriage described above are considered within the context of gender inequality and discrimination that is often imbedded within social and cultural norms. Rooted in traditions and gender-discriminatory norms, pervasive poverty and lack of educational opportunities allows forced marriage to persist in Myanmar. Household Survey respondents married before age 20 as well as those with primary education or lower were more likely to experience forced marriage than those respondents with a primary education. Respondents from rural areas in Myanmar were also more likely to both marry at a younger age and experience forced marriage (Figure 5.3). Prevailing gender norms were particularly apparent in the qualitative data when respondents described how male children received preferential treatment for household investment when poverty made it impossible for all children in their household to attend school. Furthermore, respondents also discussed how girls were often kept home from school in order to take care of housework before they migrated to China to marry. These findings are exemplified in the quotations below:

We have many problems in our family. When I was in Grade 11, my father got ill and could not make money to support our family. He passed away after few months of being sick, so I dropped out the school and came to this place [China] to be married. I have four younger siblings. They all are still in the school. This year, one of my younger brothers is going to attend a college. My other brothers are in Grades 11 and 7. I came to China with the hope of supporting them. My youngest sister does not go to school and helps my mother in our home village [in Myanmar]. (IDI, Ta-ang Female, 24, China)

We have no one to help us. My father passed away. I have four siblings—three boys and one girl. My brothers are in school and my sister is still young, so there is no one else that can earn money. To help my mother, I went to China to marry. I don't even want to talk about it, because life is so difficult here. (IDI, Shan Female, 32, Myanmar)

Figure 5.3: Relationship between Education and Early Marriage



B.3. Violence and Abuse in the Context of Marriage

Table 5.6. Relationship between Intimate Partner Violence and Forced Marriage

	Total Marriage N=386 n(%)	Forced Marriage N=157 n(%)	Autonomous Marriage N=229 n(%)	OR (95% CI) ^a	Model 1 ^a - AOR (95% CI) ^a	Model 2 ^b - AOR (95% CI)
Any controlling behavior of husband over respondent^c	201 (47.7)	130 (82.8)	154 (67.2)	3.9 (1.7, 5.2)**	3.7 (1.5, 5.8)**	3.7 (1.2, 5.6)**
Any intimate partner violence	178 (46.1)	113 (72.0)	65 (28.4)	6.5 (4.1, 10.2)***	6.1 (4.6, 9.8)***	6.2 (4.4, 8.1)***
Physical violence	87 (22.1)	65 (41.4)	22 (9.3)	6.6 (3.8, 11.4)***	6.9 (2.1, 10.0)***	7.0 (2.3, 9.4)***
Sexual violence	58 (14.7)	42 (26.8)	15 (6.3)	5.4 (2.8, 10.1)***	5.0 (2.6, 8.8)***	5.2 (3.4, 8.1)***
Psychological violence	100 (25.4)	76 (48.4)	23 (9.7)	8.7 (5.1, 14.9)***	8.9 (5.6, 10.2)***	8.8 (6.6, 11.1)***

^a Analysis adjusted for respondent age, level of education, area of residence, and ethnicity

^b Analysis adjusted for respondent age, level of education, area of residence, ethnicity husband education and husband > 10 years older

^c Controlling behavior (CB) index was comprised of the following: Unable to visit unescorted to a place within or outside village or neighborhood; Prevented from returning to Myanmar to see family and friends; Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others outside of home (including family); economic violence; Forced to do chores for the household, even if ill; Forced to work outside of the household, even if ill; Identification papers taken away; Not allowed to have visitors; Not permitted to seek or received medical care if ill.

