

Child Protection Data: an analysis of Newspapers Coverage of child protection issues in Pakistan

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Abstracts

This article argues for the need of systematic data, not only for recognition of child protection issues, but also for formulation and implementation of policy and practice responses in Pakistan. Through a systematic review of the newspaper coverage of child protection issues over a period of 20 years, the actual and potential risks to children are highlighted, thus, providing a methodological justification to use newspapers coverage as a record of child protection problems. Further, with its focus on the language and content of the coverage, this article shows how representation of child protection issues in the print media reflect the existing reality on the one hand, and on the other may affect people's perceptions of these issues.

Key words: Child protection, data, media coverage, issue representation, people's perception

Introduction

Child protection is arguably one of the most highly contested areas of public/social policy. Child protection issues almost always evoke a passionate public concern that demands an immediate policy response. At the same time, child protection is a complex and multidimensional concept, thinking about which is informed by quite different assumptions, values and attitudes from those who are involved in identifying, defining, reporting and responding to the child protection problems. It also involves societal values and standards relating to children, social and legal standards of children's safety and well-being in a given society and attitudes towards abuse, exploitation and neglect of children. Considering these social values, standards and attitudes, which are inherently relative and socially constructed in nature, child protection is a hard to measure concept. Therefore, in many parts of the world including Pakistan, few statistics are available on child protection problems. However, to bring an issue to public attention and to place it on the policy agendas, systematic evidence of the incidence and prevalence of the issue is a must.

The research reported in this article is an attempt to contribute to the collection, analysis and reporting of systematic data relating to child protection problems in Pakistan. The article is divided into three sections. First section provides basic demographic information relating to Pakistani children. Next section demonstrates the lack of systematic data on child protection issues in Pakistan and highlights the need for such data. To fill this gap, the third and main section presents a systematic review of newspaper coverage of child protection issues in Pakistan over a period of twenty years followed by the conclusions.

Section I – Demographics

Pakistan's 170 million inhabitants make it the 6th largest country in the world by population; this population is growing at an average annual rate of 2.3 percent (The World Bank, 2011). It is a comparatively young population, comprising 37 percent people below the age of 14 years (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2011). According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), approximately half of the Pakistan's population is below the age of 18 years (2011). One quarter of all the population live below the international poverty line of US\$1.25 per day. One per cent of the central government expenditure is allocated to health and 2% to education (UNICEF, 2011). These demographic and socioeconomic characteristics result in high dependency ratios, large families and few income earners. Such a situation has built-in implications for child survival, health and quality of life. Pakistani children are faced with a multitude of protection issues including threats to very survival and development in the form of neglect and deprivation, physical and sexual abuse, and economic exploitation.

Data regarding survival and development issues are available in more or less systematic form, as collected and compiled by the state and international agencies working in Pakistan. In terms of child survival and development, infant mortality is 71 and under-five mortality is 87 per 1000 live births (UNICEF, 2011). Almost one third of all children are born with low birth-weights and a similar ratio (31.3 percent) of children under five suffers from malnutrition (UNICEF, 2011; The World Bank, 2011). In 2010, 90 percent one-year-old children were immunized against Tuberculosis and Diphtheria-Pertussis-Tetanus, 85 percent against Polio and Hepatitis B and 80 percent against Measles (UNICEF, 2011). The net enrolment in primary school is 60 percent for girls and 72 percent for boys (UNICEF, 2011). Child protection problems caused by social, structural and institutional factors such as poverty, illiteracy and hierarchical relationships are all too common (Aziz, 2007; Save the Children, Sweden 2010). These problems are manifested in various forms including child labour in hazardous conditions, violence against children mainly in the form of corporal punishment at home, work and in institutions, vulnerability of destitute, abandoned, runaway, homeless and street children, and as harmful traditional practices such as child marriage and *vani/swara* - the exchange of females for the settlement of disputes.

Section II – The need for systematic data

As the 2005 National Plan of Action (NPA) for children confirms, child protection is a complex and sensitive area; therefore, other than anecdotal information, few statistics relating to child protection issues are available (Ministry of Social Welfare and Special Education, 2005). The availability of systematic data relating to child protection is crucial if scholars and policymakers are to understand the nature of the issue and to provide evidence of the scale of protection problems that many Pakistani children experience. Such data informs national child protection policy, planning and practice (Pouwels, Swades, McCoy & Peddle, 2010) and some countries, such as the United States, conduct national incidence studies of child abuse and neglect on regular basis (Sedlak, Mettenburg, Basena, Petta,

McPherson, Greene & Li, 2010). Others, such as the United Kingdom rely mainly on official data from child protection registers or from child protection plans (NSPCC, 2012). However, such large scale collection, analysis and maintenance of data demand specialized human, financial and organizational resources, which many countries around the world are lacking.

