Estimating trafficking of Myanmar women for forced marriage and childbearing in China

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Finally, we want to thank the many hundreds of people in Kachin State, Northern Shan State, and Yunnan Province who contributed their time and their experiences to help us better understand the complex dynamics of migration and displacement, marriage, childbearing, and force and coercion that create risk and vulnerability for Myanmar women on both sides of the Myanmar-China border.

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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 (see map on right). 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.

Map of study areas in Myanmar and China

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]

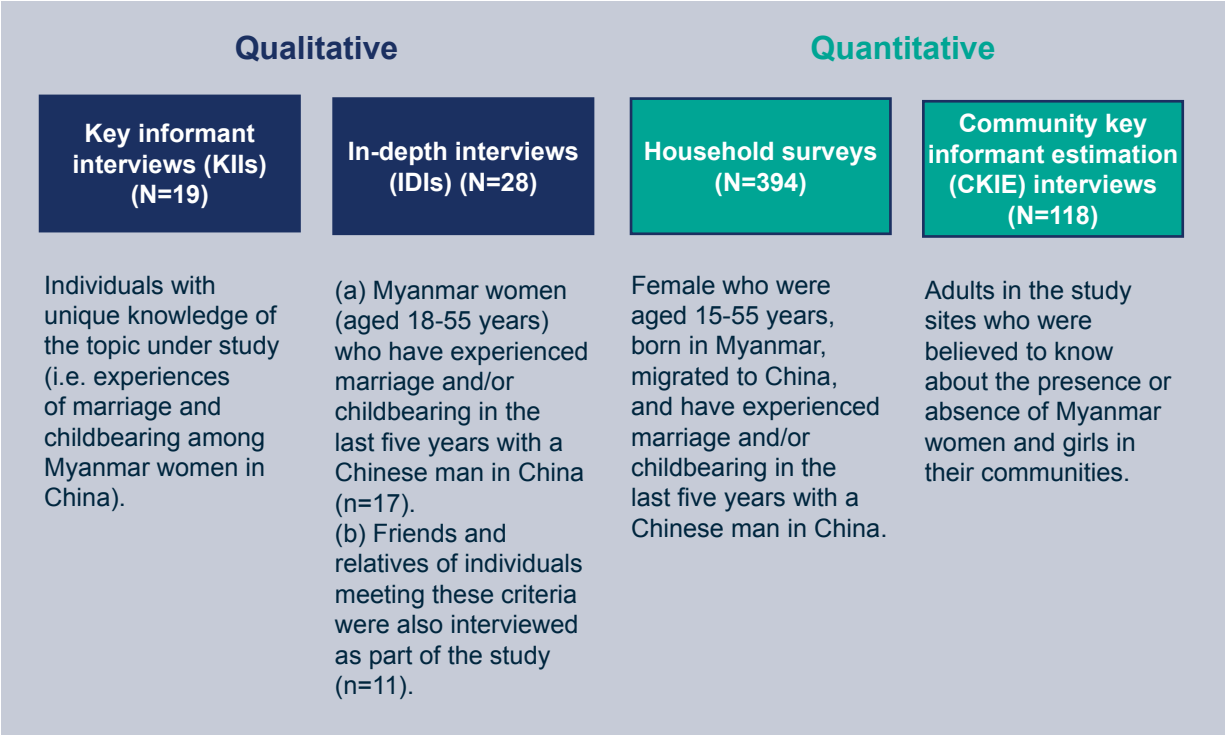
[1] Developed in consultation with international and Myanmar human rights organizations, based principally on the definition of forced marriage stipulated in the European Parliamentary Assembly Resolution 1468: Forced Marriages and Child Marriages (2005), available at: http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/xref/xref-xml2html-en.asp?fileid=17380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

[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] 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]

The study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, described below:

Study methodology



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.

