A Media Framing Analysis of Child Marriages in Pakistan

What is the Problem Represented to be?

Jehna Al-Moushahidi
2015

Bachelor of Political Sciences
Political Science

Luleå University of Technology
Department of Business Administration, Technology and Social Sciences
Summary

In November of 2014, The United Nations passed their first resolution on Child, Early and Forced Marriages. The resolution has been though of as a historic one of its kind. Most of the member states have decided to co-sponsor the resolution. One of the countries that first brought up the issue was Pakistan, which has a very young population where many girls are at risk of being victims of child marriages every day.

The purpose of this thesis is to conduct a qualitative study in order to shed light on one of the most important issues of Pakistan – child marriage. In order to answer this purpose, news articles of the media were examined with the qualitative method of What’s the problem represented to be? approach by Carol Bacchi. The five biggest newspapers in Pakistan were used to gain the results. Three times periods were chosen, one when a national restraint act was put into power, one when UN adopted its first child marriages resolution and one at a seemingly neutral time period. Only articles that contained certain phrases were chosen and then three answers from Bacchi were answered through the article.

Both the articles and the different perspectives of child marriages were shown to be many. The results showed that child marriages seem to be a constant topic on the media agenda, as the issue was widely discussed throughout all time periods.

Four aspects of child marriages were found to be the most common and they can explain how child marriage resolutions are failing to be implemented in the society. The four aspects that were the most common ones are: Religion/tradition, Sindh and Punjab, Health/population and Legislation/Council of Islamic Ideology.

Key words: Child marriages, Early marriages, Discourse, Media Framing
# Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION ................................................. 3

AIM OF THE STUDY ........................................... 5

THESIS STRUCTURE .......................................... 6

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ................................. 7

SOURCE CRITICISM, MATERIAL AND METHOD ........... 11

LIMITED FREEDOM OF THE PRESS – SOURCE CRITICISM 11

MATERIAL AND METHOD .......................... 11

LIMITATIONS .................................................. 14

RESULTS ....................................................... 16

DISCUSSION .................................................. 36

CONCLUSION ................................................. 42

REFERENCES .................................................. 44
Introduction

Being under the age of 18 and being forced to marry is something that can be hard to imagine for many of us. Sadly, this is the reality in many places today.

Child and forced marriages of young girls is against the human rights, although still a large issue at hand in modern day society. The United Nations has recognized it as one of the most important issues to address. Different UN institutions work together to try and minimize and eliminate child marriage (Unfpa.org).

Although many resolutions have included guidelines for child marriages, the UN recently adopted what is considered to be a historic resolution. This was the Resolution on Child, Early and Forced Marriage (who.int). The goals of the resolution are to focus on the issue in a way that recognizes the need for implementation of solutions for these types of issues within the post-2015 development agenda (girlsnotbrides.org).

The resolution was declared in 2014 and calls on states to enforce laws and policies that are targeting areas in which need more work in each member state. (unfpa.org) However, it is the members state themselves that need to take a step forward and make sure the resolution is being interpreted and implemented in a sustainable way. Many states have signed it, which shows a will to decrease the number of child marriages around the world.

Although many states have shown a will to implement it, child marriages are still a large issue at hand. This can show proof of implementation problems. There is an international agreement, but it does not reach implementation on a national, regional or local level.

Statistics show, 46.4% of girls in South Asia are married before their 18th birthday (statisticbrain.com). In Pakistan, a large percentage of the population is very young. Over 35% is under the age of 15 (Tribune.com.pk). With over a third of its population being underage, this has brought much attention to Pakistan when it comes to children’s rights. One of the issues that have been acknowledged is child marriage. More than 60 million girls were married before their 18th birthday around the globe in 2012. 24% of these 60 million girls came from rural areas in Pakistan and 18% from urban areas (Tribune.com.pk). Having said
that, child marriage is a largely known problem in Pakistan and since such a large part of their population consists of youth, this makes Pakistan a critical case. Many times, child marriage can be used as a tool for religious conversion, making it in some cases a religious problem. This often happens in Pakistan and it is many times the minorities that are the victims of these religious conversions/marriages (Irinnews.org). Other times, the family is responsible for their children marrying young, as there is hope and belief that the child will be given a brighter future when married (Girlsnotbrides.org).

Being unsuccessful with implementing this historical agreement along with others similar in character can create risks for a large part of the population. This resolution is the first of its kind. The only document that Pakistan has been tied to earlier is the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 (refworld.org). Pakistan was the first to suggest a complete elimination of child marriages by 2030 (girlsnotbrides.org) during the negotiations – this shows a commitment to solving the problem. However, since many children are still being married every day, this shows that Pakistan has problems with implementing these international agreements. Problems of implementation of international agreements can derive from how the agreement or issue is valued and interpreted within the state.

However, another useful tool for setting the agenda and the discourse is media. Media as a channel can be used as a reflection of the public discourse. This thesis will focus on the media framing of Pakistan. By using the reflection of the discourse and by collecting data from the media, where different issues are openly discussed and debated, one can get an idea of how the issue itself is perceived and valued. The discourse of the topic and how the issue is valued can later explain the implementation process.
Aim of the study

The aim of this thesis is to conduct a case study that will address the issues of child marriages in Pakistan. The aspiration is to gain a further understanding of how child marriages are interpreted, valued and perceived in Pakistan and whether or not this can explain the implementation problems of national and international agreements. This will be done using media as a tool for deciding on the discourse within the country.
Thesis structure

This thesis will consist of the following structure

The following section will be the theoretical framework and the framework used is *What’s the problem represented to be?* By Carol Bacchi. The next section is Source criticism, material and method where the material used will be discussed as well as the method presented. The third section will consist of the results in four different tables. After that a discussion will follow along with a conclusion where the results will be presented and discussed.
Theoretical framework

The role of media

In the book *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion* by Maxwell McCombs, the issue of how the mass media creates public opinion is discussed. The phenomena has been discussed since 1922, that there could be more to media than just spreading news and discussing important topics – the public opinion is formed by it (McCombs, 2006, p. 5). The media has strongly been related to discussing issues that are topical within a country. In 1968, five issues dominated the American media. These were policy, law and order, economics, public welfare and civil rights. This was right during the presidential campaign and these issues corresponded with the voters of Chapel Hill at the time (McCombs, 2006, p. 6). McCombs continues to discuss how the same pattern has been seen in different places in the same way. It is also mentioned that everything we perceive as problems are not personal experiences and that we experience problems second hand. All communication devices that we use in our society, whether it is a television set, a radio or a newspaper, are handing us signals of what is happening in the world and whether or not something is important. We are experiencing things as important, simply because journalists tell us to (McCombs, 2006, p. 23). So-called Priming is the establishment of associations in the public opinion. This means that the way a problem or a character is portrayed can enhance our associations of public figures for example (McCombs, 2006, p. 157).

In Pakistan, that is a fairly new democracy, media can work as an important tool for discussion. There is a risk of censorship, however this will be discussed further on. Since Pakistan contains many rural areas and areas, ensuring everyone’s access to media can be hard, however, for those that do have access, it can be crucial as an easy tool for discussion and debate.

In conclusion, media can be a very influential tool when it comes to setting the agenda and in the importance of forming public opinion. If an issue is not perceived as a problem to the public, there will be no pressure on stakeholders or emphasis on policies that do see the issue as a problem (such as the resolutions). The reflection of the issue can explain how the country is dealing with the issue. If the public does no feel something is important enough to
bring onto the agenda, the stakeholders will not deal with the issue. Therefore, this thesis will focus on just that – the media framing of child marriages in Pakistan.

What’s the problem represented to be?

As an analyzing tool, Carol Bacchi’s theoretical approach ”What’s the problem represented to be?” (WPR) will be used. The framework discusses what the problem is instead of various solutions. Her approach can in many cases be used to analyze different contexts and this case is no different. The approach will be used in order to decide how the discourse within Pakistan is laid out – what the problem is represented to be when it comes to child marriage. As child marriage can be framed to be an issue of health, religion, a children’s issue or one of women’s rights, this theoretical framework can help with identifying the media framing of the problem. If an issue is not targeted as a problem, this also shows the discourse of a country and can explain implementation problems. The way an issue is portrayed is important as to how it is dealt with. If child marriages turn out to be represented as a health problem, then resolutions framing it as a children’s right are not going to effective.

Bacchi asks a set of questions that can be helpful in determining the discussion around an issue and how the issue itself is being portrayed. Policies are seen as constructed. Problems are problems because they are framed and focused on as a problem. Different roles of different actors play a role in how policy is defined and shaped.

Question 1: What is the ‘problem’ represented to be in a specific policy?

Since how you feel about something determines what you suggest doing about it, what you propose as a solution or policy intervention also clarifies how a problem is seen and valued. (Bacchi, 2009, p. 3) Within a policy proposal or intervention, there can be many approaches to the problem and this is what the first question wants to find out.
Question 2: What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?

This question is for once the problem has been targeted and identified. This is for what assumptions have been made when a policy was written. If a policy proposes a training program, it must build upon the assumption that people lack training. This question addresses the things within a policy that is taken for granted. (Bacchi, 2009, p. 5)

Question 3: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?

The third question that Bacchi marks as important refers to the assumption that problems do not come out of thin air. They are created over time. Therefore, we need to follow the development of an issue.

Since the articles will not give a history overview of the representation and why something is represented in a certain way, this question will be answered simply by what can be deduced from the article.

Question 4: What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?

This question is for what is left unsaid in the article and what is seen as a given and therefore not mentioned as problematic or even as a topic on the agenda.

Question 5: What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?

This continues the critical analysis of the WPR. This question is built upon the assumption that some representations of a problem can create difficulties. This means that there can be effects of the way the representation is produced. These effects are someone getting hurt or someone benefitting from the representation. That something can be change brought by the representation, or that something stays the same is also an effect that is produced (Bacchi, 2009, p. 18).
Question 6: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

This question is a continuation of question 3 and it directs the attention to processes and practices in which certain representations are more dominant than others. In order to answer this question, one must think about how the problem representation reach their target audience and still can be perceived as legitimate. (Bacchi, 2009, p. 19) Since the question itself contains more questions, only the first one could be useful in this analysis. That is because the two latter questions give too much responsibility to the author as one have to analyze the texts in order to answer it. There are no concrete answers to these questions to begin with. In some articles it is hard to define the dissemination, and for the most part, the answer to how the representation has been produced is the same answer as question 3. Therefore, this will only be responded once.

Bacchi’s approach cannot only be used in order to analyze whether or not child marriage is seen as a problem or not, but also what exactly is the problem approach within Pakistan. Articles often give context as to why an issue if brought up in an article. However, since the aim is not to analyze the policies but the articles that are reflections of how the problem is addressed – some of these questions are more relevant than others.

The questions that will be focused on (as they are seen the most relevant) in this study are:

- What is the ‘problem’ represented to be?

- How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?

- How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?

This study will with help of the questions above answer the following queries:

- How is child marriage perceived and valued in Pakistan through media?

- What type of issue is the media framing child marriage as?

- Has the framing of the issue in media changed over time?
Source criticism, material and method

Limited freedom of the press – Source criticism

According to Freedom House Index, the press status in Pakistan was in 2013 not free. Journalists in 2012 faced severe threats of violence from a range of sources, one of the sources being the military. In 2014, the press freedom score rewarded to Pakistan was 5 out of 16. In 2015, that number remains the same, although their overall score is now higher. When it comes to overall civil liberties, they gained a 5 out of 7, where 7 is rated the worst. Freedom House has also evaluated the media:

"Media comes under censorship of both state and nonstate actors regularly. The constitution authorizes the government to curb speech on subjects pertaining to the armed forces, the judiciary, and religion." (freedomhouse.org)

This means that during the time period that this study will investigate, Pakistan has not been seen as a fully free and democratic country. Therefore, the limited freedom of the press is an important aspect to contemplate, as media will be used as the main source of material throughout this study. Some articles may have been censored which is meaningful, as it could mean that child marriages is not a topic that is widely discussed within the country and this could also explain the problems of implementation. The lack of freedom of expression and limited freedom of the press will therefore be considered throughout this thesis. In conclusion, it is the public discourse that wants to be captured, through the reflected picture that the media gives.

Material and Method

The method of this study is a qualitative media-framing analysis. The material used consists of online newspaper publications.