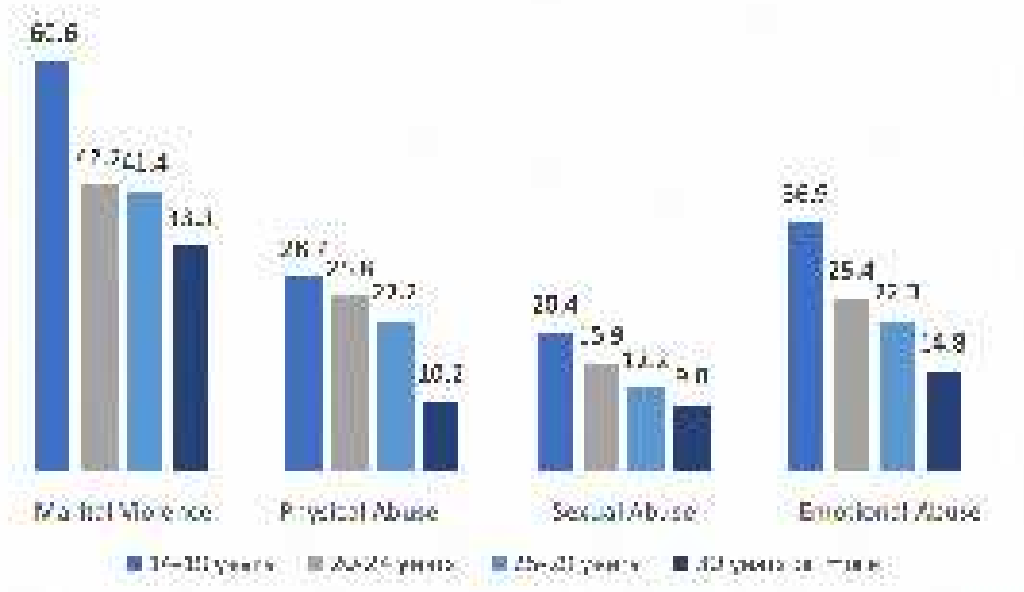
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Associations between forced marriage and controlling behavior and spousal violence (by husbands) were assessed by calculating the unadjusted odds ratios (ORs) and adjusted odds ratios (AORs) with 95% Confidence Intervals (CIs) using logistic regression models after controlling for age, education, rural residence (Model 1). Separate regression analyses were also conducted adjusting for participants' husbands' education and the husband being ten years older than his wife (Model 2) (Table 5.6). As illustrated in Table 5.6, the analysis revealed that

respondents in forced marriage had a significantly higher risk of all forms of violence relative to those respondents in autonomous marriages.

In addition, respondents who first married as children (i.e. aged 18 years and younger) faced a heightened risk of violence from their partners and/or their partners’ families. They were significantly more likely to experience physical, sexual, and verbal abuse than respondents who married later (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence, by Age at First Marriage



Furthermore, as demonstrated in other studies, the greater the age difference between respondents and their husbands, the more likely they were to experience all forms of intimate partner violence. The younger a female respondent was at first marriage, the larger the gap between her age and her partner’s age. The large age gap between a respondent and her partner appear to increase vulnerability to marital violence, particularly sexual violence.

B.4. Forced Marriage and Childbearing

Table 5.7: Forced Marriage and Childbearing

Characteristics	Forced Marriage	Autonomous Marriage
Mean age at first birth	22.8	24.1
Average number of children*	3.6	2.1
Not involved in decisions surrounding own reproductive health care***	80.9%	39.7%
Sought care**	70.7%	90.1%
At least one child dead**	4.1%	0.9%
Had miscarriage/stillbirth***	28.1%	6.0%
Had delivery in health care facility	96.4%	89.9%
Births registered**	17.0%	35.3%
Wanted to get pregnant but not allowed*	9.7%	4.6%

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

As stated earlier, Chinese husbands and their families were focused on childbearing and this was often the reason for marriage and willingness to pay bride prices. Some men were only interested in staying married until their wife gave him a child, while others expected the women to stay.

