



FINAL REPORT

**Baseline Study on the Knowledge
Attitudes, Beliefs, Social Norms & Practices
Related to Child Protection in Pakistan**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Child protection is the prevention of, and response to exploitation, abuse, neglect, and harmful practices. It is the right of every child, everywhere. Violations of this right can be detrimental, if not deadly. Violence against children adversely affects the well-being of children everywhere and can limit a child's opportunity to reach their full potential throughout their lifetime. It is a pervasive human rights violation that affects, both directly and indirectly, the children living in Pakistan.

The need for child protection is universal, and harm towards children can be prevented. While there have been previous studies on the incidence of child protection violations in Pakistan, e.g., through Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys¹ and the Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey², there is limited data that analyses the behavioural contexts that influence it at a nationally representative scale.

This study is one of the few studies within the sphere of child protection in Pakistan that collects insights from both adults and children, and seeks to document baseline knowledge, attitudes, and practices about children's protection in Pakistan. It focuses on violent discipline, child labour, and child marriage, and it considers these behaviours through the lens of psychological, sociological, and environmental determinants. It also includes birth registration because this provides children with a verifiable legal identity, is often a prerequisite for accessing various social services across the country, and is the passport to protection for children.

This study shows that there is variation in the ways that adult participants access information about birth registration, with variations in children's knowledge about the process of birth registration, by province. Provinces with low registration rates also tend to have low rates of literacy and education attainment.³ The findings of this research found that child knowledge about birth registration was related to school enrolment, as child respondents with no formal education were less likely to know about the birth registration process. This finding was also reflected among the adult participants, who indicated the main reason for registering their child's birth as school enrolment and the obtainment of official records.

There were considerable differences in the importance that participants placed on birth registration and while majority indicated they felt that birth registration was the right of every child, about one fifth of the participants did not believe so. The barriers that limit people's ability to register a child's birth are multifaceted and are often compounded around access and knowledge to the birth registration process, social inequalities such as the child's gender, and institutional capacities to support families throughout the process. The research further identifies that gender norms have a large impact on whether a child's birth is registered, with child participants indicating that girls were less likely to know about the purpose of birth registration compared to boys, and nearly half of the adult participants responded that birth registration was more important for boys than girls. Men were also identified as the main decision makers when it comes to birth registration.

The findings of this study highlight gender, education, and province as the most statistically significant factors that determine whether a child's birth is registered. It also identifies the channels in which people become informed about the registration process, which can differ greatly depending on geographical location.

Similar to the registration of children's birth, many of Pakistan's legal frameworks are also not conducive towards the elimination of violent discipline, either through their inconsistency or through omissions on the topic. For example, with the exceptions of Gilgit-Baltistan, Islamabad Capital Territory⁴, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa⁵, Baluchistan⁶ and Sindh Province⁷ criminalising corporal punishment in schools, day care, and alternative care settings, violent

1. UNICEF. (2019). Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey: Sindh., Global Health Data Exchange. (2018). Pakistan – Punjab Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2017-2018.

2. The Demographic and Health Surveys. (2018). Pakistan Demographic & Health (PDHS) Survey.

3. UNICEF. (2002). Birth Registration Right from the Start.

4. Chaudhry, F. (2021). "Historic": NA passes bill to ban corporal punishment in the capital.

5. Government of Pakistan. (2010). The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child Protection and Welfare Act.

6. End Corporal Punishment. (2021). Corporal Punishment of Children in Pakistan.

7. Yousafzai, A. (2021). Sindh finally criminalises corporal punishment at schools, workplaces.

discipline is still legal in other regions across the country and in homes. Whereby the Pakistan Penal Code 1860, condones corporal punishment for children under 12 within the home if it is done “in good faith and for the benefit of the person.”⁸

Child participants in the study indicated that they had experienced violent discipline both at home and at school, which was reinforced by adult participants who expressed that violent discipline, although not desired, is commonly used to punish unwanted behaviours and to encourage desired ones. Adults were aware that using violence, in particular physical punishment could negatively impact a child but there was little understanding as to what those impacts were. Although caregivers may not use violent forms of discipline with the intention to cause harm, they emphasized that physical punishment was only used when attempting to correct very disobedient behaviours, which was subjective across respondents. These disobedient behaviours ranged from skipping school to not wanting to go to family events and gatherings. Outside of these instances, non-violent discipline such as explaining to a child why a behaviour is wrong, is more useful.

The inconsistency across provincial laws is reflected in the findings that show the significantly differing knowledge levels regarding the prohibiting of violent discipline, depending on where the participants lived. Without clear and enforced laws that explicitly criminalise violent discipline, children across the country are vulnerable to legally excusable forms of harm. In addition to the varying laws in place, reporting mechanisms for child protection are not clearly defined, uniform, toll-free to the public. Both men and women expressed that violent discipline in the home was a family’s personal business, and this notion was the main barrier that limited their motivation to report physical violence. Similarly, children have a low level of self-agency in reporting violent discipline due to behavioural and structural factors.

Various behavioural and structural variables also affect how early a child may begin to work, with the family’s financial stability being the major determinant that dictates whether a child in a family becomes employed. Oftentimes, children work to help support their families financially, which is the reason for many of the study’s participants mixed views on the topic. Both adult and child respondents expressed that child labour can be justified, as more than half of the children felt that their employment was necessary if it could help their family. However, they noted that by being employed so young, it had negative consequences including the inability to attend school and affecting their emotional well-being. Adults similarly mentioned the same risks associated with child labour but were uncertain about how to mitigate them.

Many of the participants, both adults and children, indicated that a family with a working child was a private matter, and the idea was often stigmatized as it meant the parents could not support their families. This notion, that child labour is a family matter, was a key determinant in deciding whether participants would report instances of child labour to authorities as they did not want to get involved in another family’s personal matters. The findings of the study also identified fathers as the main decision maker regarding whether a child works, with many of the working children being boys who were working in environments where they could be exposed to harm or hazardous work. Throughout the findings the reoccurring justification for child labour was the fact that a child’s employment is often crucial to a family’s economic survival. This understanding plays an important role in ensuring that interventions are approached holistically and take into consideration the economic systems that push children toward employment.

Much like child labour, child marriage is a complicated topic that is closely linked to social and religious beliefs. Although most adult respondents agree that child marriage has negative consequences, it is a widely accepted social practice. The findings indicated that social norms, and indeed values, about virtue and honour were important factors when it came to determining whether and how a child should marry. Adults from regions with high rates of child marriage also tended to agree that the perception of a child’s maturity, or readiness for childbirth, were also considered in the decision. This suggests that people have diverse beliefs about what constitutes “maturity” and a “child”; and that these beliefs may not always align with legal definitions operating across the country. Children indicated that both parents were mainly responsible for deciding their marriage, and that a child’s marriage was purely a private family matter, with the child themselves having little or no participation in the process.

Child participants in the study tended to have low awareness about what the legal age for marriage was, as well as the laws governing marriages in Pakistan. There are however significant differences about the acceptability

8. Government of Pakistan. (1860). Pakistan Penal Code.

of child marriage as just over half of the children believed that their families would accept child marriage, with the remaining citing disapproval over the topic. Discussions around child marriage also tend to be common, as just under half of the children indicated that conversations about child marriage are common in their homes. The topic of child marriage is particularly uncommon for girls to engage in, as there is a social norm that it is shameful for girls to talk about getting married. The social, religious, economic, and psychological determinants of child marriage are heavily interwoven, and interventions must accurately understand the knowledge, attitudes, and practices around it recognizing the complexities around the determinants is crucial towards the elimination child marriage for girls and boys across Pakistan.

This study aligns with UNICEF Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan's vision to promote and protect the rights of every child in Pakistan, and to ensure all girls and boys can reach their full potential protected from abuse, violence, exploitation, neglect and harmful practices. The research forms part of UNICEF's ongoing efforts to work with local, national, and international partners in achieving the goals established in the 2018-2022 Country Programme of Cooperation. This agreement stipulates that, "by 2022, girls and boys [will] access child protection preventive and/or response services primarily through public case management and referral systems in at least two provinces in Pakistan, and communities [will] practice positive behaviours towards a protective environment for children [...] UNICEF will also work so that, by 2022, 65 per cent of girls and boys under the age of five are registered, with universal birth registration achieved and embedded within a civil registration, and vital statistics systems established in at least two provinces".⁹

9. UNICEF Pakistan. (2019). Every Child is Protected from Violence and Exploitation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This report is a result of a long consultative process that began in 2020, rooted in a robust methodology supported by rigorous methods and techniques throughout the data collection and analysis process.

MAGENTA would like to express its gratitude to the adults and children who participated in this study. We would also like to show appreciation to the team responsible for the production of this report. This meaningful research was made possible with the vision and resources of UNICEF Pakistan. As well as with the ongoing support of the project Reference Group: Aamer Khan, Ayesha Khan, Azlan Butt, Bushra Ajmal, Farrah Ilyas, Farzana Yasmin, Jabeen Fatima Abbas, Jonathan David Shadid, Luis Gorjon Fernandez, Mehwish Maria, Muqaddisa Mehreen, Sabina Shaheen, Sagheer Ahmed, Saliha Ramay, Saman Ahsan, Shakeel Ahmed, Shamshad Begum, Sagheer Ahmed, and Zahida Manzoor. Special gratitude is expressed to our colleagues at the MoHR, Muhammad Hassan Mangi and Khalid Latif, and the NCRC, Afshan Tehseen and Qindeel Shujat.

MAGENTA extends its appreciation to Susan Andrew and Muhammad Zahoor for their insights throughout the data collection and analysis, and their ongoing review and feedback through the development of this report; Zahir Shah, the primary researcher, for his support on developing the methodology, data collection tools, and thorough quantitative data analysis; Orla O’Sullivan for her support in qualitative data analysis and extensive input into developing the report; Doris Lam for her support in the development and review of the report; Jude Nazer for her work on designing the report; IPSOS, who conducted the data collection for this research; Clemence Quint for her support throughout the data collection and analysis process. MAGENTA emphasizes the utility of the findings in this report and urge policymakers and donors to utilize these findings to support in promoting and protecting children’s rights in Pakistan.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
CAPI	Computer Assisted Personal Interviews
CP	Child Protection
CRMS	Civil Registration Management System
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
ERB	Ethical Review Board
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices
KII	Key Informant Interview
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
NADRA	National Database Registration Authority
PDHS	Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey
RG	Reference Group
SBC	Social and Behavioural Change
VAC	Violence Against Children



INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of this Document

This document is a Final Report for a study commissioned by UNICEF Pakistan and conducted by MAGENTA on the knowledge, attitudes and practices around child protection. This final Report summarises the main activities and methods undertaken in this project and key findings from the study activities. This study was conducted by researchers at MAGENTA and ran from September 2020 to December 2021.

Study Objectives

Considering the overall purpose of this study, there are two main objectives of this research:

1. Establish a clear baseline on knowledge, attitudes, and practices relating to the four thematic areas in order to assess progress made on the implementation of SBCC interventions.
2. Enhance the design of a gender-responsive Child Protection (CP) Social and Behavioural Change (SBC) strategy for Pakistan.

Research Questions

The research questions of this study were designed to align with the study objectives outlined above, and with UNICEF's current and future programming objectives. In particular, the research questions were designed to gather data that provides an in-depth and nuanced understanding of child protection, including how psychological, sociological, and environmental factors affect the contexts in which children are exposed to harm. The quantitative components of the research were designed to align with UNICEF program indicators and will set the baseline for assessing progress made on the implementation of social and behavioural change interventions across the country. The study's main questions (see ANNEX B) were developed to incorporate quantitative and qualitative analysis that will enable in-depth social insights and representativeness of the data. The questions were designed so that the team could analyse the behavioural ecology of each thematic area and use these insights to inform the tools and data analysis. In designing the study's main questions, we considered the role of adults as duty bearers, i.e., as people who have a duty to address violence, and children as rights holders, whose ability to access their rights can be hindered. Children are often not the main party responsible for enacting the behaviours analysed in this study, except for cases of peer-to-peer violence. Therefore, this approach will provide behavioural data that can provide insights into culturally specific aspects of these behaviours. Finally, all the study questions have been analysed through a gender lens to understand how the determinants and incidence of the behaviours differ based on this cross-cutting theme.

Context

As of 2021, 47% of Pakistan's 225.2 million total population are children, with approximately 14% between the ages of 0 to 5, and over 22% aged 10 to 19.¹⁰ However, children in Pakistan face many systemic issues that limit their ability to reach their maximum potential. To date, Pakistan sits in the bottom 5% of countries globally in terms of expenditure on health and education.¹¹ The country, has an under-five mortality rate of 74 per 1,000 live births¹², with an infant mortality of 62 per 1,000 live births, and a low but rising literacy rate, with ratios at about 70% among men and 49% among women. These ratios can vary significantly by district: Islamabad and Karachi respectively are at 82% and 79%, while Dera Bugti and Barkhan in Baluchistan are at 6%.

Such differences illustrate the disparities in resources available to children, particularly when comparing urban and rural environments.¹³ Although about 63% of the population live in rural communities, they have increasingly limited access to public service infrastructures and a lower concentration of resources.¹⁴

The barriers they face in accessing these public resources affect literacy and education levels which in turn increase a person's likelihood of living in poverty. While Pakistan's poverty rates have decreased significantly over the past several decades, both income poverty and multi-dimensional poverty are inequitably distributed across and within provinces. Poverty and chronic scarcity continue to contribute to structural vulnerabilities,

10. UNICEF Pakistan. (2019). Every Child is Protected from Violence and Exploitation.

11. Ibid

12. Ibid

13. Government of Pakistan. (2021). Population by 5 Year Age Groups – Pakistan.

14. O'Neill, A., (2021). Urbanization of Pakistan 2020.

whereby people living in poverty are more likely to experience other forms of harm.¹⁵ For example, children living in financially impoverished homes are more likely to leave school and to join the labour force in order to support their families. Because of their age and limited professional skills, they are also more likely to work in the informal economy, where they have limited, if any, labour protections and low pay. Poverty, and in particular chronic scarcity, also has behavioural dimensions that are important to define and highlight.¹⁶ In environments where people are living with very limited financial, infrastructural, and livelihood resources necessary to live, the behavioural dimensions of poverty have an increasingly compounded effect in comparison to those who have access to more resources.¹⁷ These effects are further exacerbated and felt most heavily by vulnerably members of the population, in particular children.

There are numerous systemic inequities that children face in Pakistan, with four of the most pressing issues affecting children's social and health outcomes being birth registration, violent discipline, child labour, and child marriage.

Birth Registration

Birth registration is a fundamental human right that enables people to have recognition as a person before the law.¹⁸ The fulfilment of this right is tied to, and indeed often a prerequisite for, the realisation of other human rights, such as accessing education and healthcare. Thus, in contexts where birth registration is not systematically carried out, the protection of people's most basic human right to legal recognition, and in particular the protection of children, is put at risk.

In Pakistan, birth registration is a major social issue because the country lacks a comprehensive and efficient system for birth registration. Consequently, the country is estimated to have some of the lowest birth registration rates in the world. UNICEF reports the birth registration rate to have increased from 34% of children under the age of 5, to just over 42% from 2012 to 2018. The largest increases were seen in Baluchistan, Punjab, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, with the major barriers being cited as "non-awareness of its importance, challenging access for the poorest and least educated families, and weak linkages across sectors."¹⁹

The scope of the issue reflects socio-economic disparities: "approximately 60 million people in [Pakistan] remain unregistered, with registration rates lowest among girls, children from rural areas (23% vs. 59% urban locations) and among households in the poorest quintile of the population (5%)."²⁰ The lowest rates of birth registration occur in Baluchistan (38%) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (19%), while Islamabad Capital Territory (82%) has the highest birth registration rate.²¹ Punjab (58%) and Sindh (28%) provinces have the largest number of unregistered births²² and while the overall rate of birth registration has been rising steadily since 2007, this has occurred primarily among wealthier families.²³ Some of the most common barriers that impact children's birth registration include difficulty in accessing registration service points, having large families, lacking childcare while going to register a child's birth, the costs commuting to a registration office, the costs of missing work, and a lack of transparency from government staff about the birth registration process are compounded barriers. Hospitals and healthcare providers also have limited capacity to support the documentation and facilitations of the birth registration process.

Pakistan's low literacy rates also compound this issue by limiting people's ability to meaningfully engage and self-advocate throughout the birth registration process, amplified heavily from parents not understanding the value or importance of registering a child's birth. To date, there is documentation on the infrastructural and logistical determinants and estimated incidence of birth registration, however there is limited data on the social and behavioural determinants of birth registration.

15. Bourgois, P., Holmes, S. M., Sue, K., & Quesada, J. (2017). Structural Vulnerability: Operationalizing the Concept to Address Health Disparities in Clinical Care.

16. Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. (2013). Scarcity: Why having too little means so much. Times Books/Henry Holt and Co.

17. Schilbach, S., Schofield, H. & Mullainathan, S. (2016). The Psychological Lives of the Poor. American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings.

18. UN OHCHR. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child.

19. Ibid

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21. Idris, I. (2021). Increasing birth registration of children marginalised groups in Pakistan. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/16747/988_Increasing_birth_registration_for_children_from_marginalised_groups_in_Pakistan.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

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The following sections provide the findings of a Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices (KAP) survey and qualitative interviews conducted to explore behaviours surrounding birth registration in order to provide baseline data for current and future programming efforts.

Violent Discipline

An increasing amount of research shows that children who have experienced violence, either it be physical or psychological aggression, have a higher likelihood of experiencing negative outcomes in the long-term.²⁴ A 2021 brief by UNICEF noted that this “may include permanent physical injuries and disabilities, sexually transmitted infections, anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, suicidal thoughts, unplanned pregnancy, and an inability to maintain stable relations and feel empathy for others²⁵.” Although Pakistan has shown recent positive developments to curb violent discipline in Pakistan, e.g., through the National Assembly’s 2021 law banning corporal punishment²⁶ in Islamabad Capital Territory, violent discipline remains a nationwide endemic issue. One 2017-2018 MICS study on violent discipline in Punjab, found that 81% of children aged 1-14 years experienced some form of physical violence and 74% experienced some form of psychological violence in the past months.²⁷

The laws that have banned violent discipline have occurred at the provincial level, and there are great variations in what they stipulate. For instance, in Punjab, Baluchistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, there are no laws that explicitly criminalise violent discipline. Further complicating this issue, the laws at the national level, in particular Article 89 of the Penal Code 1860 (National Law)²⁸ defines corporal punishment as an act done in good faith for the benefit of the child, by or by consent of the guardian. This means that violent discipline can be justified legally.

Despite the well documented impacts of corporal punishment and the robust documentation on the incidence of violent discipline in Pakistan, there are data gaps on the behavioural dimensions of corporal and psychological punishment. Most research to date has considered violent discipline in Pakistan to be an issue of social norms, which suggests that it is culturally embedded and thus difficult to change. Certainly, there are socially specific elements to violent discipline in Pakistan, but these norms are constituted of behaviours that must be distinguished. This is important for two main reasons: First, although there is limited scientific evidence on effective behavioural—rather than rights-based—interventions, the data that exists is promising.²⁹ Second, documenting people’s behaviours and decision-making processes can enable deeper insights on how to empower people to use positive parenting techniques.

This chapter presents the findings of a KAP survey and qualitative study carried out to document the incidence and behavioural determinants of violent discipline across Pakistan. The analysis looks at decision making processes in order to understand how people using violent discipline and children experiencing violent discipline understand and conceptualise violence.

Important to note is that this KAP study references UNICEF’s definition of violent discipline, such that “psychological aggression refers to the action of shouting, yelling or screaming at a child, as well as calling a child offensive names, such as ‘dumb’ or ‘lazy’. Physical (or corporal) punishment is an action intended to cause physical pain or discomfort, but not injuries. Physical punishment is defined as shaking the child, hitting or slapping him/her on the hand/arm/leg, hitting him/her on the bottom or elsewhere on the body with a hard object, spanking or hitting him/her on the bottom with a bare hand, hitting or slapping him/her on the face, head or ears, and beating him/her over and over as hard as possible.” The non-violent disciplinary practices noted were: 1) explaining why a behaviour is wrong, 2) taking away privileges or not allowing him/her to leave the house, and 3) giving him/her something else to do.

24. UNICEF. 2021. <https://www.unicef.org/media/96686/file/VAC-Advocacy-Brief-2021.pdf>

25. UNICEF. 2021. <https://www.unicef.org/media/96686/file/VAC-Advocacy-Brief-2021.pdf>

26. Baloch, S.M. (2021). Pakistan Passes “Historic” Bill Banning Corporal Punishment of Children.

27. UNICEF. (2018). MICS Punjab: Survey Findings Report.

28. Government of Pakistan. (2017). The Pakistan Penal Code.

29. The Behavioural Insights Team. (2017). Changing teachers’ attitudes toward corporal punishment.

Child Labour

In Pakistan, more than 12.5 million children, or nearly 16% of the child population, are known to be involved in child labour³⁰, with 13% to 14% of these children being aged 5 to 17.³¹ After almost 25 years, Pakistan has conducted a nation-wide child labour survey, to better understand this issue in the country. The survey from the Gilgit-Baltistan Planning and Development Department is the first to be widely disseminated. It highlights that at least 1 in 4 households in the territory have at least 1 child in labour, with 1 in 3 households in rural areas, and 1 in 10 households in urban areas.³² It was also reported that children in labour were twice as likely to drop out of school, get injured and report mental health problems.³³ Financial scarcity is a major and well documented factor in the equation of whether parents, or even children, make the decision to seek employment. Recent studies suggests that the level of demand for child labour is linked mainly to adult wage levels, adult unemployment, and the size of the informal and agricultural sectors.³⁴ Not surprisingly, child labour is positively linked to adult unemployment in the household. Many, if not most children who work, are working in Pakistan's large informal sector, which accounts for as much as 72% of jobs outside of agriculture.³⁵ The informal labour market currently absorbs a significant part of the so called 'low skilled' workforce, and their labour productivity often can affect the wage determination and employment opportunities for people working in the formal sector.³⁶ All these challenges existed prior to the pandemic, but the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated financial hardship for many across the country.

According to the Economic Survey 2020-2021 conducted by Pakistan's Ministry of Finance, about 20.71 million people in Pakistan lost their jobs during the pandemic. About half of overseas Pakistani workers also lost their jobs, which is significant because many people in Pakistan rely on remittances sent from family working overseas. Such a loss of jobs increases the supply of workers vulnerable to exploitation, as well as employers' latitude to exploit workers. This is important in terms of child labour because the coincidence of economic stress and school closures likely increase child labour across the country. As children remain out of school, their likelihood of re-entry decreases, significantly curtailing their opportunities for long-term economic security. At the individual level, these disparities contribute to poor health and economic outcomes for children. At the societal level, these disparities contribute to intergenerational poverty and socio-economic and health issues that can stunt national economic growth.

This section covers the findings of the KAP survey and qualitative discussions to document decision-making processes informing whether and how children enter the labour economy. The official documentation of the incidence of child labour in Pakistan is limited, however, there is very data on the ways that adults and especially children decide and understand the decision for children to seek employment. This section seeks to document the knowledge, attitudes, practices of child labour and to contextualise these findings through a lens of behavioural determinants.

Child Marriage

While Pakistan's rates of child marriage have decreased significantly over the past three decades, the practice continues to be a significant issue across the country. Child marriage, while affecting both boys and girls, is significantly higher among girls. The 2017-2018 Demographic Health Survey found that 29% of women were married before 18, in comparison with 5% of men. Similarly, women are significantly more likely to be married by age 20 as compared to men (47% compared to 14%)³⁷, with 18 % of women age 20-24 years being married before reaching the age of 18.³⁸

Children, and in particular girls, are especially susceptible to the being married young because the decision-making process occurs among parents and other caregivers. In both Punjab and Sindh, for instance, fathers and grandfathers typically arrange marriages.³⁹ While mothers can influence the decision-making process, they

30. Rodriguez, M. (2017). Child Labour in Pakistan

31. UNICEF Pakistan. (2021). Draft Country Programme.

32. Gilgit-Baltistan Planning and Development Department. (2019). Child Labour Survey.

33. Ibid

34. Mughal, K., Schneider, F. (2020). How informal sector affects the formal economy in Pakistan?

35. ILO. (n.d). Informal economy in Pakistan.

36. Mughal, K., Schneider, F. (2020). How informal sector affects the formal economy in Pakistan?

37. NIPS. (2019). Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey.

38. UNICEF Pakistan. (2021). Draft Country Programme

39. Sotirova, A., Koster, W., Miedema, E., Ajaz, N., Zaal, K., Durrani, W., Moorten, R., Kakal, T. (2020). Child marriage in Pakistan: evidence from three development programs.

are not the primary decision-makers. Moreover, there is a social norm that it is shameful for girls to talk about getting married and that ‘good girls’ allow their elders to make the decision without their input.⁴⁰ Children in Pakistan—girls, in particular—can often be married without their fully informed and active consent, rather a girls’ intervention can be stigmatised, which prevents them from actively participating in the decision-making process.

Girls are, also, often married to alleviate a family of economic stress, as most women are engaged in unpaid domestic labour—Pakistan has one of the lowest rates of female paid employment in the world⁴¹—girls are not expected to contribute financially to their household through a paid salary. Thus, their presence can be felt to be an economic burden.⁴²

This KAP survey and qualitative findings aim to centre on the dignity and self-efficacy of everyone involved in child marriage. As well as brings attention to behaviour and to the decision-making process, focussing on the more deeply rooted causes of child marriage, e.g., the systems of poverty in which people live and the social and behavioural factors that influence people’s decision-making process.

40. Ibid

41. Redaelli, S., Rahman, N. (2021). In Pakistan, women’s representation in the workforce remains low.

42. Sotirova, A., Koster, W., Miedema, E., Ajaz, N., Zaal, K., Durrani, W., Moorten, R., Kakal, T. (2020). Child marriage in Pakistan: evidence from three development programs.

METHODOLOGY

The Research Design

The research team employed a mixed-methods (quantitative and qualitative) research design to provide estimates for the number of key indicators (see ANNEX A) on duty bearers and children's knowledge, attitudes, and practices and to obtain in-depth information with regards to child protection issues in Pakistan. The research team, together with the UNICEF Child Protection team, developed a list of indicators to assess issues related to Birth Registration, Violent Discipline, Child Labour and Child Marriage. As part of the mixed-methods design and different target population, the following four phases of data collection were conducted:

- Phase One: Adult Qualitative Survey – 5 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and 11 Key Informant Interviews (KIs)
- Phase Two: Adult Quantitative Survey – A nationally and provincially representative survey with adults (parents and caregivers) – A sample size of 2490 achieved
- Phase Three: Children Qualitative Survey – 56 Key Informant Interviews
- Phase Four: Children Quantitative Survey – A sample size of 1170 achieved

The rationale for the phased data collection was for one stage to inform the subsequent phases by incorporating the findings in the research tools and exploring further any emerging themes. This approach allowed for reciprocal contextualization of the tools and data, and in the analysis stage, the qualitative data provided essential context for quantitative data that helped determine the different behavioural factors of the target population.

Ethical Considerations

MAGENTA's **Do No Harm** policy holds the injunction that all potential harmful side effects be considered for all projects, particularly those involving children. When conducting the research, the team adhered to specific ethical considerations in order to ensure a human rights-based approach throughout the whole study process, including the design and proposed implementation plan for the research, throughout data collection and analysis, in the development of findings and conclusions, as well as in the development of recommendations. The Research Team aligned themselves with the **UNICEF Procedure for Ethical Standards in Research, Evaluation, Data Collection and Analysis** (2021)⁴³. All data collection with children was conducted in line with **UNICEF Ethical Research Involving Children** (2013)⁴⁴ and **ESOMAR guidance**⁴⁵, with further reference to *Practical Ethics in Social Research with Children and Families in Young Lives* (2013), by Virginia Morrow.

These guidelines covered the appropriate protocols related to recruitment, prior parental consent, dissemination of reports and/or supporting data, and the anonymity of respondents. As part of their training, all researchers and enumerators were provided with guidelines and protocols to ensure the protection and dignity of children was maintained at all times. Given the sensitive nature of the study topic and the risk of re-traumatisation, we made sure the questionnaires/pointers included hypothetical stories to allow for the subject to distance themselves, the researchers and enumerators also never pressured anyone to respond to a question or participate.

Legal guardians' consent (for taking part in the research, photos, audio recording and type of question asked, as well as permission to use report findings as part of longer-term Monitoring and Evaluation efforts) was obtained for participants under 18, and legal guardians were involved in the study for children under 15. Transportation was arranged for children to attend the KIs.

43. UNICEF. (2021). <https://gdc.unicef.org/resource/unicef-procedure-ethical-standards-research-evaluation-data-collection-and-analysis>

44. UNICEF. (2013). <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/706-ethical-research-involving-children.html>

45. ESOMAR. <https://esomar.org/code-and-guidelines/children-young-people-and-other-vulnerable-individuals>

Approvals from the Ethics Review Board

The Ethical Review process and approval was lead by the UNICEF team. The study was granted ethical clearance by the Ethical Review Board of Health Media Lab. The following documents were submitted for ethical review and approval following UNICEF's procedures for ethical standards in research, evaluation, data collection and analysis.

- Inception Report including research protocols, specific research objectives and questions, methodology and analysis and reporting plans.
- All data collection tools and informed consent documents.
- Children assent forms and Parents/guardians consent forms
- Written protocols to ensure projects safety and for the protection of human subjects' identities
- Written protocols for the protection of data

Additionally, permissions to conduct the data collection were sought from the relevant authorities in the sampled districts and union councils. The following practices were implemented to ensure high level of participant's protection and confidentiality:

- The research team obtained a written consent from each participant.
- For the children, the team requested for parents/guardians' consent, in addition to the child's assent. Informed consent process was followed only after participants were provided sufficient information about the study and its objectives. Clear explanation on the purpose of the study, duration of the interview and what was required by the participants were explained prior to the interview.
- Consent and/or assent forms were presented, read, understood, and accepted and signed by the person to be interviewed.
- The study participants were assured of privacy and confidentiality, and it was explained to them that their participation was voluntary and non-involvement had no effect on participants' study or welfare, and they had the right to withdraw from the interview at any time they felt so.
- The individual information obtained for recruitment and during the qualitative interviews remain confidential and was only accessible to the main researchers involved in the study.
- The questionnaires did not have names or any information that can reveal the identity of the respondent and only unique identifiers were used to identify responses. No information that could reveal the identity of the respondent were collected.
- All the surveys were conducted on password protected devices and transferred to the secured and fully protected database system.

