

TO WHAT EXTENT CAN THE PREVALENCE OF FEMALE
TRAFFICKING IN CHINA'S YUNNAN PROVINCE
BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
ONE-CHILD POLICY?

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Abstract

This IB Extended Essay is about the pressing human rights issue of female trafficking in Yunnan, China. Given the recognition that the Chinese government's implementation of the one-child policy in 1979 has been often attributed as a factor of this issue, this essay addresses the question "*To what extent can the prevalence of female trafficking in China's Yunnan province be attributed to the implementation of the one-child policy?*" The essay aims to answer this question by comparatively exploring and evaluating other key factors attributed to female trafficking in Yunnan, in addition to the one-child policy. Factors of female trafficking present specifically in other parts of China or the world are not considered in this essay.

The research question was investigated by consulting a range of relevant and diverse resources, including journals, ethnographies, literature, government reports, NGO reports, and personal interviews, which were critically scrutinized to gain a thorough understanding of the topic.

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The essay concluded that the one-child policy, along with other factors, cannot be held solely responsible for the prevalence of female trafficking in Yunnan, although there is a definite correlation present. The essay also concluded that poverty should instead be held most (but not completely) accountable for high female trafficking rates in Yunnan. Poverty in Yunnan impoverishes people to such a degrading point, that inevitably, negative patriarchal norms persist, and positive egalitarian principles recede, thus forming a basis upon which female trafficking under the one-child policy occurs.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the human rights issue of female trafficking

Discrimination against women is neither an exclusively Chinese nor only a contemporary phenomenon. The patriarchal nature of major civilizations and societies since the beginning of time has created a world in which women are commonly marginalized; suppressed socially, politically, and economically; and sexually exploited. Despite modern efforts towards female empowerment and other, similar initiatives, a number of issues linked with the

discrimination against women continue to exist. Among these is the issue of female trafficking, a crime that countless females have been subject to since the beginning of time. Human trafficking, defined by the United Nations as “*the recruitment (...) of persons, by means (...) of coercion, (...) abuse of power (...) to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation,*”¹ is widely deemed by different actors, such as governments and international organizations, as “not only a criminal justice issue, but also a human rights issue.”² Trafficking violates a person’s freedom,³ dignity,⁴ security, and freedom to choose employment,⁵ among many other human rights, whilst also simultaneously reinforcing a long-established discrimination against women.

Due to globalization and growth of the sex industry, the widespread practice of human trafficking has received increased international attention since the late 20th century. At a global level, the issue of female trafficking was first discussed by the League of Nations in 1921.⁶ The subsequent drafting of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* by the United Nations also indirectly addressed this issue and is now commonly seen as an important reference for human rights. Notable human rights instruments against trafficking also include:

The Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others 1949,⁷ and the *Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) 1979,⁸ which obligate states to prohibit trafficking of human beings through national legislation,

The Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution 2002,⁹ and

The ASEAN Declaration against Trafficking in Persons Particularly Women and Children 2004.

Nevertheless, a successful and effective human rights framework to deal with trafficking has not been fully developed to date. International human rights principles and guidelines¹⁰ “are not legally binding and do not fully articulate human rights obligations” and consequently, the effort against trafficking remains inadequate.¹¹ Human trafficking continues to be the fastest growing, financially lucrative illegal activity in the world, with more than two thirds of

victims being women subject to sexual exploitation,¹² a crime that has been long regarded as a violation of human rights.

1.2 Introduction to China and Yunnan Province in the context of female trafficking

The People's Republic of China is a major "source, transit, and destination country" for female trafficking, which has existed in China for more than 2,000 years.¹³ Despite 30 years of "purported abolition" under Mao Zedong's rule,¹⁴ female trafficking in China has seen a revival since 1978, when the country began to experience a move towards industrialization and urbanization after various economic reforms and the adoption of an open door policy. Trafficking has been increasing rapidly ever since. Trafficking is "most pronounced" among China's internal migrant population, which is estimated to be more than 150 million people.¹⁵