A. Prevalence Rates

Table 1 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 1: Forced marriage in China

Row	Indicator	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) (%)				Total
		Kachin State[a] (n=148)	Shan State[a] (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	From Kachin State[b] (n=92)	From Shan State[b] (n=106)	Unknown[b] (n=1)	Subtotal (n=199)	(n=394) (%)
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)	0 (0.0)	**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)	0 (0.0)	**30 (15.1)**	**56 (14.2)**
C[c]	Sub-total in forced marriage (n=157)	102 (68.9)	8 (17.0)	**110 (56.4)**	34 (37.0)	13 (12.3)	0 (0.0)	**47 (23.6)**	**157 (39.8)**
D	Sub-total not in forced marriage (n=237)	46 (31.1)	39 (83.0)	**85 (43.6)**	58 (63.0)	93 (87.7)	1 (100.0)	**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)**	**1 (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 2 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 on 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 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 2, 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 2: Trafficked into forced marriage in China

Row	Indicator	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) (%)				Total
		Kachin State (n=148)	Shan State (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	From Kachin State (n=92)	From Shan State (n=106)	Unknown (n=1)	Subtotal (n=199)	(n=394) (%)
A	Sub-total in forced marriage but not trafficked (n=54)	22 (14.9)	4 (8.5)	**26 (13.3)**	19 (20.7)	9 (8.5)	0 (0.0)	**28 (14.1)**	**54 (13.7)**
B	Sub-total trafficked into forced marriage (n=103)	80 (54.1)	4 (8.5)	**84 (43.1)**	15 (16.3)	4 (3.8)	0 (0.0)	**19 (9.5)**	**103 (26.1)**
C	Sub-total not trafficked or in forced marriage (n=237)	46 (31.1)	39 (83.0)	**85 (43.6)**	58 (63.0)	93 (87.7)	1 (100.0)	**152 (76.4)**	**237 (60.2)**
D	Sub-total in forced marriage but not trafficked (n=54)	22 (14.9)	4 (8.5)	**26 (13.3)**	19 (20.7)	9 (8.5)	0 (0.0)	**28 (14.1)**	**54 (13.7)**
E	**Total (N=394)**	**148 (100.0)**	**47 (100.0)**	**195 (100.0)**	**92 (100.0)**	**106 (100.0)**	**1 (100.0)**	**199 (100.0)**	**394 (100.0)**

Table 3 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 3: Forced childbearing and trafficked into forced childbearing

Variable	Interviewed in Myanmar (n=195) (%)			Interviewed in China (n=199) (%)				Total
	Kachin State (n=148)	Shan State (n=47)	Subtotal (n=195)	From Kachin State (n=92)	From Shan State (n=106)	Unknown (n=1)	Subtotal (n=199)	(n=394) (%)
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)	**1 (100.0)**	**165 (82.9)**	**306 (77.7)**
Experienced forced childbearing	67 (45.3)	8 (17.0)	**75 (38.5)**	32 (34.8)	12 (11.3)	**0 (0.0)**	**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)	**0 (000.0)**	**36 (19.1)**	**100 (25.4)**

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.

B. 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 diagrams below summarize the rate of forced marriage and forced childbearing across the study areas, namely, four districts in Myanmar and one prefecture in China.

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 female returnees have been forced to bear children.

Rate of forced marriage and forced childbearing in the study areas

Among women and girls who have migrated to Myanmar to China in the past five years...

11%

(18,200 out of 171,000)

will end up married to a Chinese husband.

4%

(7,500 out of 171,000)

will be in a forced marriage.

3%

(5,100 out of 171,000)

will be forced to bear children.

Table 4: Population estimates: returnees from China to Kachin State and Northern Shan State

Area	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)			Female Returnees Forced to Bear Children (2013 - 2017)		
		Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High
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 5, 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 female migrants have been forced to bear children.

Table 5: Population estimates: Myanmar migrants in Yunnan Province

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)		
		Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High	Low	**Mid**	High
Dehong Dai and 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	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 6). 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 6: Extrapolations to larger areas of Kachin State, Northern Shan State and Yunnan Province

Area	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)			Female Returnees Forced to Bear Children (2013 - 2017)		
		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
Western 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**