In such a situation, one of the key sources of data remains the empirical research on the incidence and prevalence of child abuse and maltreatment. Such incidence and prevalence studies are most frequently undertaken in the field of health, especially as part of the research investigating the epidemiology of disease. However, they are also increasingly being used in relation to child abuse and protection research¹. Such research covers various forms of child abuse at local, regional and national levels (Tonmyr, 1998), though, these studies have mostly been limited to the developed world of the global North.

In the developing countries of the global South, the need for a rigorous evidence base for child protection has been only a recent realization. The United Nation Secretary-General's study on Violence Against Children (2006) provided not only initial evidence pertaining to violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation of children around the world, it also highlighted the need for the further collection and analysis of data to inform evolving child protection policy and practice in many developing countries. In a short review of such studies from Asia and the Pacific, Pouwels et al. (2010) noted a high prevalence of child maltreatment and protection issues in those regions.

Amongst South Asian countries, Sri Lanka (with most child-centered concerns and egalitarian approach to family relations) was the first country to formally recognize child abuse and protection issues. According to de Silva (2007), the first published cases of physical abuse appeared in the late 1980s. However, it was the Indian ministry of Women and Child Development, which has conducted, by far, the largest (anywhere in the world) national study of child abuse. This study covered 13 states with a sample size of 12,447 children, 2,324 young adults and 2,449 other stakeholders. It covered different child protection issues including physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse and discrimination against girl children (Kacker, Varadan & Kumar, 2007). Pakistan, however, remains one of those countries where any systematic research on child abuse and protection issues is yet to be conducted.

To start with, Pakistan's child protection system is still in its nascent stages and there is no central database or child protection register to record and assess the overall situation of child abuse and protection. Further, there are no known incidence and prevalence studies. One exception is *Sahil's Cruel Numbers*. *Sahil* is a non-government organization, which compiles and publishes statistics on child sexual abuse cases that get reported in the newspapers, in an annual report called *Cruel Numbers* (*Sahil*, 2011). Some anecdotal data, available in the form of rapid assessment and mapping of specific protection issues by various government and non-government organizations, form the basis for the Government of Pakistan's child protection programming and planning (Ministry of Social Welfare and Special Education, 2005; Save the Children, Sweden 2010). This lack of data leaves a gap in understanding the true nature and scale of child protection issues in Pakistan. To

contribute and to fill this gap, a review of newspaper coverage of child protection issues was undertaken.

Section III - Newspaper coverage of child protection issues in Pakistan

The methodological justification for this review as part compensation for non-existence data come from two sources. First is the common use of media-based data in studies of politics and public policy (Woolley, 2000). Secondly, the use of newspapers coverage of problems (involving sensitive issues such as child abuse), which lack systematic evidence, is not new. In a research on representations of children in the print media in Australia, White (2008) notes that newspapers provide a permanent and official record of current events. White further notes that because of the wider readership, newspaper coverage may have a wider potential to have a social influence. In fact, the role of the print media in relation to child abuse and child protection has been a focus of considerable research (Ayre 2001; Donaldson & O'Brien, 1995; Goddard & Saunders, 2001; Kitzinger, 2004). Though, majority of these studies focus on the role of media in placing the child protection issues in the minds of the public and on the political agendas, in defining the child abuse and, thus, influencing the policy and legislation, nevertheless, they provide a sound methodological justification to use newspapers coverage as a record of child protection problems in Pakistan. More importantly, this body of research shows how representation of child protection issues in the print media reflect the existing reality on the one hand, and on the other, may affect perception of as well policy and practice responses to these issues (Ayre, 2001; Goddard & Saunders, 2001). Therefore, the present review highlights this duality of the role of print media in that while the news items reflect the reality of child protection issues in Pakistan, the language used in news items and the editorials, columns, articles and opinion pieces also create it.