Women from neighbouring Asian countries, as well as other continents, are reportedly trafficked to China for commercial sexual exploitation, though the majority of trafficking occurs internally. The government of China "does not fully comply with minimum standards" and reputedly makes little effort towards the eradication of trafficking, and hence, after nine consecutive years of being placed on the Tier 2 Watch List of the annual *United States Department of State's Trafficking in Persons Report*, China was downgraded to Tier 3, the lowest ranking, in 2013.¹⁶

Yunnan, with an estimated number of more than 1,000 children and women trafficked annually, is one of the worst areas affected by trafficking in China.¹⁷ It is a unique province in China, being largely mountainous; sharing borders with Tibet, Burma, Laos, and three provinces of China; and being home to the highest number of ethnic minorities¹⁸ in the country. Among its 45.9 million residents, non-Han ethnic minorities account for 15.44 million, or 33.37 percent of the total population of the province. It is also one of the most impoverished areas in the country. Yunnan is considered as a significant "political and economic hub of the Mekong sub-region,"¹⁹ allowing many occurrences of feloni-

ous activities such as cross-border and internal drug and human trafficking each year.

1.3 Introduction to the research question

In this essay, the key factors that contribute to the prevalence of female trafficking in China will be explored and analysed, with the conclusion determining which of the factors is most responsible. Among these key factors is the Chinese government's implementation of the one-child policy. Launched in 1979, China's one-child-per-couple policy was instigated as a strategy to mitigate social and economic difficulties, and has since been called "one of the most troubling social policies of modern times."²⁰ Although it has controlled population growth with relative success in China, the one-child policy has been criticized by various spokespeople for its violation of human rights, the most obvious being the freedom to found one's own family and life. The launch of the policy was also very much "out of touch with Chinese reality,"²¹ with China being a society in which, especially in rural areas, having two or more children (preferably sons) is crucial for a family to survive due to agricultural labour needs. Consequently, China is currently facing a severe crisis and gender gap that has a ratio of 120 boys to 100 girls, the highest in the world.²² This gender gap reveals the traditional preference for males and discrimination against women in patriarchal China. Efforts to comply with the one-child policy in China have thus resulted in a long list of terrors, among them the trafficking of women—a crime rife in Yunnan.

Therefore, this essay will be addressing the research question: "*To what extent can the prevalence of female trafficking in China's Yunnan province be attributed to the implementation of the one-child policy?*"

2. Factors of female trafficking in Yunnan

Because human rights can only be violated by states, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights only enshrines obligations on the state.²³ Likewise, under international law, it is primarily the duty of the state to prohibit human trafficking, as well as address the causes and consequences of trafficking, through national leg-

isolation.²⁴ Nevertheless, international human rights principles and guidelines are not legally binding and consequently, female trafficking continues to be prevalent in China's Yunnan province and beyond. Making little effort towards eradicating female trafficking, the Chinese state has allowed for the persistence of causes affecting, and human rights violations in relation to, female trafficking.

2.1 The one-child policy

The one-child policy was initiated in 1979 and has since created enormous conflict between the Chinese government and its people, particularly those living in rural China. Within its first decade of implementation, extremely skewed sex ratios as high as 126:100—that can only be a result of some form of sex selection, such as the neglect or elimination of female newborns—were widely reported in rural areas. The government's implementation of the one-child policy has hence not only failed to empower women; it has caused skewed sex ratios, exacerbated by families striving to have their sons carry on the descent line. Since the implementation of the one-child policy, females, particularly those from rural areas, have been kidnapped and trafficked in the underground marriage market to be married off to excess men.²⁶ Compliance with the policy goes both ways; families often abandon or sell their girls as brides to traffickers to ensure the guarantee of a coveted male child.²⁷ The one-child policy's causation of skewed sex ratios has therefore created pressing marriage complications for males.²⁸ Families often strategize for a bride for their son by resorting to the purchase by agents who locate easily-swindled and vulnerable women in poor parts of China—Yunnan province in particular—and act as intermediaries between brides-to-be and the families.²⁹ This is most often done through coercion and abuse of power—a clear trafficking offence.³⁰

Hence, trafficking of females has been greatly aggravated as a result of the one-child policy and its unceasing prolongation. Not only has the Chinese government failed to achieve its original aims of equal social and economic rehabilitation; it has also failed to protect the most vulnerable people in its society—poor,

young women—and has exposed them to further discrimination and exploitation. The supremacy of the Chinese government and its implementation of the one-child policy have resulted in the ineffectiveness of laws that “only theoretically protect women and female children in China.”³¹

Even so, it would be incorrect to assume that the one-child policy is *solely* responsible for the prevalence of sex trafficking in Yunnan and other provinces in China. Socio-cultural norms and traditions—i.e., the traditional preference for males—have existed since the beginning of Chinese civilization, and the one-child policy should be instead looked upon as a stimulus for the female trafficking crimes in a deeply patriarchal society.