C. 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] women 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)*

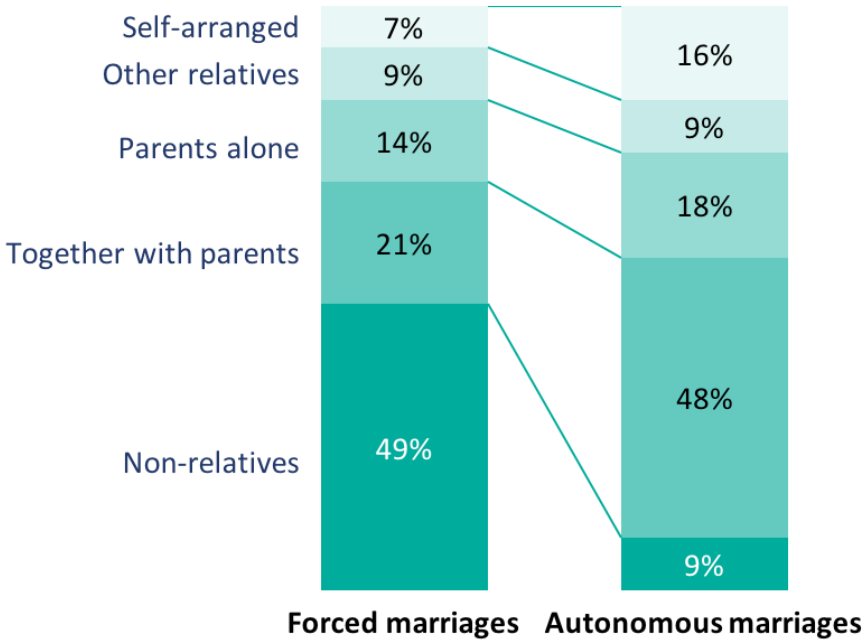
For example, respondents aged eighteen years and younger at first marriage reported, on average, giving birth to 3.4 children. Among respondents aged 25 years and above at first marriage, the average dropped to 1.9 children. Furthermore, Chinese husbands and their families seem largely focused on childbearing.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

Photo: Linda de Volder / Flickr ©

In terms of marital arrangements (see graph below) 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.

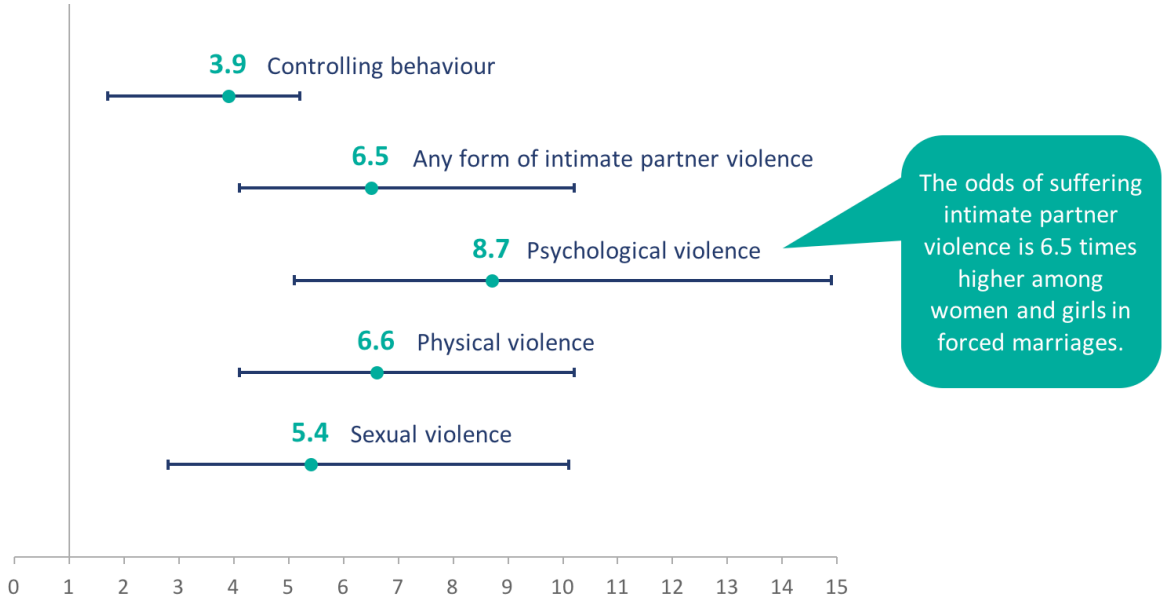
Forced marriage was most prevalent among respondents with low educational attainment (i.e. none or incomplete primary education (39.4%) and respondents from rural areas (64.3%). The qualitative data supported and provided further insight and context into the quantitative findings, as exemplified by the 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 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.

Decision makers in the marriage process



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 (see graph below). 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 (see diagram on next page).

Odds of abusive behaviors faced by victims of forced marriage, compared to women and girls in autonomous marriages



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).

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**

Photo: KX Studio / Flickr ©

D. 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.

12. 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.

13. 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.

14. 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.

15. 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.

16. 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.