Data Collection

KIs were conducted in a safe location familiar to the child such as their home, school, or playground to ensure that the child was comfortable in familiar surroundings. Interviews were conducted in the presence of an adult known to the child—but who was not their primary caregiver—to ensure that the child was accompanied by an adult but that their answers were not influenced by a primary caregiver, who may have been responsible for some of the violence the child may have experienced. The interview was conducted by a facilitator and each child was asked to give their informed consent at the start of the interview. For child KIs, the consent of the parent was also obtained. Interviews lasted a maximum of 40 minutes.

FGDs and KIs with adults were conducted remotely and FGDs included 4 – 6 participants per group, in addition to the note taker and facilitator. Participants were asked to give their informed consent at the start of the FGDs and KIs. The FGDs lasted between 50-60 minutes and the KIs lasted between 30-40 minutes and were recorded if all participants agreed. FGDs/KIs with male participants were facilitated by male staff, and FGDs/KIs with female participants were facilitated by female staff.

Following the data collection, the field team provided translated transcripts of the interviews based on the notes and/or recordings of the discussions. At the conclusion of the interviews, the team conducted a debrief session with the facilitators to better understand any nuances or points of confusion in the transcripts. This process was closely monitored by the team's Child Protection Expert.

Gender Sensitivity and Inclusion

In line with UNICEF's Gender Action Plan for 2018 - 2021, gender constituted a key consideration and line of enquiry in the design and implementation of this research. Gender constructs, the care economy, co-parenting, gender-related social norms and cultural beliefs as well as gender-related power dynamics are often core to the perpetuation of violence against children and to the decision-making processes around birth registration in complex contexts. As such, the research team endeavoured to understand the role of gender considerations when examining the behavioural factors affecting violence against children and birth registration.

Following a gender mainstreamed approach, the team ensured that **(1) gender was included in the conceptual approach of the research; and that (2) the review activities considered gender sensitivity and equality throughout the preparation for and implementation of field work** to ensure that men and women, girls and boys could participate in the study in a meaningful, safe and respectful manner.

For qualitative data, the KII and FGD tools included questions directed at probing (in a non-leading fashion) suspected gender differences in attitudes and behaviours of the respondents. Facilitators hired were both male and female. Their training included a biases component, with focus on gender bias in qualitative research. FGD/ KII interview tools showed facilitators flexibility in adapting the wording and delivery of questions to diverse respondent groups, considering gender, age, and cultural norms. This improved the sincerity of responses and thus the validity of the data collected. Qualitative data was analysed through a gender lens: two analysts administered coding, with the advantage that they were able to spot and point out implicit biases in the others' coding. Reporting emphasized the gender dimensions of the study. Written outputs were reviewed by country gender experts (members of the Reference Group) to verify appropriate, contextualised reporting of results.

For quantitative data, we ensured that the sample was statistically representative of two independent population subgroups: male and female. The survey instrument was designed by considering the gendered aspects of social life in Pakistan, around the distribution of resources, childcare duties, other rights and responsibilities, and trends around male-female power dynamics in the household. When presenting quantitative data, we ensured that it was disaggregated by gender. This means we used gender as a standard cross break for descriptive statistical analysis, allowing stakeholders to quickly see levels of association between gender and any other survey variable. Further, time spent on inferential analysis prioritised the extent to which gender predicts other dependent variables of interest (e.g., attitudes to birth registration) or 'mediates' the effects of other predictor (or 'independent') variables such as age, location, ethnicity, socioeconomic class etc.

Sample Design

The sampling was designed to minimise the margin of error and maximise the confidence interval, for all phases of data collection, given the sample size that was possible with the design of the research.

Quantitative Sample

Adult Quantitative Survey

Face to face interviews were conducted between 9th April to 24th May 2021, in all four provinces and three territories across Pakistan. This covered adult members of households in both urban and rural areas using Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) software. However, due to fieldwork restrictions in Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK), the entire fieldwork in AJK was done remotely and the interviews were conducted using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI). A structured questionnaire, developed by MAGENTA and approved by the UNICEF was used to interview the households on the knowledge, attitude, practices and beliefs regarding child birth registration, child labour, violent discipline, and child marriage

To ensure the representativeness of the population at the national as well as provincial level, a sample size of 2,480 was used. At the national level, this sampling provided representativeness at 95% confidence level and a 3% margin of error. At the provincial level, the sample was stratified such that the sample for each province ensure provincial representativeness at a 5% margin of error and 95% confidence level. A multi-stage sampling technique was followed to select the Primary Sampling Unit (PSU):

- First, the population was stratified into provinces/regions and locally (i.e. urban and rural).
- To ensure a random sample from within each stratum, a random sample from each stratum was taken based on population proportion to size sampling. These subsets of the strata were then pooled to form a random sample within each stratum.

The following sample was achieved as per the sampling plan that is representative at the provincial and regional level and followed a stratified random sampling approach:

Province/Territory	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Total
Punjab	188	191	215	164	379
Sindh	193	191	195	189	384
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	191	189	190	190	380
Baluchistan	188	190	190	188	378
Islamabad Capital Territory	104	105	98	111	209
Gilgit Baltistan	187	193	190	190	380
Azad Jammu Kashmir	199	181	184	96	380
Total	1250	1240	1262	1228	2490

Table 1. Adult HH Survey Sampling

Adults, both women and men, were surveyed to collect quantifiable data on their knowledge, beliefs and social norms, attitudes, and practices, related to the key behaviours and to set the baseline for the SBCC interventions. The sample strived to achieve a 50:50 split for men and women. To ensure some level of representativeness at the local level (i.e., urban vs rural) and reduce the margin of error, the sample was split 50:50 between urban and rural areas in each of the provinces for comparable sample sizes. The data was weighted to analyse for the nationally representative results.

Child Quantitative Survey

Face to Face interviews were conducted between 20th September to 27th October, 2021. Children between the ages of 14-17 years, both girls and boys, were surveyed to collect quantifiable data on their knowledge, beliefs and social norms, attitudes, and practices, related to the key behaviours and to set the baseline for the SBCC interventions.

The survey for children was nationwide, including all four provinces, Gilgit Baltistan and Islamabad Capital Territory. Due to the fieldwork restrictions in Azad Jammu Kashmir, in-person interviews with children could not be conducted.

Table 2 below provides the samples for each demographic area, with significant representation of children within this age group in each region.

Province/Territory	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Total
Punjab	108	114	122	100	222
Sindh	107	103	108	102	210
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	113	105	111	107	218
Baluchistan	111	115	112	114	226
Islamabad Capital Territory	49	51	39	61	100
Gilgit Baltistan	96	98	94	100	194
Total	584	586	586	584	1,170

Table 2. Child HH Survey Sampling

A comparable sample allowed us to include sufficient representation of every region in our sample, otherwise the regions with a large population would overwhelmingly dominate the sample and would not allow the small regions to make their way into the sample with appropriate representation; this helped to avoid any bias in the results. The sample was distributed such to ensure representativeness at the provincial level with a low margin of error.

Qualitative Sample

Adult Qualitative Survey

Data collection for this phase took place between 12th November to 2nd December 2020. A total of 5 FGDs and 11 KIs were conducted in different locations and with people of different demographics groups. In light of COVID-19 restrictions, remote FGDs and KIs were conducted with adults. Participants were selected via snowball sampling, using the professional and personal networks of the data collection team. The FGDs were hosted online using virtual conference rooms to bring people together. The enumerators were able to host the discussions from Karachi. The FGD respondents were recruited from locations where access to internet was prevalent to prevent a selection bias. The sample included three male groups, two from rural locations and one from an urban location, and two female groups, both from urban locations. The sampling is shown in Table 3 below.

Adult FGDs (5) Age Bracket: 18 – 65 yrs			
	Male	Female	Total
Punjab	1 FGD Rural		1
Sindh		1 FGD Urban	1
Baluchistan	1 FGD Rural		1
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa		1 FGD Urban	1
Islamabad Capital Territory	1 FGD Urban		1
Total	3	2	5

Table 3. Adult FGD Sample

Ten adult KIIs were conducted in Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Islamabad Capital Territory, Gilgit Baltistan, and Azad Jammu Kashmir. The sampling for adult KIIs is shown in Table 4. Four age groups were used to capture different experiences based on age. Of the ten KIIs, five were with men, and five with women. KIIs were conducted by phone to ensure that participants who did not have access to the internet—and therefore would not have been able to participate in an online FGD—were captured by the phone-based KIIs.

Adult KIIs (10) Age Bracket: 18 – 54 yrs					
	18-24 yrs	25-34 yrs	35-44 yrs	45-54 yrs	Total
Punjab	1 Male KII (rural)		1 Female KII (urban)		2
Sindh		1 Male KII (urban)		1 Female KII (rural)	2
Baluchistan			1 Male KII (rural)		1
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	1 Female KII (urban)				1
Islamabad Capital Territory	1 Female KII (rural)		1 Male KII (urban)		2
Gilgit Baltistan		1 Female KII (rural)			1
Azad Jammu Kashmir				1 Male KII (urban)	1
Total	3	2	3	2	10

Table 4. Adult KII Sampling

All adults included in the FGDs and KIIs were duty bearers. Within each KII, all four behaviours were discussed. Within each FGD, three of the four behaviours were discussed to ensure that enough detail was captured about each behaviour within the timeframe of the FGD; this was confirmed following the piloting of the tools. The topics of violent discipline, child marriage, and child labour were discussed in the context of whether caregivers themselves experienced it, and whether their children had experienced it.

Child Qualitative Survey

For qualitative data collection with children, the team conducted 56 KIIs in-person. A total of 28 KIIs with boys and 28 KIIs with girls were conducted. The data collection took place between 10th June to 5th July 2021. The qualitative research aimed to include children from a variety of backgrounds and contexts, to highlight the intersectionality of vulnerabilities that were crucial to understand as part of the study. It was recognised that children from certain different backgrounds may have found it more difficult to fully participate in the KIIs and FGDs. The data collection team was trained on how to make these children feel comfortable, participating as much as possible. In addition, the qualitative tools for children were designed in a participatory manner, so that they were appropriate for children.

Given the sensitivity of the study areas, the team did in-depth key informant interviews face to face with children. The sampling for child KIIs is shown in Table 5. Child KIIs were conducted with children ages 14 – 17. As part of the 56 KIIs, a total of four KIIs were conducted with children with disabilities, four KIIs were conducted with children in residential alternative care, and four KIIs were conducted with street connected children. Given that this component of the study is qualitative, the aim was not to collect a representative sample of data, including geographically (the quantitative component of the study was designed to be nationally representative).

All four behaviours covered in this study were explored with children. Violent discipline was discussed in each KII, as it is assumed that all children have experienced, at a minimum, some form of violent discipline. In 20 KIIs, child marriage was also discussed; in 18 KIIs child labour was also discussed; in 18 KIIs birth registration was also be discussed. Participants in these KIIs were purposefully sampled for their personal experience with these topics.

Child KIIs (56) Age Bracket: 14-17 years			
Provinces	Rural	Urban	Total
Punjab	2 Girls, 4 Boys	4 Girls, 2 Boys	12
Sindh	2 Girls, 2 Boys	4 Girls, 4 Boys	12
Baluchistan	2 Girls, 2 Boys	1 Girl, 1 Boy	6
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	1 Girl, 1 Boy	2 Girls, 2 Boys	6
Islamabad Capital Territory	4 Girls, 4 Boys	2 Girls, 2 Boys	12
Gilgit Baltistan	1 Girl, 1 Boy	1 Girl, 1 Boy	4
Azad Jammu Kashmir	1 Girl, 1 Boy	1 Girl, 1 Boy	4
Total	28	28	56

Table 5. Child KII Sampling

With these KIIs, the team put together case studies for each thematic area – violent discipline, child labour and child marriage—showing snippets of experiences of children in Pakistan across all provinces and geographic areas of coverage. The objective of this method is to provide readers of the report very human stories the depict a child’s understanding of these issues.

Fieldwork Data Collection

Data Collection During the COVID-19 Pandemic

The research team monitored the COVID19- situation closely on the ground and adapted its data collection modalities accordingly within the existing budget. Enumerators and moderators did not proceed with the data collection without securing the informed consent of the participants. The following are the elements of research ethics that were taken into consideration in the context of COVID19- pandemic:

- The research activities complied with the rules and guidelines of the country and regions where the research was conducted.
- Researchers and participants were required to adhere to all preventative measures as advised by World Health Organization (WHO) and national guidance.
- No research activities were conducted if they impeded emergency responses.
- Safety considerations are vital for both the researchers and participants and clear protocol of risk assessment and mitigation strategies were provided prior to the fieldwork to ensure protection from risk infection and to mitigate other health risks.
- Remote interaction and conducting online and other internet-based data collection was considered as part of the research design when the COVID-19 restrictions in place required so.

Quality Assurance

Quality assurance measures were implemented throughout the preparation, data collection, and analysis process. These included:

- The quantitative survey and qualitative frameworks were translated into Urdu and other local languages and back translated into English for quality control purposes, and to ensure that all the translations were accurate.
- All research tools were piloted before starting the research, as well as shared with the child protection expert from the UNICEF team and MAGENTA's child protection subject matter expert.
- High-quality audio recordings of the full FGDs and KIIs were provided. The data collection team brought proper audio recording equipment during the FGD and KIIs.
- The data collection partners ensured that all the interviews were audio recorded, as well as a note-taker who was focused on capturing the details of the conversations. Both audio recordings and notes were provided along with the translated transcripts of the interviews.
- During the pilot, the expected duration of the interviews and discussions were established and agreed on. Based on the average duration of the pilot interviews, relevant changes were made to the discussion guides, if necessary.
- At least two photos from each FGD and photos from some KIIs were shared by the data collection team. Faces of respondents were obscured in all photographs.
- The products of the participatory workshops were saved, digitalised as appropriate and used as data points. Previous experience working with children and adolescents demonstrate that such visual materials were an important source of information to complement and supplement data collected through KIIs, FGDs and surveys, and were particularly important when dealing with sensitive issues such as discrimination and stigma, as well as supporting the production of evidence from participants who are non-verbal.
- All completed questionnaires were checked for inconsistencies and duration by the Team Leader, with back-checks (call-backs) of 10% of all completed questionnaires and systematic back-checks for all inconsistent answers flagged. GPS was used to confirm the location of each interview.
- Non-response or non-participation from respondents is a critical issue in conducting and collecting data. As such, it is important that the respondents trust the survey officers and that survey officers wear some form of identification. A letter which details the project in general was distributed so that targeted informants fully understood the purpose of the survey.

Challenges and Limitations

Adult Fieldwork Data Collection

Qualitative Data Collection: Throughout the qualitative data collection with adults, longer than anticipated amount of time was required to facilitate a comfortable environment for participants to discuss about sensitive topics surrounding violent discipline more openly. The data collection team found that the use of third person was very effective when engaging participants about sensitive topics. This was most notable when the focus group was being recorded and asked about government laws, where observations showed that participants were hesitant throughout this discussion segment.

Quantitative Data Collection: Country wide protests and COVID-19 limitations and restrictions posed a significant challenge during quantitative data collection, which resulted in adjustments to the data collection timeline and sampling areas. Many participants, especially in the district of Mardan in KPK, refused to participate in the survey citing COVID-19 reasons.

Some respondents, especially in rural areas, found questions related to violent discipline and child marriage sensitive. Questions and statements related to beating or yelling, and the age and choice of marriage, were viewed as sensitive questions and raised some apprehensions from the respondents, especially female respondents in the rural areas.

Participants, specifically, in rural Baluchistan, hesitated to respond to child marriage related questions and statements. Female participants did not respond well to these questions and would ask the interviewer to consult the elder or a male member of their family. In more conservative communities, females were not allowed to be interviewed or were very hesitant to do so, which resulted in relatively lower female response rates.

This required the data collection team to seek out a greater number of female respondents to achieve 50:50 gender split in sampling. Some respondents deemed questions about marriage choices and disciplining methods to be culturally insensitive and inappropriate. Their attitude and knowledge, however, was recorded and reflected in our data. In addition to the hesitancies displayed by participants, there were anticipated difficulties in mobility, as prior to reception of a facilitation letter, the data collection team was continuously stopped and questioned by district and security authorities, mainly in Kohistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Child Fieldwork Data Collection

When conducting data collection with children, there were similar observations and challenges that were highlighted throughout both the quantitative and qualitative components. The data collection team noted that the age of the participants greatly affected their ability to completely understand the concept of being interviewed as well as the topics being discussed such as the concept of early child marriage and child labour. Participants did not know whether their experiences were defined as child labour or child marriage. Additionally, as respondents were being interviewed in the presence of a guardian, some child showed of hesitancy observed when answering questions, especially those related to discipline and child labour.

Data Analysis

For the four phased data collections, analysis of the data collected from the field was an on-going process and the data was processed as soon as the research team received datasets and transcripts from the data collection team. Early and continuous analysis served three main purposes:

- To enable the research team to focus quickly on the main issues that are important to the participants, and then explore those issues more closely.
- To check that the interviews are being conducted in the best possible way.
- And to examine the results of the discussions early enough to be able to check that the information we require to meet the research objectives is being collected.

When analyzing text, the qualitative research identified themes or codes that were sought in the data. In analyzing qualitative data in the context of this project, the research team used NVivo software to efficiently code and segment data in a way that lends them a degree of quantitative rigour to know how many times an issue was discussed across all the focus groups and KIIs as well as how many times in total a response was given. This allowed the team to code written qualitative data (FGD transcripts, KII responses, or open-ended survey questions) across several axes. When using NVivo, a researcher followed the steps below:

1. Developed a code book that corresponds to the major issues covered in each FGD, KII and III.
2. Coded each relevant portion of text by highlighting it in NVivo.
3. Defined each code by a number of relevant axes (sentiment, demographic information, issue).

For the quantitative data analysis, the quantitative research analysts cleaned and processed the data to produce the final, useable dataset and analysis tables. The data was cleaned and compiled in the form of Excel and SPSS database, that were submitted as a deliverable along with the field reports. Data analysis was conducted around the analysis plan as per the indicators agreed with the UNICEF. Disaggregation was done on the basis of gender, provinces, and ages of respondents, urban/rural and others as per the UNICEF's requirements.

The statistical analysis software SPSS was used to analyse the quantitative datasets and compare the response patterns of respondents. The opinions and perceptions were analysed for different segments and demographic groups separately. To check for differences across different segments and demographic groups at 95% confidence level, chi-square goodness of fit test and two independent sample t-test were used to test for significance. All the differences were analysed for statistically significant differences at 5% significance level.



BIRTH REGISTRATION

BIRTH REGISTRATION

In Pakistan, only about 42% of children are estimated to have their births registered.⁴⁶ There are significant socio-economic disparities between those whose births are registered and those whose are not. The lowest rates of birth registration occur in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (19%), merged districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2%), and rural areas (34% compared to 60% in urban areas).⁴⁷ While the overall rate of birth registration has been rising steadily since 2007, this has occurred primarily among wealthier families.⁴⁸

The determinants of low or no birth registration are multitudinous and linked to people's knowledge, attitudes, and norms around the birth registration. They are also linked to other factors, such as a person's socio-economic status, the accessibility of services, and the ways in which people obtain and share important information about life events.

This study found that interpersonal networks are important mechanisms for sharing information in provinces with lower rates of birth registration and among women and people with low literacy. There is significant variation in the ways that people know about and access information about birth registration. People living in cities are more likely to have heard about the process from government officials, healthcare workers, or the Internet, whereas those living in villages depend more heavily on interpersonal networks or radio for information.

Provinces with historically low registration rates typically have low rates of literacy and education attainment.⁴⁹ Low literacy and limited education can greatly impact a person's ability to navigate and self-advocate in government systems. The study found that children with no formal education were significantly more likely to report that they did not know about the birth registration process (71%), while those with higher levels of education were significantly more likely to have heard about the process (76%). Children in Punjab (79%), Islamabad (78%) and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (66%) were more likely to have some knowledge about the process than those from other provinces. The findings indicate that there is a generally low level of knowledge about (1) the process of how and where to register a birth and (2) the appropriate timeframe for registering a birth.

Among children, knowledge about birth registration was primarily related to school enrolment, more than its pertinence to other forms of social engagement. This finding was reflected among adults as well, where most respondents cited school enrolment and the obtainment of official records as the main purposes for birth registration. And while 60% percent of children said that their births were registered, about 20% said that they 'did not know' and 20% said that their births were not registered. Moreover, about 50% of the children said that they had never been asked for their birth registration certificate, 36% said that they had been asked, and a significant minority of 14% said that they did not know whether they had been asked. This suggests that birth registration has low salience for many children, in part because not registering a birth is normal and in part because it is not a document that they are regularly asked for.

A significant minority of adult respondents said that birth registration is complicated and expensive, and about 27% of adult respondents did not feel that registering a birth was legally essential. While about 79% percent of respondents indicated that they felt that birth registration was the right of every child, a noteworthy 21% of respondents either felt neutrally or disagreed with this statement. Within the qualitative surveys, the prominent barriers people cited included having large families, lacking childcare while going to register a child's birth, the costs of commuting to a registration office, the costs of missing work, and a lack of transparency from government staff about the birth registration process.

About 76% of adult said that birth registration is equally important for both boys and girls. However, about 45%

46. UNICEF (2021). The State of the World's Children: Interactive Dashboard and Statistical Tables (data based on 2018 data). <https://data.unicef.org/resources/sowc-2021-dashboard-and-tables/>

47. National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS) [Pakistan] and ICF. 2019. Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2017-18. Islamabad, Pakistan, and Rockville, Maryland, USA: NIPS and ICF.

48. UNICEF. (2019). Birth Registration for Every Child by 2030: Are we on track?

49. Idris, I. (2021). Increasing birth registration of children marginalised groups in Pakistan.

of adult respondents felt that birth registration was more important for boys than for girls. Moreover, girls were more likely to say that they "don't know" the purpose of birth registration (e.g., for obtaining civil documents,

for job employment, for government records, and hospital treatment). Together, these findings suggest that attitudinal norms about who is most deserving of a birth registration that can contribute to, and indeed perpetuate, systemic inequalities in registration.

Men were significantly more likely than women to have registered the birth of a child. Men were also more likely to be the main decision makers about whether and when to register a child's birth, whereas women's role in the decision-making process was very limited. This indicates that gender norms in the decision-making process have a large impact on whether a child's birth is registered. It also indicates that gender norms may influence the knowledge that children have around birth registration. This is to say that a father's knowledge or lack thereof will likely influence that of their child. Given the significantly lowered knowledge among girls, this finding also suggests that fathers may be more inclined to share this information with boys rather than girls. Understanding the gender norms in family decision making is a key to informing policies and programmes that empower people to register the births of their children.

The following section presents the findings of the knowledge, attitudes, and practices survey on birth registration that was conducted with adults and children across Pakistan. The research team also conducted significant tests to analyse differences between demographic groups. As such, the quantitative findings present these differences across demographic factors, in particular age, gender, education, province and rural or urban location. Furthermore, the findings are supplemented with qualitative insights from focus group discussions with adults and in-depth interviews with children to analyse social norms and decision-making patterns among adults and children.

Summary of Findings

Adult KAP Findings

Knowledge

- Most adults know about the birth registration process through their interpersonal networks.
- Most adults are not familiar with the official birth registration process.
- Women are more likely to say that birth registration is useful for school enrolment and obtaining government documents.
- Most adults do not know when their child's birth needs to be registered.

Attitudes

- Adults living in rural regions are more likely to consider the birth registration process to be difficult and expensive.
- Adults living in provinces and regions with historically low rates of birth registration are more likely to be ambivalent about the importance of registering a child's birth.
- Most adults assigned high importance of birth registration across life events.

Practices

- About 1 in 3 parents say that they have not registered the birth of any of their children.
- Mothers rarely are the main decision makers for birth registration.

Child KAP Findings

Knowledge

- Most children are aware of birth registration as a process because of its importance for school enrolment.
- Few children know the details of how to register a birth.
- Most children learned about birth registration from their parents.

Attitudes

- Girls are less likely to say that birth registration is important for various life events.

Practices

- Children in urban areas are more likely to know whether their births were registered than children in rural areas.
- Girls are more likely to say that their births were registered at birth, while boys are more likely to say that they do not know when their births were registered.
- Boys are much more likely to be asked for their birth registration certificate compared to girls.

KAP Findings Among Adults

Adults' knowledge, attitudes, and practices of birth registration were assessed by means of close ended questions in a quantitative household survey, with semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with adults across the country. The KAP survey questions were formulated to measure understanding, misunderstanding, and behaviour around birth registration in order to establish baseline reference value for use in future assessments and to measure the effectiveness of programme activities.

Finding 1: Most adults know about the birth registration process through their interpersonal networks.

Majority of respondents are aware of the birth registration process.

To document baseline awareness about birth registration, the team asked survey participants whether they knew or had ever heard of the childbirth registration process. While 85% of respondents had heard of the process, a large minority (15%) of respondents had not heard of it. Looking into the data to understand potential determinants of low knowledge showed that there was a wide variation in respondents' knowledge based on their level of education, the province in which they live, and whether they live in urban or rural communities.

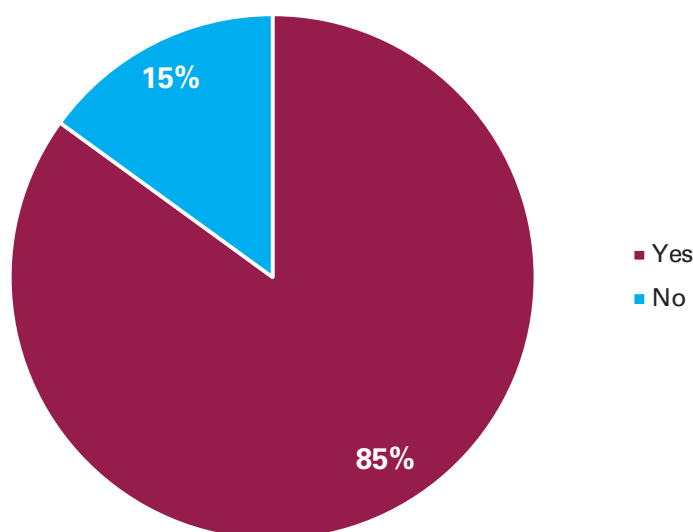


Figure 1: Percentage of adults that are aware of birth registration processes

The data showed that respondents with less education were much less likely to have heard about the birth registration process than respondents with higher education. About 69% of respondents with no formal education, 78% of respondents with reading and writing education; and 80% of respondents with secondary education know about the process. Those with a high school diploma (95%), Faculty of Arts (FA) or Faculty of Science (Fsc) degree (97%) and those with a university degree (90%), conversely, were more likely to know about the process. This finding indicates that respondents' knowledge about birth registration increases as they obtain more education.

The finding also indicates that education may be both a cause and a consequence of registration awareness: On the one hand, those with more education have higher literacy and ability to navigate administrative processes. On the other hand, birth registration is required for admission to schools of higher education and some secondary

schools.⁵⁰ Thus, those respondents can become aware of birth registration through their enrolment process.

The data also showed that provinces with historically low rates of birth registration also correspond to those where people report less awareness about the process.⁵¹ About 70% of respondents from Sindh, 72% of respondents from Baluchistan, 78% of respondents from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and 86% of respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan reported that they were aware of the birth registration process. In comparison, respondents from provinces with historically higher rates of birth registration were more likely to know about the process: About 96% of respondents from Islamabad; 97% of respondents from Punjab; and 99% of respondents from Azad Jammu Kashmir reported that they had heard of the process. As per the Demographic Health Survey 2017-2018, only about 27% of children have their births registered in Sindh and Gilgit-Baltistan; 30% of children in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa; and 38% of children in Baluchistan. These findings suggest that low individual and community awareness about birth registration can contribute to lower birth registration in provinces with historically lower rates of registration.

Moreover, the data showed that respondents living in cities were more likely to know about the process than respondents who live in rural communities: About 89% of all respondents in cities knew about the process, while 81% of all respondents in rural areas knew about it. This variation is likely due to the relatively high concentration of civil registration services in urban centres and the lower concentration of services in rural communities. This suggests that the availability of birth registration services can influence people’s awareness about the process.

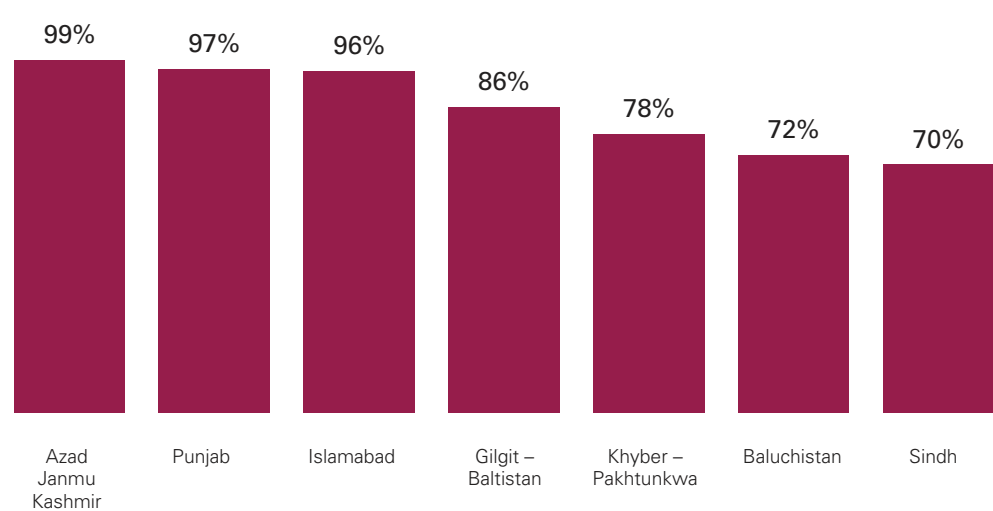


Figure 2: Percentage of respondents that know or have heard about the birth registration process/ by province.

Most respondents who had heard about the birth registration process learned about it from family, friends, or members of their community.

The findings showed that most respondents who had heard of the birth registration process had heard about it from people in their reference networks rather than from mass and digital media sources. In a question in which respondents could select more than one answer, the people in respondents’ reference networks included: relatives (57%), friends (32%), community members (28%), hospital staff (40%) and government staff (19%). The data also showed that few respondents had learned about birth registration from mass and digital media, but a large minority of respondents had heard about it from television: Only about 4% of respondents had heard about it from the Internet; 3% of respondents had heard about it from newspapers; 1% had heard about it from radio; and 15% had heard about it from television. This data indicates that personal networks and television are very important conduits by which people learn about birth registration.