A test run of 5 articles is going to be executed in order to gain a better understanding of the phrases used in media when discussing child marriages. This will be done using the top five newspapers in Pakistan. The biggest five (most popular English ones online) that were to be
found are *The Nation, Dawn, The News International, Daily Times* and *The Express Tribune* (pakwired.com). As, the articles have their offices in different regions of Pakistan and since some of them are old and some of them are new, using all five gives a well-rounded perspective as the articles will then be a mix from different regions. After looking through articles in their online archive, “child marriage” was typed in each search engine. Two articles from each newspaper were randomly selected and after reading them all, a few words could be deduced. This was done in order to decrease the search results and hence the material.
Table 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Phrases used to describe child marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nation¹</td>
<td>“Child marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Early age marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Early marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Marriage of underage children”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn²</td>
<td>“Child marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Forced marriages for girls”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Anti-child marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International³</td>
<td>“Child marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Child brides”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Anti-child marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times⁴</td>
<td>“Child marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Forced to marry”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Arranged marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Marriage at an early age”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Early marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Marriage below the age of 18”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune⁵</td>
<td>“Child marriage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Under-age marriages”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This was the beginning of the search process. As one can conclude, “child marriage” is the most common way to phrase the issue when writing about child marriages. Only articles that contain any of the phrases in Table 1.1 will be used for the study.

Limitations

Due to time limitations and extensive amount of data, only articles with the chosen phrases in the table below will be read and analyzed. The following phrases are: “child marriage”, “early marriage”, “early age marriage”, “marriage of underage children”, “forced marriage for girls”, “anti-child marriage”, “forced to marry”, ”arranged marriage”, “marriage at an early age”, “marriage below the age of 18” and “under-age marriages”.

Because of the limited access to archives and national newspapers, the online versions will be used. Counting the times “child marriages” or equivalent terms are used will not be done.

The study will not cover social media, although it can be considered to be an important aspect of media. Social media has grown worldwide the last couple of years and can be considered to have an impact on public opinion as well. Since the newspapers that will be looked at are online media, there is also room for discussion online around the articles. As it is not a given that the most common person is in contact with social media on a regular basis, there is also a risk that social media will not give an accurate representation of the public interpretations and values within the country.

In order to narrow down the search results, a few time periods were chosen. The time periods were based on the assumption that the discussions and significance of the issue during certain periods of time must have been higher than others. An issue is not always up on the agenda. Ever since 2013, The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Bill was proposed as a new act for the Sindh region in Pakistan. The Provincial Assembly of Sindh passed it on the 28th of April and was assented by the Governor of Sindh on June 10th the following year (Rtepakistan.org). Since the Restraint Act was officially implemented on the 11th of June in Karachi; the first chosen time period will be June 2014. Since child marriage is most prevalent in Sindh, this is the reason for choosing the time period of this restraint act
(borgenmagazine.com). Others regions such as Punjab have discussed implementing a restraint act, yet nothing has happened yet.

The UN Resolution mentioned earlier was adopted in November of 2014 (girlsnotbrides.org). Hence, the second time period will be November of 2014. This is chosen upon the assumption that international decisions will also be spoken about in Pakistan.

A recent time period was also chosen, in order to compare the time periods to each other. It was also important to choose a time period where no international or national changes in policy were made regarding child marriage. The last time period will therefore look at articles from February of 2015.

By comparing the time periods with each other, changes in how the problem is represented (if even represented as a problem at all) can be found. The three questions that were chosen from Bacchi’s theory will be answered for each article, if and when applicable.

During the study, some of the websites were not working, as well as together with some articles. When going back for more information on a specific article, the website would not work. Sometimes, the search engine would show ten results, but only a few of them were viewable. The fact that the online newspapers only archives articles that have been posted online, there is little to no articles from before the age before the Internet. This can be seen as problematic, however since all the articles I needed are from recent years, this was not a problem. The websites only show a maximum of ten sites of search results, which can also be seen as problematic when trying to find all articles during one time period.

The reason for choosing such a short span of time periods is because most child marriages reforms have happened recently. Since the articles are taken from websites, it is also important to keep in mind that just a few years ago, reading news articles online was not even a possibility. Another reason for choosing a short time period is to be able to compare different months where resolutions have been signed and months where they have not, without anything else having changed too much.

It would have been desirable to keep track of how many women and men had written the articles, whether there was an organization or an individual and if there were illustrations in
the articles. This gives a greater understanding of how the problem is represented and who is talking about the issue. It is important to know where the material comes from. However, most authors were unknown or anonymous and therefore this was hard to do. Where there are names, it is hard to determine whether they are female or male. The amount of times a phrase of an author has come up has not been counted.

**Results**

*Table 1.2 The Nation – Time Period 1 (June 2014)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</th>
<th>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</th>
<th>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nation Article 1</td>
<td>The main problem that is represented in the article is child labor and how this issue is not dealt with.</td>
<td>The representation has come from how different issues are perceived to be dealt with in Pakistan.</td>
<td>Media is mentioned to have had something to do with the way different issues are perceived and the fact that child marriages are dealt with on a larger scale than child labor is what has brought forward the article.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 1</td>
<td>The problem represented is child marriages in Pakistan.</td>
<td>This is unclear as the article is very short and informative.</td>
<td>It is produced through the fact that Sindh passed their child marriages restraint act. The problem is defended through the act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 2</td>
<td>The problem represented is that child marriages are a religious issue and that they work as a base for inequality.</td>
<td>The problem is produced through the author, as the author gives an alternate solution to bring in woman or such an existence of a council should not be allowed. The author feels that the council is unequal and discriminating towards women.</td>
<td>The representation has come from the author and how the author feels like the religious barrier that stops women from being a member of the council also stops the council to make wise decisions regarding child marriages among other things. The author brings up equality in democracy as an important factor. In the council, the problem is defended, as according to religion, women cannot be members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 3</td>
<td>The problem represented is religious minorities and their rights. Child marriages are mentioned as a religious issue.</td>
<td>The representation comes from feeling marginalized as a religious group.</td>
<td>The author reacts to a draft bill and the main concern is not child marriages, but ensuring the quality of a marriage for Hindu girls. The whole discussion has arisen from the draft bill and earlier events where Hindu girls have been married to Muslim men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 4</td>
<td>The problem is child marriages and they are represented to be inhumane and a human rights violation.</td>
<td>The representation has come from the high numbers of child marriages in Sindh and the fact that their Minister for Population Welfare has targeted the problem by trying to find solutions for it.</td>
<td>The Sindh Minister for Population Welfare defends the representation, as the police have been encouraged to deal with these issues on a broader scale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 5</td>
<td>The problem represented is the lack of legal implementations when it comes to child marriages in Punjab.</td>
<td>The representation of the problem has come about of the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act and that Punjab, where child marriages are also predominant has not done the same.</td>
<td>The representation of the problem was defended and brought up at the conference mentioned in the article. Many organizations of the civil society stand behind the allegations that Punjab should also implement a similar act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 6</td>
<td>The problem represented is the treatment of the victim in the article. Little focus is on the child marriage she was forced into, rather on her being mistreated.</td>
<td>The problem representation has come from this singular incident.</td>
<td>The representation of the problem comes from the author as the author is defending the issue. She tells her side of the story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 1</td>
<td>The problem is represented to be religion and its correlation to mainly honor killings and also child marriages.</td>
<td>The representation has derived from the story of Farzana and other girls that have been in her position.</td>
<td>The representation of the problem has come from the story of Farzana, although it is defended through religion and tradition. The Council of Islamic Ideology has been mentioned to be a contributing factor in legitimizing child marriages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 2</td>
<td>The problem represented is religious opposition and how it puts a halt in the process of making amendments to the anti-child marriage laws.</td>
<td>The representation has derived from the fact that Sindh has their new marriage restraint act that prohibits girls from being married off. However, since Punjab still does not, the representation of the problem has come about.</td>
<td>The Council of Islamic Ideology has defended the representation of the problem as they strongly oppose to The Child Marriage Restraint Amendment Bill. Religion is mentioned as one of the strong factors behind the issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 3</td>
<td>The problem represented is inequality between men and women and especially how women are neglected in the society.</td>
<td>The representation has come about as the author feels it is important not to forget what happened to Farzana, as this should not be happening to other girls.</td>
<td>The representation has been defended in the society according to the author, as this is happening every day and not enough progress is being made when it comes to child marriages, rape and honor killings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 4</td>
<td>The problem represented is the power that bills and the legislation process have and sometimes do not have over women.</td>
<td>This representation has come from the fact that certain regions have certain laws that control child marriages, while others do not.</td>
<td>Mentioning how other amendments are admirable disseminates the representation of the problem. The representation is defended by Punjab not having passed a similar act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daily Times Article 1</strong></td>
<td>The problem represented is the high numbers of child, early and forced conversions in Sindh.</td>
<td>The representation has come from the statistics that are mentioned in the article, where 42 forced, early marriages have been reported in four months.</td>
<td>The representation focuses on Sindh and the resolution that has been passed in the region. The representation is disseminated through the celebration of the resolution but defended by mentioning that the province still has a long way to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daily Times Article 2</strong></td>
<td>The represented problem is that child marriages are a social and economic issue that curtails education and health.</td>
<td>The problem has come about of the many families that choose to marry off their daughters.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by the high statistic that 32% of marriages are those who involve children. The UN and different organizations of the civil society are also mentioned in the article as important stakeholders that have tried to bring change. It is disseminated through mentioning that the lack of awareness and knowledge is what has probably brought the issue and that this is understandable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daily Times Article 3</strong></td>
<td>The problem is child marriages and they are represented to be a religious minority issue, especially one of the Ahmadiyya community.</td>
<td>The represented problem has come about from the many human rights violations that have happened to people of the Ahmadiyya community.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by mentioning the wrongs that the government has done. There is no dissemination of the represented problem as the author of the article shows the problematic side of child marriages within the Ahmadiyya community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daily Times Article 4</strong></td>
<td>The problem represented is honor killings and the reasons behind them happening. (Child marriages being one of these factors.)</td>
<td>The problem has derived from the human organizations that have brought forward the issue.</td>
<td>The represented problem is defended by the human rights organizations as they continue to present child marriages and honor killings as an important issue. However, the represented problem is disseminated through the author wanting organizations and the society to do more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daily Times Article 5</strong></td>
<td>The problem represented is the implementation process of children’s rights.</td>
<td>The problem represented has come about from the experience that implementation processes are slow and ineffective.</td>
<td>The representation of the problem is defended by higher instances such as the Human Rights Council. There is no dissemination presented of the problem in the article.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 1.6 The Express Tribune – Time Period 1 (June 2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</th>
<th>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</th>
<th>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune Article 1</td>
<td>High numbers of forced and child marriages are represented to be the problem.</td>
<td>The represented problem has come about of the victim that is narrated in the article.</td>
<td>The represented problem is defended by the encouragement that other provinces should implement similar restraint acts as Sindh. It is also disseminated through the fact that the lawyer of the article is trying to get her case registered, which has not yet succeeded.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of the first time period – June 2014

During the first time period, we can see that quite a few articles were written. All newspapers frequently discussed child marriages, except for The Express Tribune and The Nation – they only published one each. Dawn and Daily Times were the ones to discuss the issue the most.

We can see patterns of discussions around the Sindh Marriages Restraint Act and how other minority dominated geographical areas would benefit from a similar act. Although, the act is discussed to a certain degree, it was expected that more newspapers would discuss the topic and express different perspectives of it. Honor killings and religious reasons are discussed as important regards in child marriage-related issues.

The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint act itself and information on what it may mean in the future for the region were not mentioned to the extent that was expected. However, the act is mentioned a few times and the issue is being actively discussed during the time period. Many organizations and conferences have been mentioned in the articles and their significance to bringing the issue forward as well as a base for implementation. These conferences discussed the issue to a certain extent although their sole reason was not to discuss child marriages only.