The newspaper review included coverage of child protection issues in one Urdu (*Jang*) and one English (*Dawn*) dailies published between the years 1990 (the year Pakistan ratified the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, which serves as guiding policy principles for the state policies relating to children) and 2010 (the year this research was conducted). The newspapers were selected based on criteria including nation-wide coverage and circulation, reputation for accuracy and speed of reporting, their acknowledged political stance¹ and the availability of records for the required period, among other things. In terms of the compilation and analysis of the data, first the researcher studied one Urdu and one English language daily (which were not chosen for the purpose of this analysis) over a period of one week each, developing a typology of child protection issues reported in those papers. A second purpose of this pre-study was to note what type of coverage, that is, news item, editorial, articles, reports and opinion pieces, is given to these issues. Then, the actual review started. After a review of one month for each newspaper, the initial typology of issues was revised and finalized. The researcher went through each newspaper and recorded the news items, editorials, articles, reports and opinion pieces relating to child protection. The items were recorded chronologically in Excel spread sheets under headings that included the date, item head line/title, page and column number and type and detail of the

incident including the child's demographics. Next, based on the type of incidence, the items were coded under broader themes, which were based on research questions. Following this, items in each category were counted for each newspaper and in total. Finally, the contents of each theme were analyzed with a special focus on the use of language, reporting intent and scoping of child protection issues as represented in these newspapers. See Table 1 for a summary of the recorded reporting by broader themes in each newspaper.

Table 1 - Summary of newspapers reporting of child protection issues in Pakistan (1990-2010)

	Crimes against children (rape, killing)	Children victim of traffic accidents	Negligence of public departments and agencies	Children in difficult circumstances	Role of those responsible for children	Others	Total
Dawn	820	524	620	727	422	35	3148
Jang	414	165a	180	149	125		1033

an= *Jang* tends to cluster the accidents, e.g. 'in city ABC, a total of XX traffic accidents causing XX death occurred including women and children'.

As shown in Table 1, five major themes related to child protection emerged from the survey of this coverage. A short analysis of each of these themes follows.

Crimes against children

News items relating to extreme cruelty and crimes against children including sexual assault, abuse and/or killing/murder constituted the most part of the coverage. This can be largely explained in terms of the nature of these offences making it almost inevitable that they will be reported to police, who, in turn, inform the press. It was hard to sub-categorize these crimes as most were inter-related. For example, in many instances, victims of sexual assault were kidnapped for the purpose and many were killed afterwards. Male and female children as young as four years of age became victims of sexual assault. In reporting such cases, both English and Urdu newspapers used the terms 'innocent', 'minor' in relation to victims and 'sexual assault' to describe the act. However, the language noticeably changes when older children became the objects of the reporting. Teenage victims, mostly girl children, were described as 'young woman/female' being 'raped'. One has to read the contents of the news item to know the exact age of these victims, but most were in the age of 13-16 years. It is noteworthy that there is a tendency on the part of both police and press to see some willingness on the part of the victim in such cases, for example, often reporting a 'suspected illicit relationship'.

Sexual abuse cases tend to be more prevalent in lower middle, working class and poor areas including both urban and rural populations. However, kidnapping, especially kidnapping for ransom, was more likely to be an urban and middle to upper class phenomenon where children from established trading and industrialist families were kidnapped. Often, there were news items about parents seeking help from police to lodge a kidnapping report but who were told either to wait because it was assumed that the child was lost temporarily and/or had runaway, or they were coerced into registering a 'missing person' report. Another trend in news reporting was noted with regard to child killing and murder that these reports mostly would not identify a motive. However, children were also got killed in marital conflicts and family feuds, shoot outs among criminals/between police and criminals, armed robberies, terrorist attacks and by 'stray bullets' as people can legally

possess a variety of weapons at home and on their person in public places in Pakistan. In some parts of the country, such as in the northern province Khyber Pakhtun Khwa, firing a weapon is a way to announce good news such as the birth of a child or to celebrate significant events such as weddings. Children were easy victim on such occasions.

Crimes against children were reported mostly using the language of moral deterioration of society, a result of which was that communities were becoming less safe for children. One exception was serial killing of one hundred children in Lahore (the provincial capital of the Punjab and the second biggest city in Pakistan) in year 1999. In the aftermath of the serial killings, the protection of destitute, abandoned, runaway, homeless and street children became one of the most prominent child protection issues in Pakistan (Azad Foundation, 2005; Tufail, 2005). This episode also highlighted the issue of violence against children, especially the use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in various settings including the home, school and work place, which caused children to leave these places and end up in streets to become the victims of a serial killer (Ministry of Social Welfare and Special Education, 2005; Tufail, 2005).