Disaggregating the data showed that there is significant variation in how people learned about the birth registration process based on their gender, level of education, province, and whether they lived in rural or urban communities. This means that social and demographic factors can greatly influence whether and how people

50. Shahrayer, Fatima. (2018). Count Every Child Because Every Child Counts, UNICEF <https://www.unicef.org/pakistan/stories/count-ev-ery-child-because-every-child-counts>
51. UNESCAP. (2020). Birth Registration Inequalities: A Case Study of Pakistan.

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receive information about birth registration.

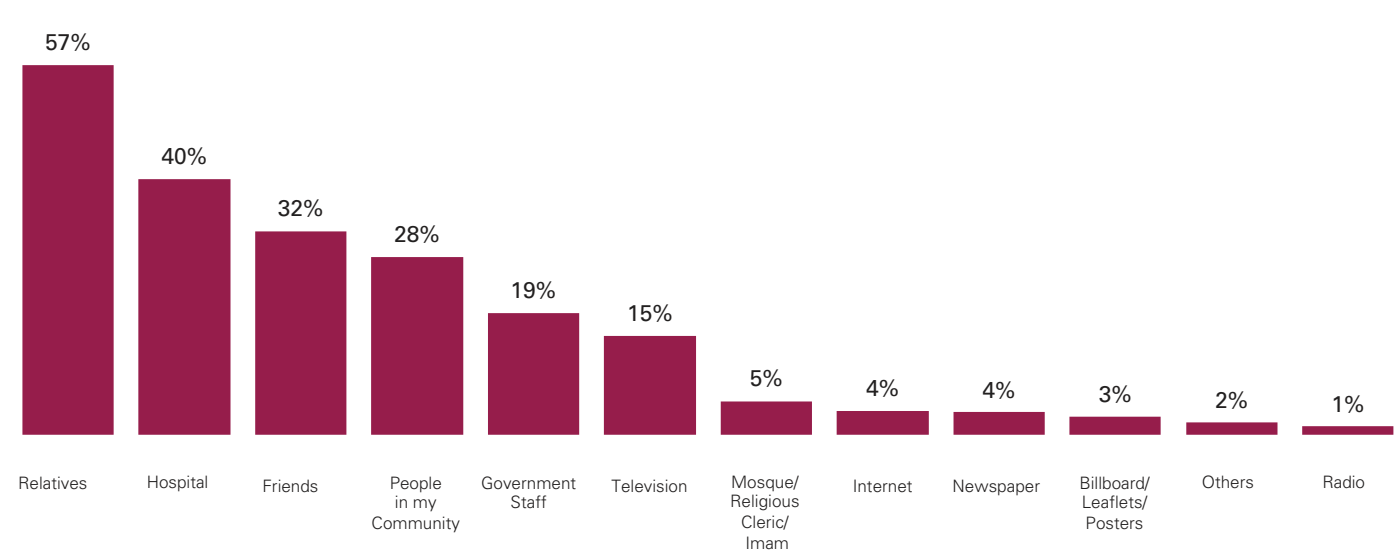


Figure 3: Percentage of respondents that are aware of birth registration processes/ by medium (multi-response question)

Across nearly all categories, men were more likely to have heard about birth registration process than women. Women, however, were significantly more likely to have heard about the processes from television, relatives, and hospital staff. This indicates that women have smaller reference networks than men for learning about birth registration and that family, medical staff, and television are important vehicles for reaching women.

The differences in men and women’s knowledge and reference networks were also evident in focus group discussions. These discussions showed that social and environmental factors can be a determinant about whether and how women learn about birth registration. One young mother from Peshawar (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa), for instance, said that “men know more of the process of getting [births] registered” because they are more involved in activities outside the house. After giving birth, she said that she infrequently left her house both because she had little support from her in-laws and because she did not want to bring her infant outside. For these reasons, she waited until her son was two years old to register his birth and that she had not yet registered the birth of her younger daughter.

This example shows that social and environmental factors, e.g., support from relatives and the logistical ease of registration, can greatly influence whether a woman knows about birth registration and whether she will have the physical and psychological capability to register the birth. This difference in women’s knowledge is also influenced by the fact that most women in Pakistan are homemakers, resulting in women having smaller reference networks than men. This indicates that women’s reference networks are an important and trusted channel for receiving and acting upon new information.

By level of urban development (rural or urban), the data showed that there was variation in the methods by which respondents had heard of birth registration. Respondents in cities were more likely than people living in rural regions to report having heard it from government officials (21%), hospital staff (43%), and the Internet (5%), while people in villages were more likely to report having heard about it via radio (2%), and billboards (4%), which are less commonly used to communicate messages in villages where people tend to have lower levels of literacy.

By province, the data showed that interpersonal reference networks were important information channels, particularly in places with historically low birth registration rates. Respondents from Sindh and Baluchistan, which are two provinces with historically low rates of birth registration, were significantly more likely to learn about birth registration via their interpersonal networks. In Sindh, respondents were significantly more likely to have heard about the process from friends and television. In Baluchistan, respondents were more likely to have heard about it from relatives, friends, and hospital staff.

This data suggests that in provinces with historically low rates of birth registration, interpersonal networks are crucial vehicles of sharing information. The data showed that education level was an important determinant in whether and how respondents had heard about birth registration. Respondents with no formal education were more likely to have heard about the process from relatives and hospital staff, and they were less likely to have heard about it from television, friends, and government staff. Respondents with a high school and higher education were significantly more likely than respondents with no formal education to report that they had heard about the process from government staff.

This shows that having limited education can be a barrier to learning about birth registration and that for people with less education, interpersonal networks are very important vehicles for obtaining new information. To this point, one woman from Punjab commented that newly implemented digital birth registration services were convenient for people with digital literacy but were inaccessible to people without it. She said,

“[digital services are] convenient for educated people and for those who have knowledge about using computer or Internet, but it is difficult for those who don’t have any know how about computer or Internet.”

This indicates that education, where people develop reading literacy that enables digital literacy, is an important determinant in the equation of whether someone can independently register a child’s birth. For this reason, programmes that are intended to increase birth registration among under-represented and marginalised populations need to consider, first, that low literacy can be a barrier to accessing services and, second, that interpersonal networks can serve as vital gateway for learning about services, resources, and opportunities. The overall findings on this indicator show that interpersonal networks are important vehicles for sharing information. This is especially the case in provinces with historically lower rates of childbirth registration. There are several potential reasons for this. The provinces with historically low rates of birth registration also have low rates of education completion and urban development, both of which influence a person’s capability and opportunities for engagement with government services.

Finding 2: Most adults are not familiar with the official birth registration process.

Less than half of respondents know that births are registered at Union Council.

In Pakistan, births are registered at Union Council and local government entities (e.g. municipal authority or cantonment board) and they confer birth registration certificates. However, there is also a separate document known as a “B-Form” (short for “Birth Form”), that is issued by NADRA. This second document attests that the child is registered in NADRA’s system. To obtain a birth registration certificate one must bring a documented proof of birth to a union council. The union council then documents the birth in NADRA’s database and confers a ‘civil registry’ number, which enables the union council or municipality to issue a birth certificate.

While births typically cannot be registered in hospital, hospitals and municipal administrations can notify the births and provide people with the form to complete. However, some hospitals are introducing birth registration desks within hospitals. These desks can notify births to the local government however, hospital personnel are not responsible for registering the births. In focus group discussions, several adult respondents commented that they had started the birth registration process in hospital and that hospital staff had helped them during the registration process. One woman from Peshawar, for instance, said:

“My children were born in a hospital. When I got discharged after one or two days from there, the first thing I said was that I want their birth registration certificates. I got the birth certificate from the hospital and then I had to renew them and I have hospital birth certificates and I also have form b and it is very useful documents for the future of my children. So I have three kids and all three kids have birth certificates. We get it made from the hospital.”

This quote shows that the hospital staffs’ support helped to streamline the process of birth registration and this streamlining eliminates friction for people seeking birth certificates. The process is not administered by hospital staff, but the staff notify union councils and municipalities, in urban areas, of a birth. The Union Council and municipality then register the birth and issue the birth certificate.

In response to the above question about birth registration knowledge, the data showed that most respondents (60%) incorrectly reported that they could register a birth at NADRA, and only 47% and 23% reported that they could register a child’s birth at a Union Council or hospital respectively. A smaller percentage reported that births could be registered at school (5%), with a councillor (11%), or with a municipal administration (12%); less than one percent reported that religious institutions could register a birth. Finally, about 6% said that they did not know where to register a child’s birth.

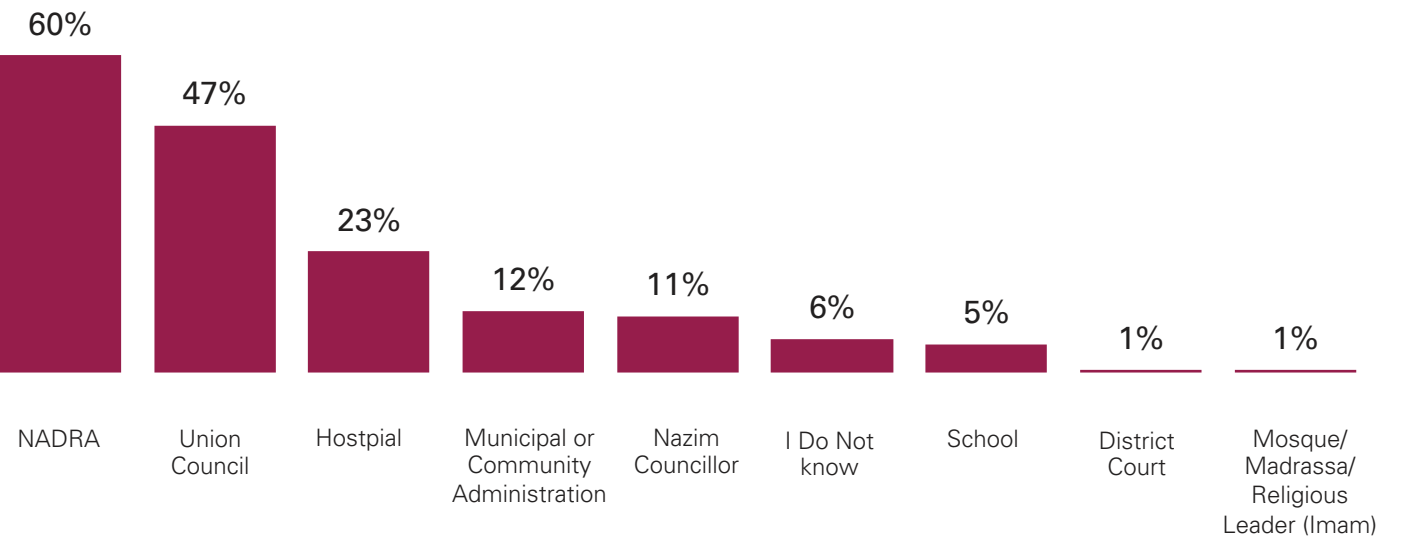


Figure 4: Percentage of respondents that know where to register the birth of their child (multi-response question)

Comparing the data by gender and education shows significant differences in knowledge about where to register a child’s birth. Men (56%) were significantly more likely than women (37%) to report that a child’s birth could be registered at a union council. Women were significantly more likely to report (27% compared to 19%) that a birth could be registered at a hospital. This shows that there may be a lack of knowledge about where to register births among women, as births cannot be registered at hospitals.

Furthermore, most respondents across all education levels reported that births could be registered at NADRA. However, respondents with no formal education were significantly less likely than other respondents to know that births could also be registered at union council. They were also more likely than others to think that births could be registered at other public locations like schools, a municipal administration, or mosques, which are not places where births can typically be registered. This further shows that education level is an important factor in acquiring knowledge about birth registration. It increases an individual’s reading and institutional literacy, which thus makes them more capable of navigating institutional processes.

Respondents’ knowledge also differed depending on province and urban development. Those from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (60%), Baluchistan (61%), Gilgit-Baltistan (74%), and Azad Jammu Kashmir (72%) were significantly more likely than respondents from Punjab (49%), Sindh (55%), and Islamabad (45%) to report that births could be registered at NADRA. Respondents in Sindh (29%), Gilgit-Baltistan (22%) and Baluchistan (32%) were significantly less likely than others to report that births could be registered at union councils. Conversely, those from Azad Jammu Kashmir and Islamabad were more likely than others to report that births could be registered at union councils.

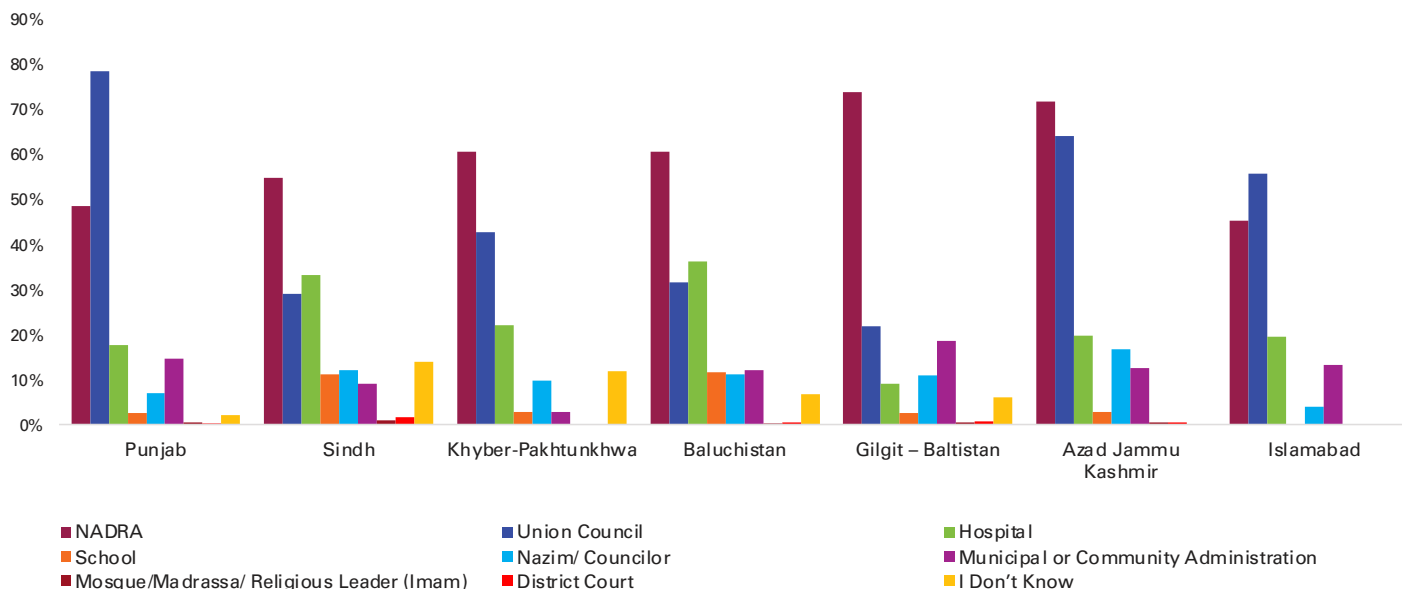


Figure 5: Percentage of respondents that know where to register the birth of their child/by province

Finally, comparing by urban development did not reveal many statistically differences across categories. Respondents living in villages were significantly less likely to report that births could be registered at municipal administrations (10% from villages versus 14% from cities) and more likely to report that they did not know where to record a birth (8% from villages versus 4% from cities). This indicates that there is a need to address awareness gaps, particularly in villages and places with less birth registration infrastructure.

Finding 3: Women are more likely to say that birth registration is useful for school enrolment and obtaining government documents.

Most respondents cited school enrolment and civil identification as the main purpose of birth registration.

When asked the purposes of birth registration in a multiple-answer question, most reported that the purpose of birth registration is for school enrolment (65%) and the acquisition of official civil documents (56%). Furthermore, about 45% of respondents reported that the purpose of birth registration is to know a child's age; 35% of respondents reported that it is for future government planning; 17% of respondents reported that it is for job employment; and 6% of respondents reported that they did not know its purpose. These low figures, and in particular the low majorities, indicate that there is not a unanimous social consensus, and that there can be confusion on the role of birth registration in Pakistan.

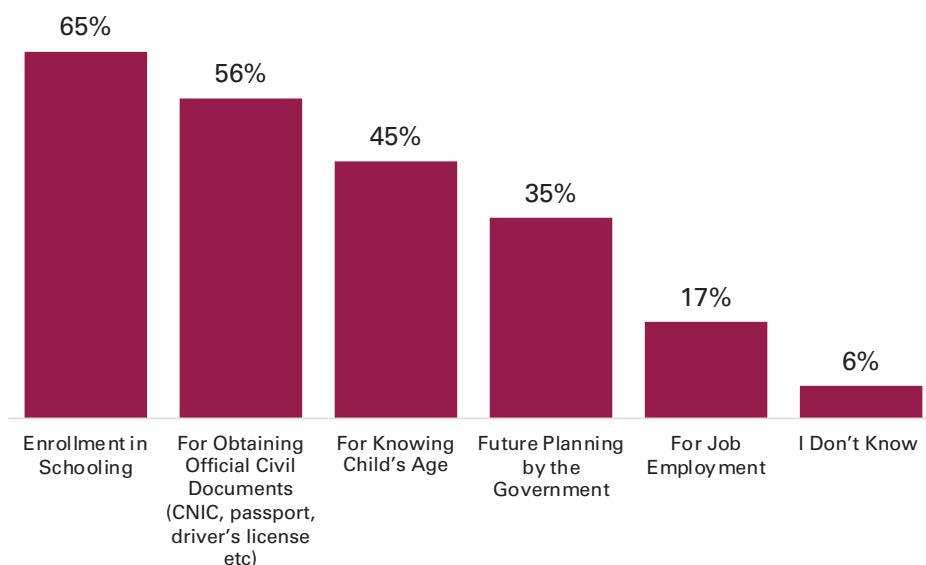


Figure 6: Percentage of respondents that are aware of the purpose of birth registration

Comparing the data by gender indicates noteworthy differences in knowledge about the purpose of birth registration. Men were significantly more likely than women to report that the purpose of registration was for future government planning (40% men compared to 31% women) and for knowing a child's age (49% men compared to 41% women), while women were significantly more likely to report school enrolment (61% men compared to 69% women) and accessing official civil documents (53% men compared to 60% women). This indicates that men and women have significant differences in their conception about the purpose of birth registration.

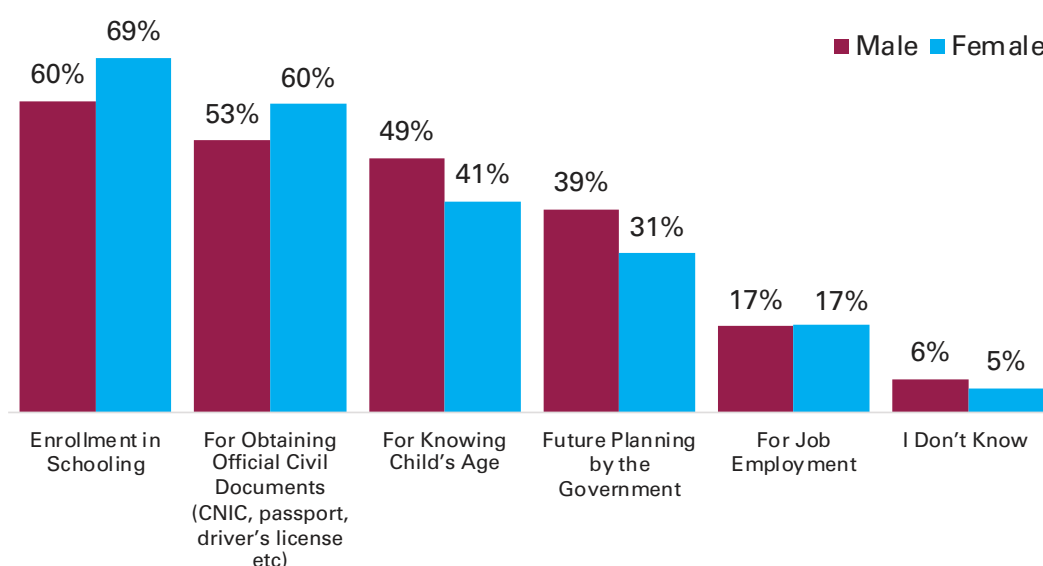


Figure 7: Percentage of respondents that are aware of the purpose of birth registration/by gender

The differences in men and women's conceptions of the role of birth registration is likely connected both to historic trends in women's lower levels of education⁵² and to findings about women's smaller reference networks. It suggests that when women report knowing about birth registration, they tend to know about its importance for education and for claiming a legal identity, but their smaller reference networks may also preclude them from learning about the ways that birth registration is relevant to their lives.

Finding 4: Most adults do not know when their child's birth needs to be registered.

16% of respondents in Gilgit Baltistan and 29% of respondents in Sindh are aware that a child's birth must be registered within 30 days.

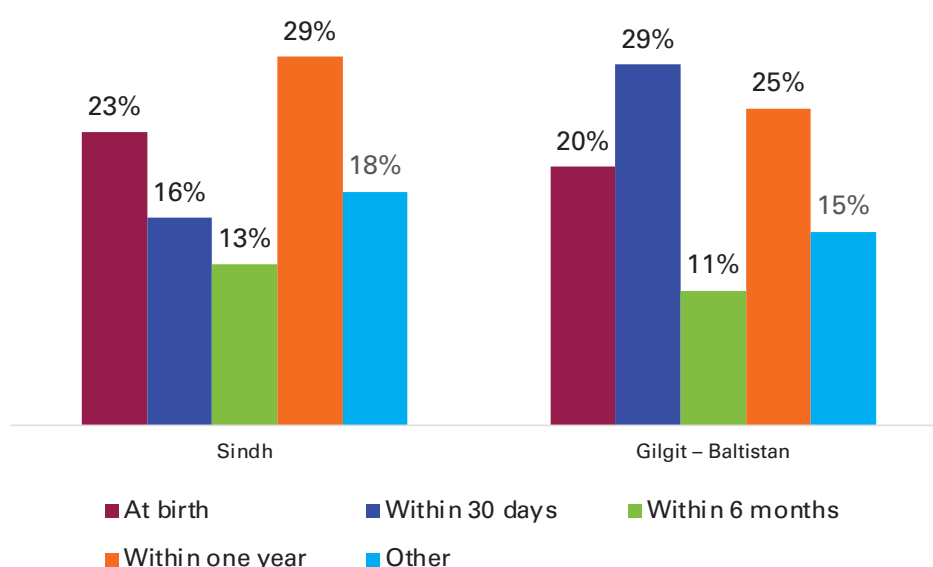


Figure 8: Percentage of respondents in GB and Sindh that are aware that a child's birth must be registered within 30 days

52. Human Rights Watch. (2018). Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan.

It is important to note that child birth registration is not consistent across the province. In Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Azad Jammu Kashmir, a child's birth must be registered within 90 days, and in Punjab and Baluchistan, a child's birth must be registered within 60 days. In the remaining provinces, a child's birth must be registered within 30 days. This data indicates that respondents from Sindh and Gilgit-Baltistan had low awareness about the fact that their provinces require that a child's birth be registered within 30 days of birth. Only 16% of respondents from Sindh and 29% of respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan knew that births must be registered within 30 days. Furthermore, respondents from Sindh were more likely to say that births must be registered within 1 year. This data suggests that most people in Sindh and Gilgit-Baltistan do not know when births must be registered and that they are not familiar with provincial regulations about when to register a child's birth.

About one-third of respondents in Punjab are aware that a child's birth must be registered within 60 days, while respondents in Baluchistan were split.

This data indicates that most respondents from Punjab and Baluchistan did not know that births must be registered within 60 days, although respondents from Punjab were more likely to think that births must be registered at birth. The responses from people in Baluchistan were split and show that there is no social consensus about when births should be registered. Overall, the data indicates that most people in Punjab and Baluchistan are not familiar with provincial regulations about when to register a child's birth.

Figure 9: Percentage of respondents in Punjab and Baluchistan that are aware that a child's birth must be registered within 60 days

40% of respondents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and 47% of respondents in Azad Jammu Kashmir are aware that a child's birth must be registered within 90 days

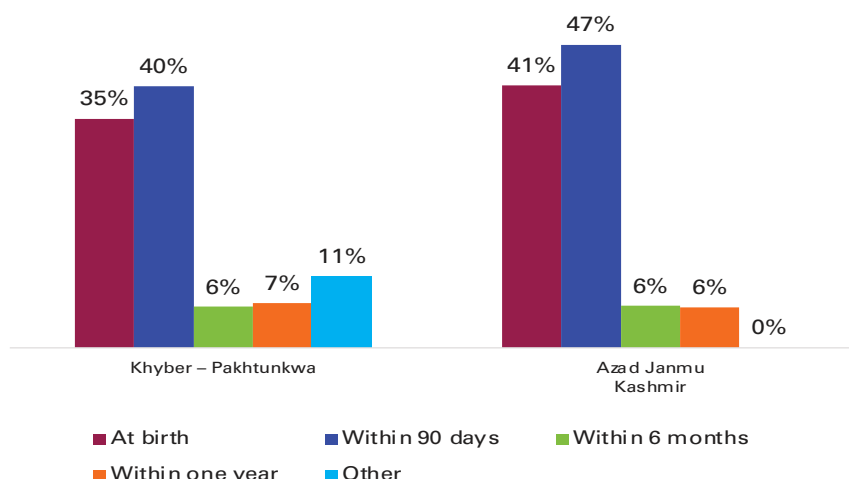


Figure 10: Percentage of respondents in KP and AJK that are aware that a child's birth must be registered within 90 days

This data indicates that most respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Azad Jammu Kashmir did not know that births in their provinces must be registered within 90 days. While most respondents did not know the correct answer, most either thought that births must be registered at birth or within 90 days. Overall, this suggests that there is a high awareness in both provinces that births must be registered soon after the birth.

Finding 5: Adults living in rural regions are more likely to consider the birth registration process to be difficult and expensive.

Nearly half of respondents believe birth registration is difficult/complicated.

Nearly half of the respondents (46%) agreed with the statement that birth registration is difficult while one third (33%) disagreed with this statement. About 15% of respondents felt that birth registration was neither difficult

nor complicated, while 7% said that they did not know whether registration was difficult. This data shows that a significant proportion of people find the process of birth registration difficult. This indicates that the perception of difficulty can constitute a barrier to birth registration for many people. Furthermore, the data disaggregation showed that people with lower education and people who lived in rural regions were more likely to consider birth registration difficult.

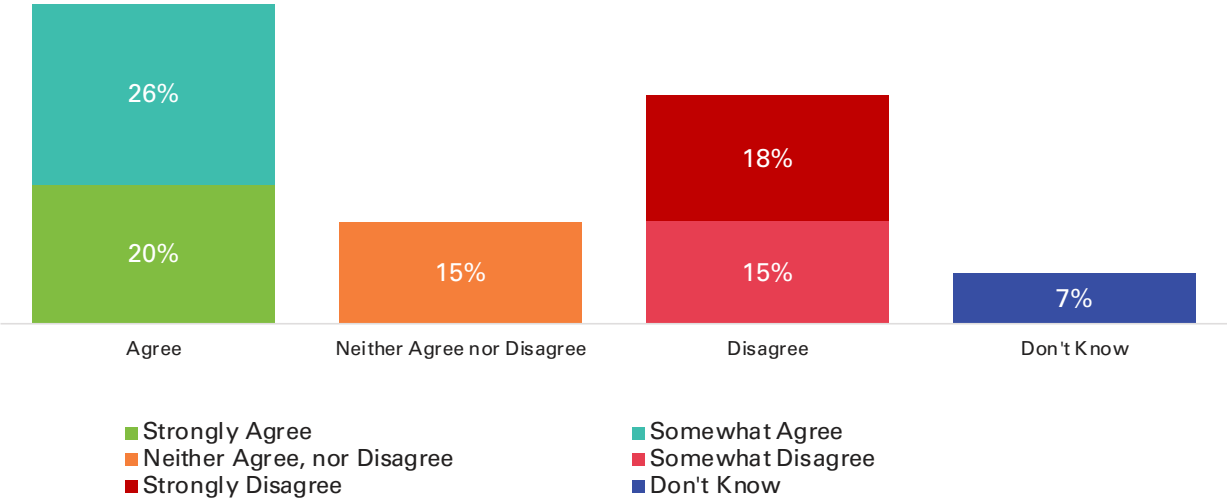


Figure 11: Percentage of respondents that believe birth registration is difficult/complicated

Disaggregating the data by education showed that people with no or little education are more likely to say that they know whether birth registration is difficult or complicated. Conversely, people with high school education are more likely disagree with this statement. This indicates that people with more education are more likely to think that birth registration is not difficult or complicated.

To this end, a young father from Punjab shared a story showing how birth registration requires literacy and time. Both are resources that can be very limited for people with less education, who are more likely to be employed at a low-wage and manual labour work. The father shared that he found the birth registration process to be “so much hassle” because “we had to go to different offices in order to verify the documents.” Moreover, he said that “we had to wait in long queues” during the COVID -19 pandemic.

This experience is important to unpack on two levels: First, as mentioned above, navigating bureaucratic systems requires institutional literacy, which is the ability to understand protocols and self-advocate in a system. Doing this effectively can be more difficult for people with lower reading and institutional literacy levels. Second, the respondent observed that this process took a lot of time. People with less education are more likely to work in hourly and low-wage positions, where time is a very limited resource. This means that for people who are time-scarce, having to spend a lot of time in the process can constitute a barrier to successfully completing the birth registration process.

Furthermore, birth registration is not a requirement for enrolment at many schools. This increases children’s access to education, but it can also perpetuate low birth registration. One interviewee from Punjab, for instance, explained that ‘government or small schools that are operating in your areas’ can be less strict about admissions, while ‘some big and good school’ would require proof of identity. Not requiring proof of identity lowers the barriers to entering academic institutions, which increases children’s access to education. On the other hand, these institutions are protracting the problem by requiring children or guardians to address it in the future. The interviewee remarked,

“In small schools the child will get the admission [and] he or she will keep studying, but they will face the problem in a later stage when they try to move towards higher education when their age and everything will matter for them.”