2.2 Socio-cultural norms and traditions

*When a son is born,
 Let him sleep on the bed,
 Clothe him with fine clothes,
 And give him jade to play with.
 How lordly his cry is!
 May he grow up to wear crimson
 And be the lord of the clan and the tribe.
 When a daughter is born,
 Let her sleep on the ground,
 Wrap her in common wrappings,
 And give her broken tiles for playthings.
 May she have no faults, no merits of her own,
 May she well attend to food and wine,
 And bring no discredit to her parents.*

The above is a *Song* from *The Book of Songs* (800–600 B.C.): one of the oldest and most seminal works of Chinese poetry, believed to have been compiled by Confucius. It reveals the traditional and deeply patriarchal nature of Chinese society that continues to resonate today. In China’s feudal tradition men have frequently subjected women to subordination. Confucianism’s *Three Obediences and Four*

Virtues go as far as dictating basic moral principles specifically for women, instructing them to obey their “father as a daughter,” “husband as a wife,” and “sons in widowhood”—hence subjecting women to lifelong subservience and effectively, discrimination. A young woman, especially one who was newly married and had not yet produced a son, had the lowest status in society.³² Classical Chinese texts enshrined beliefs about marriage and the family, and many former government policies backed up the superiority of men by stigmatizing unmarried men.³³ For women, marriage also meant having social identity, but desperate measures were often taken. For parents of “limited means,” it was not uncommon to sell their daughter as a concubine to a well-off family, making “the necessary compromise between marriage and servitude.”³⁴ In times of stress, such as the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-19th century, parents often put female infants to death to ensure the rearing of a son who could carry on the patrilineal family line.³⁵ During this time, female infants and young girls were often at risk of sale and kidnapping, and unsuspecting women whose work exposed them to outsiders were susceptible to sexual abuse or rape. Desperate husbands could even rent, pawn, or sell their wives in extreme cases of threat to survival.³⁶ It is hence made clear that women in Chinese society were historically viewed as nothing but commodities for their sexual and reproductive services.

Additionally, females in Chinese society have traditionally been considered economic burdens, as they are unable to carry on the patrilineal family line or contribute to physical labour. Due to customs, daughters also cost their parents money in the form of a dowry when marrying. Upon marriage, daughters moved in with their husband and cared for his family instead; thus a daughter getting married meant the loss of labour, and females in a family were seen as “temporary family members.”³⁷ In extreme cases, selling of one’s body continues even today, shockingly, to be seen as “particularly filial” for a woman, as it signals that a woman has “paid her debt to her parents more completely than other young women.”³⁸ Parents effectually evade the burden of dowry fees and also, gain financially when their filial daughter returns with money from her day’s ‘work.’ These traditions, along with many other

socio-cultural norms in Chinese society, have hence resulted in the common practice of selling and trafficking of young women, particularly in Yunnan, a rural province in which people's lives and attitudes remain very conservative and traditional. Though in the 20th century women were treated fairly well under the leadership of Mao Zedong—who promoted gender equality and famously said “women hold up half the sky,”³⁹ in truth not even Mao's notoriously authoritarian and indoctrinatory rule was able wholly to alter traditional, patriarchal China. Female trafficking, fuelled by a conscious and conventional discrimination against women, continues to occur rampantly in both rural and urban areas of China.