The main purpose is to have one child. I met one woman who was trafficked and married for ten or eleven years and has two children. She was not registered by the [Chinese] family, has no identity card, and is not a Chinese citizen. They treat her like she can go home [to Myanmar] or can stay [in China] if she wants to. So, it is like she was hired just to bear children. It is like giving money to a woman who can bear children. From my perspective, it is not because of love for someone. If a woman gives birth, they [the Chinese husband] might want to keep her until the child grows. So, they might care for the women they married. But they might not love her. (KII, Kachin Male, 43, Community Leader)

Some respondents stated that male children were still preferred. A few respondents stated that China has a two-child policy and two respondents even underwent forced hysterectomies in the hospital. “I beg them... I do not want it... they take out the uterus” (IDI, Kachin Female, 31, Myanmar). Not all female migrants were able to go to the hospital, because hospital births are only free for Chinese citizens and birth certificates were not always given to inter-national couples. For these reasons, some women gave birth at home and some at the local clinic. Some women took medications to avoid pregnancy, which did not always work. When women were unable to produce a child, they told experiences of being sold to a different man or in some instances women identified violence as a repercussion: “I could not bear a child. For this reason, I was tortured... I have experienced many things” (F, 22, Lisu, Myanmar, IDI). One of the

key informants said that even “...after the women give birth to a child, they were resold again to other men” (24 F, Ta-ang, Myanmar, KII).

The rules of childbearing appear to change depending on the circumstance and interests of the family the woman is married into. Some women experienced better living conditions once they were pregnant: “At first, they locked and fed her in a small room like animal. Only after a few months when she got pregnant, they treated her like a family member and unlocked her from the room. And they also forced her to do household works and farming.” (F, 64, Kachin, Myanmar, IDI). While some women found it difficult to raise children in these circumstances, others felt they could not leave: “He doesn't have a good attitude. But he is the father of my child, so I am staying. We are struggling in a difficult situation. He would have an affair, use opium and beat me as well” (F, 48, Kachin, Myanmar, IDI).

In some instances, women were re-sold to other Chinese men following the birth of their first child (most often male). The data also points to a difference in the ways in which women are treated by both their husbands and their in-laws during pregnancy.

When asked if they were being beaten or bullied, they said they [their Chinese husbands] treated them well until after they gave birth. After giving birth something changes. I met one [woman] who was re-sold twice. She gave birth to a child, but when she was not pregnant, she was beaten several times and was no longer happy. She was resold to another person and she gave birth there. But she just wanted to go home. She told them she wanted to go home, but they did not let her. She killed her own child. Her uncle told us that she has an abnormal mind...it is not like before. We ask why did this and it is because someone beat her. She just said they beat her and also gave her medicine without explaining what type. I think many experience sexual violence. They married not because of love, but for money. (KII, Shan Male, 43, Community Leader)

I have encountered someone who was resold twice. She gave birth to a child. But when she was not pregnant, she was beaten for several times and she was no longer happy. She was resold to another person and she gave birth there. (KII, Shan Female, 36, Housewife)

When I was pregnant, he took care of me passionately. But when I was about to give birth to our second daughter, they all left me alone. My husband went out for drugs. At that time, I cried for several times since I was still young and immature girl. I was so sad for their absence in the hour of the need. (IDI, Kachin Female, 30, China)

Some women have children, but others do not. In these cases, their husbands re-sold them because they could not bear a child. (KII, Kachin Female, 24, Unemployed)

After a [Myanmar] woman gives birth to a child, are were resold again to other [Chinese] men. (IDI, Shan Female, 29, Myanmar)

They [Myanmar women in China] are worried that they might get re-sold to another family, if they cannot bear a child for the first family. So, they try to find other solutions. She does not have the right to make any decisions, because she is being sold for a second time. (KII, Shan Female, 40, Myanmar)

C. Transit Routes into China and Key Stakeholders

Sub-chapter C explores the migration experiences of respondents, particularly the migration arrangements, routes, and their interactions with various individuals and organizations throughout the process (i.e. from pre-migration to destination). It is important to note that although the Household Survey included a number of questions on migration experience, it did not include questions regarding specific routes traveled or facilitators or barriers encountered along the way. Thus, this sub-chapter focuses predominately on the findings from the analysis of qualitative data, which offered a more nuanced understanding of the migration experiences of Myanmar women in forced marriages in Yunnan Province, China.