Regionally, the data shows that people in rural areas were more likely to think that birth registration is difficult, and people from provinces with historically low birth registration were more likely to feel that the process was not difficult. Respondents from Sindh (39%) and Baluchistan (39%) were significantly less likely to say that the birth registration process is difficult compared to respondents from other provinces. This suggests that people from provinces with lower birth registration rates, i.e., people who are less likely to have registered a child's birth, may discount the effort required to complete birth registration.

Respondents were split on whether they believe that birth registration is expensive.

The data shows that approximately equal percentages of respondents agreed (39%) and disagreed (35%) with the statement that birth registration is expensive. Disaggregating the data showed that there was significant variation in attitudes by education, province, and level of urban development.

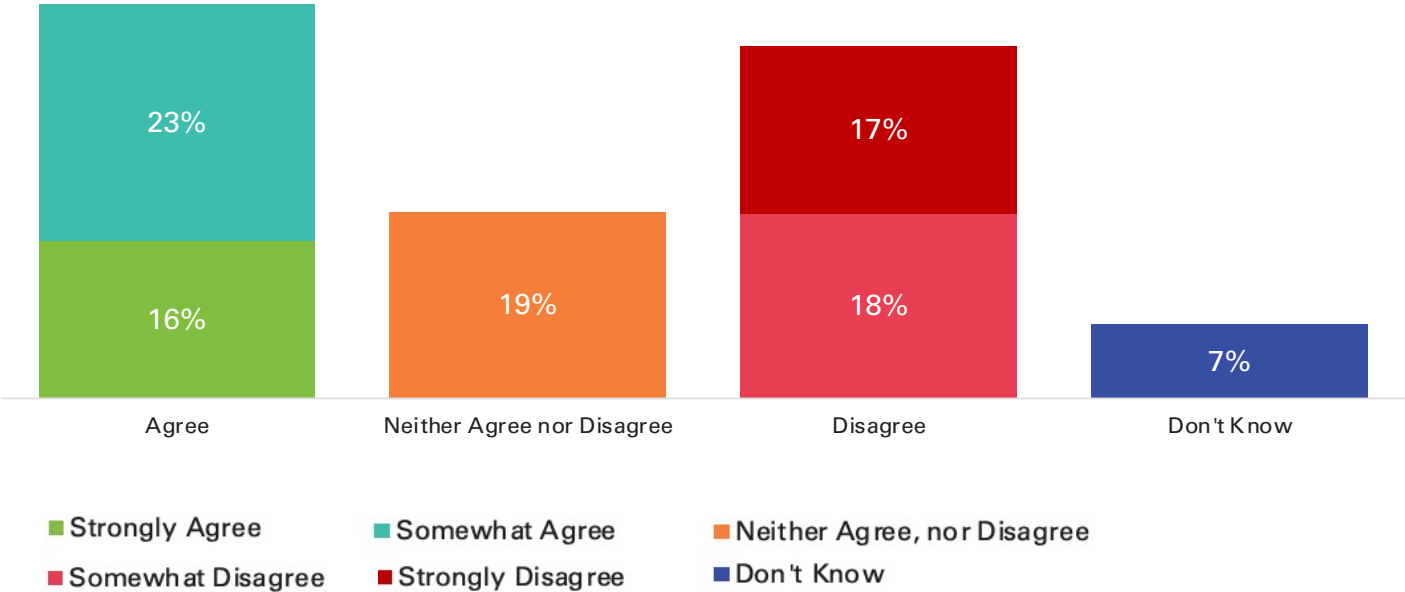


Figure 12: Percentage of respondents that believe birth registration is expensive

The findings show that respondents from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (21%) were significantly less likely to agree that birth registrations is expensive, while those from Gilgit-Baltistan (48%) and Azad Jammu Kashmir (55%), both of which are predominantly rural regions, were significantly more likely to agree that birth registration is expensive.

Moreover, people from villages were also more likely to agree with the statement than people from urban areas. This finding suggests that the associated costs of birth registration for people from rural regions, e.g., costs of travel, can constitute a barrier for people living far from union councils and other government offices.

Finding 6: Adults living in provinces and regions with historically low rates of birth registration are more likely to be ambivalent about the importance of registering a child's birth.

Majority of respondents believe birth registration is the right of every child.

The data shows that a significant majority agreed (77%) with the statement that birth registration is the right of every child, with 8% disagreeing and 13% responding neutrally to the statement. This finding shows that while most respondents may believe that registration is the right of every child, a large minority of respondents have ambivalent attitudes about whether birth registration is the right of every child.

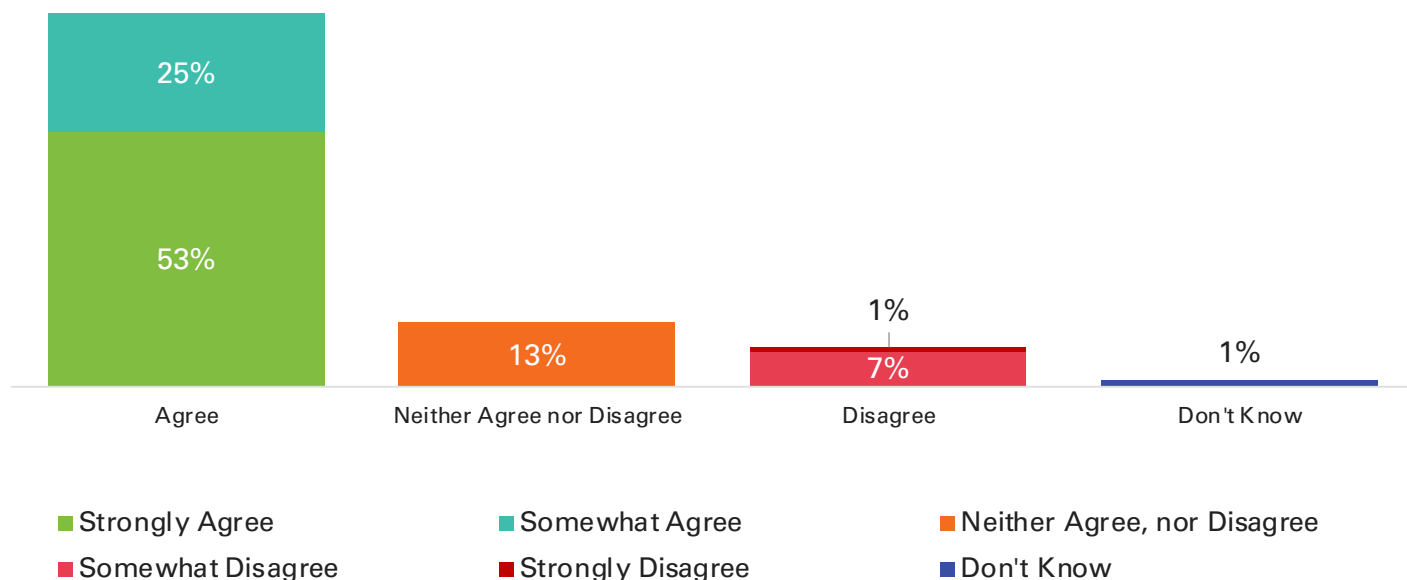


Figure 13: Percentage of respondents that believe birth registration is the right of every child

Furthermore, the data disaggregation shows that there was only significant variation in agreement by province. Respondents from Punjab were significantly more likely to agree (86%) with the statement, while respondents from Islamabad were significantly less likely to agree (69%) than those from other regions.

Many of the respondents that believe birth registration is equally important for both boys and girls.

The data shows that a significant majority agreed (76%) that birth registration is equally important for both boys and girls, with 9% disagreeing and 13% responding neutrally to the statement. As with the previous indicator, in which people were asked whether birth registration is the fundamental right of every child, this shows that a large minority of respondents have ambivalent attitudes about whether registration is equally important for boys and girls.

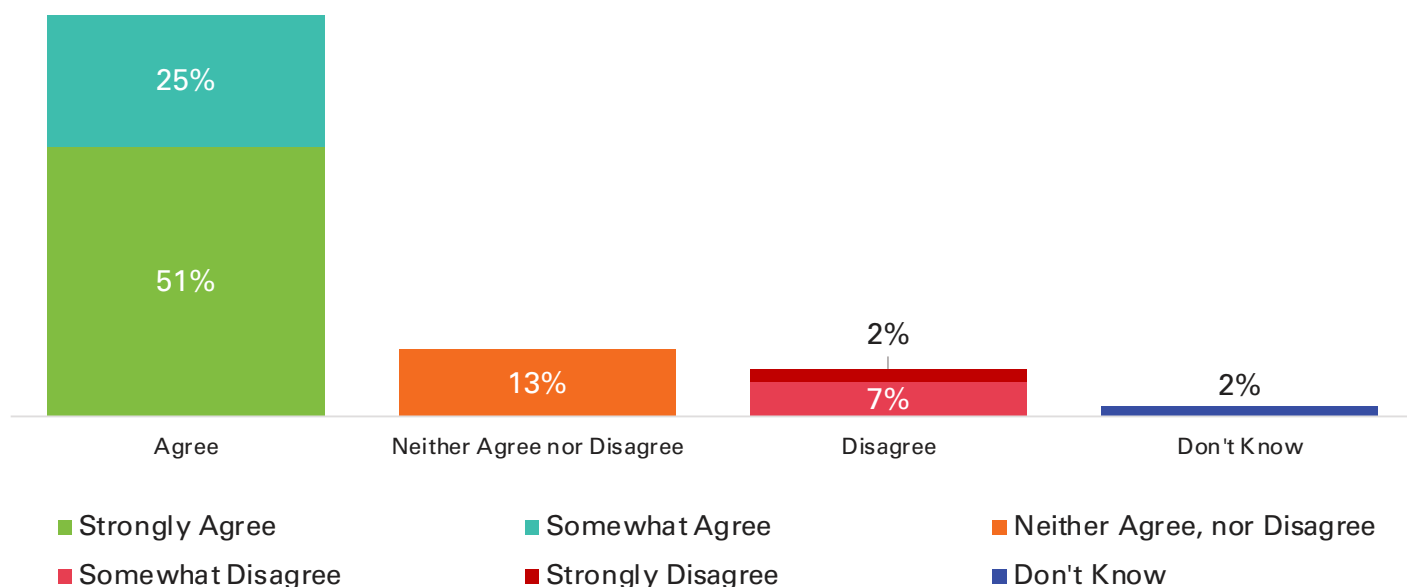


Figure 14: Percentage of respondents that believe birth registration is equally important for both boys and girls

As with the previous indicator, which looked at the percent of respondents that believe birth registration is the right of every child, there was significant variation in attitudes by gender, province, and education level. By gender, men (80%) were much more likely than women (72%) to agree that birth registration is equally important for both boys and girls, while women were much more likely to disagree (8%) or to be neutral (15%).

By province, respondents from Punjab were significantly more likely to agree (85%) with the statement, with only 4% disagreeing and 10% neither agreeing nor disagreeing. Respondents from Islamabad Capital Territory were significantly less likely to agree with the statement, and they were also correspondingly more likely to disagree (21%) with the statement. Similarly, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were more likely to disagree (15%) with the statement than respondents from other provinces.

By education, the data showed that people with more education tended to have positive attitudes about the equal importance of birth registration for both girls and boys. People with university education were significantly more likely to have positive attitudes toward birth registration for both boys and girls. Whereas people with no formal education were much less likely to agree.

Overall, this data indicates that while most people believed birth registration to be equally important for both boys and girls, there was significant variation in people's attitudes by province and educational level.

Almost half of respondents believe birth registration is more important for boys than girls.

While there was not a majority agreement or disagreement about the importance of birth registration by gender, more respondents agreed (45%) than disagreed (35%) that birth registration is more important for boys than girls. About 16% responded they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement and 4% stated that they did not know. This shows that there is not unanimous social consensus about whether birth registration is more important for boys, but that a minority of respondents disagreed with the statement.

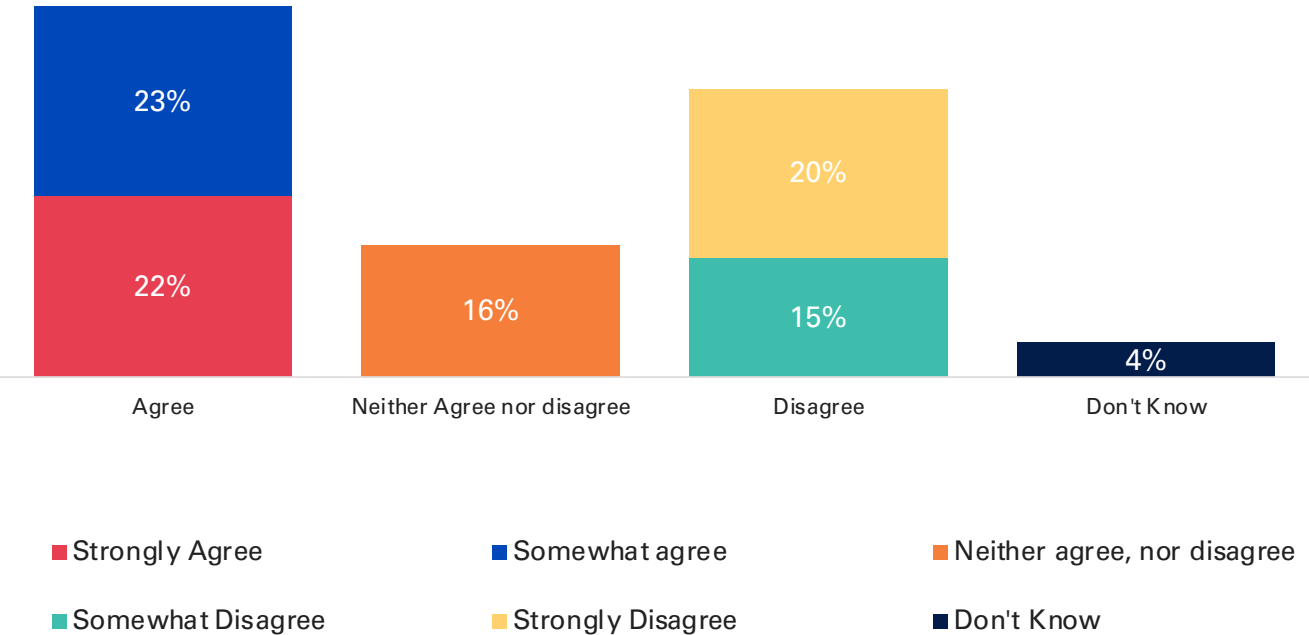


Figure 15: Percentage of respondents that believe birth registration is more important for boys than girls

The data disaggregation shows that there was significant variation by gender, province, and level of education in response to this statement. Men (48%) were significantly more likely to agree with the statement than women (41%). Comparing by region showed significant differences in attitudes toward boys and girls birth registration. By province, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (66%) and Azad Jammu Kashmir (54%) were significantly more likely agree with the statement than respondents from any other province. Conversely, respondents from Punjab (48%) were significantly more likely to disagree with the statement. This indicates that there are divergent social values placed on boys' and girls' access to services and legal identity by gender and province.

Attitudinal variations by gender were evident in focus group discussions. While most respondents said that the process for registering girls’ and boys’ births were identical, they expressed a variety of attitudes, both implicit and explicit, about the importance of birth registration for boys. One young mother from Peshawar said that her infant daughter’s birth was not registered at the same time as her son’s birth. The woman’s husband told her that, *“if one child’s birth certificate was made, it’d be easier to get it made for the other. So, when she turns 2, hers will be made as well.”* This example shows that, despite citing a reason of simplifying future registration, their son’s birth registration was prioritised.

Several male respondents shared that they know people who intentionally delay a child’s birth in order to give them an academic and professional advantage over others when they are applying for schools and government jobs as an adult. This attitude can implicitly emphasise boys’ birth registration because boys are expected to work in the labour force, while girls are more often expected to work in the home.⁵³

Disaggregating the data by education shows that, compared to people with intermediate education, people with lower levels of education are more likely to say that they don’t know whether birth registration is more important for boys than girls. This suggests people with less education may be more ambivalent about the importance of birth registration both children of both genders.

Majority of respondents believed that birth registration is legally essential.

A significant majority agreed (71%) with the statement that birth registration is legally essential, although a sizable minority of respondents disagreed (14%) or responded neutrally (12%). Disaggregating the data shows significant variation across all categories except for age.

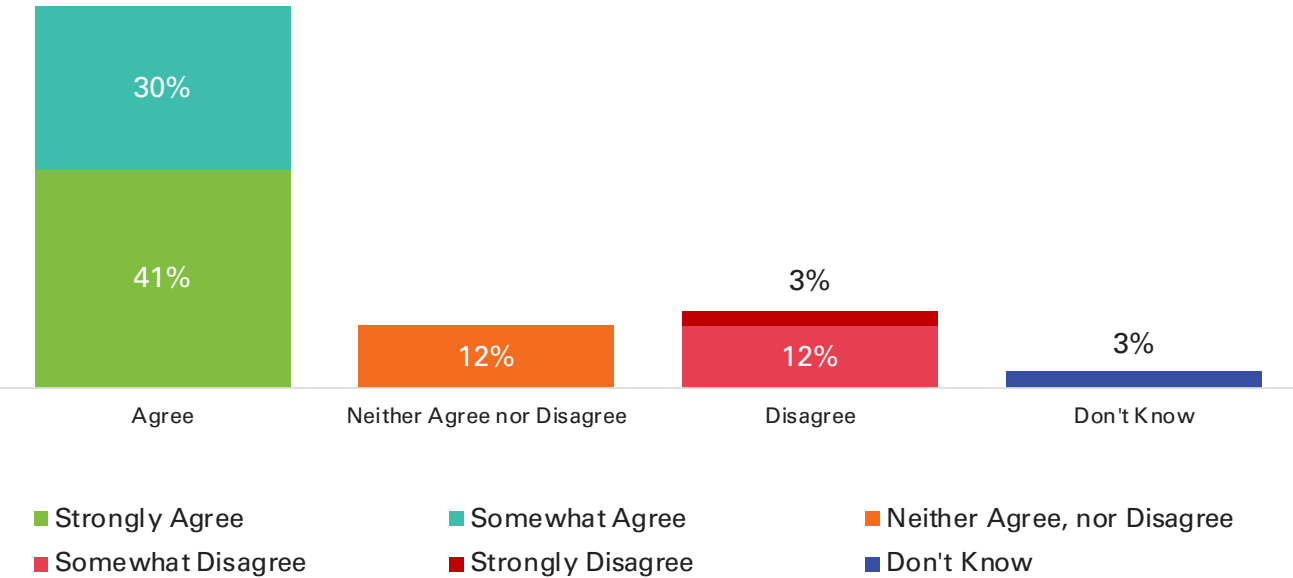


Figure 16: Percentage of respondents that believe informing the authorities about a birth is legally essential

Compared by gender, the data showed that men (75%) were significantly more likely than women (68%) to agree with the statement. This is an important finding because it suggests that women may not consider their legal identity to be an essential part of their social identity.

By education, the data showed that people with more education were more likely to say that informing the authorities about a birth is legally essential. People with no education (62%) were much less likely to agree, whereas people with high school education (75%) were much more likely to agree.

53. World Bank. (2021). In Pakistan, Women’s Representation in the Workforce Remains Low.

By province, respondents from Punjab and Azad Jammu Kashmir were significantly more likely to agree with the statement (81% agree in Punjab; 83% agree in Azad Jammu Kashmir) than respondents from other provinces. Conversely, respondents from Baluchistan (68%), Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (68%), Islamabad (67%), and Sindh (64%) were significantly more likely to disagree with the statement. By level of urban development, respondents from urban areas were significantly more likely to agree (74%) with the statement than respondents from rural areas (68%).

Taken together, this data suggests that while most people consider it essential to inform authorities about a birth, there is a diversity of attitudes about the salience of birth registration, perhaps in part because it may not be a salient document in many aspects of people’s lives.

Most respondents agreed that the births should be registered as per the province rule, however there was significant variation in the attitudes that people held.

While most respondents (65%) agreed that births must be registered within one month, a strong minority of respondents disagreed (13%) or responded neutrally to the statement (14%). The provincial disaggregation is outlined below:

Gilgit-Baltistan and Sindh (30 days)

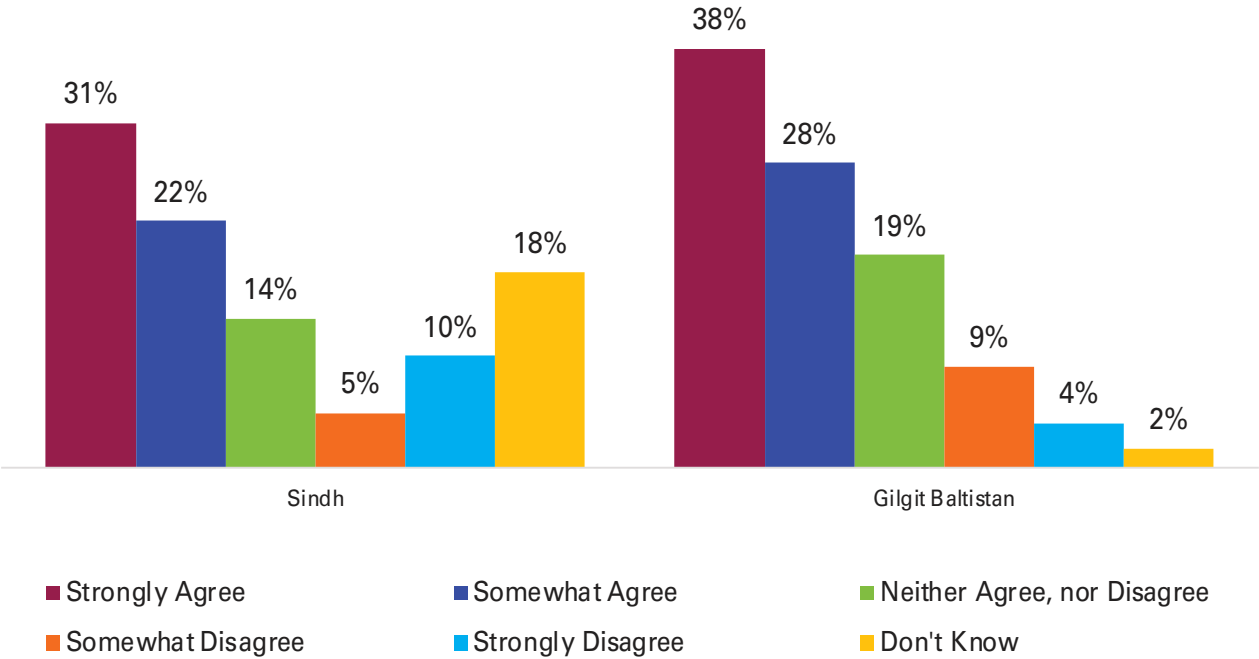


Figure 17: Percentage of respondents that believe births must be registered within the time period as per the province/Gilgit-Baltistan and Sindh

The graph indicates that respondents from Sindh were significantly less likely than respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan to agree that births must be registered within 30 days. Whereas respondents from Sindh were significantly more likely to report that they did not know about whether a birth should be registered in a month.

Baluchistan and Punjab (60 days)

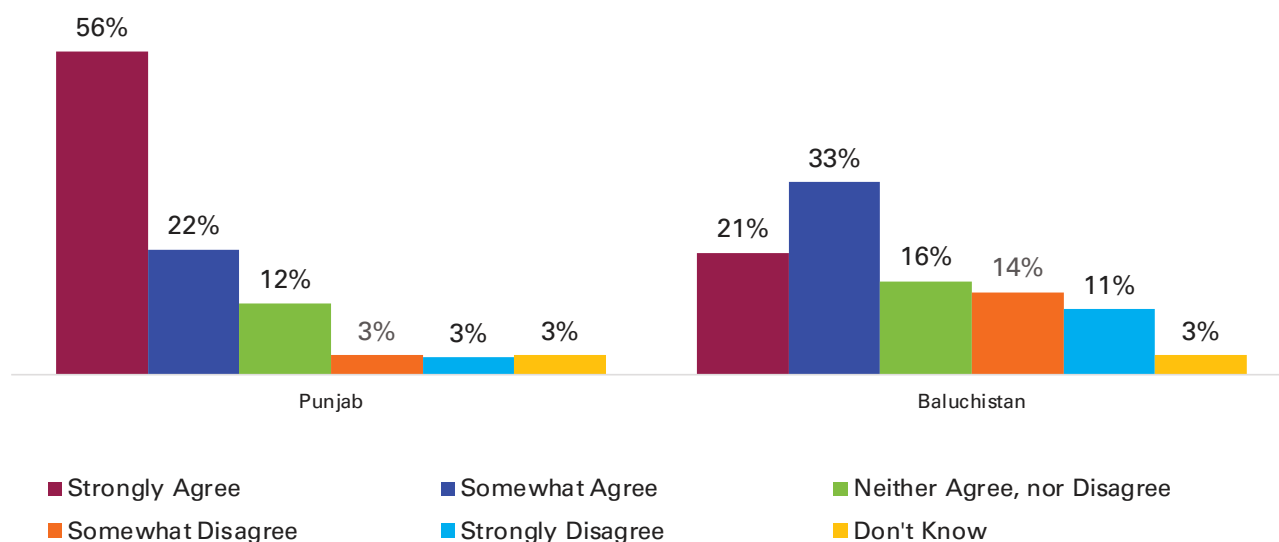


Figure 18: Percentage of respondents that believe births must be registered within the time period as per the province/Baluchistan and Punjab

The graph indicates that respondents from Punjab were significantly more likely than respondents from Baluchistan to agree that births must be registered within 60 days. Whereas respondents from Punjab were significantly more likely to report that that they 'somewhat agreed' that births must be registered within 60 days.

Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Azad Jammu Kashmir (90 days)

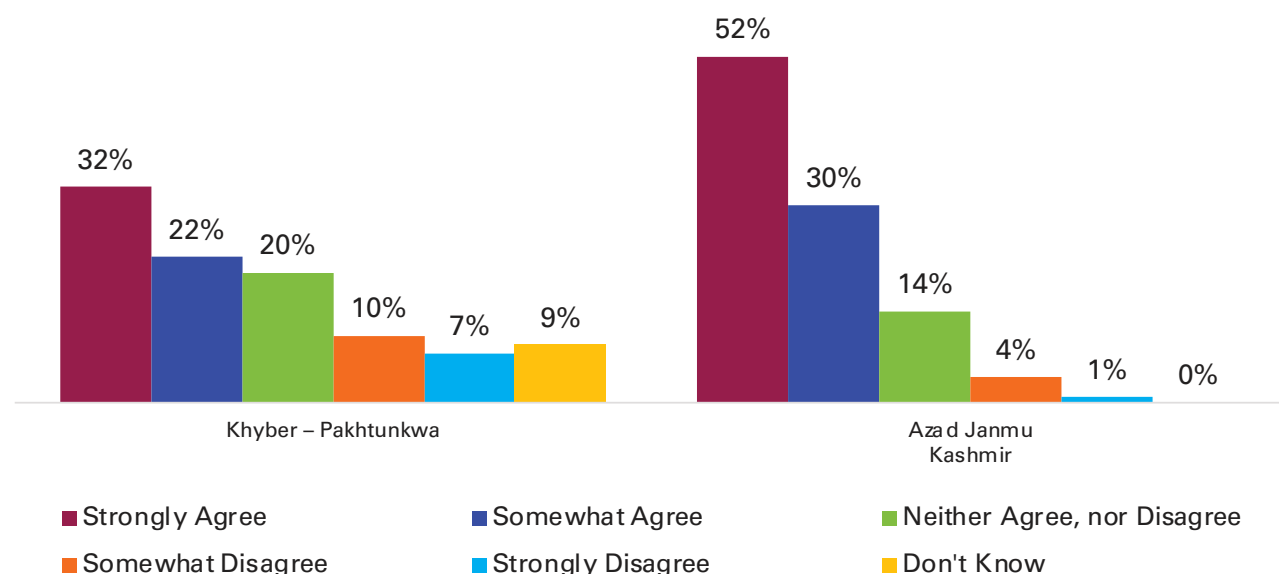


Figure 19: Percentage of respondents that believe births must be registered within the time period as per the province/Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Azad Jammu Kashmir

The graph indicates that respondents from Azad Jammu Kashmir were significantly more likely than respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa to agree that births must be registered within 90 days. Respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were significantly more likely to report that that they did not know that births must be registered within 90 days.

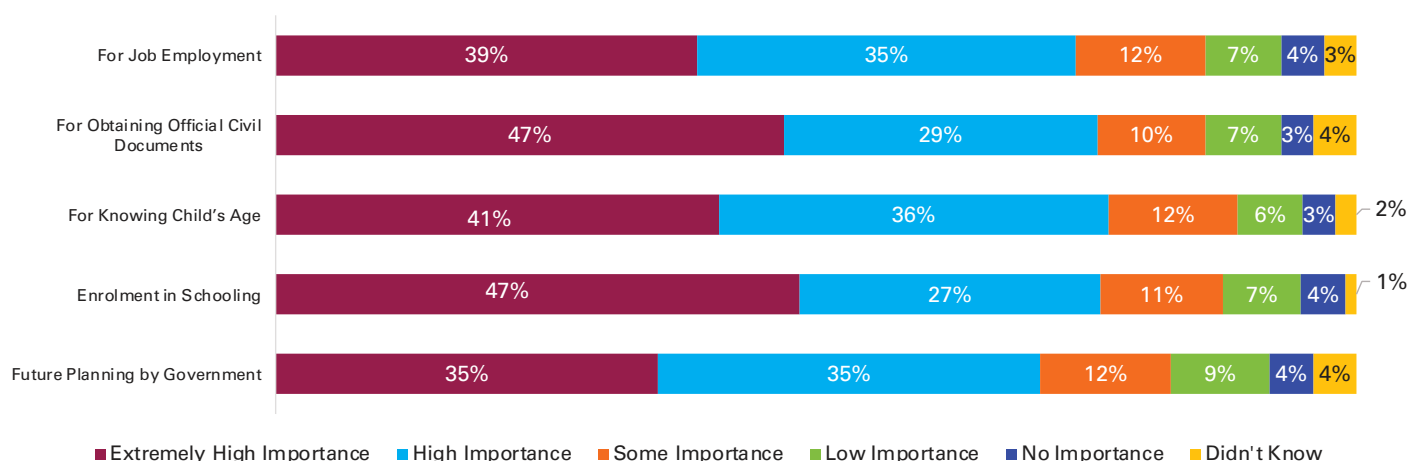


Figure 20: Percentage of respondents that believe birth registration is important across life events

The perspectives shared in focus group discussions and in-depth interviews points to some important ways that people conceptualise birth registration's purpose, especially for school enrolment and job employment. The qualitative data showed that people may conceptualise the role of birth registration as an official, rather than as a historically accurate, record.