Notwithstanding, if we were to look specifically at Yunnan, the most ethnically diverse province in China, we may see a different picture. Female trafficking rates in Yunnan are often the highest in the country, but traditional patriarchal norms may not be to blame. Ethnic minorities, making up 38 percent of the province, are scattered widely across the province.⁴⁰ Though each of them is unique, many of the ethnic minorities share a different trait in their customs and traditions: women are perceived to be either equal or superior to men. For example, the Lahu people—with 720,000 living in Yunnan—have a culture definitively shaped by concepts of gender equality. Allocation of labour revolves around the principle of gender unity, along with determination of social leadership and other aspects of everyday life. Men and women are seen as equal individuals and members of the community regardless of gender.⁴¹ On another hand, the Moso people see females as superior to men because of their ability to give birth. Women are considered to be “not only mentally stronger, but also physically more capable, if not always more powerful, than men.” Happiness in Moso culture revolves around living harmoniously with one's matrilineal kin.⁴² Similarly, the Naxi minority does not have a concept of marriage in their culture—men, in an interesting reverse of gender roles, are simply used for their ability to help women reproduce, and in a family there is only a mother, not a father. Women have the economic authority and they alone have the right of inheritance.⁴³

Unbeknownst to some is that ethnic minorities also enjoy preferential treatment in family planning due to affirmative action, including the choice to have more than one child. They hence evade the pressures of the one-child policy.⁴⁴

So if in Yunnan, pressures to comply with the one-child policy for a great majority of the people do not exist, and women are often favoured rather than discriminated against, why is female trafficking, a widespread of crime in Yunnan that sees no obvious exclusion of females from ethnic minorities, still so rampant?

2.3 Poverty

Poverty is cited frequently by groups such as the United Nations as a main cause of female trafficking. Poverty is an issue of human rights, affecting economic, social, and cultural rights and rights to liberty and security. Though there is no single common factor for the practice of female trafficking in Yunnan, China, or beyond, one common motivator for those tempted to enter the illicit trafficking world certainly exists—money.⁴⁵

The concept of poverty is no ancient concept to Yunnan. A 2006 report in the *Yunnan Daily* stated that the province has a population of over 7 million people living in poverty, with annual incomes below \$142 (USD), and 2.57 million living in extreme poverty, with annual incomes less than \$114.⁴⁶ Though China has seen colossal economic growth in the past two decades, with the economy growing at an average rate of 10 percent per year from 1990 to 2004, economic development in China has been uneven and has contributed to a broader gap between the rich and the poor.⁴⁷ Ethnic minorities in China, which constitute much of Yunnan's population, are also generally believed to be relatively poorer than the Han majority for various reasons. A study by Gustafsson and Sai, analyzing temporary and persistent rural poverty among the ethnic minorities and the Han majority, revealed that minority poverty rates in rural areas of China were higher than those of Han Chinese.⁴⁸

Reiterating a couple of previous points, one can see how poverty comes very much into play when the one-child policy and socio-cultural traditions are key factors in female trafficking in Yunnan and beyond. The one-child policy has created skewed sex ratios due to pressures to comply with the policy, and it is the most vulnerable females from largely rural and poor areas like Yunnan who are kidnapped and trafficked in the underground marriage market to be married off to excess men. The policy has also compelled many families to abandon or sell their girls as brides to traffickers to ensure the guarantee of a coveted male child—the more socially and economically advantageous gender. Women are economically burdensome; upon marrying they cost their parents dowry and also stop supporting their parents financially due to traditional customs. Neither are women able to carry on the patrilineal family line. Given these conditions, it is unsurprising that men are preferred to women from an economic standpoint. Patriarchal paradigms make it possible for poor families to justify selling of their young girls into trafficking.

Additionally, although the ethnic minorities previously discussed follow egalitarian and matriarchal principles in which women are viewed as equal or superior to men, it is no doubt that they live in a patriarchal country in which desperate measures—i.e., the trafficking of their women—can be taken in desperate times of financial need. Trafficking is also “often migration gone terribly wrong.”⁴⁹ ‘To become wives of the Han’ is a saying of the Lahu minority in Yunnan, referring to their unmarried and sometimes married women who wish to or already have resettled in rural areas of other predominantly Han Chinese provinces—e.g., the more prosperous Zhejiang—to become wives of Han peasants as an avenue of empowerment and contribution to “the perpetuation of patriarchal families.”⁵⁰ Migration is a way for financially burdened women, particularly those from ethnic minorities, to experience social mobility while simultaneously contributing to the family income.⁵¹ Attempts to migrate often enlist in the help of an agent, who can often abuse his or her power and coerce young women into trafficking.