There have been many things in Pakistan that have happened which are all connected to child marriages – which we can gain from reading the articles. There have been high numbers of child marriage cases as well as seminars that have brought forward more extensive discussions on the topic. There is much discontent when it comes to the situation and this shines through the articles and how the topic is discussed, as most backgrounds to the articles are recent incidents.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Question 1: What is the ‘problem’ represented to be?</th>
<th>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</th>
<th>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nation Article 1</td>
<td>The problem represented is that not many countries today have policies with the aim of protecting children.</td>
<td>The representation of the problem has come from the UN resolution and the statements that organizations such as Plan International have made.</td>
<td>The organizations and the UN are mentioned in the article and they defend the represented problem. It is also defended by the resolution by mentioning its importance as many are at risk today. As the article is quite short and informative, there is no room for dissemination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nation Article 2</td>
<td>The represented problem is violence towards women where child marriages are one form of violence.</td>
<td>The represented problem has derived from the amount of cases that are known to continuously be happening.</td>
<td>The represented problem is defended by mentioning how child marriages and other abuse is not unheard of in Pakistan, yet is still happening. The author mentions how many cases are well known in Pakistan that includes child marriages, yet nothing is done in order to prevent them from happening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nation Article 3</td>
<td>The represented main problem is the lack of vaccination for many children. Child marriages are not discussed first hand in the article.</td>
<td>The represented problem has come from the issue being brought up during a seminar from a development perspective.</td>
<td>The represented problems are defended by the seminar ‘Provincial Women Consultation on Sexual Abuse and Child Marriage. The author of the article also mentions the proven health risks as a further problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>The represented problem is child marriages and the lack if the respect for girls.</td>
<td>The problem has arisen from the discussion of child marriages, through the new UN resolution.</td>
<td>The problem is disseminated, as the name of the resolution is not mentioned. It is defended by how well it is needed in Pakistan and how it is thought to bring change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td>The represented problem is child marriages and the psychological and physical damages this brings.</td>
<td>The problem that is represented in the article comes from Dr. Rifat.</td>
<td>The representation is produced as well as defended by the gynecologist Dr. Rifat as she mentions that child marriages create a hurdle to the development of the child. Education is also compromised according to Dr. Rifat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 2</td>
<td>The represented problem is that laws in modern day society are not keeping up with the development of gender equality.</td>
<td>The problem that is represented has derived from that UN has seen problems with gender equality and Pakistan is one of the countries where they are dominant.</td>
<td>The represented problem is produced and defended by both the UN and Nicole Kidman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 1</td>
<td>Lack of health is the represented problem and how this will burden the government and hospitals in the future and how child marriages may overpopulate the country.</td>
<td>The represented problem has come from the high numbers of births due to child marriages.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by a conference that was held on the matter for a growing population. The problem is disseminated in a certain way that child marriages are only seen as bad for the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 2</td>
<td>The represented problem is that child marriages are happening to many Hindu girls in Sindh, where they have been kidnapped and forcefully married.</td>
<td>The problem has arisen from the Sindh assembly, where the have started negotiating as they at first could not agree on the issue.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by the fact that the assembly now has agreed on seeing child marriages as problematic. The article is too short in order to answer how/where it is disseminated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 3</td>
<td>The represented problem is the importance of implementing the UN resolution on Child, Early and Forced Marriage.</td>
<td>The high numbers of child marriages, especially in Pakistan has made the representation come about.</td>
<td>The representation is supported and defended by Plan International in Pakistan. The UN resolution itself is also defending the importance of implementation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 4</td>
<td>The problem represented is that child marriages are occurring and that they are a human rights violation.</td>
<td>The CEO of Plan has created the representation of the problem.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by the civil society and the UN resolution. This article is almost identical to the previous one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 5</td>
<td>The problem represented is the lack of awareness when it comes to cultural barriers in child marriages.</td>
<td>The representation has come from the civil society and various stakeholders.</td>
<td>The representation has been supported by a seminar where data was shown that proves that child marriages often do not work because of cultural differences. The representation has been disseminated through the different organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 6</td>
<td>The represented problem is violence towards women and the lack of awareness that the issue is so strong.</td>
<td>The International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women and the presented lack of awareness is the source of the represented problem.</td>
<td>Important bills that are currently on the table for preventing child marriages defend the problem. As the target was to market The International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women disseminates the issue, as the article is more about celebrating the day rather than the issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 7</td>
<td>The legal system is represented as the problem as to why young girls are married and forcefully conversed.</td>
<td>The problem has come from two known cases of child marriages as the civil society has expressed dissatisfaction with the legal system.</td>
<td>The civil society defends the represented problem. The problem is further defended by the new marriage restraint act and legal documents. The represented problem is disseminated, as many stakeholders are important in condemning child marriages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What's the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 1</td>
<td>The represented problem is sexual harassment and how this takes away a person’s right to their own body.</td>
<td>The problem representation has come from the fact that Punjab will review amendments in Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by women’s rights as well as the new amendments that have been thought to be successful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 2</td>
<td>The problem represented is that Hindu girls are being treated with extremism.</td>
<td>The problem has arisen from all the cases of child marriages in the Sindh province.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by giving examples of girls that have been kidnapped and married off earlier in Sindh, such as Anjali Meghwar and Kajal Bheel. The article only discusses the Sindh province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 3</td>
<td>The represented problem is that child marriages are a violation of human rights and the right to education.</td>
<td>The Universal Children’s Day is what has brought about the represented problem.</td>
<td>The Universal Children’s Day and how it was celebrated with protests and seminars defend the represented problem. The article also mentions a study that has been presented which proves that child marriages violate fundamental rights to education and leaves the child with physical and psychological changes. The represented problem is disseminated as it tries to bring attention to the event more than the issue itself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 4</td>
<td>The represented problem is that child marriages are unjust and can cause health risks and the lack of anti-child marriage laws implemented.</td>
<td>The representation has come from the high numbers of women under the age of 18 that are being married today.</td>
<td>Statistics in the article defends the represented problem. The article mentions the government and how it is their responsibility to ensure implementation of new laws in order to stop child marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 5</td>
<td>The represented problem is the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act and its poor implementation.</td>
<td>Previous cases with Anjali Meghwar and other girls in Sindh is what have brought forward the representation.</td>
<td>It is defended by the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act and all the cases that are very well known from Sindh, where girls as young as 12 have been married. The act is also criticized for not having been implemented well enough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 6</td>
<td>The represented problem is religion and how religious minorities are targets in Sindh.</td>
<td>The representation of the problem has derived from the many cases of kidnappings and child marriages in Sindh.</td>
<td>The representation is disseminated as a committee on children deaths is about to be formed and this leads way to discuss other children rights issues as well. The many motions that have been sent in regarding the issue that the author discusses thoroughly defend the represented problem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily Times Article 7</th>
<th>The represented problem is that minorities are neglected in Pakistan, which leads to things such as child marriages.</th>
<th>The represented problem has come about since there is a lack of legal documents and efforts from regional government to ensure security to minorities.</th>
<th>The represented problem is defended by Dr. Ramesh Kumar and by bringing up the many Hindu girls that have been forcefully married. The article lobbies for a Hindu Marriage Restraint Act. Although Sindh has their restraint act, this is said to not be enough.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 8</td>
<td>The represented problem is the lack of implementation when it comes to resolutions regarding child marriages.</td>
<td>The lack of full implementation of the resolutions that Pakistan has signed is what has brought the represented problem forward.</td>
<td>The represented problem is disseminated, as the author is an activist. Mentioning how many are at risk today, as Pakistan has a young population, defends the representation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 9</td>
<td>The represented problem is child marriages from different perspectives, such as psychological health, gender equality, education, poverty reduction and maternal health.</td>
<td>UN statistics of how many women are in child marriages today is what have brought forward the represented problem.</td>
<td>The article is defended by the UN statistics that are presented in the article. Encouraging all UN member states to stand up for equality and women’s rights is how the article is disseminated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times Article 10</td>
<td>The represented problem is child marriages and the lack of education it leads to.</td>
<td>The represented problem has derived from high numbers that show how many girls will be married by 2020.</td>
<td>The article is disseminated in the way that Plan International is mentioned and their appreciation for the UN resolution on child and forced marriages. The UN resolution and the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act defend the problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune Article 1</td>
<td>The represented problem is dissatisfaction with the implementation of international and national agreements regarding children’s rights.</td>
<td>The representation comes from the lack of budget for newly signed resolutions and the lack of celebration for international days.</td>
<td>Mentioning how Pakistan has failed to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and how the UN convention and Sindh restraint act will require a budget defends the represented problem. The way it is disseminated is through encouraging a larger budget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune Article 2</td>
<td>The represented problem is religion, as a problematic aspect in child marriages.</td>
<td>The represented problem has come from the family’s story of a young girl that was kidnapped and married.</td>
<td>The family’s statements defend the represented problem. The dissemination focuses on the Muslim community and how child marriages often are a tool for religious conversion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune Article 3</td>
<td>Child marriages are represented as the problem as a societal challenge as it prevents girls from finishing their education.</td>
<td>Key people such as Malala Yousafzai are the reason why the represented problem has been brought up.</td>
<td>The represented problem is disseminated in a way where the play used for awareness is marketed. The purpose of the play is to encourage and teach people how to save girls from being married at an early age. The represented problem is defended as the story is based on true events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune Article 4</td>
<td>The represented problem is that child marriages are a violation of human rights and takes away the right to education.</td>
<td>The represented problem has come about from the perspective that marrying a child does not align with six of the eight millennium development goals.</td>
<td>The problem is defended by facts, such as the millennium development goals. This is also the way the article is disseminated; by explaining how only two of the goals can be fulfilled with child marriages still in the picture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of the second time period – November 2014

The second time period shows patterns of the UN resolution being largely discussed in many of the articles of the different newspapers. Both more neutral articles where information on the resolution was given and also different perspectives and background stories of the resolution were brought up.

The United Nations in general has been discussed a lot over this time period, their new millennium goals specifically and how children’s and girls’ rights can be implemented on an international as well as national arena.

The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act is also discussed as the authors feel it has been poorly implemented and the worries that come with. The articles’ representation of the problem has derived from various incidents as a lack of budget to fund newly signed resolutions and girls who have been kidnapped and married.

Child marriages were discussed as different types of problems such as a minority issue to a large extent, where young Hindu girls from Sindh are allegedly targeted for being a religious minority within the country. One article described the issue as the lack of their impact and the lack of respect for their rights lead to them being targeted in multiple ways – one of these ways being child marriages. Different psychological and physiological/health related issues with child marriages were brought up during the time period. The lack of implementation and faults of the Pakistan legal system were also discussed.

Child marriages were connected to girls’ right to education, health perspectives and lack of implementation of universal human rights. The time period covers lots of perspectives on the matter as well as statistics and facts regarding budgeting and examples of legal cases.

The topic is extensively discussed and Daily Times were the ones to write the largest amount of articles during the time period. Whether this is because Daily Times have more readers and feels they need to interest them all or because their reporters care more for the issue is however unclear.
The following tables are a representation of the third time period.