C.1. Forced Marriage and Income Poverty

Although the research suggests that it is an oversimplification to say that forced marriage is solely economically driven, approximately half (49.7%) of the Household Survey respondents reported that they migrated for economic reasons. Twenty-three percent (23.1%) migrated with the intent to marry. This proportion was slightly higher among respondents in autonomous marriages (25.8% versus 19.1% among respondents in forced marriages) (Table 5.2).

Other factors that motivated respondents to migrate include family problems (9.8%) and to meet up with friends and/or relatives (4.7%). Although less than one percent (0.8%) of Household Survey respondents migrated due to armed conflict, several KII and IDI respondents described the ongoing conflict and insecurity as a key driving factor of emigration that is interlinked and inseparable from economic factors. As one respondent noted:

Since we [Myanmar] are having a civil war in our country [Myanmar], some people do not want to live here. Some people want to settle down in China. Some women went to China for work, so that they can look after their aging parents. Some women intentionally get marriage there so that they can support their parents. (IDI, Kachin Female, 32, China)

Both the qualitative and quantitative data demonstrate that arranged marriage functions as a coping strategy for families living in poverty or financial insecurity. Based on the qualitative interview data, respondents were more accepting of arranged marriage when it occurred in the context of economic necessity (i.e. a means of survival for girls and their families), regardless of the age of the respondent. A pastor from Muse explained:

Because of their financial difficulties, their parents arrange the marriages. There are too many mouths to feed...A woman I know, she arranged the marriage of their oldest daughter who was 15 with a wealthy man in China...This man was 40, maybe 45 years old, but he has a lot of money. It made things better for them [here in Myanmar]. He even brought food to them every month. (Kil, Kachin Male, 42, Pastor)

Similarly, the mother of a Myanmar woman married to a Chinese man explained: *“although it broke my heart to let her marry the old man...it was better for her. Because I could not promise her a better life or even that she would survive living here at home [in Myanmar].”* Evidence of this was also observed in the House Survey data, where the size of a respondents’ household was found to be negatively correlated with age at first marriage ($p < 0.01$). In other words, respondents were more likely to be married at a younger age, compared to those from smaller households. This was found to be especially true of respondents from rural parts of Myanmar.

C.2. Use of Recruiters / Brokers

As discussed earlier in this chapter, migrants typically arranged migration with the help of relatives and friends, job advertisements, village elders, or brokers and/or sub-brokers (i.e. recruiters). The findings outlined below provide a more contextualized understanding into the various relationships that comprise these interpersonal networks (i.e. relationships to kin, friends, and community), specifically their impact on the migration decision-making process and how they change throughout the various phases of migration (i.e. from pre-migration through destination / return, for example).

Although all respondents interviewed sought assistance from a broker in arranging their transport to China, only some relied on their services (e.g. employment arrangements) once arriving in China. The others typically relied on their friends and relatives in China. During an interview with a female migrant in China, she explained how she sought assistance from brokers as well as friends at various points in the migration process. She remarked: *“If we approach the agent of employment as soon as we arrive there, they will arrange food and shelter for us—for both men and women. Some friends are not able to do that...We used to pay the agent 70 Yuan to find us a job. But now, the agent charges 90 Yuan for that service. Former workers from Mangshi will also help us”* (IDI, Kachin Female, 28, China).

Several brokers in both countries were involved in the marriage migration process. The first-contact agent/broker was often familiar with the potential migrants or their families because they lived in the same communities or villages in Myanmar. Several respondents expressed that the brokers were typically female, as exemplified by the following quotation: “I think most brokers are women. There are also male brokers, but most are women. Because woman-to-woman—the peer to peer approach—is more effective. The man-to-man approach might also exist, but I don’t know...” While several respondents reported positive interactions with brokers (as exemplified in the quotation in the paragraph above), others described how they were deceived and defrauded by brokers.