2.3.1 Geography and the isolation of minorities

Yunnan province is unique for its geographic and demographic characteristics. Both can contribute to its high level of poverty. Several counties in Yunnan, including Lan, Cangyuan, Ximeng, and Menglian, suffer from the “so-called state-class” poverty.⁵² In these counties, which are located in the border regions of southwestern Yunnan, we can find several ethnic groups living in isolation—with mountainous areas occupied by the Lahu Bulang, Aini, and Wa ethnic groups, and the Dai ethnic minority living in the river basin. Together, these ethnic minorities form a population of more than a million, with most, if not all, living in poverty. For example, 60.8 percent of people in Lan county belong to the population group in China with low annual income, and a remaining 38.2 percent belong to the population group with extremely low income.⁵³ The Miao minority, nearly 9 million in total population, with many located in Yunnan, are “mountain dwellers formerly engaged in a self-sufficient economy based on farming” and one of the poorest ethnic groups in China.⁵⁴ The geography of Yunnan has created a situation in which the high minority population is greatly isolated from the fast-developing and modernizing China, compelling them to live a rural life based mostly on agricultural survival. Though living a life of segregation is also customary for many minorities, it is no doubt that the geography they are surrounded by constrains them to a life in which survival and financial security are severely limited. Hence, as earlier mentioned, migration is a common practice for minority women desiring a way out of matriarchal responsibilities and financial insecurity, and in many unfortunate cases this results in trafficking. The lack of education available in the rural, secluded parts of Yunnan also results in women not having the necessary formal education for good jobs, so they turn to domestic and sex work.⁵⁵

2.3.2 Globalization

In the late 20th century, China began to experience a move towards globalization after the adoption of an open door policy.⁵⁶ The government began to develop its tourism by targeting its

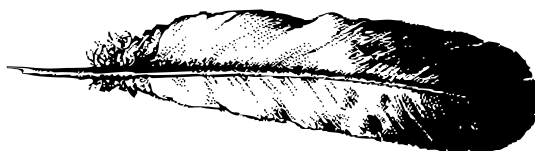
border regions, among them the impoverished Yunnan, where development projects were previously tried but failed. Many foreign investors saw Yunnan as an “Asian growth zone” with its luscious geography and ethnic diversity, and the province soon became a major tourist area⁵⁷ for locals and foreigners alike. Tourism revenues amounted to \$2.1 billion (USD) and accounted for 12.6 percent of the provincial GDP in 2004.⁵⁸ Places such as Manting Road, a sex district in southern Yunnan, soon emerged, attracting unmarried *and* married male tourists hearing of ethnic women’s “sexual openness” and forming the foundation of the local economy.⁵⁹ Consequently, internal and cross-border trafficking has increased greatly. Globalization in Southeast Asia has encouraged many women to migrate for economic stability, and again, these women are vulnerable, and often subject to coercion into the trafficking trade, whether to do sex work or become a bride to one of China’s excess men.

3. Conclusion

A range of relevant resources were consulted during this essay’s process of research, helping me gain an understanding of the different human rights theories behind, and contexts in which, female trafficking in China takes place. Various print sources, such as ethnographies, literature, and journals, were useful in their presentation of different perspectives and hence allowed for deeper understanding of human rights. Secondary objective resources and reports released by non-governmental organizations were also referred to. Sources that may contain possible bias, such as governmental reports and personal interviews, were evaluated critically. An additional but necessary point is that trafficking is a phenomenon extremely clandestine in nature, and accurate statistics and literature regarding this issue’s prevalence in China are limited. Some information in this essay, especially figures, should hence be taken with a grain of salt. Nevertheless, the sources consulted provided a credible background to the female trafficking sphere in China’s Yunnan province and beyond, and led to the following conclusions:

This essay's research question of focus was the extent to which the Chinese government's implementation of the one-child policy can account for the prevalence of female trafficking in Yunnan province. This essay has deduced that there can be no one single cause for female trafficking in Yunnan and/or beyond. The one-child policy is indeed a major factor in female trafficking in rural China, correlating extensively with skewed sex ratios that lead to the female trafficking for marriage and reinforcing the traditional high regard for men over women. From this statement, we can also see that pre-existing socio-cultural norms and traditions are also equally, if not more, to blame for the incidence of female trafficking in China. Notwithstanding, this essay also revealed the egalitarian and matriarchal natures of the many ethnic minorities that constitute the ethnically diverse Yunnan, hence contradicting the belief that patriarchal norms are solely responsible for female trafficking in the province.