Table 3.1 The Nation – Time Period 3 (February 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Question 1: What is the ‘problem’ represented to be?</th>
<th>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</th>
<th>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>Child marriages are represented as a problem in two ways in the article. They are represented as an educational and children’s rights issue for both women and children.</td>
<td>The representation has come about through the civil society and different organizations that believe child marriages are against equality.</td>
<td>The represented problem is defended through the human rights and organizations. The representation is disseminated through the organizations as they lobby for their own campaign within the article.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Dawn – Time Period 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Question 1: What is the ‘problem’ represented to be?</th>
<th>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</th>
<th>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 1</td>
<td>Child marriages are represented as problematic from women and girls’ right perspective and a gender equality perspective.</td>
<td>The representation comes from the lack of policy reforms and the wish to improve health services.</td>
<td>The representation is disseminated through the mentioned project, which is what mainly is discussed in the article. Mentioning the societal challenges that comes with child marriages defends the representation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 2</td>
<td>The problem represented is that important stakeholders in child marriages lack the tools for bringing change.</td>
<td>The represented problem has arisen from the many girls in Karachi that were married.</td>
<td>The Minister for Women Development and Social Welfare defends the representation. It is through announcing that a media campaign on the matter is to be launched that she defends it. The representation is disseminated as she mentions how they are trying to establish better tools for dealing with child marriages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn Article 3</td>
<td>The represented problem is that child marriages are violations women’s rights.</td>
<td>Talking to survivors of violence is what has brought up the problem.</td>
<td>The represented problem has been defended by the interviews with survivors that the article contains. It is disseminated in a certain way, where religion and traditional values are discussed as possible reasons for child marriages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 1</td>
<td>The problem represented is the lack of child protection policies, especially for minorities and in order to respect human rights.</td>
<td>The representation comes from not having a meeting on the child protection policy since 2013.</td>
<td>The dates and facts about the legal system in Pakistan that are brought in defence, which gives evidence to the represented problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 2</td>
<td>Health risks are represented as the problem and child marriages can create these risks for women.</td>
<td>The representation comes from a conference that was held on the matter.</td>
<td>The represented problem is defended by an interview with a doctor. The problem is disseminated in the way that it gives information on what happened in the conference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 3</td>
<td>The represented problem is unclear, it can be perceived as one of lack of democracy and also one of physiological and psychological health for women and girls.</td>
<td>The representation has come from the UN resolution.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by the civil society and different organizations, as they want a say in the legal process. It is disseminated in the way that many factors and many organizations are brought up in order to defend the issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International Article 4</td>
<td>The problem represented is child marriages and how resolutions regarding child marriages need to be implemented and awareness needs to be spread.</td>
<td>Child Marriages Restraint Act is what has brought the represented problem forward.</td>
<td>The problem is defended through legal documents that have been proven to contradict each other. The dissemination is put in a way where their project is spoken largely about and this is the center of the article.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.4 Daily Times – Time Period 3 (February 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Question 1: What's the ‘problem’ represented to be?</th>
<th>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</th>
<th>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times</td>
<td>The problem represented is child abuse (including</td>
<td>The represented problem has come from knowledge spreading that boys</td>
<td>The article is disseminated in the way that pedophilia is the issue that is mainly discussed,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td>child marriages) and how it is often religiously</td>
<td>are being sexually abused and married to male caregivers.</td>
<td>however, the author uses child marriages as a concrete example of child abuse. The issue that is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and traditionally defended.</td>
<td></td>
<td>represented in the article is defended and stressed through the Council for Islamic Ideology, which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>considered the Prohibition of Child Marriages Act un-Islamic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times</td>
<td>The represented problem is that child marriages are</td>
<td>The representation has come from the Restraint Act that has not</td>
<td>The Sindh Minister for Women Development defends the represented issue as well as The Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 2</td>
<td>an important issue, one that concerns both women</td>
<td>yet been implemented very well.</td>
<td>Development Department and UNICEF. The minister is encouraging others to work for the issue and that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and young girls.</td>
<td></td>
<td>more needs to be done for the girls in Sindh that are being married off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times</td>
<td>The problem represented is that child marriages are</td>
<td>The represented problem has come from the conference that was held</td>
<td>Action Aid and the civil society defend the representation. Discussing the documents and birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 3</td>
<td>both an issue of youth and inequality.</td>
<td>on the matter by the civil society.</td>
<td>certificates that have allegedly been forged is how the article is disseminated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times</td>
<td>The represented problem is the legal system and how</td>
<td>The representation comes from found loopholes within legal documents and the legal system.</td>
<td>The article is defended by the Child Marriages Restraint Act 1929, in which the author points out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 4</td>
<td>implementation of laws needs to be more effective.</td>
<td></td>
<td>loopholes and flaws. The article is descriptive of the legal system and the legal documents which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times</td>
<td>The represented problem comes from the report that</td>
<td>The UN and the human rights violations that are discussed defend the issue in the article. The report</td>
<td>works as the base for the entire article.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 5</td>
<td>the lack of education due to threats of early and</td>
<td>The report calls for measures to be taken.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?</td>
<td>Question 2: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?</td>
<td>Question 3: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Express Tribune</strong></td>
<td>The problem represented is that child marriages are still occurring today and this is a step back in empowering women.</td>
<td>The represented problem comes from the organizations that have been involved with the project mentioned in the article.</td>
<td>The involved organizations and the Dutch government defend the problem represented in the article. Sindh and Punjab are the two regions mentioned in the article as the target for the project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where the representation has come from is unclear. However, it could be from the government realizing they need more help than before.</td>
<td>The government is defending the issue as they are asking for help to work further with child marriages. The article is disseminated as an outreach to organizations, as the government wants their help in shaping the bill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Express Tribune</strong></td>
<td>The represented problem is the lack of different perspectives in the society when it comes to child marriages.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article 2</strong></td>
<td>The problem represented is that 40% of all brides are underage and that this is a common phenomenon in Punjab.</td>
<td>The represented problem comes from the equality principles of the constitution that are not in line with the Restraint Act from 1929.</td>
<td>Nasira Iqbal defends the representation in the article. She mentions the Restraint Act and how it needs to be amended and set 18 as the lowest age for marriage. In the article, the laws and constitution are compared to show inconsistency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Express Tribune</strong></td>
<td>The problem represented is that many girls are being married today and harder punishments and religion play big parts of it.</td>
<td>The representation comes from a survey, which showed how many girls are being married.</td>
<td>Statements of the civil society defend the represented problem. The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act is mentioned and how harder punishments need to be implemented for breaking it. The Council of Islamic Ideology is also mentioned to have intervened on the issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statistics from a conference and a survey, which showed that many women, have been victims of child marriage, laid as base for the represented problem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Express Tribune</strong></td>
<td>The lack of implementation tools in order to implement the restraint act in Sindh. Health risks are also brought up as part of the problem.</td>
<td>Statistics from a conference and a survey, which showed that many women, have been victims of child marriage, laid as base for the represented problem.</td>
<td>The representation is defended by the conference and the survey that showed that 61% out of 559 women that were surveyed had been married before their 18th birthday. Child marriages are discussed in several ways in the article. The health aspect of becoming a mother at a young age is largely discussed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article 5</strong></td>
<td>The represented problem is the harmful practices (one of them being child marriages) in Balochistan and rural Sindh.</td>
<td>The representation has come from the police force that has come to the realization that they need more training.</td>
<td>The issue is defended by the police force in Karachi. The problem regions that are targeted in the article are Balochistan and rural Sindh. The police force is narrated throughout the article.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of the third time period – February 2014

During the third time period, child marriages are mainly represented as women’s rights and equality issues. Many of the articles frame the issue as a violation of fundamental rights for women and girls and discuss how the reason as to why child marriages still exist is due to the injustice between men and women in society. Many of the articles also see child marriages as a religious problem by mentioning Sindh and Punjab and how Hindu girls are forced to marry.

Most of the articles, discuss child marriages from different points of views and it is represented as both a religious, rural, physiological and psychological and female issue.

The articles discussed many points of views when it comes to child marriage, a few of them being the UN and the Child Marriages Restraint Act and their importance on the matter. In all articles, child marriages are considered problematic, undemocratic and as a human rights violation. This is discussed from a religious view, women’s rights view, legal view and educational view. In this sense, the articles cover most of the different arguments we previously have found child marriages discussed. Lastly, *The Express Tribune* during the third time period published a total of six articles regarding child marriages. Three out of those six articles discuss rural Pakistan and less fortunate areas such as Sindh, Balochistan and Punjab. It is well known that in the rural areas, Hindu girls have a history of being kidnapped and married and this is what the articles discuss.

There are several known cases of missing and married girls from these areas, as discussed earlier. The other three articles discuss how harder punishments are a crucial part to ending child marriages and what the society needs to do in order to empower women and bring forward different perspectives in order to help shape any legal bill that may come forward as well as putting an end to child marriages.
Table 3.6
A conclusive overview of the topics discussed in each newspaper during all three time periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Topics Time Period 1</th>
<th>Topics Time period 2</th>
<th>Topics Time period 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>-Child labor</td>
<td>-Sexual violence</td>
<td>-Early marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Child marriages</td>
<td>-UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Women’s rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Vaccines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>-Sexual violence</td>
<td>-UN resolution</td>
<td>-Child marriage campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Religious issues</td>
<td>-Gender equality</td>
<td>-Women’s rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Minority girls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Sindh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Sexual violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The News International</td>
<td>-Farzana Parveen</td>
<td>-Population growth</td>
<td>-Human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Punjab</td>
<td>-Sindh Restraint Act</td>
<td>-Health risks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Child marriages)</td>
<td>-UN resolution</td>
<td>-Civil society (child marriages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Domestic violence</td>
<td>-Hindu girls (child-marriages)</td>
<td>-Child marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times</td>
<td>-Child marriages</td>
<td>-Sexual harassments</td>
<td>-Pedophilia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Ahmedis (religious issue)</td>
<td>-Hindu girls (forced conversions)</td>
<td>-Child marriage campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Universal Children’s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Sindh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>-Karachi (child marriages)</td>
<td>-UN resolution</td>
<td>-Bachpan Bachao (Child marriage project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Forced conversions &amp; Marriages (Hindu girl)</td>
<td>-Child marriages reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Child marriages</td>
<td>-Civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of complete data

Table 3.6 summarizes the topics that could found during the three different time periods for the different newspapers. During the time periods, some topics overlap over different newspapers. This table gives us a better, more visible overview of the periods where the newspapers have written more about child marriages than other time periods.

By looking at the table, we can make conclusions of what topics have been important to what newspaper during which time period. During the first time period, two out of five newspapers discussed religious issues involved in child marriages and during the second time period all five newspapers discussed the UN resolution. During the third time period, many different perspectives of child marriages were discussed throughout all newspapers. This is in particular interesting as no new resolutions were brought forward during this time. This shows the topic is considered important and worth discussing regardless of what is happening on a policy level.
Discussion

Child marriages are discussed in often many broad terms; there are different perspectives on the issue in many of the articles. Different stakeholders share completely different views on how implementation and legislation can be revised in order to improve the situation.

Whether or not child marriages is a question of human rights, educational rights, female rights or any other type of right is largely discussed through the articles, this shows that there is little to no common ground on whether or not child marriages should be prohibited or not. However, most of the articles are either informative of a certain situation regarding child marriages or see child marriages as a negative – something that is a violation and that is an issue that needs to be solved.

As previously discussed as well, the censorship of media may play a big role. There were in a few articles, where one may suspect that they were written in a certain way in order to better fit the frames of censorship. However, most articles were very outspoken and strong beliefs and views were expressed which are unlikely to have been fallen under censorship. Most authors were also anonymous or unknown, which gives them some security to express their own opinions.

The most difficult part about the articles were finding common ground to stand on regarding information that could lead to a conclusion on why implementation has been unsuccessful within Pakistan. A few articles do cover it and show statistics of how the budget is not enough, how the police lack the training needed and how the legal system does not work in favor of young girls that are victims of child marriage.

However, four categories were found to be common ground, which can be found in the articles, and the way child marriages are discussed. Looking at the different tables and comparing the time periods to each other, these can be narrowed down.. These four are:

**Religion/tradition**

In many of the articles that can be found in the tables, the reasons for child marriages being so prominent in Pakistan is most often explained as it being religiously and traditionally defended.
Health/Population

Child and forced marriages are discussed as a health and population problem. Since the population of Pakistan is so young on average, many girls are at risk of child marriage. This will then lead to a growing population in a society where the system is not expanding fast enough to ensure welfare for everyone. Child marriage is also associated with early childbirth in many articles, and this aspect is also widely discussed as this often comes with complications.

Sindh and Punjab

The two provinces are largely discussed, especially the rural areas of Sindh and Punjab. The reason for this is because many Hindu girls live in Sindh and Punjab and many of these girls have been abducted and forcefully married and religiously converted. This also adds to the idea that child marriages are proceeding due to religious reasons. There are two very famous cases that were mentioned several times in the articles – Kajal Bheel and Anjali Kumari Meghwar. The girls were 12 years old when they were kidnapped and married to Muslim men and this has brought large attention to the areas.

The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act is also largely discussed in the articles and Punjab is often encouraged to have their own restraint act. This is especially discussed during the first time period, the same month as the restraint act came into power.

Legislation/Council of Islamic Ideology

There are articles that discuss the loopholes of the constitution and the resolutions and how these different legal documents are not tied in together with each other. This has been described as the reason for implementation problems as there are different interpretations of the same legal situation. The Council of Islamic Ideology has also been discussed and how they are not for equality as they do not let women on the council and this is considered anti-democratic. The council has also gotten a lot of critique for working against some of the new draft bills that concern violence against women and child marriages.
Differences in time periods

There have been differences in what topics are brought up during which time period. These differences will further be discussed in this section.