Respondents often became interested in migrating due to stories of financial gains by moving to China, either as a result of marriage with a wealthy Chinese husband or because of well-paying employment opportunities in China. The practice of luring women and girls to China through stories of wealth, etc. occurred inside IDP camps as well. A Pastor from Kachin State remarked: “It [*marriage brokering*] has become more apparent in this IDP camp compared to before. Because some of these women already were married over there [*in China*] and they came back here [*to Myanmar*] and deceive other girls from the IDP camps. It has been quite difficult to get them back” (KII, Kachin Male, 42, Pastor). This quote is also an example of commonly held belief that the incidents of forced marriage have increased since the start of the conflict, as highlighted earlier in this chapter. Most of the narratives offered by brokers, however, proved to be deceptive:

I was lied and brought there to teach Jingpo language at their office by the man who later married me. I did not teach any Kachin language but now become like friend with him. He lied to me and brought me here. (IDI, Kachin Female, 48, China)

As illustrated in the quotation above, respondents generally were not introduced to wealthy Chinese husbands and were unable to get well-paying jobs or any job other than that associated with their Chinese families. Furthermore, most described how their brokers used the debt they owed them for travel costs, etc. in order to manipulate and make demands from them. One respondent explained how her broker demanded she sleep with several Chinese men as a means of repaying him for the loan he gave her to cover her recruitment costs. She commented: “I was forced to sleep with many Chinese men...so I returned back to Myanmar with a baby of four months in my tummy” (IDI, Kachin Female, 52, China). Others shared stories of how brokers lure women to China with false promises of employment and loans to cover the costs associated with migration. Upon arriving in China, they discover that they have been deceived and find themselves trapped in highly exploitative jobs working for little to no pay

until their debt to their broker is paid off. For example, a teacher from Kachin State reflected on how a broker exploited her daughter the first time she migrated to China:

She had never been to China before this happened. At first, they [the brokers] convinced her to work in a noodle shop in Laiza. And so...She went with them to Laiza. After arriving in Laiza, they did not take her to the noodle shop as they had promised. They convinced her that a better employment opportunity was available at a drinking water factory in China...they promised her a higher salary. Therefore, they tricked her into going to China. (KII, Kachin Female, 54, Teacher)

C.3. Transit Routes

Migrant women utilized various routes to migrate from Myanmar to China. Some passed through official border check points (e.g. Muse and Lwege) while those without the necessary documentation crossed at informal border crossing. The following quotations illustrates the role that documentation plays in determining how a Myanmar woman enters China:

Those [Myanmar women] who have NRC (National Registration Card) cross through the legal check post...those who do not have a NRC also entered [China] at this location, but they do it illegally. (IDI, Kachin Female, 48, China)

People came through official border check-posts, like Muse and Lwegei. Actually, agent of employment does not provide jobs for those who come to China without official passport or employment visa. For those who want to come to China officially for work, will have to pay 72 CNY (Chinese Yuan) to the agent of employment. Within one week the agent will find jobs for them. Within one week, if the workers want to change other jobs, the agent will have to find other jobs without the taking the payment again. (KII, Kachin Male, 51, Community Leader)

Several respondents also commented on how the rate of migration peaks at certain times of the year, particularly festival season. For example, a Chinese village leader explained:

Most Myanmar people go to China during the Chinese festival season...Some go there with official passports and some without it. If a person has a Myanmar National Registration Card (NRC), it is easy for them to get a passport for china. If he or she do not have a NRC, he or she can still get a passport by bribing officers. Some cross into China through illegal gateways along the border. (KII, Kachin Male, 51, Community Leader)

C.4. Identity Documents

While some respondents discussed how enforcement at the border has increased in recent years, others claimed that as long as an individual possesses a student identification card or a Myanmar National Registration Card (NRC) he or she may cross the border freely. Individuals frequently use a temporary pass (seven day maximum) to pass through the checkpoint. Once in China, enforcement drops dramatically, and they are able to purchase a fake Chinese identification card. The Chinese Government, however, has strict policies that make it difficult to register minors (<18 years of age). Thus, the respondents who crossed the border into China as minors had to lie about their ages on the identification cards. One key informant shared the following:

There is no one who actually goes there legally. Our area borders China so it is easy to cross in ways such as by jumping the border or taking a boat. There are around 10, 20, and 30 places where you can cross by using a boat. There are almost 10 places where you can just jump in order to get inside China. (KII, Kachin Male, 34, Pastor)

C.5. Cost of Migration

Most respondents paid a third-party (e.g. broker) to facilitate their travel to and entry into China. They relied on brokers and sub-agents (i.e. recruiters) to provide a range of services. The most common service being the obtaining travel documents (valid or fraudulent) as well as arranging transportation and assistance in border crossing. The findings suggest that the fees charged by brokers vary considerably, ranging anywhere from five Yuan (0.77 USD) to 2,000 Yuan (308 USD).

Costs were typically covered in one of two ways. Respondents either paid their own way, typically asking family or friends for a loan. They often ran out of money by the time they arrive in China with the hopes that a job is available. Recruitment costs were also sometimes covered by brokers, who would then recover these fees through deductions from the woman her first few months of in China. This system is highly exploitative. Migration brokers, in particular, are accused of inflating recruitment costs to profit from trapping workers in debt. She may then be forced to work, etc. she has 'paid back' her loan. Alternatively, she may be made to marry a Chinese man, as illustrated in the quotation below:

A broker from Myanmar introduced me to another broker in China by sending her photos of me. Then, they came to my home and brought me to China. They covered all my travel costs. They told me that the travel costs were very high and that I was not allowed to go back [to Myanmar] unless I could pay them back...

When we arrived [in China], the job I had been promised did not exist. (IDI, Kachin Female, 28, Myanmar)

In some cases, typically those involving a more formal arranged marriage process (i.e. involved a marriage broker), the groom or the groom's family may cover the costs. For example, during an interview with a Myanmar woman in China, she remarked: "The brokers...there were two or three of them...they took me and just told me all of my travel costs were covered by my in-laws in China" (IDI, Kachin Female, 28, China). Women migrating for employment were more likely to assume responsibility for the costs. A Shan woman interviewed in China remarked: "The Employment Agent searched for a job for me. At that time, it cost only 50 Yuan for this service, but it now costs 70 Yuan" (IDI, Lisu Female, 22, Myanmar). Many women shared how they could not afford to pay the fee, so they took out loans from relatives and/or friends:

It [migration] costs (100) Yuan. I had to borrow that money from my family...(IDI, Shan Female, 23, Myanmar)

For my transportation fee, my mother loaned me (1,500) Yuan. (IDI, Kachin Female, 40, Myanmar)

Chapter 6. Conclusions and Recommendations

Our study had several limitations, including the fact that it was carried out in a relatively small number of sites (40 total) in a relatively small geographical area (four districts in Kachin State, one district in Northern Shan State, and one prefecture in Yunnan Province). The fact that the study sites spanned two countries and required work in areas of Myanmar still affected by ongoing conflict and displacement created security concerns and logistical constraints for the study team. Finally, the fact that some of the KWAT team was based in Thailand and that most of the Johns Hopkins team was based in the USA, and that communication involved three main languages—Kachin, Burmese, and English—added to the complexity of training, implementation, and overall study supervision.

Despite the limitations, we feel the study was strengthened by the fact that it was carried out in a relatively small area by a trained study team composed entirely of KWAT staff who had deep knowledge of the communities and the stakeholders with whom they were interacting. The Johns Hopkins team, including a local tri-lingual consultant based in Myitkyina, provided training for the qualitative and quantitative methods and provided ongoing study supervision and monitoring, but it was the KWAT team’s ability to navigate community dynamics that grounds the study in local realities. The sites were purposively sampled to ensure we had different populations of migrant women to interview, reflecting different characteristics – rural and urban, proximity to/distance from the border, and ethnicity – though we selected these sites without prior knowledge, at the population-level of their particular experiences with migration or marriage, including forced marriage, forced childbearing, and/or trafficking. Given the sampling design, we feel we can make plausible extrapolations to the districts and counties within which the study sites were located, though would be cautious extrapolating beyond those areas except for speculative purposes.

Recommendations

Below are some recommendations we would make to the governments of Myanmar and China, and to the international community.