This essay thus concludes that it is, rather, poverty that should be held most accountable for the prevalence of trafficking in China's Yunnan province. Traditional discrimination against women, which the one-child policy is responsible for stimulating, arises very much from the economic burdens they pose in poor families, and the widespread movement of females coming from matriarchal societies into patriarchal, Han Chinese families, as an avenue of social and financial empowerment was also discussed in this essay. Migration in China, both cross-border and internal, is attributed to the desire for financial stability, and it is often through ostensibly trustworthy agents by which vulnerable women are then trafficked. Like the existence of patriarchal ideals, the one-child policy is merely an incentive for female trafficking, fuelled by extreme poverty, to occur.



Notes:

¹ General Assembly of the United Nations, “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” United Nations, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> (accessed August 15, 2013)

² Tom Obokata, “A Human Rights Framework to Address the Trafficking of Human Beings in the Greater Mekong Sub-region,” in The Trade in Human Beings for Sex in Southeast Asia ed. Pierre Le Roux, Jean Beffie, and Gilles Beullier (n.p.: White Lotus, 2010) p. 327

³ Article 1 of the UDHR states: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Article 23 of the UDHR states: Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

⁶ Min Liu, Migration, Prostitution, and Human Trafficking: The Voice of Chinese Women (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 2011) p. 33

⁷ General Assembly of the United Nations, “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others,” United Nations, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/TrafficInPersons.aspx/> (accessed August 15, 2013)

Article 1 of the “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others” states: The Parties to the present Convention agree to punish any person who, to gratify the passions of another: (1) Procures, entices or leads away, for purposes of prostitution, another person, even with the consent of that person; (2) Exploits the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person.

⁸ General Assembly of the United Nations, “Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women,” United Nations, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/> (accessed August 15, 2013)

Article 6 of the “Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women” places upon signatory states the obligation to take: Appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of trafficking in women and forced prostitution which are also regarded as gender discrimination.

⁹ This was adopted by states belonging to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

¹⁰ For example, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights' adoption of the "Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking"

¹¹ Obokata, p. 327

¹² Vidyamali Samarasinghe, Female Sex Trafficking in Asia: The Resilience of Patriarchy in a Changing World (n.p.: Routledge, 2007) p. 11

¹³ "China," Humantrafficking.org: A Web Resource for Combating Human Trafficking, <http://www.humantrafficking.org/countries/china> (accessed August 15, 2013)

¹⁴ Min Liu, Migration, Prostitution, and Human Trafficking: The Voice of Chinese Women (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 2011) p. 1

¹⁵ "China," Humantrafficking.org: A Web Resource for Combating Human Trafficking

¹⁶ Department of State, The Trafficking in Persons (TIP) 2013, Rep. (June 2013) <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2013/index.htm> (accessed August 15, 2013)

¹⁷ Yunnan Province Women's Federation, Yunnan Province, China: Situation of Trafficking in Children and Women: A Rapid Assessment, The Mekong Sub-Regional Project to Combat Trafficking in Children and Women (n.p.: ILO-IPEC, 2002) p. 4, http://www.ilo.org/asia/whatwedo/publications/WCMS_BK_PB_12_EN/lang-en/index.htm (accessed August 15, 2013)

¹⁸ Jie Zhao, "Developing Yunnan's Rural and Ethnic Minority Women: A Development Practitioner's Self-Reflections," in Women, Gender and Rural Development in China ed. Tamara Jacka and Sally Sargeson (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011) p. 172

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 172

²⁰ Susan Greenhalgh, Just One Child: Science and Policy in Deng's China (Berkeley: University of California, 2008) p. 1

²¹ Ibid., p. 1

²² Ibid., p. 1

²³ Michael Freeman, Human Rights an Interdisciplinary Approach (Key Concepts) (New York: Polity, 2002) p. 128