During the first time period, many of the articles are about the Sindh Child Marriage Restraint Act and how it will lead into power. The legal system and legislative process is also discussed further than other topics. Many seminars on the topic were held and the civil society has had a lot to say about child marriages in the articles.

The second time period, on the other hand has a larger focus on the issue itself and how it is framed and valued in Pakistan. The UN resolution is discussed but not as much as one could have anticipated.

During the third time period, there were many articles on child marriages that discussed both the restraint act, the resolution, different seminars on the topic and different perspectives to value the issue. This was not expected, as there was no official legal document that focused on child marriages during this month.

Overall, there were a few differences between the time periods and it was clear that during the times of the resolutions they were discussed to a larger extent. However, during the time period child marriages were still as topical – although other, new perspectives were given on the matter. This shows that child marriages are discussed frequently in the country and it is also something that is discussed publically.
**Theoretical saturation**

This is an extra aspect that can be important to discuss further. Theoretical saturation is when a person in a researching process of qualitative data analysis can find no new data (knowledge.sagepub.com).

There were at times when it felt like theoretical saturation had been verified, especially when some of the articles were almost identical to one another. The same cases were discussed over and over again during the same time period and in different news articles.

In conclusion to this, the study has not reached theoretical saturation, as the timeline changes and new cases were brought up and there are new incidents and perspectives that add to the knowledge and discussion of child marriages. Therefore, similar articles are also important to the results, as they show emphasis on a case or perspective that can be important. Since the aim was to find the discourse over time, finding similar articles had added value although repetitive.

**Weaknesses and strengths of the study**

One of the biggest strengths of the study is the large extent of data, which can be considered new of its kind. Having looked at not less than five newspapers in Pakistan and three time periods, the material covers an extensive amount of articles.

Another strength of the study is the fulfillment of the aim. However, the time periods could have been further stretched over more than a one-year period in total, which could have shown other significant differences between the articles. Nevertheless, the results we have today already show how the topical resolution is larger discussed at hand during the time period of its nascent.

One of the biggest weaknesses with the study is the uncertainty of to which extent these articles are to be considered genuine and whether or not they truly reflects the discourse within the country. Since child marriages are such a sensitive issue, there is no way to know for sure if the authors felt encouraged and obligated to speak their mind on the issue. It can
only be assumed that since most author have chosen to be anonymous or are unknown, that they have felt the security of speaking their mind on the issue. This can also be met by how the articles correspond with international statements from Pakistan regarding international policies. This proves that there is a will in the country to change the issue, but since child marriages is perceived in so many different ways, a successful implementation has not yet been met. The study has however given us a discourse over time, which inevitably was the aim of the study.

**Other perspectives than the study**

Although this study has shed some light over the topic of child marriages in Pakistan and the discourse within the country, there are many other factors that could play a huge role in how the topic is perceived and dealt with.

Most of the articles were pushing for a change in some way, however, during the time periods, four perspectives could be found as the strongest, most prominent ones. One is likely to find more perspectives and views if the political system and situation within the country were looked at. This means that there could be lots of unaccounted factors that play a huge role in how the political implementation of the problem is being handled.

As we know, on an international level, Pakistan has pushed for better implementation as well as change when it comes to child marriages, but within the country – little to no implementation is shown. An explanation for this could be the different stakeholders – the leaders on a national level may not have the same perception of the issue as international representatives do. There can be a political division between the two, which could very well explain the difference in behavior.

Transparency and communication also seems to be problematic for Pakistan, as a new democracy and this could also explain the situation. There could be a lack in tools and knowledge for implementation, perhaps there is a will but not a way. This could also explain why Pakistan would push for international resolutions – they would need support of an international arena (such as The United Nations) to help implement resolutions on the topic.
In conclusion, there could be many other factors than the ones found in this study that matter. However, this is the discourse of the topic and it shows us that child marriages need to be dealt with as it affects many young girls and their families as well as communities in many ways. Some of these ways are educational, psychological and physiological. The newspapers show us what is happening on a national level and what is being said within the media corresponds with what is being said on an international level. This shows that a vast majority perceives child marriages as problematic. Since the implementation has yet to succeed – perhaps the problem is that there are too many ways to look at the same problem.
Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to conduct a study that will address the issues of child marriages in Pakistan. The aim was to gain a further understanding of how child marriages are interpreted, valued and perceived in Pakistan, through the reflection of media.

Child marriages in Pakistan are valued and interpreted in many different ways. Five ways were dominant over the three time periods and these were: Legislation/Council of Islamic Ideology, Sindh and Punjab, Health/Population and Religion/Tradition.

Child marriages are in the most articles, seen as a way of breaking children’s and women’s rights in some way. None of the articles portray child marriage as a direct positive thing. There are articles where it is discussed from a different point of view but none of the authors argue that child marriages are positive. It is always portrayed as a negative or neutral matter.

The different solutions given to the same problem may also be different, in some articles the government was blamed to be the ones responsible for implementing harder laws against child marriages. In other cases, the civil society were the ones who had to give feedback and input on existing law in order to move the change forward.

The framing of the issue in media has changed over time, however; perhaps not in the way one would believe. Child marriages are still a highly discussed topic throughout all the three time periods. The way child marriages are discussed has changed and the resolution and restraint act is discussed more during the time periods they were brought up. Nevertheless, they are continuously discussed throughout and new documents and legalizations are also debated and brought forward in all the three time periods.

I believe that all these factors – both how wide of range child marriages are represented in newspapers, but also the different solutions to the problems, the same time as the problems are represented in many different ways, do go hand in hand with the actual situation. Child marriages are a complex problem and therefore it requires complex solutions. There is little to no common ground among all stakeholders in Pakistan and therefore it has been hard to implement the different policies. Strong values and religion/traditions also seem to play a
huge role in Pakistan, especially when it comes to who the victim is. Many of the articles mention the Council of Islamic Ideology as a part of government that is making the progress and implementation hard in child marriage cases.

This study has shed some light on how media is widely used when talking about child marriages and can also give the foundation as to why Pakistan has implementation problems. Further research could be done on the Council of Islamic Ideology and their influence as well as who speaks about the problem. Most of the authors were anonymous or unknown and a new study could possible investigate who is responsible for all the articles and who the media agenda belongs to. Further research on the legal system in Pakistan could also be carried out in order to find out to what extent the legal system is responsible for implementation problems. This study gives a base in forms of articles where numerous problems are brought up and different perspectives that can all be used for further research.
References

Literature


Bacchi, C. (2009) *Analysing Policy: What's the problem represented to be?* Australia


Web


http://wwwnc.cdc.gov/eid/article/12/11/06-0510_article 22/4-15

http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2672998/pdf/RIOG002001_0051.pdf 22/4-15
Articles Table 1.1

The Nation, *Punjab assembly approves harsher punishments in child marriage act*

The Nation, *Call for action against child marriage*

Dawn, *UN adopts resolution on child marriage*

Dawn, *Anti-child marriage law*

The News International, *Punjab yet to benefit from anti-child marriage law*


Daily Times, *Call for collective efforts to end child marriage*

Daily Times, *Too young to tie the knot: ending child marriages*
The Tribune, Child marriage act monitoring committees to be set up

The tribune, Training workshop: helping police enforce laws protecting rights of children

Other articles
The Nation, The curse of child labour

Dawn, Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act comes into effect

Dawn, Child marriage prohibition act’s draft discussed

Dawn, Draft bill seeks end to forced marriages of Hindu girls

Dawn, Minister vows to check early marriages
The newspaper’s correspondent (author unknown), 1/6-15, http://www.dawn.com/news/1109784 15/5-15

Dawn, Little headway in child marriage laws

Dawn, Cop arrested in Swat for chopping off wife’s nose

Dawn, Violence continuum
Razesha Sethna, 24/6-14, http://www.dawn.com/news/1114643 15/5-15
The News International, *The only ghairatmand*

The News International, *Punjab yet to benefit from anti-child law*

The News International, *Let’s not forget Farzana*

The News International, *No law against domestic violence so far*

Daily Times, *42 cases of forced, early marriages in four months*

Daily Times, *Too young to tie the knot: ending child marriages*

Daily Times, *Pakistan: not a country for minorities*

Daily Times, *Homicide in the name of honour*

Daily Times, *Forced marriage: 14-year-old wants her father punished for marrying her off*

Daily Times, *UN move against child marriage welcomed*

The Nation, *Marital rape – the darker side of domestic abuse*

The Nation, *31, 452 kids not vaccinated against polio*

Dawn, *UN adopts resolution on child marriage*

Dawn, ‘*Better public awareness to help check child marriages*’

Dawn, *Play your part*

The News International, *Steps urged to control growing population*

The News International, *Resolution against forced-conversion, marriages approved in Sindh Assembly*
The News International, UN resolution on child and forced marriage welcomed

The News International, UN resolution to end child marriages welcomed

The News International, Awareness of early marriages urged

The News International, Effective laws sought to contain violence against women

The News International, Civil society condemns ‘forced conversion’ of Hindu girl

Daily Times, Sexual harassment under scrutiny

Daily Times, Ban demanded on forced conversion, under-age marriage

Daily Times, Universal Children’s Day marked in city with protests seminars

Daily Times, Early marriages in Pakistan
marriages-in-pakistan 22/5-15

Daily Times, Anjali Bai is not Rattan Bai

Daily Times, SA to form committee on Thar children deaths

Daily Times, PHC demands formation of committee to protect minorities

Daily Times, Rights for children still an illusion

Daily Times, United Nations members resolve to end child marriage

Daily Times, Call for ending child, forced marriages

The Express Tribune, Child rights in Pakistan: An unfinished agenda

The Tribune Express, Anjali or Salma?: Alleged forced conversion sparks protest in Sukkur

The Tribune Express, Interactive theatre: ‘How will you save a child from getting married?’
The Tribune Express, *UN intervention: Resolution on ending child marriages hailed*

The Nation, ‘*Early marriage greater risk for losing childhood*’

Dawn, *INGOs join hands to combat child marriages*

Dawn, *Child marriage awareness campaign planned*

Dawn, ‘*Religious leders can be allies for women’s rights*’

The News International, *Opp leader to be replaced this week, PA told*

The News International, ‘*Exploitation of women seeking infertility treatment common*’

The News International, *Civil society wants say in making laws on child marriage*

The News International, 42 percent girls in Pakistan get married before their 18th birthday

Daily Times, *Peadophilia in Pakistan*
Daily Times, *Minister asks people to join campaign against child marriages*

Daily Times, *Draft legislation to prevent child marriages*

Daily Times, *Anti-child marriages Act*

Daily Times, *Attack against schoolgirls on the rise: UN*
Author unknown, 9/2-15, [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/national/09-Feb-2015/attacks-against-schoolgirls-on-the-rise-un](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/national/09-Feb-2015/attacks-against-schoolgirls-on-the-rise-un) 23/5-15

The Express Tribune, *Child marriages*

The Express Tribune, *Child rights: ‘Child marriages bill to be tabled by March 8’*

The Express Tribune, *Bachpan Bachao: Punjab lacks law against child marriage*

The Express Tribune, *Protecting girls: new alliance formed against child marriages*
The Express Tribune, *A corrupting tradition: Sanghar sends rays of hope to get rid of child marriages*

The Express Tribune, *Protecting human rights: Training of master trainers concludes in Karachi police academy*
Appendix

Results

Time period 1 (June 2014)

The Nation

Article 1

The first article is called *The curse of child labour*¹.

“ 'While media and police rushes when a child marriage is being performed, it fails to cover the plight of those who are of the same age but are working as labours in broad daylight.' ”

The main problem represented is how children are in labor and that it is not dealt with. The representation of the problem has come about through different interpretations of how different issues in Pakistan are dealt with. The article puts child labor and child marriages against each other and questions why child labor is not given as much attention as child marriages. It is unclear exactly how the representation of the problem is produced; however, media is mentioned in the article as one of a few factors as to how the agenda is set and that this decides for the lack of attention given to child labor.

It could be replaced in the way that both issues are portrayed as equally important and that they can both be identified as an issue of children’s rights. The fact that they are not could be to target stakeholders or others with a connection to child labor.