To the Government of Myanmar

1. Take immediate steps to end the armed conflict in Kachin State and Northern Shan State, which has heightened levels of violence and increased levels of impoverishment, further spurring survival migration into China. The Government of Myanmar could start

by declaring a unilateral nationwide ceasefire, followed by lifting existing restrictions on humanitarian access to internally displaced persons in all areas.

2. Institute policies to protect Myanmar residents, and would-be migrants, including the issuance of personal identification documents that would provide them with proof of citizenship and nationality and enable them to obtain travel passes and work authorization in China.
3. Provide training on anti-trafficking and safe migration to border officials at major crossings such as Muse and Lweje, as well as to local police in at-risk communities where there are high rates of migration to China.
4. Regulate and monitor recruitment agencies, migration agents, marriage brokers, etc., as a means of preventing illegal and/or exploitative practices and holding offenders accountable.
5. Engage with the Government of China to promote policies and programs to protect Myanmar migrant worker rights in China. Develop joint procedures to safely repatriate migrants who experience forced marriage, forced childbearing and/or trafficking.
6. Support local programs to raise awareness about the risks of migration and forced marriage, including incorporating anti-trafficking messages into school curriculums, health services and microfinance initiatives.
7. Ratify legal instruments, conventions and protocols relevant to forced marriage including, but not limited to: The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children; and the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.



To the Government of China

8. Allow women, girls, men and boys fleeing the conflict in Myanmar to access safe refuge and humanitarian aid in China, thereby reducing their vulnerability to being exploited and trafficked.
9. Strengthen and enforce laws and regulations against forced marriage, forced childbearing, and trafficking as well as domestic violence. This includes training local

police officers and judicial personnel to investigate reported cases, prosecute offenders and seek compensation for victims.

10. Provide training on anti-trafficking and safe migration to border officials at major crossings, such as Ruili and Longchuan, as well as to local police in destination towns where there are large populations of female migrants from Myanmar.
11. Engage with the Government of Myanmar to coordinate cross-border policies, including migration for work, marriage, and family reunification and reintegration, and the licensing of migration and marriage brokers.
12. Ratify legal instruments, conventions and protocols relevant to forced marriage including, but not limited to: The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children; and the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.



To the International Community (donor governments, UN agencies, NGOs, community organizations, academic institutions)

13. Apply pressure on the Government of Myanmar to declare a unilateral nationwide ceasefire to end the violence in Kachin and Northern Shan state. Provide humanitarian aid to internally displaced persons and cross-border refugees in order to reduce their vulnerability to being exploited and trafficked.
14. Cooperate with governance bodies of the ethnic groups, operating along the China-Myanmar border, to develop systems to address the trafficking in their respective areas.
15. Promote Sustainable Development Goals 5.3 and 8.7, which respectively call for the “elimination of child, early and forced marriage by 2030” and “effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking.” Develop multi-sectoral programs to address the interrelated issues of forced marriage, human trafficking, violence against women, and adverse maternal and infant health outcomes.
16. Develop standardized indicators for victim identification and joint reporting tools to share data across civil society organizations in Myanmar and China. This is especially vital for strengthening the evidence to inform programs and policies, as most migration journeys and inter-national marriages are informal and likely to be missed in official statistics.

17. Implement programs to prevent unsafe migration and forced marriage of Myanmar women and girls. This could include pre-departure training to prepare the migrants with protective knowledge and skills, livelihoods training both pre- and post-migration, promotion of best practices including model contracts for labor migration and civil registration for cross-border marriages, and broader community awareness campaigns.
18. Provide protection and social support for survivors of forced marriage, forced childbearing and/or trafficking. This could include rescue programs for women in China, women's centers and safe houses in both countries, and counseling services.
19. Support further research into the determinants of forced marriage in order to appropriately expand social safety nets to alleviate socioeconomic factors contributing to forced marriage. It would also be of value to conduct research to identify 'positive deviants' among local groups with more equitable gender and familial relations and expand positive norms that are culturally appropriate.

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