To this end, several interviewees discussed the ways that people intentionally delay a child's birth registration to give the child a perceived academic and professional head start. Another woman from Peshawar said that *"my cousin didn't get the registration done... for their children because they want to alter the age of their children and choose the age by themselves."* She continued by saying that:

"[I]f they know that they want to decrease children ages once they grow up or if they have any problem or if they want to go somewhere or abroad and they think that it can create problem for them so they can alter their ages."

This anecdote shows that while people may prioritise a child's 'age', for example, this prioritisation may focus on birth registration as a way to create an official record of the child's birth, rather than a historical documentation of their actual birth date. Other respondents shared similar anecdotes and opinions on adjusting a child's age during the birth registration process. In one focus group discussion with men in Gujranwala, Punjab, two men explained that people adjust their children's ages to provide them with an academic and professional advantage over other people. One man explained:

"People then write the kids ages 1 or 2 years less. It is done for schooling as well as the job... If you look at the job you will have more service years and if you see according to school, you easily get to admit child in the class."

Another man immediately chimed in to say that *"the brother is absolutely right... People do it for the sake of securing the government job, but personally I am against this."* This exchange shows that, as with creating an official rather than a historically accurate record, there are many motivations and rationales that people have about birth registration.

Looking into the ways that survey respondents understand and conceptualise survey terms and phrases is important. Such analyses can show that survey respondents and interviewees hold a variety of ideas about what survey terms mean. Understanding these definitional nuances can provide better insights into the drivers of attitudes and behaviours. Furthermore, this attention to nuance can help to limit research bias when interpreting survey results and provide deeper insights for program and policy writers.

Finding 8: About 1 in 3 parents say that they have not registered the birth of any of their children.

Over half of the respondents said that they had registered the birth of at least one of their children, while 35% had not registered any child's birth.

Nearly two-thirds of respondents (65%) reported that they had registered the birth of at least one child, while 35% said that they had not engaged in the process at all. While doers comprised a majority, this figure indicates that nearly 1 in 3 respondents had not ever registered the birth of any of their children. Furthermore, while the sample does not consist singularly of parents, about 86% of the sample consist of parents and only 67% of parents answered 'yes' to this question. This finding mirrors the overall finding and indicates that about 1 in 3 parents have not registered the birth of any of their children.

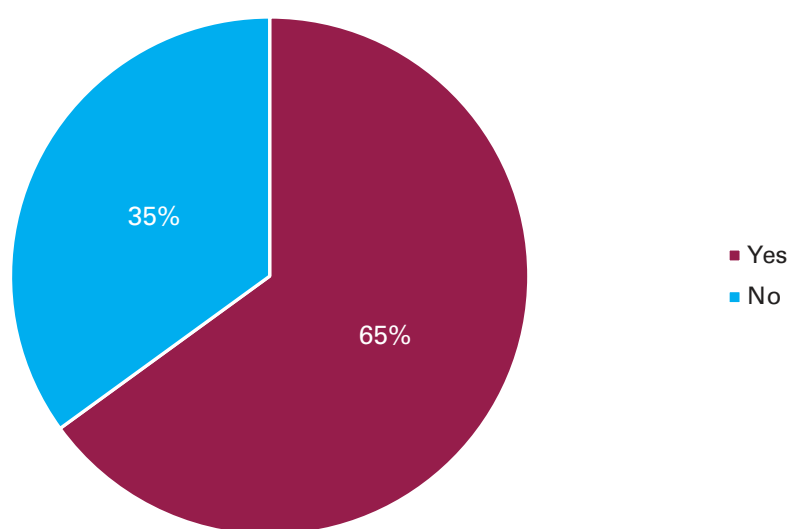


Figure 21: Percentage of respondents that have registered the birth of their children/gender disaggregated

Disaggregating the data by gender, age, and education showed significant and predictable variation in behaviour: Men (67%) were more likely to have registered a birth in comparison to women (63%), aligning with historical practices, decision-making processes, and legal precedence as discussed in the introduction to this chapter. People with no formal education (44%) or elementary level education (59%) were significantly less likely to have registered the birth of any children in comparison with people with high school (74%) and higher education (80%). This is likely due, in part, to the fact that people with no formal education or limited education likely have fewer opportunities for government engagement that compels a birth registration.

Respondent's engagement by urban development and province also aligned with historical trends in birth registration. Those living in cities were significantly more likely to have registered the birth of at least one child, while those living in villages were less likely to have registered any birth. By province, survey participants from Islamabad (90%), Punjab (82%) Azad Jammu Kashmir (78%), and Gilgit-Baltistan (65%) were significantly more likely to have registered the birth of at least one child than participants from Sindh (48%), Baluchistan (50%), and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (54%).

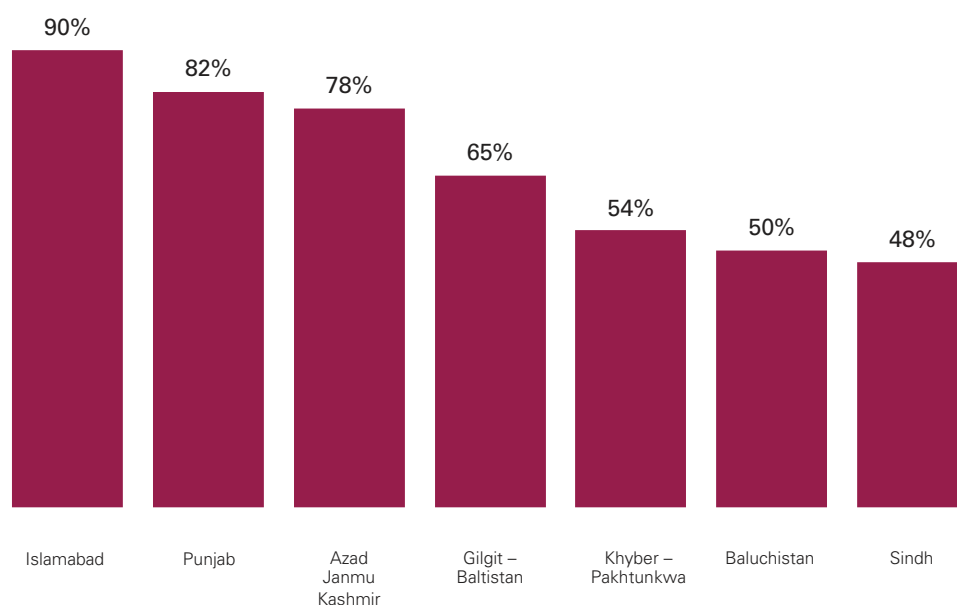


Figure 22: Percentage of respondents that have registered the birth of their children/by province

Finding 9: Mothers rarely are the main decision makers for birth registration.

Respondents were most likely to report fathers and both parents as the main decision maker for birth registration.

An average of 47% of respondents reported that fathers were the main decision makers for birth registration, 45% reported that both parents were the main decision makers, and 4% reported that grandparents were involved in the process. There were, however, significant differences in the responses by gender, age, and province.

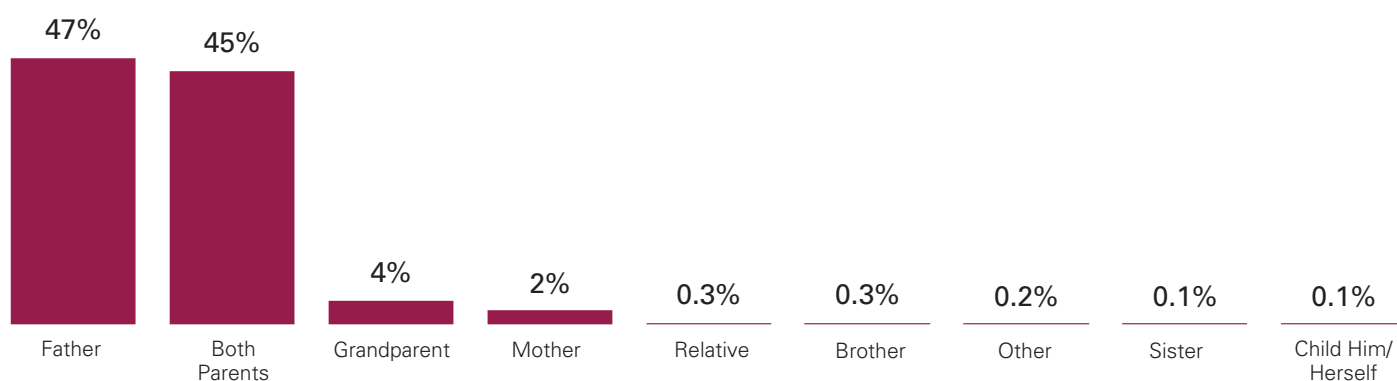


Figure 23: Percentage of respondents that report main decision maker for birth registration

Men were significantly more likely to say that ‘Fathers’ were the main decision makers, while women were more likely to say that both parents were involved in the process. Only 3% percent of participants reported that women were the main decision makers in the process, although women were more likely than men to report themselves as the main decision makers (0.4% men to 5% women). By age, respondents aged 18-24 were significantly more likely to indicate that their fathers were the main decision makers. Respondents aged 55 plus were more likely to report that fathers, both parents, and grandparents were the main decision makers in the process. This is interesting because it suggests that older respondents, who are more likely to be grandparents, see themselves as having an active role in the decision-making process. Comparing by province also showed that there were significant differences in the decision-making process among respondents in Punjab, Gilgit-Baltistan, and Islamabad. Those from both Punjab and Islamabad were significantly more likely to say that both parents (50% in Punjab and 51% in Islamabad) were involved equally in the decision-making process.

Furthermore, participants from Punjab were also more likely to report that grandparents (9%) were involved in the process. Conversely, those from Gilgit-Baltistan were more likely to say that fathers were the main decision makers (68%) compared to both parents taking part equally (27%).

KAP Findings Among Children

Children’s knowledge, attitudes, and practices of birth registration were assessed by means of close ended questions in a quantitative household survey, with semi-structured in-depth interviews with children across the country. The KAP survey was conducted with children between 14-17 years old, and the questions were formulated to measure understanding, misunderstanding, and behaviour around birth registration to establish baseline reference value for use in future assessments and to measure the effectiveness of programme activities.

Finding 1: Most children are aware of the birth registration process because of its importance for school enrolment.

Many of the children respondents are aware of birth registration process.

The results showed that overall, 68% of children surveyed were aware of the birth registration process, but about 32%, or nearly 1 in 3, reported that they had never heard of the process. The data disaggregation showed that there were no significant difference in the awareness level between boys and girls; however, children with no education (71%) were significantly more likely to report that they had never heard about the birth registration process in comparison with child who had primary (35%) and intermediate/high school (24%) levels of education. In addition, the data showed that children from provinces with historically higher rates of birth registration were more likely to have heard about the process, while children from provinces with lower registration rates were less likely to have heard about the process: Children in Punjab (79%), Islamabad (78%) are significantly more likely to be aware of the birth registration process compared to Gilgit Baltistan (71%), Sindh (61%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (66%) and Baluchistan (58%).

Most children reported that school enrolment to be the purpose of birth registration.

In response to this survey question, in which children could select multiple options, most children (57%) chose ‘school enrolment’ as the purpose of the birth registration, followed by ‘obtaining official document’ (32%) and ‘knowing child’s age’ as the reasons why people register children’s birth. Only 26% mentioned ‘for government’s record’, 19% ‘for job employment’ and 13% ‘for future planning by the government’. Moreover, a large minority of the respondents (20%) reported that they ‘don’t know’ the purpose of the birth registration. An important purpose for children’s birth registration is for the government to keep record for the future requirements and to plan accordingly, however the results shows that children do not realise this as a primary purpose for birth registration. These results indicate that while most children are aware that birth registration is important for school enrolment, they have low awareness about its importance for other life events.

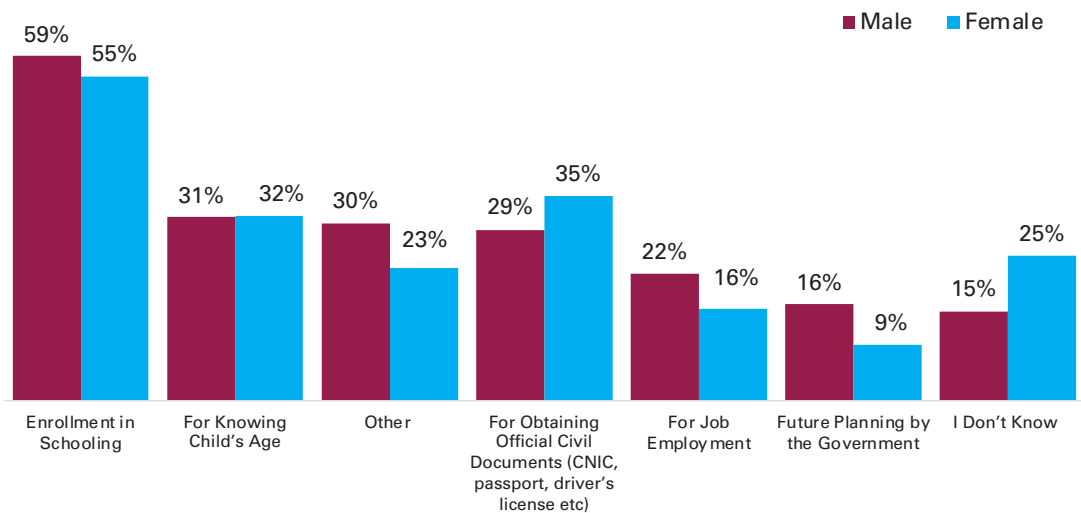


Figure 24: Percentage of respondents reporting a purpose/reason of birth registration

In terms of gender differences, the data showed that boys were more likely to know that birth registration is important for multiple life events: The data showed that girls (25%) were more likely to report that they ‘don’t know’ the purpose of birth registration as compared to boys (15%). Furthermore, girls (35%), compared to boys (29%), were also more likely to report ‘obtaining official civil documents’ as the purpose for registering child’s birth. Boys, on the other hand, were more likely to report ‘future planning by the government’, ‘job employment’ and ‘government’s record’ as the purposes for birth registration.

Finding 2: Few children know the details about how to register a birth.

Less than one-fourth of children know that a birth should be registered at Union Council.

The data showed that most children did not know where to register a birth: About half of the children surveyed (54%) incorrectly reported in a multiple choice question that a child’s birth could be registered at NADRA, whereas only 22% of children correctly mentioned union council. Furthermore, a large minority (27%) of children reported that they ‘don’t know’ where can a child’s birth be registered. A small minority of respondents also reported that a child’s birth can be registered at hospital (9%), school (10%), nazim/councillor (6%), municipal or community administration (4%), mosque/madrassah (1%), or district court (2%). This indicates that there is low awareness among children about where to register a birth.

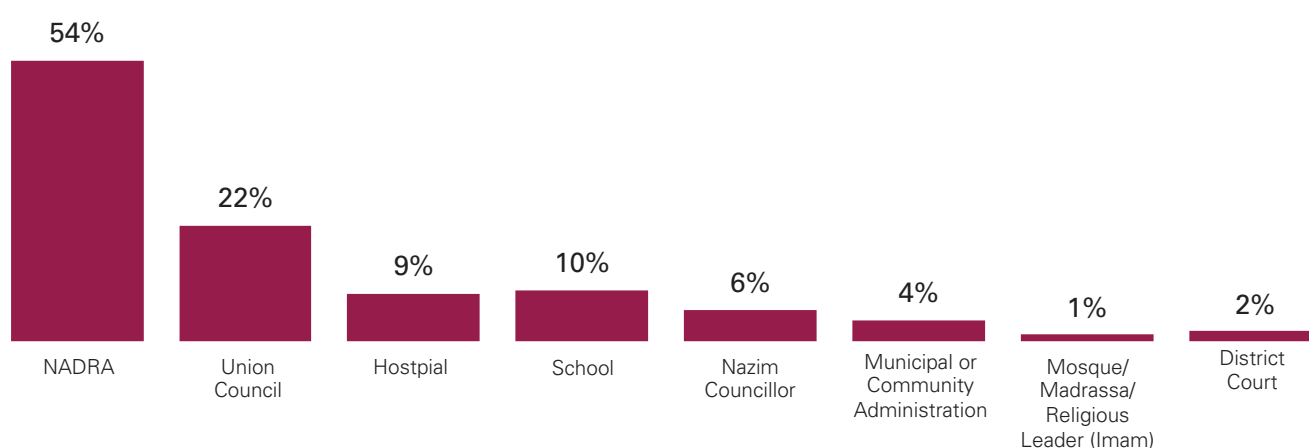


Figure 25: Percentage of respondents that know where birth can be registered

The data disaggregation showed that there were no significant differences in knowledge by gender as such, but that there were significant differences in awareness depending on level of education and province: While there were no significant differences in knowledge by gender, girls (25%) were more likely than boys (20%) to report that a child’s birth can be registered at the union council, whereas boys were more likely to report that it can be registered at school. Children’s education level showed that children with Intermediate/Highschool level education (67%) were significantly more likely to incorrectly state that births could be registered at NADRA, as compared to children with primary/madrassah level (48%) and children with no education (10%). Furthermore, children with no formal education (77%) were significantly more likely to not know where a child’s birth could be registered compared to children with primary (30%) and intermediate level education (15%). This effectively means that lack of education is a significant barrier towards knowledge about birth registration.

With respect to provincial and regional differences, the data also showed that most children did not know where to register a child’s birth: Children in Gilgit-Baltistan (70%) and Islamabad (69%) were significantly more likely to mention NADRA compared to those in Punjab (52%), Sindh (42%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (45%) and Baluchistan (55%). Whereas children in Punjab (36%) and Islamabad (42%), compared to other provinces, were significantly more likely to mention Union Council where a child’s birth can be registered. It also important to note, that a significantly higher proportion of respondents (41%) in Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (31%) reported that they ‘don’t know’ where a child’s birth can be registered compared to the other provinces.

Finding 3: Most children learned about birth registration from their parents.

Majority of children reported that they heard about the birth registration process from their parents.

The data showed that of those who have heard about the registration process, a significant majority (63%) of the children reported to have heard about the birth registration from their parents. This shows the importance of birth registration awareness raising amongst parents and caregivers. It is important to note that only 33% children reported to have heard about the birth registration at school, which can be a very important medium for raising awareness about the importance and purposes of birth registration amongst children in the country. Other noteworthy sources of information were Relatives/Family (26%), Hospital (16%) and Friends (15%).

Overall, parents were the most mentioned source of information by both boys and girls; although girls (68%) were significantly more likely than boys (58%) to say that they heard about the process from parents. The results shows that girls are more likely to have heard about the birth registration from her interpersonal networks, whereas boys were also more likely to have heard from other sources, which includes internet, newspaper, government staff, schools, and mosques.

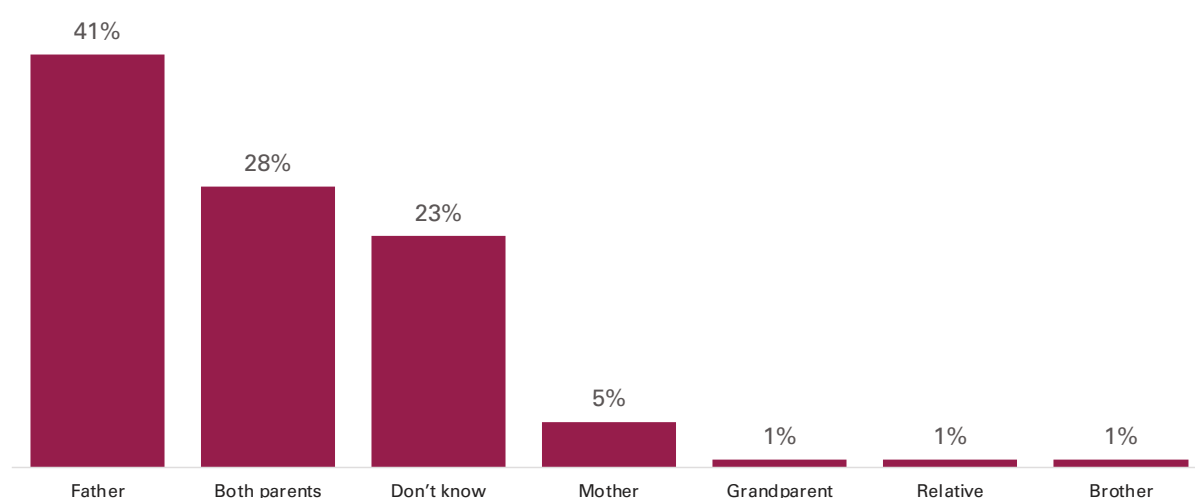


Figure 26: Percentage of respondents reporting how they heard about the birth registration process

The results also show some noteworthy differences by province: A significantly higher proportion of children in Sindh (23%) and Baluchistan (34%) report to have heard about the birth registration from a hospital as compared to the other provinces. Conversely, significantly lower proportion of children in Sindh (53%) and Baluchistan (31%), compared to children in other provinces, report to have heard about the birth registration from their parents. Moreover, a significantly higher proportion of children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (52%), compared to children in other provinces, report to have heard about the process at school.

Finding 4: Girls are less likely to say that birth registration is important for various life events.

Percentage of children reporting importance of birth registration for various purposes.

- For enrolment in schooling

A significant majority (79%) of the respondents find birth registration to be important for enrolment in schooling. Boys (84%) are significantly more likely to state the importance of birth registration for school enrolment as compared to girls (73%). Conversely, girls, as compared to boys, are more likely to report that they either 'don't know' or birth registration is 'not important at all' for school enrolment.

By province, children in Baluchistan are significantly less likely (55%) to state the importance of birth registration for enrolment in schooling as compared to Punjab (94%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (81%), Gilgit Baltistan (91%), Islamabad (94%), and Sindh (70%).

Moreover, understandably children with primary (78%) and intermediate (86%) education level are more likely to believe in the importance of birth registration for school enrolment as compared to children with no education (41%). Correspondingly, a significantly higher proportion of children with no education (40%) report that they 'don't know' about the importance of birth registration for enrolment in schooling.

Within in-depth interviews, children overwhelmingly expressed the importance of birth registration for school enrolment, but they also emphasised that birth registration enabled children to claim a legal identity and to participate in government programmes across the country. One boy from Islamabad Capital Territory, for instance, observed that birth registration has several benefits:

“Benefits are it helps in getting enrolled in school admission, at the time of job they ask for CNIC [Computerised National ID Card] and for CNIC we need to be registered in the records.”

This vignette shows that birth registration predicates a child's ability to enrol in schools, as well as to obtain a national identification card. The boy's remark that *“B-Form is required when I give my board exams”* also shows how birth registration predicates entrance into competitive academic programs. Board exams are compulsory exams that are administered by provincial boards of education and that students must pass to enrol in intermediate and secondary schools, as well as to receive diplomas prior to university admission. At the same time, his reference to “B-Form” rather than to a “birth registration certificate” potentially suggests that he has some confusion about the birth registration process. B-Form refers to a separate document, a child registration certificate, that NADRA confers. However, it is also possible that people colloquially use “B-Form” to refer to “birth registration certificate.”

Moreover, his story shows that birth registration is a predicate for his ability to not only claim a legal identity, but also to participate in higher education and achieve economic success. It is thus an important and foundational determinant of child's economic outcomes.

- For knowing child's age

A significant majority (79%) of the children also think that birth registration is important for knowing child's age. A significantly higher proportion of boys (85%) compared to girls (73%), think that birth registration is important for knowing child's age. In addition, a significantly higher proportion of girls (12%) compared to boys (5%) report that they don't know the importance of the registration for knowing child's age.

By provinces, children in Baluchistan are significantly more likely (14%) to report that birth registration is 'not important at all' as compared to Punjab (1%), Sindh (6%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (3%), Gilgit Baltistan (4%) and Islamabad (1%). Similarly, children in Punjab (93%), Gilgit Baltistan (92%) and Islamabad (94%) are significantly more likely to state the importance of birth registration for school enrolment as compared to Sindh (68%), Baluchistan (59%) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (80%).

In addition, children with no education are significantly more likely to report that they 'don't know' the importance of birth registration for knowing child's age as compared to children with primary and intermediate level of education.

- For obtaining official civil documents

Overall, a significant majority of children (76%) find birth registration important for obtaining official civil documents (e.g., Citizens National Identity Card, Passport, driver's license etc.). Like the previous results, significantly higher proportion of girls (14%) report that they don't know the importance of birth registration for obtaining official civil documents, as compared to boys (7%).

Similarly, children with more education are more likely to report that it is birth registration is important for obtaining official documents, whereas higher proportion of children with no education (43%) reported that they

‘don’t know’ the importance of birth registration for obtaining official civil documents.

By provinces, significantly lower proportion of children in Sindh (54%) and Baluchistan (59%) stated that birth registration is important for obtaining official civil documents as compared to Punjab (91%), Gilgit Baltistan (88%), Islamabad (97%), and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (78%).

- For job employment

Overall, 71% of children think that birth registration is important for job employment. By gender, higher proportion of girls (14%) compared to boys (10%) reported that they ‘don’t know’ if birth registration is important for job employment. However, a significantly higher proportion of boys (72%) and girls (69%) think that birth registration is important for job employment.

Like the results above, children with more education are highly likely to find birth registration important for job employment, whereas higher proportion of children with no education (40%) stated that they ‘don’t know’ the importance of birth registration for job employment, as compared to children with primary (16%) and intermediate (3%) level of education.

By provinces, a sizeable minority in Sindh (26%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (21%) and Baluchistan (12%) report that they ‘don’t know’ the importance of birth registration for job employment. Significantly higher percentage of children in Punjab (90%), Islamabad (96%) and Gilgit Baltistan (84%) report that birth registration is important for job employment compared to children in Sindh (50%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (66%) and Baluchistan (54%).

- For government record

The results shows that a significant majority of the children (77%) believe that birth registration is important for government record, however there are significant gender differences as significantly higher proportion of boys (81%) are of this opinion as opposed to girls (73%). Similarly, a significantly higher proportion of girls (13%), compared to boys (8%), report that they ‘don’t know’ the importance of birth registration in relation to record keeping by the government.

Birth registration is also deemed important for government record by children with intermediate and primary level education as opposed to children with no education.

Whereas, in terms of the provinces, a significantly higher proportion of children in Punjab (92%), Gilgit-Baltistan (91%) and Islamabad (94%) report that birth registration is important for governments records as compared to children in Sindh (54%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (76%) and Baluchistan (62%).

- For healthcare/hospital/medical treatment

In total, 68% of children believe that birth registration is important for health care or medical treatments. Boys (72%) were more likely to report birth registration as important for healthcare as compared to girls (65%), whereas girls (15%) were more likely to report that they ‘don’t know’ the importance as compared to boys (15%).

Similarly, significantly higher proportion of children with lower level of education (41%) report that they ‘don’t know’ the importance of birth registration for healthcare, whereas the more a child is educated the more they find birth registration important for healthcare. This is an interesting finding, which was not found in the interview process with children. This might indicate that children are aware of the need for birth registration in large, private hospitals, as well as the need for birth registration when signing up for public health insurance. These suggestions are speculative, however, so further research would be necessary to understand this finding.

Disaggregation by provinces shows that children in Baluchistan (58%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (62%) and Sindh (47%) are significantly less likely to consider birth registration important for healthcare as compared to Punjab (91%), Islamabad (84%) and Gilgit-Baltistan (78%). Similarly, children in Baluchistan, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are more likely to report that they ‘don’t know’ the importance of birth registration for health care or medical treatment.

- For marriage

Compared to the reasons above, overall, a relatively lower majority of the children (61%) think that birth registration is important for marriage. There are not significant differences across gender, however the significant differences for children with different level of education maintains prevalent. Children with higher levels of education (74%) are more likely to consider birth registration important for marriage, whereas children with no education (41%) are more likely to report that they 'don't know' if it is important.

Moreover, children in Sindh (37%), Baluchistan (49%) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (47%) are significantly less likely to report that birth registration is important for marriage as compared to children in Punjab (82%), Gilgit-Baltistan (83%) and Islamabad (84%). Children in the former three provinces are also significantly more likely to report that they 'don't know' the importance of birth registration for marriages as opposed to the other provinces.

In summary, the above results show relatively lower level of importance attached to birth registration for various life purposes by children in Baluchistan and Sindh as compared to children of other provinces. Moreover, the higher the level of education, the more likely the child understand the importance of birth registration for different life events. In addition, boys overall were more likely to consider birth registration important for various life events as compared to girls, and girls are more likely to report that they 'don't know' the importance of birth registration for these life events.

Finding 5: Children in urban areas are more likely to know whether their births were registered than children in rural areas.

Over half of the children reported that their birth is registered.

Overall, although majority of the children (60%) report that their birth is registered, a significant proportion of children stated that either their birth is 'not registered' (20%) or they 'don't know' (20%) about their birth registration. Amongst those who don't know, girls are more likely to report that they 'don't know'; whereas, amongst those whose births are not registered, boys are more likely to report 'no' as compared to girls. There is a strong correlation between birth registration and the children's education level as significantly higher proportion of children with no education report that either they 'don't know' (55%) or their births are 'not registered' (32%), and only 13% of children with no education report that they have their births registered. The higher the level of child education, the more likely that their birth are registered.