Dawn

Article 1

The first article *Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act*\(^2\) comes into effect was published one day after officially implementing the act in the province. The article is very informative of what the new act means and what notions are included in it.

The problem represented is child marriages. However, it is hard to deduce what this means to the author as the article is very objective and informative, it only focuses on the facts and does not debate the issue. The representation of the problem could have been replaced in many ways as no added value of the issue is given in the article; it is hard to know the author’s standpoint on the matter. The representation comes from Sindh officially passing their restraint act on child marriages.

Article 2

The second article *Child marriage prohibition act’s draft discussed*\(^3\) dissertates the fact that the Council of Islamic Ideology and how its existence should not be allowed. The reason as to why the council’s existence should not be allowed is because women are not allowed in the council. Men and women and equal and both genders should be equally represented. Furthermore, child marriages are discussed in the sense that the council was doubtful regarding raising the age barrier of marriage, as religiously a girl is considered a woman when reached puberty.

The problem is represented to be a religious issue as a base for inequality. The problem has sprung off the fact that the author is experiencing inequality within the council and that this will not give a female perspective on issues like child marriages.

The presentation of the problem is produced in the sense that is critical towards religion as it does not allow for women and the approach is one of gender equality.


Article 3

*Draft bill seeks end to forced marriages of Hindu girls* is about the Hindu Marriage Bill, which targets Hindu girls and the prevention of them being married off to Muslim men.

The article targets the problem as a religious minority issue. Child marriages are not the main concern, however, ensuring Hindus marry Hindus are. It is mentioned in the article that the draft bill wants to legislate that Muslim men are not allowed to marry a Hindu girl within three-and-half years if separation from her husband.

The representation of the problem comes from being marginalized as a minority group. The target is to stop forced marriages. The way the article is written is a framing of child marriages as a religious issue.

Article 4

*Minister vows to check early marriages* Sindh Minister for Population Welfare has encouraged police authorities to register cases on early marriages, as this is an inhuman practice and that the girls are at risk when they become mothers too early as the country suffers enough from poverty and lack of resources as it already is.

The represented problem is one where child marriages are inhuman and against human rights. It has come of the compassion for the young girls that are suffering from poverty or bad circumstances.

The target audience is the Pakistani population, especially people in Sindh, as the Minister is portrayed as someone who is doing everything in their favor to improve the legal system in child marriages cases.

---

4 http://www.dawn.com/news/1115507
5 http://www.dawn.com/news/1109784
Article 5

Little headway in child marriage laws - The civil society is largely presented in this article as Plan International and Rahnuma FPAP organized a meeting where parliamentarians, religious leaders, doctors, lawyers and reporters participated in and discussed child marriages in the Punjab region of Pakistan. The Alliance against Child Marriages announced in the article that there still has been no legislation in order to check child marriages in Punjab.

The problem that is represented is the lack of legal implementation against child marriages in Punjab. This has been realized after seeing Sindh pass their restraint act.

The article discusses the conference that was held it is mentioned that stopping child marriages would benefit the nation.

Article 6

Cop arrested in Swat for chopping off wife’s nose - This next article is about a victim of child marriage to a policeman. She was married off when she was seven years old. Her husband then cut off her nose and kept her in confinement, which is what the article is mainly about. He was sent to prison.

The problem that is represented is the treatment of the victim. She tells her side of the story in the article. There is little focus on the child marriage aspect of the article. Instead, it focuses on the chopped nose and that she was locked in.

Article 7

Violence continuum is written by Razeshta Sethna and is about her participation in the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict, which was held in London. The article
mainly discusses sexual violence towards women but briefly also mentions child marriages in Pakistan:

“Are powerful governments actually interested in forcing a movement to address sexual violence beyond charting road maps? How can victims of sexual violence and rape, and survivors of acid attacks, ‘honour’ crimes and child marriages in Pakistan expect justice when they are unprotected and mistreated by the state?”

The article’s representation of the problem is that the government has handled the situation wrong. This derives from that nothing done so far has worked.

**The News International**

**Article 1**

*The only ‘ghairatmand’*<sup>9</sup> brings up the case of Farzana Parveen who was the victim of a honor killing by her own family. The problem represented in the article is centered around religion and honor killings, but does also mention child marriages:

“Where are the stalwarts of the Council of Islamic Ideology who have no qualms in legitimising under-age marriage? Are they going to argue for the protection of women who exercise their legal and religious right to marry the person of their choice?”

This has derived of the story of Farzana.

**Article 2**

*Punjab yet to benefit from anti-child marriage law*<sup>10</sup> discusses how Punjab has not yet a law to regulate child marriages and so the civil society continues to push for this. The Child

---


Marriage Restraint Amendment Bill faces strong opposition from the Council of Islamic Ideology.

The problem is represented as religious opposition and this puts a halt in the process of making amendments to the acts. This derives from a delay in the process of drafting and debating on anti-child marriage bills.

The article gives many perspectives on different regions but also what different organizations have said on the matter – this gives a well-rounded perspective on different views of child marriages.

Article 3

*Let not forget Farzana*[^11]^ is an article that discusses gender equality and women rights. It is said that Pakistan show signs that women are seen as the weaker gender as they are threatened with child marriages, rape, honor killings etc. The legislation and implementation processes are also questioned.

The problem represented is how women are neglected in the society. It derives from the cases many women have suffered, especially the story of Farzana Iqbal.

Article 4

*No law against domestic violence so far*[^12]^ is about domestic violence and how the Domestic Violence Bill is admirable, but has little to no actual effect of change for women. The article then continues to discuss the Sindh Child Restraint Marriage Act and how Punjab has yet to pass a bill like in Sindh. The author continues to discuss bills for domestic workingwomen.


The problem represented is the power the bills and legislation process has and sometimes has not on rights for women. It has derived from the regions that have certain laws and these have been compared to others that do not.

The article does not discuss any other solution for the problem, but a bill or law for something is described as the most obvious way to go in order to implement something.

**Daily Times**

**Article 1**

42 cases of forced, early marriages in four months\(^\text{13}\) informs of the large number of child marriages that have happened in four months. These figures might even be higher than expected and according to the article, the government are bound under international and national law to prevent child marriages from happening.

The problem that is represented in the article is the very high number of child, early and forced marriages. The representation has derived from Sindh, where child marriages are very predominant and where the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act now is in power.

The article both shares high numbers of child marriages, but also a celebration for Sindh and their stride forward in ending child marriage – which is a bit contradicting. However, there is also a promise from Sindh’s side to do more.

**Article 2**

Too young to tie the knot: ending child marriages\(^\text{14}\) is an article that focuses on child marriages solemnly and considers it as one of the most predominant violence against women today. In the article, families who marry off their young children in Pakistan are the represented problem. The families do this for several reasons such as poverty, tradition or in


order to ensure the security of their daughters. The high numbers of early marriages – as high as 32% of all marriages in Pakistan are those who involve children.

The problem is framed as mainly a social and economic issue as “it represses individual freedom and curtails the right to pursue healthy activities or education and can also result in bonded labour, slavery, sexual exploitation and domestic violence.” Child marriages are described as a larger issue at hand and the health aspects of child marriage are also described. It is mentioned in the article that the knowledge of child marriages being illegal in Pakistan probably is not spread enough in the rural areas where child marriages often occur.

The representation of the problem derives from the civil society and different UN organizations and resolutions that have tried for a long time to bring change to the table when it comes to child marriages, without much result. The Sindh Assembly is also mentioned as they have led by example, nevertheless, it is discussed how much more work needs to be done with the issue and that an awareness campaign would be suitable amongst police, marriage registrars and the judiciary.

As the issue is laid out as a complex and massive problem, there are different perspectives on the matter that this article captures most of. It sees child marriages as an issue of range and that different interpretations do matter as different stakeholders have different views of how much work should be done on the matter.

Article 3

*Pakistan: not a country for minorities*\(^{15}\) represents the problem as a minority issue. The article discusses the rights of the Ahmedis, a religious minority group.

The problem is framed to be a religious minority problem, which has derived from the many human rights violations that have happened to people of the Ahmediyya community. The article targets the state as it claims “the state cannot side with terrorists”, which is a bold statement of the government.

Article 4

_Homicide in the name of ‘honour’_16 discusses different issues with no end in sight in Pakistan, such as child labour, domestic violence, child marriages, terrorism and poverty. The article continues to discuss honor killings and the religion behind it. It is described how women are seen as commodities instead of human beings and the article often refers to the violation of human rights and different organizations working with them.

The problem represented is honor killings and the reasons behind them happening. Child marriages are not highlighted in the sense as the real problem, yet as one of the factors leading to the problem.

The problem has come about by all the different human rights organizations mentioned in the article that have presented a great deal of statistics, showing the position Pakistan is in. The author wants the legal system and civil society to step up and claim responsibility as well as work together on the issue.

Article 5

In _CRM consultation on children’s rights: Implementation of Universal Periodic Review recommendations urged_17 the implementation process of children’s rights is represented as the problem. The article means that Pakistan has been urged from higher instances such Human Rights Council to “(…) undertake measures to maximum extent of their available resources (…)”

The representation of the problem has been produced through slow and ineffective implementation processes.

---

This article is targeting politicians and other stakeholders to take action and speed up processes of child marriages as this has been seen as non-serious up until this point.

The Express Tribune

Article 1

Forced marriage: 14-year-old wants her father punished for marrying her off\(^{18}\) is about a girl in Karachi that was forced to marry at the age of 14. It was her father that married her in return for Rs70 000 and a motorcycle. The girl tells her story in the article through the narrator and the lawyer Zia Ahmed Awan wants to get her case registered under the Sindh Child Restraint Marriage Act and that other provinces should follow the great example that Sindh has set.

The problem that is represented is the high numbers of forced and child marriages. Many times, the family marries off their daughter and can then forge documents of their daughter’s age. The representation drives from the actions that have been taken by Sindh – now they can take clearer action on what to do.

The article is encouraging other regions to implement the same types of restraint act as Sindh.

Time period 2 (November 2014)

The Nation

Article 1

The first article, written by an unknown author is a short article called UN move against child marriage welcome\(^{19}\) and it discusses how Plan International Pakistan has welcomed the UN resolution on ending Child, Early and Forced Marriage. The article is informative as it speaks about the resolution.


The problem that is represented in the article is that not many countries have policies that protect children. This derives from the fact that many young people today are at risk.

The article is very welcoming towards the resolution. It is informative and spreads awareness. It could have been written in less neutral ways in order to engage other target populations.

**Article 2**

The second article, *Marital rape – the darker side of domestic abuse*[^20] focuses on rape within marriage. It briefly mentions child marriages and the problematic situation in Pakistan, where child marriages are not unheard of and yet young girls are married off to older men.

The problem represented is violence towards women in different ways; the article specifically focuses on rape but also child marriages to a certain extent. This has derived from the amount of cases that are known; yet they are continuously happening.

**Article 3**

The main topic of *The Nation* is called *31,452 kids not vaccinated against polio*[^21] is not child marriages but the lack of vaccination. It continues to discuss child marriages and how the issue was brought up during a seminar ‘ Provincial Women Consultation on Sexual Abuse and Child Marriage’.

The problem represented in this article is the lack of vaccine for many children. This is examined through a development perspective and has derived from the high numbers of polio cases. Child marriages are discussed halfway through the article and are not the main problem of the article.

**Dawn**

**Article 1**

*Dawn* is called *UN adopts resolution on child marriage*\(^{22}\) discusses the UN resolution on Child, Early and Forces Marriage. Although, the resolution is never mentioned by its name – its importance is however discussed. Pakistan’s situation regarding the issue is not written about.

The problem that is represented is how many member states have problems with child marriages and this shows lack of respect for the girls. From this has then the resolution come and the UN has decided to adopt it.

The fact that the resolution is not mentioned by name and that it is very new shows that the article was written before all the facts were gained. This was probably done in order to gain early support for the resolution among member states.

**Article 2**

*Better public awareness to help check child marriages*\(^{23}\) covers the same story as in *The nation*. It includes a statement from gynecologist Dr Rifat that has said that child marriages create a hurdle to the development of the child and that education will in particular be compromised.

The problem that is represented in the article is the childhood being lost when married. It can permanently damage a girl, both physically and psychologically. Dr Rifat creates the idea of this in the article.