²⁴ Obokata, p. 333

²⁵ Susan L. Mann, Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 63

²⁶ Ibid., p. 64

²⁷ Susan Tiefenbrun and Christie J. Edwards, "Gendercide and the Cultural Context of Sex Trafficking in China," Fordham International Law Journal 32, no. 3 (2008) p. 732

²⁸ Mann, p. 63

²⁹ Ibid., p. 56

³⁰ Article 3, paragraph (a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons defines Trafficking in Persons as *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.*

³¹ Tiefenbrun and Edwards, p. 733

³² Lihong Shi, "'The Wife is the Boss': Sex-Ratio Imbalance and Young Women's Empowerment in Rural Northeast China," in Women and Gender in Contemporary Chinese Societies: Beyond Han Patriarchy ed. Shanshan Du and Ya-chen Chen (Lanham: Lexington, 2011) p. 89

³³ Mann, p. 54

³⁴ Ibid., p. 54

³⁵ Ibid., p. 50

³⁶ Ibid., p. 58

³⁷ Liu, p. 157

³⁸ Mann, p. 64

³⁹ Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide (New York: Random, 2009) p. 208

⁴⁰ Yunnan Province Women's Federation, p. 4

⁴¹ Ma, p. 1

⁴² Chuan-kang Shih, Quest for Harmony: The Moso Traditions of Sexual Union and Family Life (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2010) p. 147

⁴³ Hua Cai, A Society Without Fathers or Husbands: The Na of China trans. Asti Hustvedt (New York: Zone, 2001) p. 22

⁴⁴ A.S. Bhalla and Dan Luo, Poverty and Exclusion of Minorities in China and India (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) p. 60

⁴⁵ Liu, p. 151

⁴⁶ Ma, p. 64

⁴⁷ Liu, p. 147

⁴⁸ Bhalla and Luo, p. 16

⁴⁹ David A. Feingold, "Think Again: Human Trafficking," Foreign Policy, last modified August 30, 2005, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2005/08/30/think_again_human_trafficking (accessed August 15, 2013)

⁵⁰ Ma, p. 134

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 165

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 165

⁵⁴ Bhalla and Luo, p. 42

⁵⁵ Ma, p. 189

⁵⁶ Liu, p. 1

⁵⁷ Sara L. M. Davis, Song and Silence: Ethnic Revival on China's Southwest Border (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005) p. 30

⁵⁸ Chinatour.com International, "Yunnan Travel Guide," Chinatour.com, http://www.chinatour.com/attraction/yunnan_province.htm (accessed August 13, 2013)

⁵⁹ Davis, p. 44

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Winston S. Churchill

Marlborough, His Life and Times

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936, Book Two, p. 485

We have now reached the culmination of the eighteenth-century world war, and also of this story. The foundations of Marlborough's authority in England had been destroyed and the national and European cause which he served was triumphant. His power had gone, but his work was done. We have witnessed a spectacle, so moving for the times in which we live, of a league of twenty-six signatory states successfully resisting and finally overcoming a mighty coherent military despotism. It was a war of the circumference against the centre. When we reflect upon the selfish aims, the jealousies and shortcomings of the Allies, upon their many natural divergent interests, upon the difficulties of procuring common and timely agreement upon any single necessary measure, upon the weariness, moral and physical, which drags down all prolonged human effort; when we remember that movement was limited to the speed of a marching soldier or a canal barge, and communication or correspondence to that of a coach, or at the best of a horseman, we cannot regard it as strange that Louis XIV should so long have sustained his motto, *Nec pluribus impar*. [Not unequal to many].

Lying in his central station with complete control of the greatest nation in the world in one of its most remarkable ebullitions, with the power to plan far in advance, to strike now in this quarter, now in that, and above all with the certainty of implicit obedience, it is little wonder how well and how long he fought. The marvel is that any force could have been found in that unequipped civilization of Europe to withstand, still less to subdue him. In Marlborough the ramshackle coalition had found, if not its soul, its means of effective expression, its organic unity, and its supreme sword. Thus the circle of quaking states and peoples, who had almost resigned themselves to an inevitable overlordship, became a ring of fire and steel, which in its contraction wore down and strangled their terrible foe [Louis XIV].