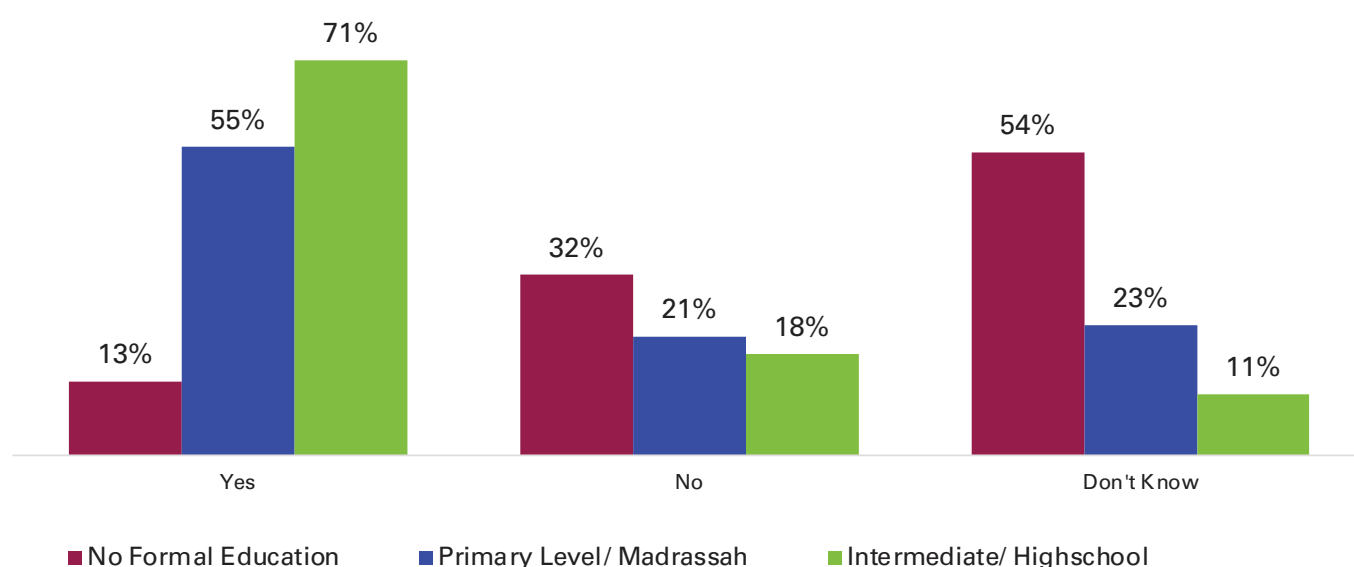


Figure 27: Percentage of respondents who report that their birth is registered/by education level

With respect to the provincial differences, children in Punjab (85%) and Islamabad (87%) are significantly more likely to know that their births are registered compared to children in Sindh (45%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (51%),

Baluchistan (34%) and Gilgit Baltistan (72%). A significant proportion of children (38%) in Baluchistan report that they do not have their births registered.

Moreover, children in urban areas are more likely to report that they know their births are registered as compared to children in the villages.

Most children who know that their birth is registered have a birth certificate, and; Most children who know that their birth is registered incorrectly said that NADRA issued the certificate.

Out of those who know their births are registered, an overwhelming majority of children (87%) report that they had their birth registration certificate. This majority holds across all the segments such as gender, provinces, education level and urban development. This finding shows that if the births are registered the children are highly likely to be aware of the official document of birth registration.

Moreover, when asked who issued their birth certificate, most of children (69%) incorrectly mentioned NADRA while only 30% correctly mentioned that Union Council issued the certificate. A small proportion of children also mentioned Hospital (9%) and School (7%). Respondents in Sindh and Baluchistan are more likely to mention Hospital and School as institutions that issued their birth registration certificates.

Finding 6: Girls are more likely to say that their births were registered at birth, while boys are more likely to say that they do not know when their births were registered.

Less than half of the children reported that their births were registered between 0-11 months.

In documenting the age at which people registered their children's births, the survey asked respondents to enter the age at which they registered their child's birth. All ages less than 1 year were grouped into one response option (0-11 months), and all ages 1 year or above were entered as a whole number.

The data showed that only 47% of the children reported that they had their birth registered 'at birth (0-11 months)', whereas most of the respondents reported that they either 'don't know' or that it was registered at later years of their childhood.

Gender differences are noteworthy here, as a significantly higher proportion 64% of girls, compared to only 31% of boys, reported that they had their births registered 'at birth (0-11 months)'. Furthermore, 35% of boys compared to only 19% girls report that they 'don't know' at what age their births were registered.

Moreover, children with higher levels of education, as compared to no education, are also more likely to report that their births were registered 'at birth (0-11 months)'.

Most of the children reported that fathers are the main decision makers for birth registration.

The data showed that most children selected fathers and both parents as the main decision makers for birth registration: A small majority (54%) of them said that their fathers were the main decision makers in birth registration and a large minority (37%) said that both parents were involved. Only 4% reported 'mother' to have registered their birth. Interestingly, significantly higher proportion of girls (61%) reported that their birth was registered by their 'father' as compared to boys (47%), whereas more boys (43%) mention 'both parents' as decision makers compared to girls (31%).

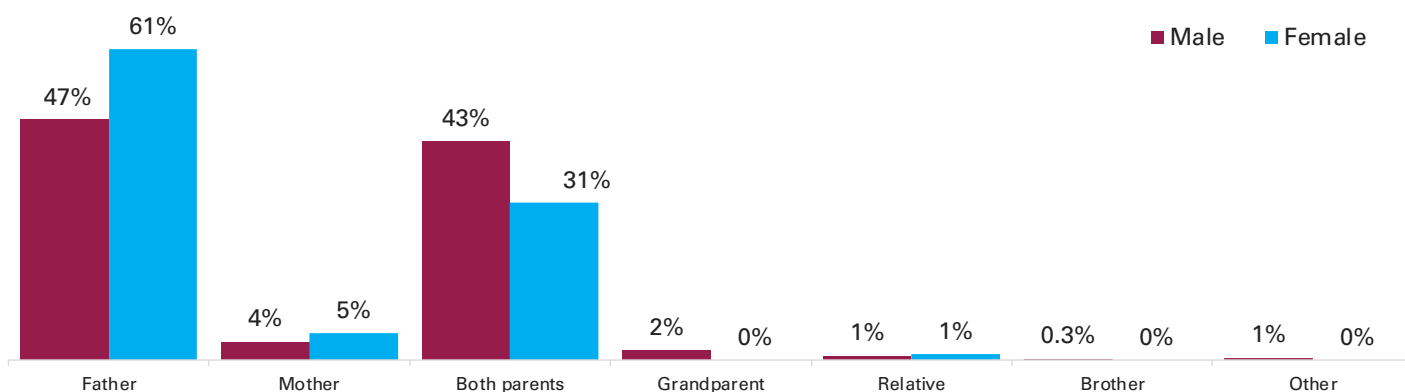


Figure 28: Percentage of respondents who report the main decision maker for birth registration

Moreover, children in Sindh and Gilgit-Baltistan were more likely to report that their births are registered by their 'father' as compared to the other provinces, whereas children in Baluchistan are more likely to report 'both parents' as the decision makers.

Among the children who reported that they do not have their births registered, 42% reported that their 'father' would take the decision regarding birth registration, whereas 28% mentioned 'both parents'. In addition, only 5% mentioned that their 'mother' will make the decision regarding their birth registration. A large minority (23%) reported they 'don't know' who will make that decision.

This means that overall 75% of children without birth registration consider their parents to be involved in the decision making process in some way. This suggests that for children with no birth registration, they are more likely to consider their parents to be involved in the decision process.

Contrary to those who report to have their births registered, boys (56%) with non-registered births were significantly more likely than girls (20%) to say that their fathers would make the decision. Girls, conversely, were more likely to say that either 'both parents' or their mother would make the decision.

Finding 7: Boys are much more likely to be asked for their birth registration certificate compared to girls.

Half of the children said that they have never been asked a birth registration certificate in their life.

The data showed that half of the children surveyed said that they had never been asked for a birth registration certificate, while only 36% said that they had been asked and 14% said that they did not know. This finding suggests that birth certificates may not feel salient for many children, as they reportedly have not had to use or produce proof of registration.

The data disaggregation showed that boys were significantly more likely to have been asked for birth registration than girls: About 46% of boys reported that they had been asked for a birth registration certificate as compared to 27% of girl. This may correspond with the higher level of literacy rate among boys as compared to the girls, as boys tend to attend to official tasks more often than the girls in Pakistani society.

To this point about literacy, the data showed that children with higher levels of education were more likely to have been asked for birth registration certificate as compared children with lower level or no education.

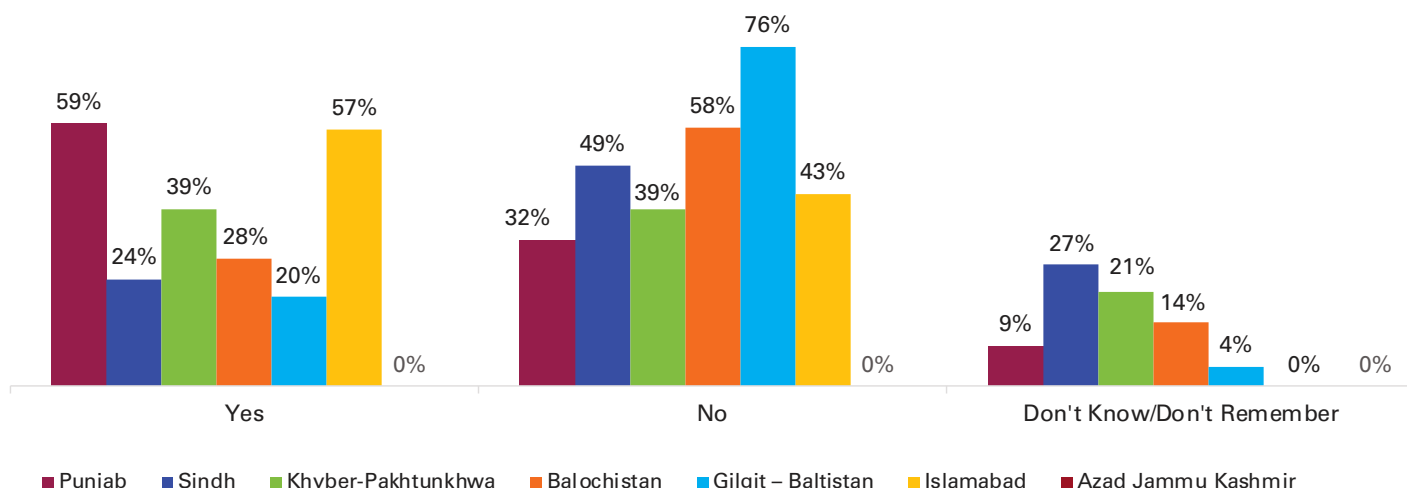


Figure 29: Percentage of respondents who are asked for a birth registration certificate in their life

By province, children in Punjab (59%) and Islamabad (57%) significantly more likely to report that they have been asked for a birth registration certificate compared to all the other provinces. Interestingly, an overwhelming majority of children in Gilgit Baltistan (76%) mention that they have never been asked for a birth registration certificate by anyone. Moreover, a significant percentage of respondents in Sindh (49%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (39%), and Baluchistan (58%) report that they have never been asked for the registration certificate. These findings indicate that Punjab and Islamabad have higher rates of birth registration (as per respondents' answers), so we can infer from this result that the regions where the administration or authorities ask for birth registration, children are more likely to have their births registered and are more likely to be aware of their birth registration.

Recommendations

The data from this study showed that education, gender, and province are the most significant factors determining whether a child's birth is registered. The findings also showed that interpersonal channels with relatives and healthcare workers are the most important vehicles of informing people about birth registration. The recommendations below for increasing birth registration across Pakistan aim to build on both the findings from this study and the important work that UNICEF Pakistan has been doing to increase registration rates across Pakistan.

Recommendation 1: Create a social marketing campaign to improve knowledge of the birth registration system.

One of the important findings of this study is that few people in Pakistan know how to correctly register a child's birth. Births are registered at union councils and the registration certificate is issued by Union Council, but many people think that registration occurs at NADRA.

Moreover, the data showed both that people with less education and that people living in regions with historically low rates of birth registration were much less likely to know how to register a birth. To address this confusion and lack of awareness, UNICEF Pakistan could work with the Government to develop a social marketing campaign. Such a campaign would build a brand identity around the birth registration process at union councils and municipalities and would follow the EAST framework of behaviour change.

This framework applies the idea that making a behaviour Easy, Accessible, Social and Timely will incentivise and increase adoption of the desired behaviour. In the context of birth registration, branding strategies would incorporate a few key components: First, the strategy would explain the process in clear simple terms. Second, the strategy would incorporate multiple modalities to reach people. For instance, a key finding of this study is that interpersonal networks, such as through health workers and family, are a key source of information. Future

programmes could work with existing programmes, such as Lady Health Workers to inform people about how to register births. Third, the strategy would reach people at convenient moments. This could include when they are at other government-adjacent checkpoints (e.g., in a paediatrician's office) where they are more receptive to this type of messaging and when they can ask questions of knowledgeable people about the process.

Recommendation 2: Focus behaviour change efforts on social proofing to encourage parents to register children's births within the standard time, as per the province rule.

A key finding of this study is that many parents who register a child's birth do not register the birth within the standard time-period, as per the province rule. The data showed that there are several reasons for this. These reasons range from administrative friction in the registration process to the desire to give children academic and professional advantages by falsely reporting the child's age.

Addressing these reasons requires a social and behavioural change response that emphasises the importance of early registration and why early registration is beneficial for a child. This type of strategy could use social proofing to encourage early registration and to dispel popular conceptions that late birth registration is advantageous for child. Social proofing is a technique that builds on the insight that people assume the behaviour of others to reflect what they perceive to be "correct" in each situation. This is especially useful in situations where people are not able to determine the right behaviour. In the context of birth registration, where parents want to give their child the best chances in life, their decision to augment a child's age is especially understandable.

To address this, UNICEF Pakistan could use social proofing by building on the insight that interpersonal networks are important channels for learning about birth registration. For example, UNICEF Pakistan could work with trusted community members and leaders to demonstrate and champion the benefits of early registration. Moreover, the campaign could highlight statistics that would encourage birth registration, e.g., to say what percent of parents in a province register the birth early and to pro-socially encourage others to do the same. Furthermore, this type of communications approach, particularly when implemented over a long period of time, would show to audiences that early registration is both normal and beneficial, while late registration is not.

Recommendation 3: Focus behaviour change communications efforts on sensitising fathers to the importance of birth registration.

The findings of this study showed that men, in particular fathers, are the main family members responsible for deciding whether a child's birth is registered. Women are much less likely to have an active role in the decision-making process. It is therefore crucial to sensitise both women and men to the importance of birth registration and to empower both women and men to register a child's birth.

Part of this approach could build on the insights of this study about decision-making and could target fathers specifically. This type of communications effort could be incorporated into a social proofing campaign, like the one discussed above. Such a campaign would emphasise how many fathers register a child's birth and encourage more to do act similarly. Furthermore, the marketing could help to empower men with the knowledge and skills necessary to reach union council checkpoints, where they can subsequently be guided through the birth registration process.

Recommendation 4: Close the distance to registration offices by linking birth registration to healthcare provision and scaling up existing UNICEF programmes.

This study found that healthcare staff are highly influential in determining whether a parent registers a child's birth. To this end, UNICEF has been continuously working with the Departments of Local Government and Department of Health, the National Data Base Registration Authority (NADRA) and others to promote birth registration, particularly through innovative ways, to reach the most vulnerable areas. For example, in 2016 UNICEF piloted a programme in Sindh province whereby Lady Health Workers—a programme training and equipping community

members to deliver basic health services⁵⁴ —registered births using mobile phones.⁵⁵ The information could then be uploaded to the local Union Council and then a Civil Registration Management System (CRMS) number could be issued. One of UNICEF's partners, Telenor, implemented a project which was first piloted in 2014 and is now being scaled in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh. The project aims to capitalise on existing technology to provide birth registrations services through mobile phones in the hardest to reach populations of the provinces.⁵⁶ To improve existing programming, such as with Lady Health Workers, UNICEF Pakistan could build on the insights of this study when scaling the programme at a national scale. These insights include the awareness that women are much less likely to have an active role in the birth registration process and are less likely to know why birth registration is important for children of all genders. It also builds on the insight that women are trusting of the advice of health workers and receptive to their advice during antenatal and perinatal health appointments.

These types of birth registration initiatives that link registration to healthcare provision, especially antenatal and maternity services, have helped to close the gender gap in birth registrations, particularly among people who utilise services.⁵⁷ They are well suited to closing initial gaps in low birth registration among people with limited education because the programmes shift the responsibility of registration onto health administrators who are often more capable of interacting with civil registration agencies. They are also well suited to closing the registration gap at the provincial level because digital services decrease the distance to Union Council offices.

Recommendation 5: Break down social and cultural barriers to birth registration by using interpersonal networks to sensitize people to the importance of registering births through community outreach.

The findings indicated that people who knew about birth registration were most likely to have heard about the process from people in their reference networks, in particular family members and healthcare workers. The data also showed that people considered birth registration to be important for school enrolment and obtaining civil documents, e.g., national identification cards and marriage certificates. This finding was particularly salient in provinces with historically low rates of birth registration, where people who knew about registration were more likely to have learned about it from people that they knew.

Future communication campaigns could incorporate these findings by developing community-led initiatives that equip local community members, in particular women, to create awareness about why birth registration is important. These campaigns could further empower parents by (1) raising awareness and knowledge about how birth registration will improve their child's ability to attend school and obtain civil documents and by (2) providing opportunities to register the birth during the outreach programme.

Recommendation 6: Enhance the focus of birth registration on socially excluded and marginalized children, including girls, children of parents with limited education, and children from provinces with historically low registration.

As Pakistan is estimated to have some of the lowest birth registration in the world, this means that there is a large backlog of children whose births are unregistered. The findings of this study indicate that many people perceive that there are significant barriers to registering births. Such barriers are increased for children who are socially excluded and marginalised, including girls, children of parents with limited education, children without parental care, children with disabilities, children from minority backgrounds, and children from provinces with historically low registration. To address these barriers, UNICEF could draw on previous UNICEF guidelines and successful interventions that have incorporated birth registration initiatives into public-health and immunisation campaigns to register children whose births are unregistered.⁵⁸

54. Gavi. (2019). Pakistan.

55. UNICEF. (2016). Boosting Birth Registration in Pakistan with Mobile Phones.

56. Telenor Group. (n,d). Giving Pakistani Children and Identity.

57. GSMA. (2017). Understanding the Identity Gender Gap: Insights and Opportunities for Mobile Operators to Help Close the Divide.

58. Muzzi, M. 2009. Good Practices in Integrating Birth Registration into Health Systems (2000–2009); Case Studies: Bangladesh, Brazil, the Gambia and Delhi, India. UNICEF.

Future interventions could build on the success of integrating birth registration into public health campaigns in South Asia.⁵⁹ In Bangladesh, the government piloted a programme in 2017 to link birth registration with immunisation. The programme included a two-pronged approach: (1) training health workers to report new births to birth registration registrars and (2) linking civil registration and vital statistics. In particular, the programme created a new standard immunisation form that included a field for birth registration number on a child's immunisation card. This ensured that the people performing the immunisations knew the birth registration status of the child and were obligated to act if the child was not registered. Researchers evaluating the programme found that the pilot doubled rates of birth registration in the pilot areas.⁶⁰

59. orrea, G. et al. Perspectives: Immunization Programmes and Notifications of Vital Events, WHO. <https://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/97/4/18-210807.pdf?ua=1>

60. AbouZahr C. et al. 2015.. Towards universal civil registration and vital statistics systems: the time is now. Lancet. doi: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(15\)60170-2](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(15)60170-2) PMID: 25971217



VIOLENT DISCIPLINE

VIOLENT DISCIPLINE

While there is limited official data on the prevalence of violent discipline—defined as any form of physical punishment or psychological aggression⁶¹—of children in Pakistan, the data that exists suggests that it is both common and widespread. Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys from Gilgit-Baltistan (2016-2017), Punjab (2017-2018), Sindh (2018-2019)⁶², Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2019)⁶³ as well as the Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (2017-2018) provide the principal sources of data for analysing violent discipline.⁶⁴ These surveys show that some 85% of children aged 1-14 years in Gilgit-Baltistan, 81% of children in Punjab, 80% of children in Sindh, 82% of children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, have experienced any form of violent discipline in the past month.

Our research findings align with UNICEF MICS data showing that parents and caregivers commonly use violent discipline as a child behaviour management tool. Over 70% of children in this study said that children are beaten if they are disobedient, such as when the child talks back to the parent; does not want to attend school; or does not want to do his or her homework. Furthermore, nearly 70% of children in the study said that parents or caregivers would hit or slap a child for stealing. The data collected indicates that there were minor variations between area of residence, education, or a child's gender, suggesting that violent discipline is pervasive across the country.

However, both children and adults emphasised that physical punishment was not as effective as non-violent methods, such as when a parent took time to explain why a behaviour was harmful. In the adult focus group discussions, adult participants emphasised that their use of physical punishment was limited to correcting very bad behaviours, whereby physical punishment was used a tool for teaching children to behave. Participants also emphasised that they used violent discipline as a method of last resort, if discursive methods like explaining a child's behaviour were not effective. This suggests that many caregivers may not use violent forms of discipline with the intention harm a child.⁶⁵ Rather, the decision to use physical punishment may stem from a parent or caregiver's anger or frustration, a lack of understanding of the harm it can cause, or a limited familiarity with non-violent methods of discipline.

This behaviour was echoed in focus group discussions, where many respondents explained that they use physical or psychological punishment when they are angry, or that they experienced such forms of discipline when their parent or caregiver was angry. This indicates that parents and caregivers may not have adequate nurturing parenting tools to address unwanted behaviours using discursive methods.

While many respondents agreed that physical punishment is not the most effective method, most adults did not consider physical punishments like hitting, spanking or beating a child to constitute violence. The data indicated that there is a wide variety of attitudes about what violent discipline is. This can be at odds with people's beliefs about the most effective methods of discipline. Most respondents, for instance, said that violent discipline could have negative effects on children. However, when asked whether a particular behaviour like beating or spanking a child was 'violent', many people said that they were not. Unpacking these ideas and social norms around physical and psychological punishment can help to understand how and why so few people consider it to be violent. These findings suggest that while most adults are aware that violence is harmful to children, they do not consider, or indeed know, that physical and psychological punishment are forms of violence.

Both men and women had similar attitudes toward physical and psychological discipline, and they were about as likely to correctly identify violent forms of physical punishment. However, there were some significant differences in their responses. Men were much more likely than women to say that psychological punishment, in particular yelling or screaming, was a form of violence. Men were also much more likely to say that fathers were most responsible for disciplining children, while women were much more likely to say that both parents were equally responsible.

61. UNICEF MENARO, (2018). Violent Discipline in Middle East and North Africa: A statistical analysis of household survey data.

62. UNICEF MICS Surveys. <https://mics.unicef.org/surveys>

63. Ibid

64. UNICEF and the Government of Pakistan. 2017. The Situation Analysis of Children in Pakistan: The State of Child Rights in Pakistan.

65. UNICEF. (2021). Violent Discipline. <https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-protection/violence/violent-discipline/>

Violent discipline is considered a family's internal affairs, which is the main barrier to reporting. Women were much more likely to cite internal affairs than men. Men, however, were much more likely to cite both a lack of trust in authorities and a fear of retribution as the primary barrier to reporting violence against children. Regardless of the barriers adults indicated in the study, most participants had limited knowledge about the laws that prohibit violent discipline. It is important to note that when participants identified private and internal matters, these concepts could not be further explored due to the limitations of the survey. However, we understand “private” and “internal” to refer not only to the nuclear family system, but also to the community at large as child rearing is considered a communal responsibility.

Children reported that they were unlikely to report violent discipline if it was observed in someone's home or at school or madrassah. When asked about their perception around violent discipline in school, this study found that about 66% of children think that imams and molvis regularly hit children as a form of discipline. This indicates that children face steep barriers to reporting violence, such as a child's fear of their parent or teacher or a lack of prevention and response resources for reporting. Furthermore, the ubiquity of physical punishment in religious educational settings like madrassahs creates an implicit message that such forms of discipline are acceptable. This acceptance further increases the barriers for children to report violence because they must confront people in moral authority.

This study evidenced the diverse knowledge and attitudes that adults and children have about violence and what they understand it to be. Regardless of intention, all forms of physical and psychological punishment violate children's rights. Research has shown that children who have been subjected to violence in childhood are more likely to experience long-term negative effects in their physical and mental health and impair a child's ability to learn and to attend school. Understanding these findings will support the design and implementation of future social behaviour change interventions to eliminate all forms of violence discipline against children.

The following section presents the findings of the knowledge, attitudes, and practices survey on violent discipline that was conducted with adults and children across Pakistan. Importantly, the survey of children did not include a knowledge component. It was decided in unison with UNICEF, that the research would not ask children whether they had experienced specific forms of violence, as in accordance with our Ethical Policy. The teams therefore decided to focus more the quantitative survey on gathering information about their attitudes and practices.

The research team also conducted significant tests to analyse differences between demographic groups. As such, the quantitative findings present these differences across demographic factors, in particular age, gender, education, province and rural or urban location. Furthermore, the findings are supplemented with qualitative insights from focus group discussions with adults and in-depth interviews with children to analyse social norms and decision-making patterns among adults and children.

Summary of Findings

Adult KAP Findings

Knowledge

- Most adults think that physical punishment can have negative consequences, but they think that physical and psychological punishment to a certain degree, can be beneficial.
- Most adults are not aware that there is a law prohibiting violent discipline of children.

Attitudes

- Most adults consider non-violent methods of discipline to be more effective than violent methods.
- Most adults consider non-violent methods of discipline to be more effective than violent methods.
- Most adults believe that talking is the most effective form of discipline.
- Most adults do not consider physical punishment to be a form of violence.
- Most adults do not think that violent discipline should be reported because it is a family's internal matter.

Practices

- Most adults said that they did not frequently use violent discipline.
- Most adults said that both parents are equally responsible for disciplining children in the household.

Child KAP Findings

Practices

- Most children said that parents would use violent discipline to reprimand stealing.
- Children are more likely to say that the parent of their gender disciplines them.
- Children say that parents adopt a range of violent and non-violent methods to manage their behaviour.
- Most children say that they regularly experience violent discipline in schools and religious institutions.
- Most children say that disobedient children are beaten.

Attitudes

- Most children believe that boys are physically punished more often than girls.
- Most children said that they would keep quiet and do nothing if they saw someone using physical or psychological discipline on a child.

KAP Findings Among Adults

Adults' knowledge, attitudes, and practices of violent discipline were assessed by means of close ended questions in a quantitative household survey, with semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with adults across the country. The KAP survey questions were formulated to measure understanding, misunderstanding, and behaviour around violent discipline to establish baseline reference value for use in future assessments and to measure the effectiveness of programme activities.

Finding 1: Most adults think that physical punishment can have negative consequences, but they think that physical and psychological punishment to a certain degree can be beneficial.

Most of the respondents are aware of some of the negative consequence of using physical punishment as a form of discipline.

While (60%) respondents were aware of some of the negative consequences of using physical punishment as a form of discipline, a large minority of respondents were ambivalent about the negative consequences of it. These findings indicate that while most respondents are theoretically aware of negative consequences, many are equivocal about the effects.

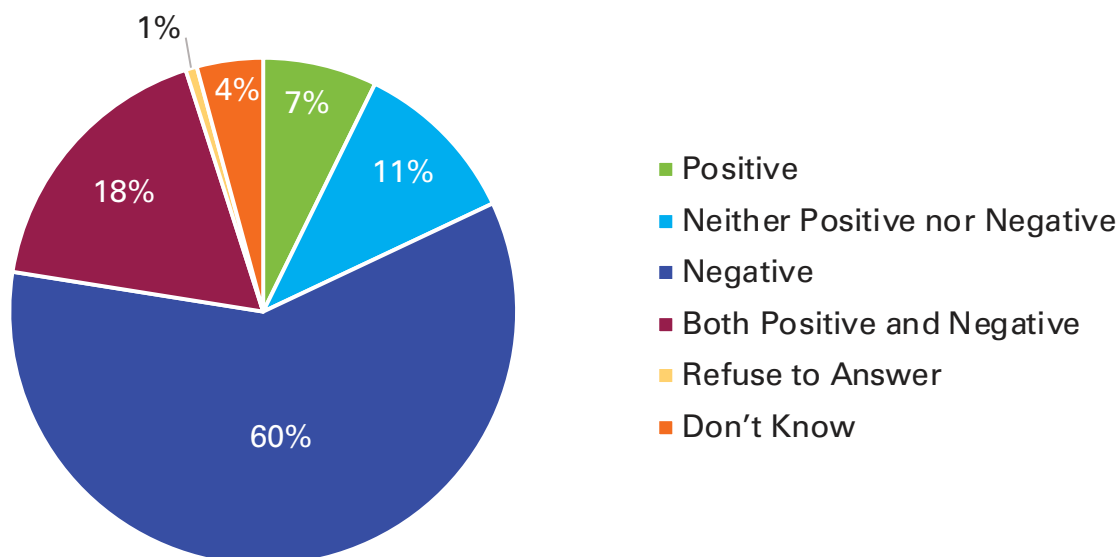


Figure 30: Percentage of respondents that are aware of negative consequences of using physical punishment as a form of discipline/consequence

Men (63%) were significantly more likely than women (56%) to report that there were negative consequences of using physical punishment. Men were on average less likely than women to know about specific negative effects of physical punishment, such as long-term mental health consequences.

This suggests that while men may be more likely to say that physical punishment has negative effects, they also have less knowledge about what those effects are. By province, respondents from Gilgit Baltistan (66%), Islamabad (68%), Punjab (69%), and Azad Jammu Kashmir (70%) were significantly more likely to report that there were negative consequences of using physical punishment. Conversely, respondents from Sindh (45%) and Baluchistan (43%) were significantly less likely to say that violent discipline has negative consequences.

Furthermore, respondents living in cities were more likely than respondents living in villages to say that physical punishment has negative consequences. The large percentage of people who reported that there were both positive and negative consequences of using physical punishment indicates the complexity by which people conceptualise physical punishment. This complexity was especially evident in focus group discussions, where many adult respondents described physical punishment as a pedagogical tool for teaching children to behave. For instance, one woman from Peshawar recounted a story in which her mother beat her for accidentally losing money at the local market. She said:

“I was afraid to go back home because my mother was very strict, but she is like a friend. So, I was scared and too much time was passed so my brother came after me and asked what happened I said I lost the money and now mother will hit and scold me. So, when he took me home... my mother hit me a lot... I realised at that time that I made a mistake, and I should not have done this, and I should have been more responsible. After that nothing like it ever happened.”

While this story exhibits an instance of violent discipline, but the women emphasised that this experience also taught her a valuable lesson about keeping track of her parents’ and her own resources. She emphasised that she ‘realised’ her wrongdoing and this experience prompted her not to make the mistake again. While she acknowledged that she did not enjoy being beaten, she also acknowledged that this experience taught her a lifelong lesson.