**Article 3**

Nicole Kidman, actress and UN Goodwill Ambassador writes the last article, *Play your part*\(^{24}\) as she encourages other to commit and stand up for gender equality – where child marriage is a crucial part.


The problem represented is that laws today are not keeping up with the development of
gender equality. This derives from distorted ways of looking at what is female and male and
women being mutilated and married against their will.

The representation is meant to be encouraging, Nicole Kidman defends the represented
problem, being as well known as she is.

*The News International*

**Article 1**

*Steps urged to control growing population*[^25^] - The article is about how the population in
Pakistan is rapidly growing. There was a conference held on the matter and one of the
primary factors given for this was child marriage.

The represented problem is the lack of health that will burden the government and hospitals
in the future. This comes from the high numbers of births due to early marriages, as one of
the factors.

Although child marriages are one of the primary factors for the overpopulation, there is little
discussion on how to solve the problem. Instead the government was encouraged to
implement family planning schemes.

**Article 2**

*Resolution against forced-conversion, marriages approved in Sindh Assembly*[^26^] is about
how the Sindh Assembly has come together and condemned the incidents of kidnapping and
forced marriages of Hindu girls.

[^25^]: http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-5-285907-Steps-urged-to-control-growing-
population

mariages-approved-in-Sindh-Assembly
The problem represented is that the assembly has not agreed and now they have come together to see the child marriages as a problem. This has come from negotiations within the assembly.

**Article 3**

The third article - *UN resolution on child and forced marriage welcomed*\(^\text{27}\) discusses the UN resolution on Child, Early and Forced Marriage and it is described as a historic step.

The problem represented is the importance of implementing the resolution as this assures the girls’ rights of education. This has derived from the high number of child marriages, especially in Pakistan.

The article portrays Plan as one of the organizations that have worked the hardest on child marriages in Pakistan. This representation is beneficial for Plan, however not neutral. The thought behind this could also be to raise awareness of the project in order to make a difference when it comes to child marriages.

**Article 4**

*UN resolution to end child marriages welcomed*\(^\text{28}\) is also about the new UN resolution.

The problem represented here is that child marriages are a violation of the human rights. This has come from the CEO of Plan.

The two articles above are almost identical; they are on the same topic and about the same organizations.

**Article 5**

In a seminar, *Awareness of early marriage urged*\(^\text{29}\) was discussed since the civil society organizations that attended all work with child or women related issues.

---

\(^{27}\text{http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-5-285911-UN-resolution-on-child-and-forced-marriage-welcomed}\)

\(^{28}\text{http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-6-286096-UN-resolution-to-end-child-marriages-welcomed}\)

\(^{29}\text{http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-7-286862-Awareness-of-early-marriages-urged}\)
The problem represented is families marrying their children before the age of 18 and this is believed to come from lack of awareness and cultural barriers between the spouses. The seminar discussed how these marriages often do not work.

Although sexual abuse and violence is discussed separately in the article, it is never linked to child marriages. The only negative side of child marriages that are presented is the barriers between a young girl and her husband.

**Article 6**

*Effective laws sought to contain violence against women*[^30] were discussed during a seminar. The target was to market the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Child marriages are discussed as one of these aspects and important bills that are on the table.

The represented problem is violence towards women. This has come from the low awareness of what is happening. The article discusses the event and the day as something to remember and celebrate.

**Article 7**

*Civil society condemns ‘forced conversion’ of Hindu girl*[^31] is about Anjali Bai and Kajal Bheel that are both from Sindh. Both girls were kidnapped and forcefully married under the age of 18. By the newly passed Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act, this is illegal and the perpetrators should be punished.

The problem represented is that the legal system has not been working in the favor of the girls. Since the girls are still missing/have still not gotten any justice, the civil society condemns the way the cases have been handled.

The article gives a background to both girls’ stories and mentions exactly what is illegal with the case. The fact that the girls are underage has been hard to prove and for this, the state and police are blamed.

**Daily Times**

**Article 1**

*Sexual harassment under scrutiny*[^32] is about Punjab and how the region will review and pass amendments to the 2013 Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act. This has been welcomed with arms wide open. It is also said that legislation is needed to address the issue of underage marriages among other aspects. The success with this act is seen as a stepping-stone in lobbying for women’s rights.

The problem represented is that sexual harassment in different forms is an important issue of one’s right to their own body. This is a step in the right direction; however, other issues are also seen as important but are a later question. This is where the representation is derived from.

**Article 2**

*Ban demanded on forced conversion, under-age marriage*[^33] is the second article of the bunch and it discusses the case of Anjali Meghwar. She has allegedly been kidnapped and forcefully married and religiously converted. The article also mentions the cases of Rinkle Kumari and Kajal Bheel, two other teenage girls that have been kidnapped and married.

The problem that is represented is Hindu girls being treated with extremism as they are kidnapped and married. This representation has arisen from the many cases of girls from the Sindh province that have allegedly been married.

**Article 3**

Universal Children’s Day marked in city with protests, seminars\textsuperscript{34} is about the Universal Children’s Day and how it was celebrated. According to a study mentioned in the article, child marriages do not only violate fundamental rights to education but also leaves psychological and physical damages to the victim.

The problem represented is that child marriages are occurring till this day and it is a violation of human rights and the right to education. There are also several health risks of child marriages. This representation has come from the Universal Children’s Day where awareness is an important aspect.

The article tries to spread awareness on both the event, the campaign and the issue and therefore targets a broader audience.

\textbf{Article 4}

The fourth article is \textit{Early marriages in Pakistan}\textsuperscript{35} and it is a very short article where it is stated that 31\% of all marriages in Pakistan are declared as underage marriages.

The problems represented and associated with the high number of child marriages are considered unjust and can cause health risks. The article also targets the government to ensure implementation of the underage marriage law. The representation has come from the high numbers of women under 18 being married today.

As the article is very short it is hard to point out a specific target group. However, it can be considered for everyone and especially the government as it ends like this:

“The government should ensure the implementation of the underage marriage law to end this brutality.”

Article 5

*Anjali Bai is not Rattan Bai*[^36] explains the situation of Hindu girls in Pakistan. As they belong to a religious minority, they are often targets for forceful marriages and religious conversions. The article tells the story of Anjali Meghwar, a very famous case. Her case and any other similar one is against the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act, however, in the article the act is described as “just one more law on paper”.

The problem represented is the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act and the disappointment with implementing it in many cases. This representation comes from Anjali Meghwar and other famous cases where girls as young as 12 years old have been forcefully married and converted.

The article is very critical towards Pakistan and the way the issue is handled, much critique is given in the article.

Article 6

*SA to form committee on Thar children deaths*[^37] is about minorities and especially Hindus. Hindu children have died and many young girls are being forcefully married and kidnapped.

The represented problem is one of religion and religious minorities. They are seen as targets in Sindh. Since Sindh has had high number of deaths and kidnappings of young boys and girls, this representation has derived from it.

The article contains many aspects of motions that have been sent in regarding the issue and this gives a more well-rounded perspective of what different stakeholders want.

Article 7

PHC demands formation of committee to protect minorities\textsuperscript{38} is the seventh article and it is about minority rights. It is discussed how Hindu girls are being kidnapped and forcefully married and religiously converted. This has happened due to the absence of a Hindu Marriage Registration Act. According to Dr. Ramesh Kumar, Sindh has failed to provide minorities with security and addressing minority issues.

The represented problem is that minorities are being neglected in Pakistan and this can lead to things such as child marriages. This has derived from the lack of legal documents and efforts from regional governments to ensure the security of minorities.

**Article 8**

Rights for children still an illusion\textsuperscript{39} is an article, which attacks Pakistan for the young population it has, and how the protection of children are becoming a more and more important issue. The article argues that although Pakistan has ratified the convention of children’s rights, there has not been much done in order to implement the resolution. According to the author, the government has irresponsible attitude towards children’s rights.

The problem is represented to be the lack of implementation of child marriages, due to the views and attitudes of the governments. This comes from the resolutions that Pakistan has signed but yet not implemented.

The author is an activist and targets the government as the ones to blame for children lacking education and young girls being married. The article itself is quite critical and it was probably meant for the government to realize their mistakes, but also for other activists to engage in the issue.

\textsuperscript{38}\url{http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/national/10-Nov-2014/phc-demands-formation-of-committee-to-protect-minorities}

Article 9

United Nations members resolve to end child marriage\(^{40}\) is about the UN resolution that has been called historic, as it is the first of its kind. The article encourages all member states to implement and pass laws in order to eliminate child marriages.

The represented problem is child marriages, however, there are many aspect of the problems behind them that are thoroughly discussed. These are mainly; psychological health, gender equality, education, poverty reduction and maternal health. This representation comes from the numbers that the UN possesses and that shows how many women are in child marriages today.

The article is encouraging member states to take action and stand up for equality and women’s rights.

Article 10

The next article is called Call for ending child, forced marriages\(^{41}\) is about the organization Plan International and their appreciation for the UN resolution on child and forced marriages that was presented in November. Appreciation is also expressed for the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act and Plan International encourages all provinces to pass similar legislations.

The represented problem is child marriages and the lack of education that it leads to. The representation has derived from numbers presented that more than 140 million girls will be married by 2020 if nothing is done and that this can lead to societal challenges.

It is hard to define the target audience of this article since there is an organization that is expressing their view. However, it is meant to be convincing that the UN resolution is in fact a good implementation and they want to encourage all states to implement prevention of child marriages. The article is given no information on why children are married off or how it happens for that matter.


Article 1

*Child Rights in Pakistan: An unfinished agenda*42 - The article discusses different aspects of how children’s rights are being broken daily through child labor, malnourishment and lack of education. It continues to discuss how Pakistan has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and yet there is little to no implementation in Pakistan. Continuously, the author describes how Pakistan has failed to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and that resolutions such as the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act that have been passed have not been implemented correctly.

“There is a need to effectively build pressure on the federal and provincial governments by involving children, civil society, media and other relevant stakeholders to push them into taking steps for improving the situation of children and fulfilling Pakistan’s national and international obligations.”

The represented problem is dissatisfaction with the implementation of both international and national agreements regarding children’s rights. Child marriages are seen as one of the aspects where action needs to be taken. This representation comes from the lack of budget for newly signed resolutions and lack of celebration for international days. The article shows a strong dissatisfaction.

Article 2

*Anjali or Salma?: Alleged forced conversion sparks protest in Sukkur*43 is an article about a young girl that allegedly has been forcefully married as a tool for religious conversion. There are also accusations that she came to the Muslim community by free will and wanted to be converted. Since she is underage, she is not old enough by law to either get married or choose religion freely.

The problem represented in the article is religion, as a problematic aspect in child marriage, since she is Hindu and was married to a Muslim.

---

This representation has come from her family’s story and is counter-argued and it is said that she is both over 18 and converted by free will.

The article clearly favors the latter argument. It discusses both, however, closes with a statement that refers to another case, where the girl allegedly was over 18, although her parents claimed her to be underage. This article could have been spun in different ways in order to target different audiences and what it really does is making two sides of the story, where no proof is to be found.

Article 3

*Interactive theatre: ‘How will you save a child from getting married?’*44 – The article is about a new kind of theatre, which was inspired by a true story. The play is to encourage and teach people how to save girls from being married at a young age. The play targets areas such as harassment of women, child marriages and intolerance.

Child marriages are represented to be the problem. And the reason why they are problematic is because they are seen as a societal challenge that prevents young girls from finishing their education. The whole idea derived from certain key people who have struggled for girls’ education, such as Malala Yousafzai.

The article does not speak much about the issue as the play itself.

Article 4

Plan International has welcomed the Un resolution on child and forced marriages, which is discussed in *UN intervention: Resolution on ending child marriages hailed*45. The resolution has been seen as one of the most historic ones, being the only one of its kind so far. Plan International Pakistan shows much appreciation of this resolution as well as the Sindh Child Marriage Restraint Act, which earlier the same year was passed.

The problem represented with child marriages in the article is education and the human rights aspect of it. This has come from the perspective that marrying a child will stress them

---

and that child marriages do not go in line with six of the eight millennium development goals.

The article is written in such a sense that it would appeal to everyone that since it is mentioned that only two of the goals can be achieved with child marriages in the picture.