In this 20 years review, the increasing trend in crimes against children was similar to that reported by other sources. For example, in year 2011, *Sahil* – an NGO working on child sexual abuse, reported a 2.26 per cent increase in sexual crimes against children from the previous year (Sahil, 2011). However, *Sahil* reports focus on child sexual abuse alone and they compile data across all major newspapers including regional ones.

Child victims of traffic accidents

Road safety appeared as an important protection issue, second only to crimes against children. In fact, *Dawn* reported 25-30 child deaths in traffic accidents every year (524 across the 20 years review). Such incidents include children hit and run over by over speeding vehicles on the highways and roads of major cities. Children were hit by trains when either playing nearby or crossing railway tracks, many of which lie open, without fencing, in the middle of residential areas in many Pakistani cities and towns.

Most prominent among child victims of traffic accidents were working and school-going children. Tea boys and vendor children in particular were easy victims during the rush hours. It is worth mentioning that most public schools in cities, towns and rural areas (schools attended by the majority of Pakistani children) do not have any school buses and public transport does not provide any services at 'school hours'. This means that children from the same street or neighbourhood walk together to school without any adult supervision, on the assumption that older children would take care of younger ones. Most accidents happen with these children when they are crossing the road. Further, those who have to travel to another town/village school must take a bus. Most inter-city transport is privately owned and operators see these children and young people, daily travelling free or on concession, as a nuisance. Sometimes, children were asked to board the bus roof, leading them to fall while climbing up or down or when the bus suddenly comes to halt.

These findings are supported by existing data on this issue. In a 2007 report, the National Road Safety Secretariat of the Ministry of Communication recorded 10,125 road crashes in the year 2006, of which 4193 proved fatal¹. The report stated that road accidents were the 'greatest human tragedy when children are involved' (Ahmad, 2007, p. 2).

However, at the same time, the report pointed to the fact that ‘most children walk to school unaccompanied by adults’ (Ahmad, 2007, p. 6), and became easy victims of careless and irresponsible driving. The report also noted that most drivers responsible for accidents escape criminal and civil penalties because the victims were not aware of their rights or claimed to compensation (Ahmad, 2007). The Fatal Accidents Act 1855 and the Motor Vehicle Ordinance 1965 are out-dated, providing such insignificant damage or compensation costs for injury or death (that is, between Pakistani rupees 16,000-20,000 Approximately US \$170-212 on 2012 conversion rates), that it is not worth the hassle of bringing cases to court. Only six cases of accidents involving under-age drivers were reported during the review period.

The language and the content of reporting of traffic accidents was more of ‘violations of traffic rules’, ‘poor law enforcement’ and ‘negligence of drivers’ rather than a human safety, or more precisely, a child protection issue. None of the news items or reports took issue with the location of a bus-stop next to a primary school or that of absence of a traffic signal and/or zebra crossing next to a school on a busy road. Similarly, there was no proposal or demand for any standards or rules relating to responsibilities of transporters for safe commuting of school children who use public transport.

Negligence of public departments

The above descriptions of crimes against children and of child victims of traffic accidents reflect the performance of public officials and departments. Their negligence appeared as the third most important issue related to the protection of children in Pakistan. For example, *Dawn* coverage included seven reports of mistreating of children at the hands of law enforcement agencies including police, whereas *Jang* reported 11 such cases. Law enforcement agencies do not only fail to protect the lives and dignity of children, but, also, they are often hostile to those children who come in conflict with them. Police uses violence against these children and tends to over-state the latter’s offences. For example, on 20 March 1991, *Dawn* reported an eight-years-old boy being charged with ‘rape’ under the *Hudood* Ordinance, sending him to a district jail in Karachi. However, on a later medical examination, he was found ‘unfit for such an act’.

Further, police tends to punish parent offender through children by beating children or taking them to police station to round the parents. Young girls, who run away from their homes and recovered by police, or are involved in domestic violence or rape cases, especially vulnerable as they are reported to be sexually abused by officials while in police custody. Judiciary, even at its best, cannot make up for what children suffer at the hands of police. However, the review suggests that judges show more understanding of children issues, especially those of children in prisons and custody disputes among others. Cases are reported to be decided with due consideration of a child’s circumstances, his/her best interest and in line with child rights, though the UNCRC cannot be invoked in Pakistani courts. Judges took ‘sue moto’ notice of issues involving children such as children waiting in summer heat to receive VIP state guests.