Respondents also reported that physical punishment requires the correct “dosage.” Where the frequency and the amount of physical punishments needs to be taken into consideration for it to be effective in eliminating disobedient behaviours. They frequently said that excessive physical punishment could make children ‘stubborn’ and, thus, less obedient. For example, a woman from the focus group discussion in Peshawar responded to the above story by saying, *“I have seen with my own eyes that those mothers who hit their children a lot, their children become spoiled. They become stubborn.”* In an in-depth interview, another young mother explained that habitual beating has the effect that *“eventually... [beating] will not affect them [in] any way” and that “they become stubborn and rebellious.”* Finally, a man from Baluchistan expressed a similar view that, *“with beating, they eventually become stubborn and become habitual of [the undesired behaviour].”* These examples suggest, first, that parents may aim to find an equilibrium in which they perceive themselves to be using a balanced amount of physical punishment. It suggests, second, that parents consider their responsibility to make children obedient to them rather than to provide direction and guidance.

Many focus group discussion participants also emphasised the infrequency of their use of physical punishment and its psychological consequences for both children and adults. One father recounted that he slapped his child because the child did not understand something that he was trying to teach:

“I explained to him some questions ten times and again when I asked him the next day about those questions, he was nil. Again, I asked him on the third day, he was back to zero again. Then I slapped him very hard. I slapped him but I was unable to sleep [the] whole night.”

The father emphasised that this was the only time that he punished his child physically. He further emphasised that using physical punishment had the negative consequence of increasing both his and his child’s stress. Other parents similarly emphasised that they rarely used physical punishment, but they expressed ambivalent attitudes about the consequences of physical punishment. For instance, one mother remarked that excessive scolding would make a child feel unloved. She said, “*scolding a child too much will make him feel like his parents don’t love him.*” She suggested that physical punishment, unlike psychological punishment, does not focus on a child’s self-esteem, which she suggested was more fragile.

These findings show that while most respondents were aware of negative consequences of physical punishment, they can be ambivalent about its effects on children. This finding can help to contextualise the prevalent use of physical punishment in Pakistan: Parents and caregivers do not necessarily hold the intention to cause harm or injury to the child. Instead, the decision to use physical punishment may stem from a parent or caregiver’s anger or frustration, a lack of understanding of the harm it can cause, or a limited familiarity with non-violent methods of discipline.⁶⁶

‘Short-term effect’ was the most cited negative consequence of using physical punishment.

In response to a multiple-answer question about the negative consequences of using physical punishment, about 46% of respondents identified ‘short-term effect on behaviour’ as the primary negative consequence. This means that a significant proportion of adults consider physical punishment to have only a short-term impact, i.e., that it is an ineffective method for managing children’s behaviour over time.

This finding suggests, first, that a large proportion of respondents may not consider physical punishment to be the most effective means of discipline and, second, that they may not think that physical punishment causes long-term health or behavioural consequences. Smaller proportions of respondents identified other negative consequences, which suggests that there is a low awareness of the ways that physical punishments can negatively impact a child’s mental and physical health, as well as their cognitive development.

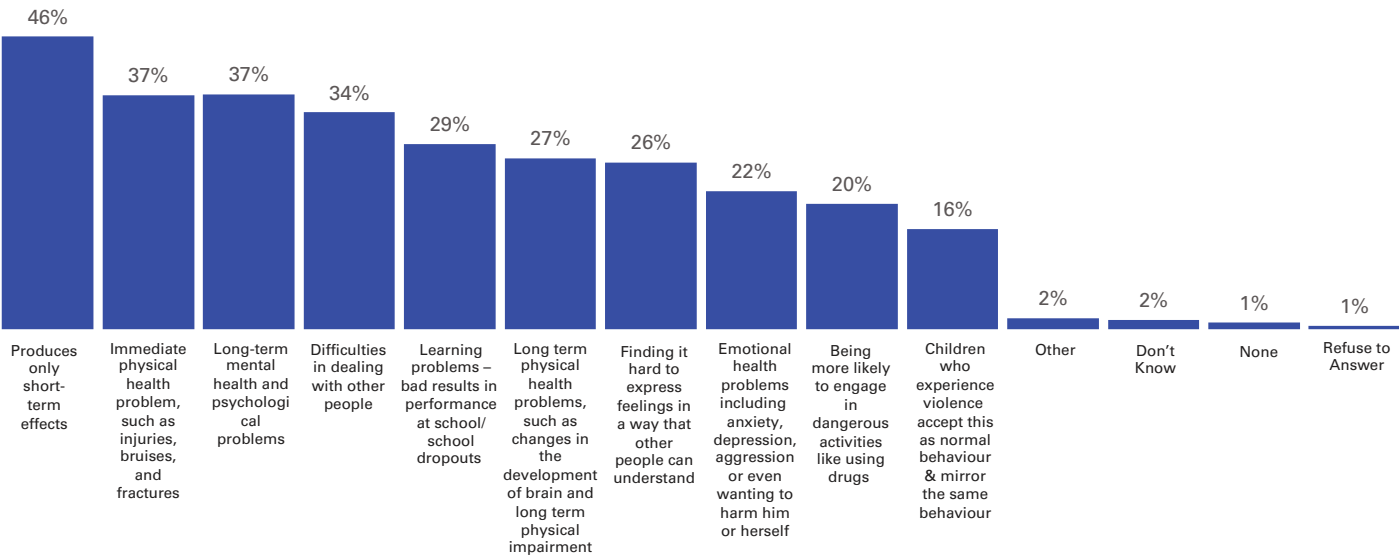


Figure 31: Percentage of respondents that can name negative consequences of using physical punishment as a form of discipline

In addition to many people having limited awareness about the negative consequences of violent discipline, a large minority (about 15%) of respondents thought that physical punishment would have no effect on whether children would later imitate this behaviour. This aligns with the previous findings which indicate that most respondents may not be aware that physical punishment can negatively impact children’s long-term health, behaviour, and learning ability.

66. UNICEF, (2017). A Familiar Face: Violence in the lives of children and adolescents.

On average, women were more likely than men to know that physical punishment can cause chronic health and development consequences for children. Women were more likely to say that physical punishment can cause long-term negative physical health problems (29% of women compared to 24% of men) and emotional health problems (25% of women compared to 19% of men), as well as can inhibit children's ability to express their emotions in a way that others can understand (29% of women compared to 24% of men). Men, conversely, were more likely to say that children who experience physical punishment are more likely to mirror that behaviour as they grow up (18% of men compared to 14% of women). This indicates that women, on average, have a higher level of awareness about the ways that physical punishment can affect a child's health.

Respondents' education was correlated with whether they thought that physical punishment would negatively impact a child's ability to learn and would make them more likely to mirror similar behaviours. Respondents with less education were less likely to think that physical punishment could cause learning problems, and they were also less likely to think that children would mirror this behaviour. This indicates that while education is tied with respondents' knowledge about the impacts of physical punishment in a child's ability to learn.

Adults living in urban communities were significantly more likely to note that long-term mental health and psychological consequences are a key negative effect of physical discipline, as compared to adults living in rural communities.

The province in which respondents lived was also correlated with their knowledge about the negative consequences of physical punishment. Those living in Gilgit-Baltistan were more likely to think that physical punishment was negatively impactful because it produced only a short-term effect. Conversely, those in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were more likely to think that physical punishment could cause immediate physical health problems, long-term health problems; long-term mental health problems, difficulties dealing with others; learning problems; and emotional health problems. Similarly, respondents living in Azad Jammu Kashmir were more likely to think that physical punishment could make it harder for children to engage with other people and to learn.

These findings suggest that, by province, there is a range of knowledge about the negative consequences of violent discipline and that the environment in which people live can contribute to their increased or decreased knowledge about the consequences of physical punishment.

Finding 2: Most adults are not aware that there is a law prohibiting violent discipline of children.

Less than half of the respondents were confident that there is no law against the violent discipline of children and 22% assume that there is no such a law.

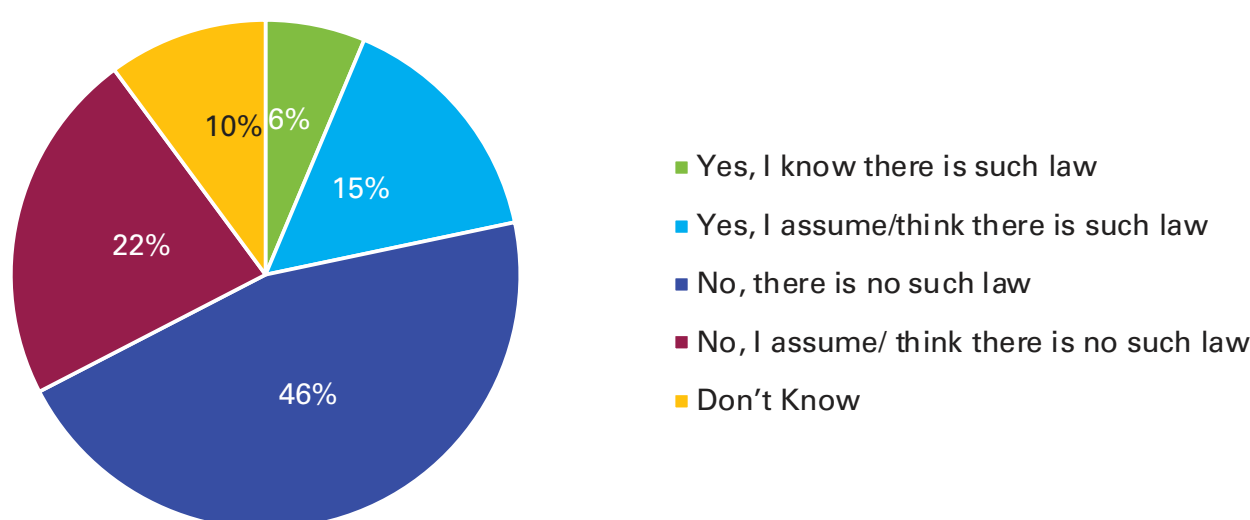


Figure 32: Percentage of respondents that are aware that there is a law against the violent discipline of children

Most respondents were aware that there are few laws prohibiting the violent discipline of children in Pakistan, with the exception of laws in Gilgit-Baltistan, Sindh, and Islamabad Capital Territory. The Pakistan Penal Code justifies corporal punishment used in “good faith” that is by or by the consent of a child’s guardian. This means that violent discipline is justifiable by national laws. However, there are, to date, three provincial and territorial laws that prohibit violent discipline of children in the country. These laws apply notwithstanding existing legislation in the Penal Code.

The laws are:

1. The Gilgit-Baltistan Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Act 2015⁶⁷ stipulates that physical punishment is prohibited in all its forms and in all places, including in the family, workplace, in schools and other educational and care institutions, including rehabilitation centres and the juvenile justice system.
2. The Sindh Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Act 2017⁶⁸ stipulates that physical punishment is prohibited in all its forms at the workplace, in schools, and in other educational and care institutions, including rehabilitation centres and the juvenile justice system. The law does not explicitly prohibit physical punishment in the family.
3. The Islamabad Capital Territory Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Act 2021⁶⁹ passed by the National Assembly of Islamabad Capital Territory, stipulates, like the Sindh Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Act 2017, that physical punishment is prohibited in all its forms in the workplace, in schools, and in other educational and care institutions, including rehabilitation centres and the juvenile justice system. The law also does not explicitly prohibit physical punishment in the family.

Respondents in Gilgit-Baltistan province were significantly more likely than others to confidently say (67%) that there is no such law in the province, while respondents from Sindh (38%) and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (37%) were significantly less likely than others to confidently say that no such law exists. Survey participants from Punjab (41%), Baluchistan (42%), Azad Jammu Kashmir (46%) and Islamabad (45%) did not differ significantly from the average response to say that they are confident that no such law exists.

These findings indicate that most people are aware that there are few laws prohibiting violent discipline in all settings, including homes. The findings also show that—despite the legislation— respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan, Sindh, and Islamabad Capital Territory had limited awareness about laws prohibiting violent discipline.

Furthermore, men were significantly more likely than women to respond that they assume that such a law exists (18% men compared to 13% women), the most significant variation occurred by province. This wide variation is not surprising because only the legislation in Gilgit-Baltistan prohibits violent discipline in all settings, inclusive of homes.

45% of respondents were confident that no law obliges reporting an incident of violent discipline to the authorities and 22% assumed that no such law exists.

Like the findings above, most respondents were aware that there is no law that there is a law obliging them to report violent discipline to the authorities.

67. The Gilgit-Baltistan Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Act 2015.

68. The Sindh Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Act 2017.

69. The Islamabad Capital Territory Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Act 2021.

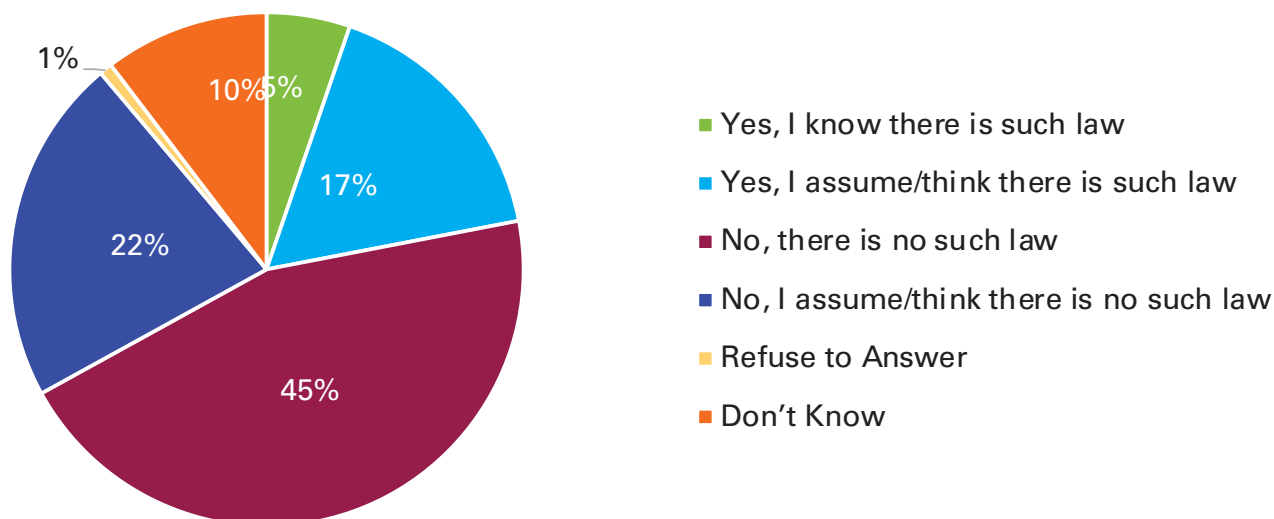


Figure 33: Percentage of respondents that are aware of the law that obliges reporting an incident of violence discipline to the authorities

As with the previous indicator, there was some variation that occurred by province. Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan were significantly more likely to confidently say (67%) that no such law exists than those from any other province. Conversely, respondents from Sindh and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa provinces were significantly less likely to confidently say (40% and 37% respectively) than others to say that such a law exists. The responses of people from other provinces did not vary significantly from the average responses.

By education, the data indicates that people with lower levels of education were much more likely to say that they did not know whether such a law exists. Furthermore, people with madrassah education were significantly more likely than any others to confidently agree that no such law exists. These findings suggest that people with lower levels of education were less likely to be aware of legislation and that people with madrassah education were more likely to know that there are no such laws.

Finding 3: Most adults consider non-violent methods of discipline to be more effective than violent methods.

Most respondents do not believe that violent forms of discipline are effective, and; Most respondents believe non-violent forms of discipline are effective.

Across all categories, more respondents consistently said that explaining to a child why their behaviour is wrong is one of the most effective means for parents to discipline a child. Consistently, non-violent means of discipline were ranked as the most effective methods, while violent means of discipline were ranked as the least effective methods. On average, 49% of respondents said that explaining a child's behaviour is the most effective method, and 48% said that praising a child's good behaviour is one of the most effective means. Smaller percentages of respondents said that other non-violent means of discipline, e.g., ignoring a child (32%), sending a child to their room (24%), taking away items they like (21%), and giving the child something else to do (28%), were the most effective means.

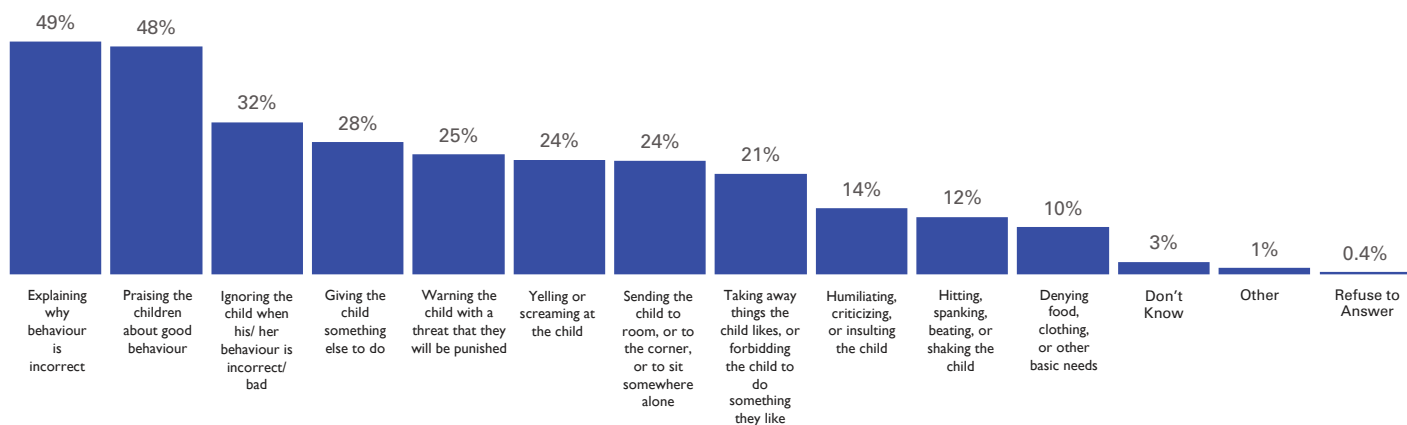


Figure 34: Percentage of respondents who believe non-violent forms of discipline are effective

While respondents ranked violent means of discipline as among the least effective means of child discipline, the percentages of people who ranked non-violent means as effective methods are noteworthy because they show that both urban development level and province are correlated with whether a person considers physical and psychological punishment effective or not.

The data also showed that people from urban areas were significantly more likely than people from rural areas to rank explaining (53% in cities compared to 46% in villages) and praising (54% in cities and 43% in villages) as the most effective methods of discipline. This suggests that there is likely more awareness in urban areas about the negative consequences of violent discipline and that parents and caregivers in these areas may have increased access to nurturing parenting tools.

Provincially, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (40%), Baluchistan (37%), and Islamabad (39%) were significantly more likely to rank ignoring a child as among most effective means, while respondents from Sindh (26%) and Punjab (27%) were significantly less likely. People from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan were also significantly more likely to rank praising children for good behaviour as effective means.

Among violent forms of discipline, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu Kashmir were significantly more likely than those from other regions to rank yelling, humiliating, hitting, and denying food as the most effective means of discipline. This aligns with the previous finding that respondents from these regions were more likely to know about the negative consequences of physical punishment. This suggests that while respondents from these provinces may be more familiar with the negative consequences of physical punishment, they are more likely to adopt other forms of violent psychological discipline instead of physical punishments.

Finding 4: Most adults believe that talking is the most effective form of discipline.

On average, respondents had conflicting attitudes towards the use of physical punishment as a form of discipline.

On the one hand, most respondents agreed that talking to children helps them to develop a stronger self-esteem, just as 57% of respondents agreed that physical punishment can impede a child's ability to learn. On the other hand, 60% of respondents agreed that a parent may discipline a child in any way that they think is right, and only about 38% of respondents agreed that using violent discipline will teach children that this behaviour is acceptable. This suggests that respondents do not think that physical punishment is necessarily more effective than talking with a child. However, it also suggests that the attitude, that parents may use whatever form of discipline they consider is the most salient factor in whether they can personally justify the use of violent discipline.

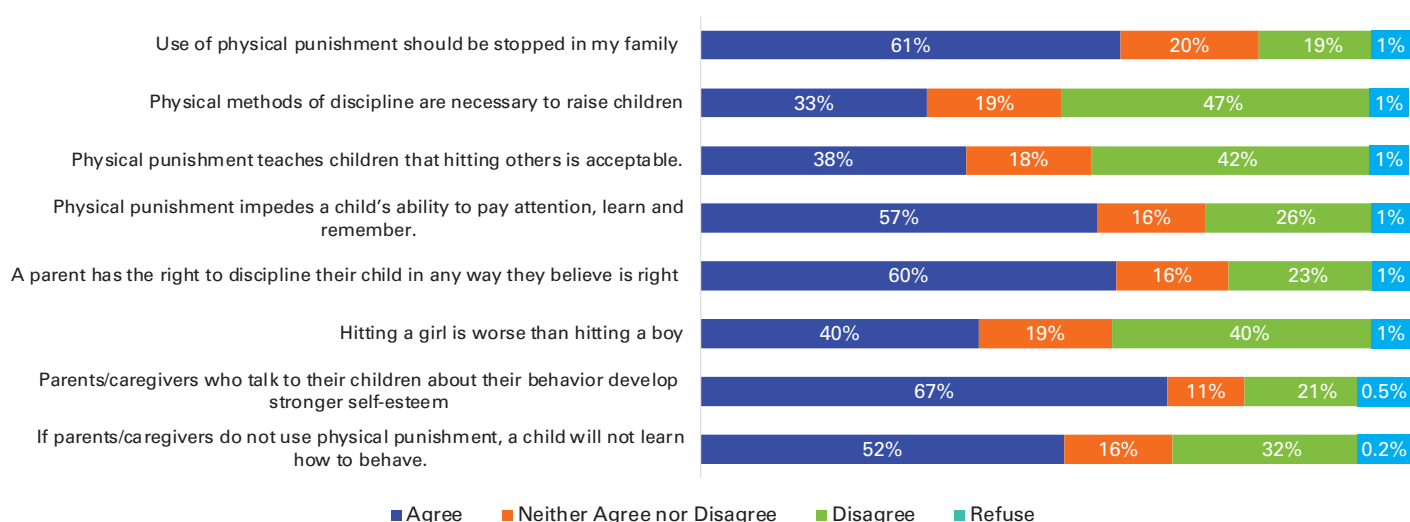


Figure 35: Percentage of respondents who believe in different forms of discipline

Overall, the responses of men and women did not differ significantly, although men were more likely to say that a parent has the right to discipline a child in any way that they believe is right. Women, conversely, were more likely than men to say that violent discipline should be stopped in their families. In comparison with the attitudinal findings indicating that most people do not consider many forms of physical and psychological discipline to be violent, these findings indicate that most people hold accepting attitudes toward physical and psychological discipline and that they do not think that physical and psychological punishment have long-term negative consequences.

Respondents from Azad Jammu Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan, and Punjab were more likely to say that a parent has the right to discipline their child in any way that they see fit. Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu Kashmir were much more likely to say that physical punishment teaches children that hitting is acceptable and that physical methods are necessary to raise children. Furthermore, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were much more likely to say that a child will not learn how to behave if a parent does not use physical punishment. This indicates that attitudes about physical and psychological punishment can differ locally, and it suggests that programmatic responses to violent discipline must consider how local attitudes influence provincial trends.

Finding 5: Most adults do not consider physical punishment to be a form of violence.

Most people do not think that most forms of physical or psychological punishment constitute violent discipline. This indicates that people's attitudes toward discipline types of punishment are quite accepting of different forms of punishment.

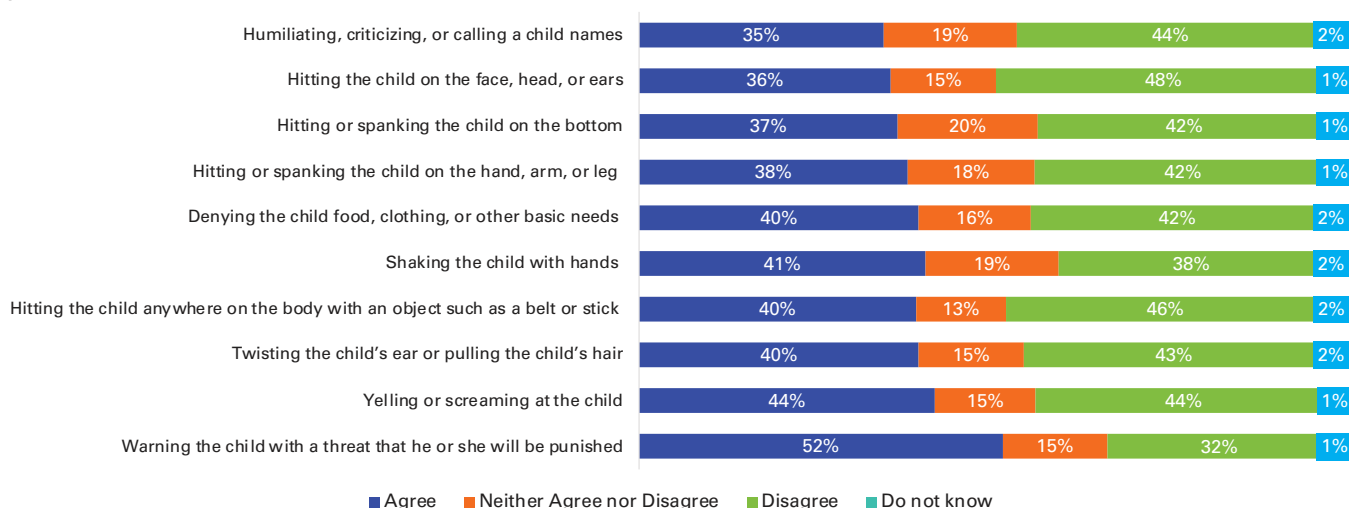


Figure 36: Percentage of respondents who believe in different forms of discipline are violent

Men and women were, on average, about as likely to correctly identify violent forms of corporal discipline as violent. Their responses did, however, differ when ranking psychological punishments: Men were significantly more likely than women to consider psychological punishments violent. Men (40%) were more likely than women (31%) to say that humiliating or criticising a child are forms of violence, and men (49%) were also more likely than women (40%) to say that yelling or screaming at a child are forms of violence.

Comparing the data by provinces and territories also showed significant variation. Respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were more likely to say that warning a child with the threat of punishment or humiliating or criticising them are forms of violence. Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu Kashmir were more likely to say that hitting or spanking a child in any way are forms of violence. Whereas, respondents from Sindh and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were less likely to say that physical punishments are forms of violence.

These findings indicate that there is a diversity of attitudes about what constitutes violent discipline and that these attitudes can be at odds with respondents' beliefs about the most effective methods of discipline. This type of discrepancy shows that most people are accepting of and can justify using physical punishment even if they do not think that it is the most effective way to manage a child's behaviour. This indicates that respondents likely do not feel that they have the self-efficacy or capability to only use non-violent methods of discipline.

Furthermore, these findings indicate, first, that most adults have a limited understanding about what constitutes violence and, second, that there are social norms that influence how people conceptualise violence. Given that so many respondents do not consider many forms of physical punishment to be violent, this shows that social norms around discipline inform whether and how people consider it to be violent.

For instance, one man from Punjab said,

“Safe and unsafe depend on how you are beating them up.”

He continued by explaining that beating a child is acceptable if other methods of teaching or discipline are not effective. He explained that if a child does not understand a concept after four or five times of it being explained to them, then *“after that you may have to beat them sometime because otherwise, they won't understand.”* Moreover, he said that he was beaten once because he had skipped school and observed that this *“one beating taught me so much.”* He continued,

“So sometimes it happens that only one punishment is enough to teach you a lesson that... you don't have to do this thing. That was [the] first and last punishment for me on going to school.”

This vignette exhibits some important aspects of the way that this man and others conceptualise the role of physical punishment. He emphasises that this method is a last resort and that it is not to be used unless other methods of discipline have been exhausted. This suggests that he considers beating to be a method that is acceptable if a behaviour is egregious or chronic. It also suggests that he considers beating to be effective if used sparingly.

This finding also aligns with the previous finding in focus group discussions about the correct “dosage” of physical or psychological punishment, whereby many respondents focused on the amount of punishment used and the importance of the intention behind the punishment. To this end, he also emphasised that he beats his child “with love”, which indicates that he considers the intention of the parent or caregiver to be an important dimension of justifying physical discipline. He said,

The love I have for my son is in a way that he gets beating with love.

This attitude mirrors Pakistan's existing laws on the acceptability of physical and psychological punishment if it is used in "good faith." It shows that he considers the intention behind a form of discipline, e.g., the intention to harm or to teach, to be consequential in determining whether a behaviour is violent or not.

This attitude about intentionality was echoed among other men in the focus group discussion who similarly expressed that physical punishment and beating were—and are—used primarily to dissuade very unacceptable behaviours. What constitutes "unacceptable" behaviour and discipline done in "good faith" are relative concepts that are determined by the discretion of the parent or caregiver. This means that different parents can hold differing attitudes about what justifies physical punishment. It also means that parents' emotional responses to children's behaviour are an important factor in determining they resort to violent discipline. For instance, another man from Punjab explained that one of the few times he was beaten occurred when his father was very angry. He said,

"I asked him why did you beat me? My father said you do such thing that makes me angry. What else should I do? I remember this story it was really amazing."

This example shows that parents' emotional reactions to children's behaviour are crucial factors in determining what response they take and in determining whether they justify the use of violent discipline. While psychological and physical forms of punishment always constitute violence, this finding nevertheless demonstrates that many parents consider forms of discipline to be acceptable if it is done without the intention to harm.

Finding 6: Most adults do not think that violent discipline should be reported because it is a family's internal matter.

Few respondents believe people should report incidents of violent discipline of children to the authorities.

Over half of the study participants (60%) did not think that respondents should report incidents of violent discipline of children to the authorities. Only 24% of respondents said that people should report such incidents, and 16% said that they did not know whether they should report. This finding is not surprising given that most people were aware that there are few laws that prohibit violent discipline, but it additionally suggests that there may be additional factors, e.g., social norms, that dissuade people from reporting incidents of violence.