*Time period 3 (February 2015)*

*The Nation*

**Article 1**

The first and only article is called *Early marriage greater risk for losing childhood* and it is about a new project that Oxfam and Save the Children in Pakistan will be implementing. The Dutch government is financially supporting the project and it will be executed in both Sindh and Punjab, where child marriages are predominant.

Child marriages are represented as a problem in two ways. Both women and children should be able to have full rights and these are not met when their childhood and education are taken from them through marriage.

This representation comes from the vision of the organizations that everyone in the society, especially women and youth, should be treated equally and valued on a societal level.

Since the organizations are trying to lobby their new campaign, the article is used as a lobbying tool to spread awareness and their opinions on the matter.

---

Dawn

Article 1

INGOs join hands to combat child marriages\(^\text{47}\) also discusses the new project between Oxfam and Save the Children in Pakistan. The project is called Bachpan Bachao. The Dutch government is supporting the project financially. The aim of the project is to prevent child marriages.

Child marriages are represented as problematic from both a women and girls’ rights perspective but also from a gender equality perspective. It is also represented as problematic for the society.

The representation comes from the lack of policy reforms and the wish to improve health services. The presentation of this article is not different from the last one, both articles are trying to be informative and at the same time spread awareness.

Article 2

In the second article, Child marriage awareness campaign planned\(^\text{48}\), the Minister for Women Development and Social Welfare announced that a media campaign would be launched at the end of February with the aim of increasing awareness of child marriages.

She said that police officers would be provided assistance as to register cases that are related to honor killing and child marriages. They are also trying to establish female police stations.

The problem is represented to be that people working with child marriages, such as police stations etc. are lacking the tools in order to lodge First Investigation Reports and to investigate the cases further.

This representation has come from the girls in Karachi that were married. Often the families marry the girls and this is then hard for the police to investigate, this is something that they are actively working so it is easier to track cases like these.


Article 3

Religious leaders can be allies for women’s rights is about a new 3 year project that has been launched by the Norwegian Church Aid. This is funded by the European Union and its target is to end violence against women.

The represented problem is women’s rights. Child marriages are seen as a part of violence against women, which the organization wants to eliminate:

"Early marriages, forced marriages and denial of women’s rights of inheritance are endemic problems in my Union Council.”

Religion and traditional values are also discussed as being one of the reasons as to why the situation is in a certain way. The article contains interviews with survivors of women who have been victims of forced and early marriages. The problem represented has come from Norway and the European Union as they started the project. However, their interviews with survivors and different people who work in the field are what have shaped their view of the problem:

“He said community action and persistently challenging harmful traditional values and practices are key to gradual changing the mindset of communities.”

The article is critical towards traditional values and practices and this can be perceived as offensive.

The News International

Article 1

The first article is called Opp leader to be replaced this week, PA told and it is not explicitly about child marriages. The article is about the Public Accounts Committee Chairman’s resignation. Halfway through the article, child marriages are discussed as Azma Bokhari has challenged the Minister for Minorities and Human Rights Affairs. She has submitted a few bills on child marriage.

Since the problems of child marriages have acknowledged the problem, the government has said they would soon bring forward a bill to ban child marriages. The consultations are already in progress.

The problem represented in the article regarding child marriages is that a child protection policy is needed. Child marriages are seen as a problem for minorities and the respect for human rights.

This representation comes from that the last meeting held on the child protection policy was back in 2013 and not much change has been brought to the table since then.

The article is hard to keep up with if you are not familiar with Pakistan’s detailed political system, which is much about the article is about rather than child marriage.

Article 2

Exploitation of women seeking infertility treatment common is the second article and it is not specifically about child marriages but about the health of women.

Child marriages are seen as one of the problems that can create health risks for women. They are represented to lead to physiological changes and lack of education. The article is framing the issue as a women’s rights issue and especially women’s right to education and health.

\[50 \text{ http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-5-302064-Opp-leader-to-be-replaced-this-week-PA-told} \]

\[51 \text{ http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-4-301543-Exploitation-of-women-seeking-infertility-treatment-common} \]
The representation comes from a conference that was held on the matter and doctors have also given their opinion on the matter in the article.

**Article 3**

The third article - *Civil society wants say in making laws on child marriage*[^52] is about how organizations within the civil society have urged the government to give them a say when it comes to making laws about child marriage. The goal for the civil society is to make any amendments or resolutions meet the UN resolution on 2014. If they are not in line with each other, the organizations have said they will not stand behind it.

It is unclear what exactly the problem is represented to be. It can be defined as one of democracy, as the civil society wants a say in the matter. When it comes to the child marriages, however, it is seen as a danger to the girls’ psychological and physiological health. This has come from the UN resolution and a will to match international policies with national ones.

Making a statement as a civil society in the media like it has been done in this article is a powerful statement and could have been done in a more subtle and softer way. However, by criticizing the government officially can also put a lot of pressure on the government to bring change so in that sense it is efficient.

**Article 4**

*42 percent girls in Pakistan get married before their 18th birthday*[^53] is an article about the high percentage of child marriages and the amount of young mothers in Pakistan. The article mentions the Bachpan Bachao project, which is collaboration between Oxfam and Save the Children in Pakistan. The Dutch government is financially supporting the project. To the organizations, young people are seen as an important building block of the society and the future and therefore it is crucial to make sure they have a say in their own lives.

The problem represented in the article is that child marriages need to be implemented and awareness needs to be spread. The reason for this not happening is that Child Marriages

Restraint Act does not comply with the constitutional principles of equality. Child marriages are seen as an issue of children’s rights and equality.

This representation has come from different legal documents contradicting each other and the fact that child marriages are a complex issue.

The article is used as a tool for spreading information about the project and sharing perspectives on the matter.

_Daily Times_

**Article 1**

*Paedophilia in Pakistan*[^54] is an article mainly about pedophilia and the adolescent boys that are the victims. It discusses sexual abuse from a legal perspective. The article claims that according to traditional interpretations in Pakistan, child abuse is not considered abuse. In order to justify this statement, the author uses child marriage as an example, as it is a common phenomenon. Furthermore, the author claims:

“The resolution passed in parliament against child marriages under the Prohibition of Child Marriages Act was considered un-Islamic by the Council for Islamic Ideology (CII). The CII stated that Islam does not establish any age for marriage, except that the child has to have reached the age of puberty.”

The represented problem is that all forms of child abuse (including child marriage) are not seen as abuse and are religiously and traditionally defended. The representation has come from boys being married to male caregivers and sexually abused in Pakistan, with little or no justice. The article focuses much on boys and not as much on girls’ rights.

**Article 2**

In _Minister asks people to join campaign against child marriages_[^55], Sindh Minister for Women Development has asked activists to join the awareness campaign that has been

launched by the government in order to spread awareness of the importance that comes with the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act. The Women Development Department in coordination with UNICEF held a seminar on child marriages. The minister spoke about the high numbers of girls that are being married off in Sindh.

The problems with child marriages are seen in two ways in this article – both as an issue of women and one of children.

The representation has come from the Restraint Act that the government has passed and yet there is not much change. Therefore the awareness campaign started and the article was written.

**Article 3**

*Draft legislation to prevent child marriages*[^56] reports on a youth conference, organized by the civil society. Action Aid, had declared that 18 years of age should be the minimum for young girls to get married. The article continues to discuss that documents and birth certificates that have been forged in order to legitimize marriages. The article labels the problem of child marriages as both a problem for youth and inequality of women that needs to be changed.

This representation has derived from the conference and realizing that child marriages are an important aspect of youth as it can impede the development of the future.

**Article 4**

*Anti-child marriages Act*[^57] discusses flaws with the Child Marriages Restraint Act 1929. The author points out the limitations and how not only age should be addressed and amended in order to change the tradition of child marriages in Pakistan.

The represented problem in the article is child marriages and they are happening because of the legal situation. The author means that the implementation of the law needs to be more effective and that the laws need to be strengthened by minimizing loopholes. The author also calls for grass root action in stopping child marriages.

This representation comes from the laws that are used today that date back to 1929. The laws contain loopholes in which the police and courts are not enforced to take action against the marriage.

**Article 5**

The last article of the Daily Times is called *Attacks against schoolgirls on the rise: UN*[^58]. It is about the school attacks that the United Nations has mapped out; one of the countries involved is Pakistan. The ones that have been targeted are girls and teachers that are standing up for gender equality in education. It has also become clear to the UN that in some countries, this is regularity.

The argument that some girls are removed from education due to feelings of threats regarding early and forced marriages, domestic violence and early pregnancies among other things, is what is represented as the problem in the article. Young women should not have to face the fear of having their human rights violated and they should be able to focus on their education.

The problem comes from the report that the United Nations has written. In their mapping, they found the problem to one of human rights and gender equality. The report calls for measures to be taken.

**The Express Tribune**

**Article 1**

The first article of this time period in The Express Tribune, called *Child marriages*[^59], claims that Pakistan has become a hub for child marriages and that the country should not let that happen. The article mentions the project Bachpan Bachao, where child marriages in Punjab and Sindh are trying to be stopped. The article mentions how big of an issue it is, especially in South Asia.

The problem represented is that child marriages are still happening and this is a step back when it comes to empowerment of women and women’s rights.

This representation comes from the organizations that have been involved with this project (including the Dutch government) as they see child marriages as sexual abuse. The article is used as a tool to inform others about the project.

**Article 2**

*Child rights: ‘Child marriages bill to be tabled by March 8* – A new law reform will be suggested when it comes to child marriages. Special permission will be required for marriage of girls between the ages of 16 and 18. The civil society has been encouraged to leave suggestions on improvements. A special cell investigating child marriages with the police and a more structural and strategic approach are among the suggestions.

The problem represented is the lack of perspectives when it comes to child marriages. The child marriage bill has been suggested, however, feedback regarding the issue is wanted.

The way this representation has come about is unclear. It could come from previous experiences where the government has failed and now need help.

The article ensures the reader that the civil society is taking an active part in children’s rights and child marriages and there is a united front on working on the issue.

**Article 3**

*Bachpan Bachao: Punjab lacks law against child marriage* is about the region Punjab and that 40% of all brides are underage.

The representation comes from the equality principles of the constitution not being in line with the Restraint Act from 1929:

"Justice (retd) Nasira Iqbal suggested that the prevalence of child marriage is far higher than 40%. She said the Child Marriages Restraint Act 1929 needed to be amended to set

---


18 as the minimum age for marriage for men and women to comply with the equality principle enshrined in Article 25-A of the Constitution of Pakistan. ”

Sindh have amended their laws, which Punjab has not and therefore it is suggested Punjab does the same. Sindh is portrayed as the example to follow in the article, which in reality is perhaps not true as Sindh still has a high number of child marriages.

**Article 4**

*Protecting girls: New alliance formed against child marriage*[^62] is the fourth article and it discusses different organizations from the civil society. A survey is presented and according to it 47% of the marriages in 2012-2013 involved young girls under the age of 18. The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act is mentioned and that the minimum punishment should be harder.

The problem that is represented in the article is that many young girls are being married today and that the civil society is working for harder punishments but that religion plays a big role in the issue as well.

This representation comes from the survey that many women are being married and that the Council of Islamic Ideology is mentioned to have intervened in the issue. It is not specified how they have intervened, other than that they do not agree with it. There is not a lot of discussion about the specifics of the council in the article.

**Article 5**

The article *A corrupting tradition: Sanghar sends rays of hope to get rid of child marriages*[^63] discusses the Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act and the lack of awareness and enforcement since the act came into power. A conference was held on the matter in order to raise awareness of the health problems that come with child marriages. A survey was handed out and 61% of the 559 women that were surveyed, claimed they had been married before they turned 18.

The problem that is represented is the lack of implementation tools since the restraint act in Sindh when considering how many women are faced with child marriage. Another problem representation is the health aspect of becoming a mother at a young age.

This representation has its roots in the conference and survey – which showed many women have been victims of child marriages. The article is concrete and shows the statistics that have been deduced from the survey.

**Article 6**

*Protecting human rights: Training of master trainers concludes in Karachi police academy*[^1] - The police in Karachi have started doing modules of training on human rights, in order to ensure the work of the police force. This because the police force has come to the realization that in order to work more efficiently with early child marriages and honor killings, they need more training.

The problem is represented to be the harmful practices in Balochistan and rural Sindh, one of them being child marriage. This representation has come from the experiences of the policemen that are mentioned in the article.