Other departments, including the health and education departments, were not far behind police in neglecting children. Rural children especially suffer due to departmental deficiencies. Infants were reported to be stolen from public hospitals (*Jang* reported 6 such

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cases) and medical and paramedical staff were found negligent having caused child death due to the administration of inaccurate medicine or by not attending in time to prevent death (*Dawn* reported 6 & *Jang* 9 cases). In the education department, poor or non-available school infrastructure frequently led to the collapse of school buildings, consequently injuring or killing children (*Dawn* 11 cases). Further, attitude and discipline issues, such as meting out the corporal punishment on children by teachers, were common, sometimes, sever enough to cause permanent damage to the child's health or even resulting in death (*Dawn* 5, *Jang* 9 cases).

Some other departments, not directly dealing with children as health or education do, were also found to be negligent with regard to children's safety. Children died after falling into open manholes or drowned to death in drains, both of which are responsibility of the water and sanitation agency, WASA, in all major cities and towns (*Dawn* reported 20 & *Jang* 21 cases). In rural areas, reports of children drowning in canals or rivers were common. Further, child deaths were common due to electric shock received from a power supply line or electric pole (11 reports each). Despite the fact that the Electricity Act 1910 provides guidelines on power supply installation and maintenance and also provides general protective clauses, the power distribution agency, WAPDA, leaves naked wires hanging on roof tops or fails to attend to poles requiring maintenance. Only when there is public outcry over the death of a child in such accidents, do public education messages by WASA and WAPDA appear in newspapers, appealing to people to help the agencies avoid such accidents. The public were also informed about the initiation of departmental inquiries against officials responsible directly or indirectly for such accidents, but, the causes remain.

Rare news relating to the federal social welfare ministry and provincial social welfare departments, which are directly responsible for child welfare, chiefly described the lack of services or poor performance of existing services such as those supplied by child care institutions. For example, on 25 August 1995, *Dawn* reported that a fake NGO in the guise of an institution for homeless children were registered with the Social Welfare department, and was using children for begging and trafficking them overseas. The language of such coverage described both of the failure of the concerned department and a concern with the safety of children.

Children in difficult circumstances

In the 1990s, child labour issues were reported and debated frequently in all the newspapers under review; more so, however, in *Dawn* than in the Urdu language papers. For example, *Dawn* 18 April- 22 June 1995, but also other newspapers, gave special coverage to the controversy arising from the murder of anti-child labour child activist Iqbal Masih, which was followed by a ILO-IPEC Pakistan official's comment relating to the under-reporting of the magnitude of the child labour problem in Pakistan. The mid-990s Fifa 'Foulball' campaign, which called for boycott against soccer balls produced by child labour, also added to this debate as Pakistan's soccer ball exports decreased significantly due to this push.

Incidents of child labour (such as children working in hazardous occupations) were frequently reported. Newspapers covered legislative and practical interventions by the Government of Pakistan as well as those of national and international non-governmental

organizations such as the ILO-IPEC. Newspapers also covered the ongoing debates on the magnitude of the child labour issue, its consequences and proposed solutions. Most debates focused on poverty and the lack of schooling facilities as a cause of child labour, and the fact that children in labour were missing out on the fun of childhood. While the English language newspaper was more concerned with child welfare, development and rights, Urdu daily tended to challenge the international standards and reports on child labour in Pakistan as a Western agenda aimed at ruining Pakistani exports of carpet and sports goods. They tended to give more coverage to the local views about child labour including those expressed by employers, chambers of commerce and individual experts, many of whom had favourable opinion of child labour. For example, the 1 May 1995 news reports appearing in many papers quoted prominent Christian leader and then federal minister J. Saalik declaring that the call for ongoing debate on child labour in the aftermath of Iqbal Masih's death was Western propaganda.

News items also appeared relating to children being given up (11), sold (6) and killed (8) by parents due circumstances related to poverty. Children were reported to be victims of disputes between parents when an angry father (28 cases) or mother (15 cases) killed a child, especially when a husband suspected wife of being unfaithful and of the child not being his own. Young girls were killed by fathers, brothers or uncles on suspicion of having a love affair or wishing to marry a person of their choice rather than that of their parents. The language of reporting was mostly that of '*ghairat* - family honour' rather than concern with the right to life (let alone choice) for the young person. Abandoned new born babies, both dead (*Dawn* 10 cases) and alive (*Dawn* 2, *Jang* 3 cases), were found in public parks, on street corners and on garbage heaps. Again, the language of the coverage was that of the 'cruel woman' 'abandoning/throwing away' an 'illegitimate' child to 'hide her sins' and include next to nothing regarding survival, safety and protection of the newborn.

There were some reports (both collective and individual cases) related to discrimination against girl children. Children of both sexes became victims of 'traditional practices' such as child marriage (*Dawn* 26, *Jang* 4 cases), being devoted to a fake spiritual person/magician or taking part in some peculiar religious ceremony. However, more girls were reported to be victim of '*Karo Kari*' (honour killing) (17) and decisions of *Jirga* (the traditional court) (9). Only *Dawn* reported these cases in any considerable detail or with due emphasis. Others did not report, reported out of the context, that is, as an ordinary killing/murder, or tend to report in a very detached manner. For example, on 1 September 2008, Senator Israrullah Zehri from Baluchistan province defended the tribesmen from his province who shot and buried alive five women, three of whom aged between 16-18 years. The senator told the upper house that 'these are centuries-old traditions and I will continue to defend them' and 'only those who indulge in immoral acts should be afraid' (The Telegraph, 2008). None of the Urdu language Pakistani newspaper, including the one under review, commented on the senator's stance.

Children of both sexes below 10 years of age were victims of accidents at home such as sudden fire, roof collapse, wrong eating (e.g. poisonous stuff) or mishandling of weapons such as a revolver or shot gun. Girls between 10-16 years of age were major victims of accidents in kitchen such as stove explosion. There were rare reports of children being

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forced into prostitution (1), drugs (4), begging (7) and petty crime. In the absence of any systematic evidence, it is hard to determine whether these issues are less prevalent or simply less acknowledged by newspapers.

The Role of expert individuals/officials

The role of those (such as parents, public office holders, experts and philanthropists) responsible for child protection in either individual or official capacity also received some coverage. The role of the public sector in child protection was mostly reported in terms of proposed or enacted legislation on the part of federal or provincial governments as it related to health, education, labour and welfare issues. Child protection interventions by non-governmental organizations were also reported. Newspapers published features and articles written by experts such as educationists, medical doctors, psychologists, lawyers and human rights advocates on child protection issues including child rights, child neglect, education, health, and discrimination against girls.

Newspapers wrote editorials if a major child protection issue came up such as kidnapping for ransom, an accident due to the negligence of a government department or the release of a controversial report on figures relating to children issues. As noted earlier in the context of news items, the language of the editorials was not always that of child rights or child protection in its own right, but that of responsibility of the concerned adults, children as nation's future and societal values relating to children.

Conclusion

In sum, the newspaper coverage conveys a fair sense of the nature and scale of violence, abuse and exploitation that children experience in Pakistan, which involves individual incidences, but mainly also abuse and exploitation due to broader structural and institutional factors. The data serves manifold purposes. They highlight the actual and potential risks to children in Pakistani society, thus, making child protection an issue in its own right. They provide a sound methodological justification to use newspapers coverage as a record of child protection problems in Pakistan. They highlight the role of media in placing the child protection issues in the minds of the public and on the political agendas. Most importantly, this research has shown how representation of child protection issues in the print media reflect the existing reality on the one hand, and on the other, may affect perception of as well policy and practice responses to these issues.

These data can serve not only the purpose of highlighting the actual and potential risk that Pakistani children are faced with, they also serve as a basis for conceptualizing and defining child protection issues, and provide guidance and direction for child protection policy, legislation and programming.

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Notes

James Garbarino (1989) used the term 'incidence' to refer to estimates of numbers or rates of new cases of child abuse occurring in a given time, and 'prevalence' to refer to estimates of the proportion of a population that has been victimized during childhood (1989, p. 223).

Dawn, published since independence (1947), is liberal and secular in regard to political stance. Readership is highly educated and scholarly, and so are the columnists, who include prominent historians, economists and socialites. Head office is in Karachi; however, special pages are included for all major cities including the four provincial capitals. Jang is most widely circulated and popular among people from almost all walks of life. To take the lead in breaking a story, Jang can be irresponsible in reporting at times. It is centre-to-left-leaning and most of the time places itself in opposition to the government of the day. It has its head office in Karachi, but publishes from all four provincial capitals.

These numbers do not include railway or aeroplane crashes, whereas the numbers in table 1 include those accidents whereby children were hit by trains when either playing nearby or crossing railway tracks, many of which lie open, without fencing, in the middle of residential areas in many Pakistani cities and towns.

Biographical Note

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