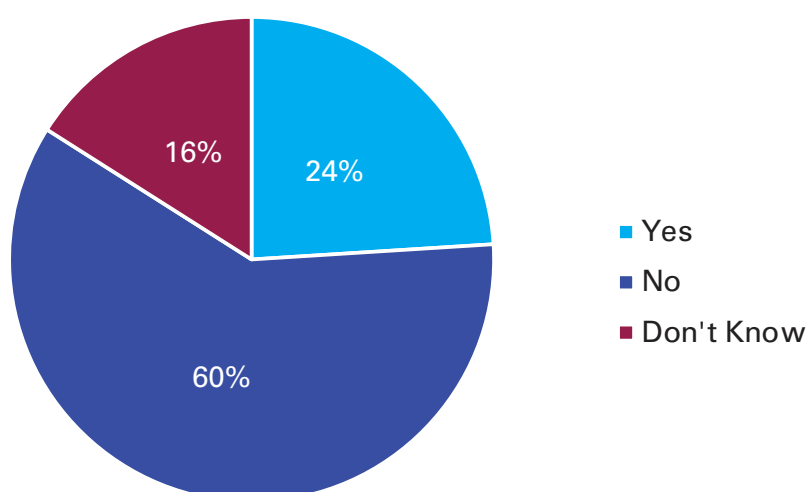


Figure 37: Percentage of respondents that believe people should report incidents of violent discipline of children to the authorities

The responses varied greatly by province and did not vary greatly across other categories. Most respondents felt that people should not report incidents of violent discipline, and in places where respondents were more likely to say that people should report incidents, the responses were split evenly: In Punjab 42%, in Sindh 49%; in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa 63%; in Baluchistan 72%; in Gilgit-Baltistan 68%; in Azad Jammu Kashmir 74%; and in Islamabad 50% said that people should not report incidents of violent discipline.

Half of the respondents cited a family's internal affairs as a main barrier to reporting violence to authorities.

In this question, respondents were asked to select barriers from a multiple-answer list. The findings showed that most respondents cited a family's internal affairs as the main barrier in reporting to the authorities: 53% of respondents cited a family's internal affairs; 26% cited a fear of retribution; 30% cited a lack of trust in authorities; 15% cited that they do not know how to report; and 3% said that they do not know why they would not report.

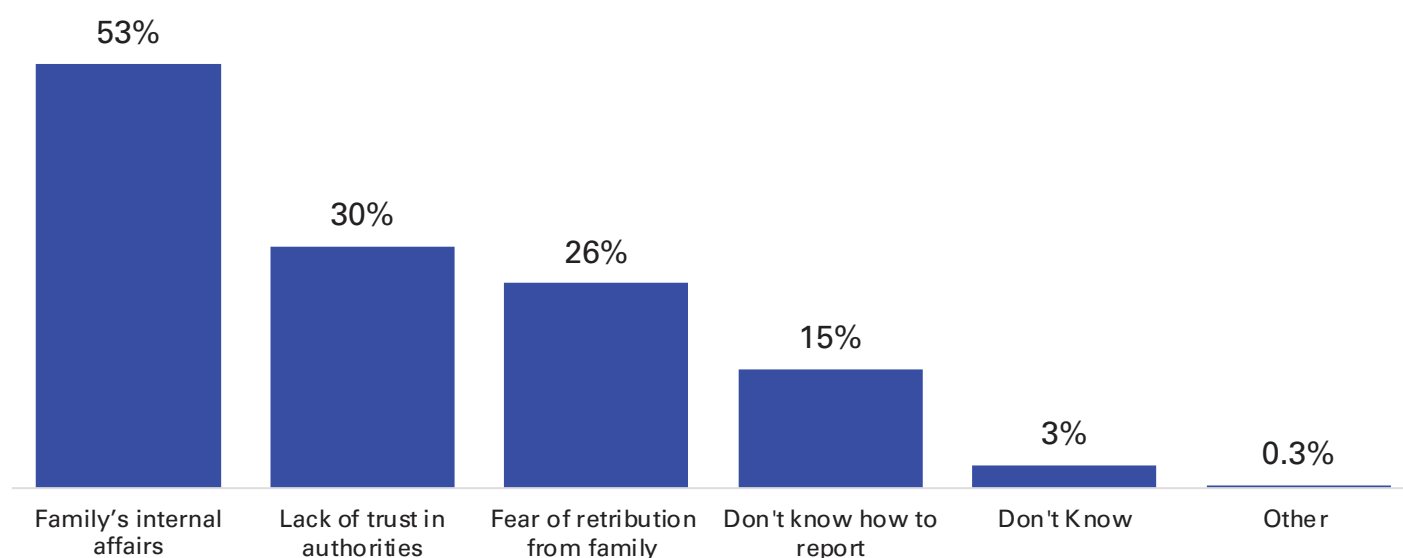


Figure 38: Percentage of respondents that name barriers to reporting to the authorities/by reason

By gender, women (70%) were significantly more likely than men (40%) to cite family's internal affairs as a barrier to reporting. Men (40%) were significantly more likely than women (21%) to report a lack of trust in authorities as a primary barrier. Moreover, men (30%) were also more likely than women (21%) to cite a fear of retribution as a primary barrier to reporting.

By education, people with no education were much more likely than people of any other educational level to say that they would not intervene because it is a family's private matter. This suggests that for people with no formal education, interpersonal ties are even more important than for people with more education. This also suggests that for people with no education, the potential consequences of intervening or reporting violence may be higher than for people with more education.

In focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, respondents were similarly reluctant to report violent discipline to authorities. This shows that adults perceive there to be steep social repercussions to reporting and addressing violence when they see it. When respondents expressed willingness to intervene, they expressed that they would be willing to discuss the problem directly with parents using violent discipline. One female participant said, "No first I will try to talk to them and make them realise that what they are doing is wrong." Another man from Bagh said that he would gather a group of friends together to confront a parent using violent discipline. This suggests that he feels that peer pressure is necessary to sway a parent's behaviour and that a group tactic may provide social cover so that no one person is singled out as the one person concerned about the behaviour.

Finding 7: Most adults said that they did not frequently use violent discipline.

Few respondents reported having used any form of violent discipline against any of their children in the past 3 months, and most respondents report having used any form of non-violent discipline in the past 3 months.

Overall, most adults said that they did not frequently use physical or psychological discipline frequently. Rather, they said that they used non-violent forms of discipline, such as explaining to a child why a behaviour is harmful or praising a child about good behaviour. This finding diverges from the attitudinal findings which showed that adults are generally accepting of physical and psychological punishment.

This discrepancy suggests that there may be stigma associated with speaking openly about using physical and psychological punishment to discipline a child. This was an observation that the data collectors found that many participants were hesitant to speak openly, particularly about questions relating to beating or yelling at a child. These were viewed as sensitive questions and raised some apprehensions from the respondents, especially female respondents. The data collectors also found that female participants did not respond well to these questions and would ask the interviewer to consult the elder or a male member of their family.

However, the data collection team also found that using the third person to talk about sensitive topics was very effective when engaging participants about sensitive topics. This suggests that participants may not have been responding truthfully to this question, and that their actual attitudes are reflected best in the attitudinal section.

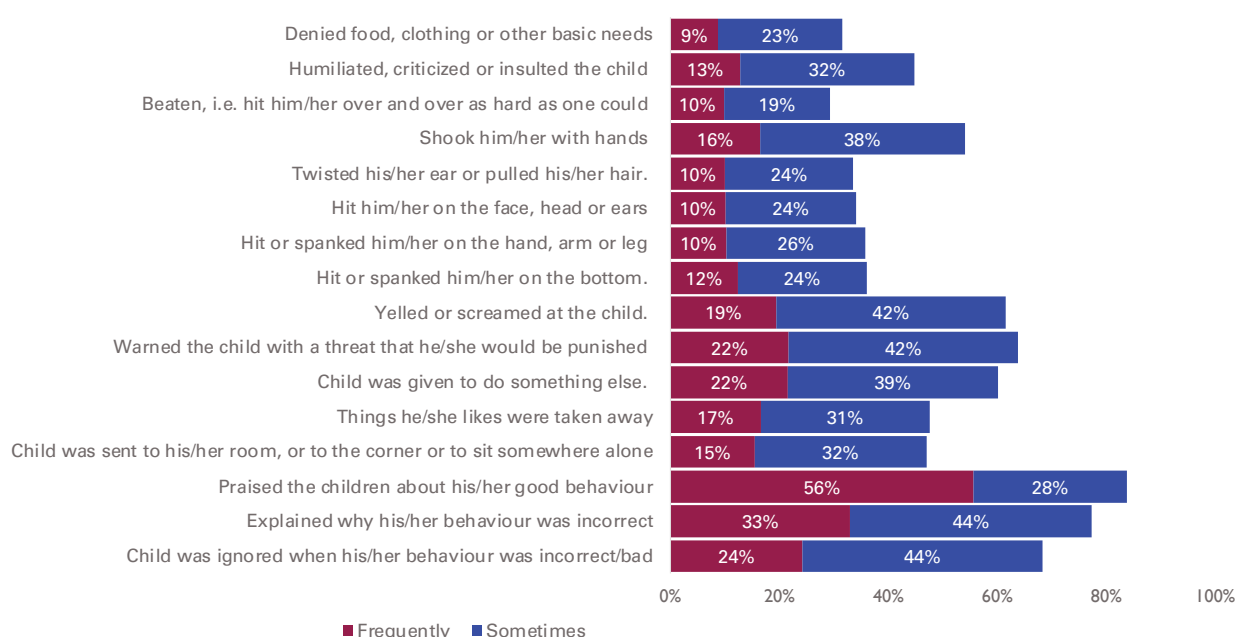


Figure 39: Percentage of respondents who report any kind of discipline towards their children in the last three months

By gender, women were more likely to say that they used a range of violent and non-violent forms of discipline to manage a child's behaviour. These included ignoring a child, praising a child, sending a child to their room, and giving the child something else to do. Moreover, women were also more likely than men to say that they "sometimes" used a range of violent methods, e.g., spanking, hitting, or yelling. Men, conversely, were more likely to say that they used beating as a form of discipline. They were also more likely than women to say that they frequently explained to a child why their behaviour was wrong.

By rural and urban disaggregation, respondents from rural areas were generally more likely to say that they used a range of violent methods for managing children's behaviour. Respondents from urban areas were more likely to say that they used discursive and non-violent methods of managing a child's behaviour. People from rural areas were more likely to say that they had hit, humiliated or spanked a child on the bottom. However, neither people from rural areas nor people from urban areas were more likely to say that they had used beating or depriving children of basic needs as forms of discipline.

Finding 8: Most adults said that both parents are equally responsible for disciplining children in the household.

Most respondents said that both parents were equally responsible for disciplining a child.

The findings showed that 63% of respondents considered both parents to be equally responsible for disciplining a child and that few considered it the responsibility of one parent or family member.

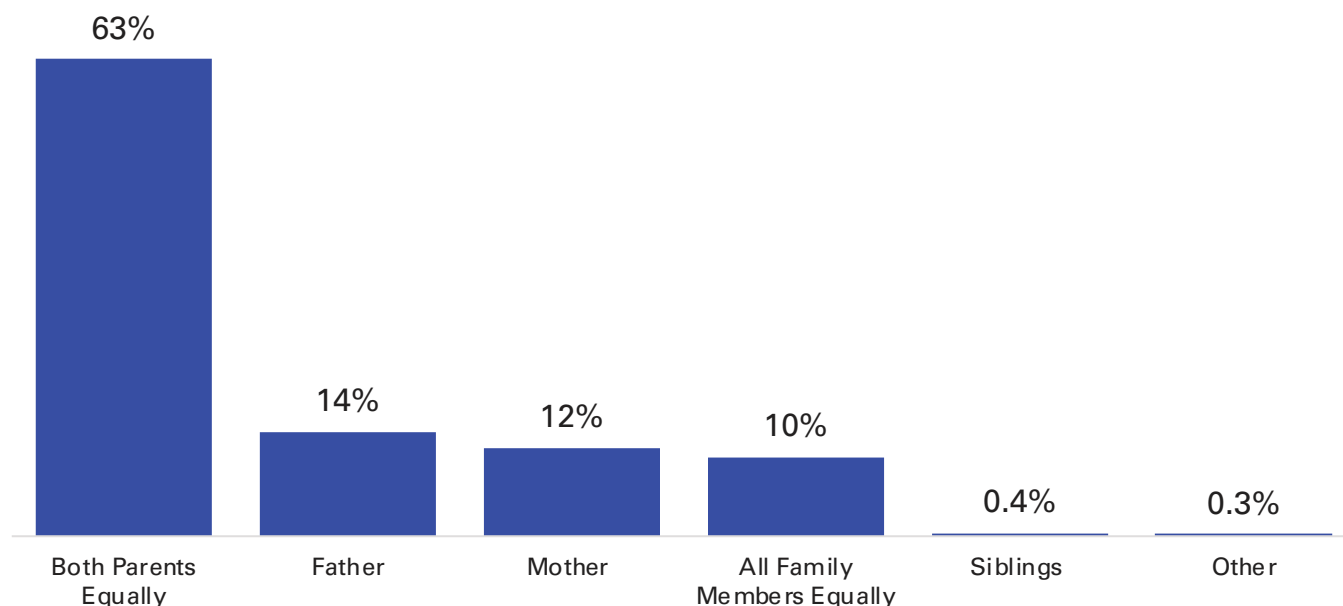


Figure 40: Percentage of respondents who report any kind of discipline towards their children in the last three months

By gender, men were significantly more likely than women to say that fathers were the main people responsible for disciplining children (21% men compared to 7% women). Women, on the other hand, were significantly more likely to say that both parents were equally responsible for disciplining children (53% men compared to 74% of women).

Respondents' reported practices also varied significantly by age. Those aged 18-24 years were significantly less likely to say that both parents are equally responsible for disciplining children. In this category, 18% said that fathers were most responsible; 13% said that mothers were most responsible; 3% said that siblings were most responsible; and 7% said that all family members were equally responsible.

Respondents in the 55 plus category were also significantly more likely to say that both parents were equally responsible, with 52% of respondents saying that all family members were equally responsible for disciplining children. This suggests that older respondents, many of whom may be grandparents, may see themselves as actively involved in the process of child rearing.

Furthermore, respondents from urban communities were significantly more likely to say that all family members were equally responsible for disciplining children. Whereas, in rural communities, respondents were more likely to say that fathers or siblings were involved in disciplining children. This shows that in rural communities, child rearing and discipline is a family responsibility, while in urban communities it is more limited to nuclear families.

These findings show that while most respondents said that parents are equally responsible for disciplining children, there can be other individuals who hold equal responsibility for raising and disciplining children in the family.

KAP Findings Among Children

To understand how children view and conceptualise violence, and to analyse their attitudes towards various disciplining methods used by parents and caregivers in the households to manage child’s behaviour, the research team used a vignette technique to elicit the judgment of children (aged 14-17 years old) about the scenarios presented in the questionnaire.

The first hypothetical scenario presented in the questionnaire was around ‘a family comprising parents, Tariq and Fatima, and their two kids, Bilal and Huma. Bilal is 12 years old, and Huma is 8 years old. Like other children, Bilal and Huma also sometimes misbehave and their parents use different disciplining techniques. Last week, Huma asked her father to give her 20 rupees. Her father, Tariq, asked her to take 20 rupees from his wallet. Huma, however, took 40 rupees instead of 20, which means she stole 20 rupees. Her father, Tariq, noticed that 20 rupees are missing in his wallet and asked Huma. Huma lied to her father, but her cousin told Tariq that Huma had 40 rupees. Huma explained that she stole 20 rupees because she wanted to buy things for her cousin as well’.

Finding 1: Most children said that parents would use violent discipline to reprimand stealing.

Over half of children who reported that most parents in their community would use some form of punishment in Huma’s situation.

When asked ‘what they (children) think how most parents would react in their community in such a situation?’, most of the children (56%) reported that parents will use some form of punishment (22% said both ‘physical and verbal punishment’, 19% ‘use verbal punishment’, 15% ‘physical punishment’). Whereas only 37% of the children reported that parents in their community will ‘not punish but rather explain to the kid about her wrong behaviour’. A noteworthy distinction between boys and girls is that boys were more likely to report that the parents will use ‘verbal punishment’, whereas girls were more likely to report that parents will ‘not punish but explain to the kid about her wrong behaviour’. This supports the findings that boys face significantly higher levels of punishment compared to girls in a typical Pakistani household, a finding that was also identified in the Adult KAP analysis.

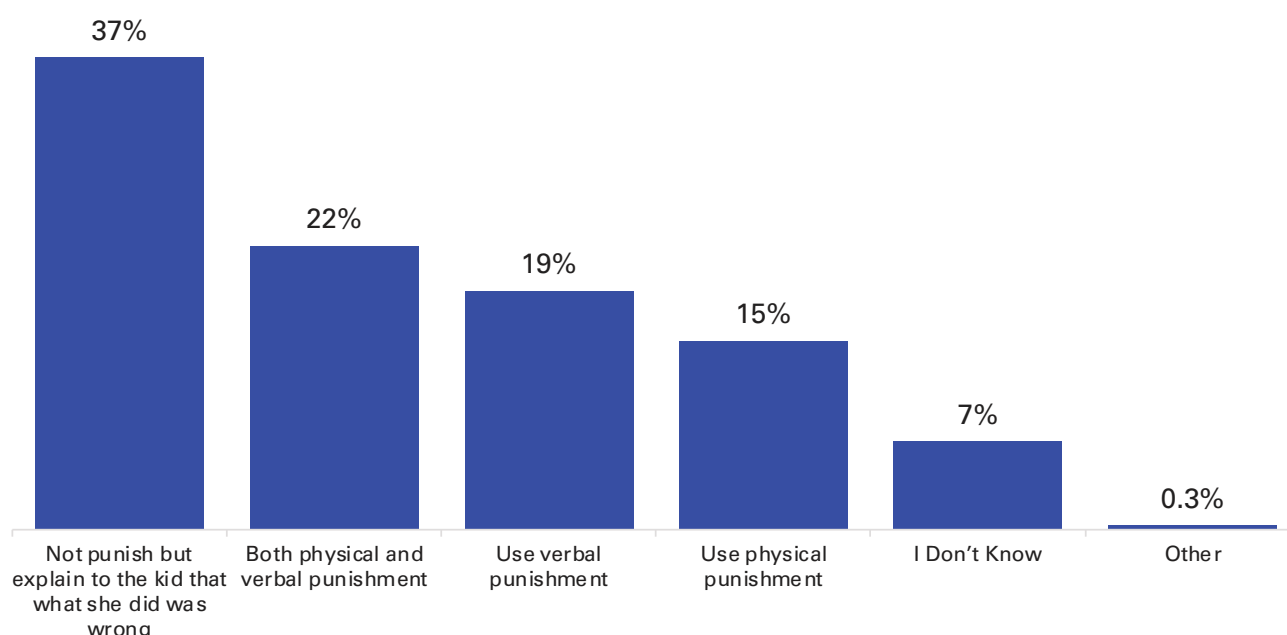


Figure 41: Percentage of respondents who report what most parents would do parents in Huma’s situation

By province and territory, children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (70%), Baluchistan (66%) and Islamabad (78%) were more likely to report that parents in such situations will use some form of punishment as compared to Punjab (55%), Sindh (42%) and Gilgit-Baltistan (35%). 63% of the children in Gilgit-Baltistan reported that parents in such a situation would ‘not punish and rather explain her wrong behaviour to the child’.

Most of the children said that parents / caregivers would ‘sometimes’ or ‘very often’ hit or slap children in Huma’s situation.

A significant proportion of children (69%) said the parents/caregivers would ‘sometimes’ (46%) or ‘very often’ (23%) hit or slap their child in the scenario presented above. Whereas only 26% said ‘never’.

Girls were significantly more likely to report ‘never’ as compared to the boys, whereas boys were significantly more likely to report ‘sometimes’ indicating that boys are subject to physical disciplining methods more often than the girls in Pakistani society.

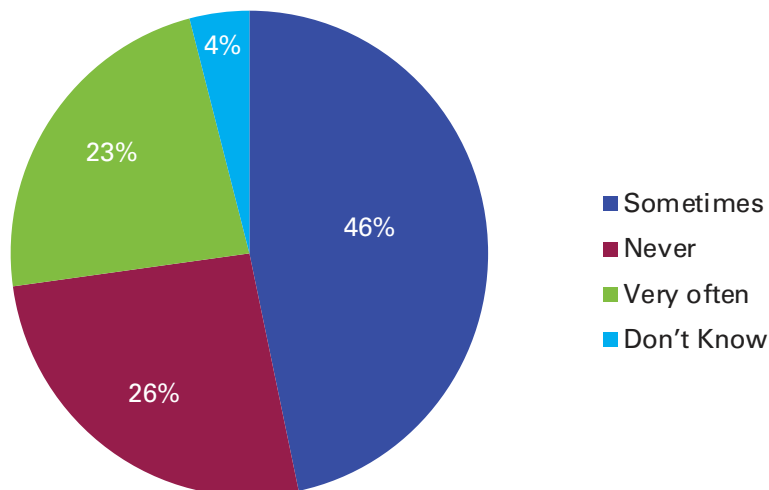


Figure 42: Percentage of respondents reporting how often parents/caregivers would hit or slap

Moreover, in terms of provinces, children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Islamabad were significantly more likely to report that parents/caregivers ‘often’ hit or slap children in such situations, indicating that parents may resort to physical violence more often in these regions.

Almost half of the children reported that parents/caregivers would ‘sometimes’ yell, shout, scream or call their children’s names in Huma’s situation.

A sizeable proportion of children (47%) said that parents/caregivers would ‘sometimes’ yell, shout or call their children’s names in such situations. 27% said ‘very often’ and 22% ‘never’.

Boys were significantly more likely to report ‘sometimes’, whereas girls were more likely to report ‘never’. This result indicates that boys are more likely to experience both physical and verbal punishment compared to the girls.

Like physical punishment, children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Islamabad were significantly more likely to say that their parents use to verbal punishment in such a situation.

Most of the children reported the likelihood of verbal and/or physical punishment in Madrassah in Huma’s situation.

To understand the likelihood of verbal and/or physical punishment by a religious teacher the following case scenario was presented as part of the vignette technique:

‘Later that day, Bilal (Huma’s brother), went to madrassah to recite Quran, but realized he had not revised his lesson. Upon asking, Bilal told imam sahib/molvi/cleric that he forgot to revise his Quran lesson.’

When asked ‘what would the molvi/imam/cleric in such situation do?’, the majority of the children (64%) reported that the religious teacher would use physical or verbal punishment (25% said ‘both physical and verbal punishment’, 19% said ‘verbal punishment’, 19% ‘physical punishment’).

Only 29% of children reported that they would ‘not punish and explain to the child that he/she should always revise the lesson’. In line with the previous results, boys were more likely to report that the religious teacher would use physical or verbal punishment, whereas girls were more likely to expect non-violent disciplining behaviour from their religious teacher. Although children in all provinces report the use of punishments, children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Islamabad were significantly more likely to report the use of physical punishment compared to children in the other provinces.

Finding 2: Children are more likely to say that the parent of their gender disciplines them.

Majority of children reported that both of their parents would be responsible for disciplining a child in Huma’s situation.

Most children reported that both ‘Parents’ would be responsible to discipline a child in their household in such a situation, followed by only ‘mother’ (10%) and ‘father’ (8%). These results held across the provinces and there were no significant differences regarding primary discipliners in the household between different regions, as most children mentioned ‘Parents’ in all provinces.

However, by gender, boys were more likely to report that ‘father’ would be responsible to discipline a child in such a situation, whereas girls were more likely to report ‘mother’. This suggests that there is likely a gendered division of labour, whereby fathers discipline boys and mothers discipline girls.

This finding was similarly reflected in the in-depth interviews with children, where virtually every child described being disciplined by the parent of the same gender as them.

Finding 3: Children say that parents adopt a range of violent and non-violent methods to manage their behaviour.

Overall, the data showed that about half of children said that physical and psychological discipline occurs frequently or sometimes in their households. This indicates that violent discipline is both common and widespread. At the same time, a similar percentage of children also indicated that non-violent forms of discipline are also common in their households. This suggests that both violent and non-violent methods of discipline are frequently used and that parents may adopt a range of methods to address and try to promote desired behaviours in their children.

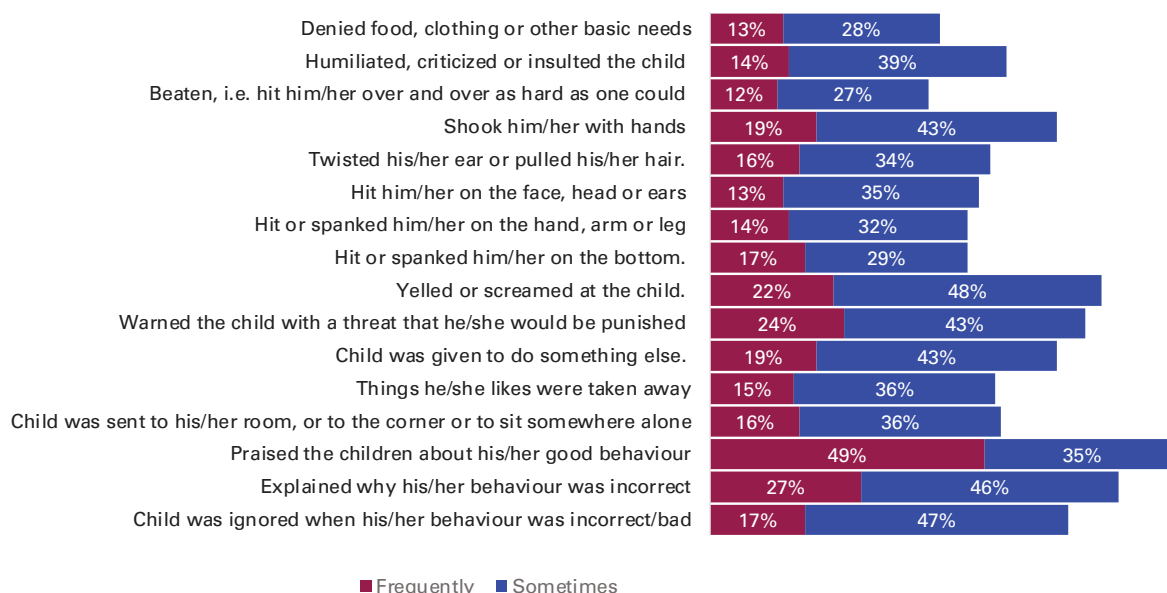


Figure 43: Percentage of respondents reporting how often parents used particular forms of violent and non-violent discipline

It is important to note that, for different physical punishments and psychological aggression methods, girls were significantly more likely to report ‘never’ as compared to boys, which suggests that boys experience more severe

violent disciplining methods compared to girls.

By province, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan were more likely to say that a child was yelled at frequently, but much less likely to say that a child was hit or beaten in any way. Respondents from Punjab were more likely to say that things a child likes were taken away, while those Sindh, Baluchistan, and Gilgit-Baltistan were much less likely to say that things were taken away.

Finding 4: Most children say that they regularly experience violent discipline in schools and religious institutions.

Many of the children reported that molvis/imams/clerics hit or slap children in their community.

A significant majority of children (66%) reported that molvis/imams/clerics hit or slap children either ‘very often’ (23%) or ‘sometimes’ (43%) in their community. Only 27% said that a religious teacher never hit or slapped a child in the community. Boys were significantly more like to report that a religious teacher would hit or slap, whereas girls were more likely to report ‘never’.

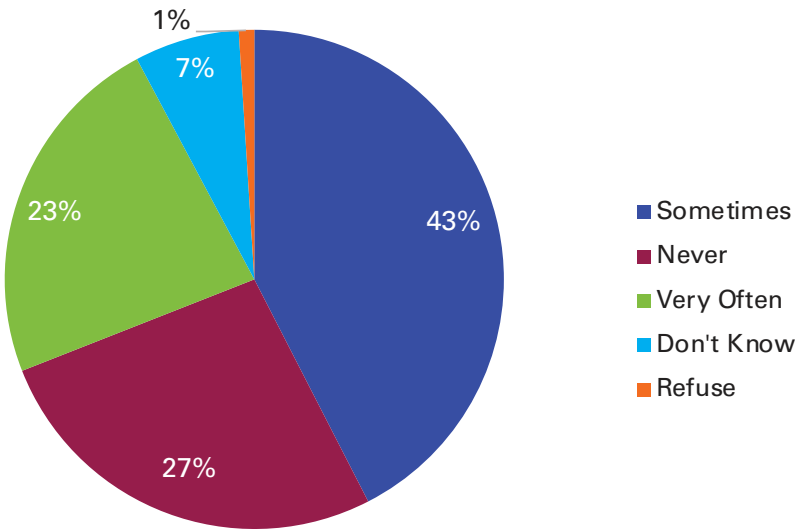


Figure 44: Percentage of respondents reporting how often molvis/imams use hit or slapped a child

Most children in all provinces report that a religious teacher had hit or slapped a child in their community, however a significantly higher proportion of children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Islamabad as compared to other provinces reported the prevalence of this physical disciplining method practiced by religious teachers.

Many of the children reported that teachers hit or slap children in schools in their community.

Most children (63%) report that schoolteachers in their community slap or hit a child either ‘very often’ (23%) or ‘sometimes’ (40%). In congruence with the previous results, boys were significantly more likely to say that the teachers use this physical punishment compared to girls.

Children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Islamabad were significantly more likely to report that schoolteachers in their community hit or slap children, however it seems to be prevalent in other provinces except in Gilgit Baltistan. A significant majority of children in Gilgit Baltistan (72%) report that the schoolteachers in their community never hit or slap children in school.

A girl from Punjab, for instance, recounted that her teachers “terrorised” children at her school by hitting them with a stick when they were “naughty” or did not do their homework. She explained:

“We would have some crazy teachers who would hit with a stick. That would result in us getting terrorised. Then there were those students who were exceptionally naughty, they would not do that teacher’s work on purpose. Whereas those who would get scared or traumatized, they would stop coming to school out of fear.”

Other children shared similar anecdotes, which suggest that teachers’ use of physical punishment is common place in Pakistani classrooms. One boy from Islamabad Capital Territory said, *“Teachers usually do [caning] in school when a child misbehaves.”* He further explained that teachers cane children when they have not completed their homework, if they go out to play a lot, or if they are not studious.

Yet another child, a boy from Punjab told the interviewer that, *“Teachers also beat children sometimes when they make a mistake so that they don’t repeat the same mistakes again.”*

These vignettes suggest teachers may not have adequate management of the classroom and that teacher use physical punishment as a method for keeping the class under control. The effect, unfortunately, was that this disincentivised children from attending class because they were frightened of their teacher.

There are numerous underlying psychological factors that influence a teacher’s decision to use physical punishment. Sociological factors, however, are particularly important because they influence whether and how a teacher justifies their use of discipline. Social norms, a teacher’s training in how to effectively manage a classroom, and a teacher’s motivation to identify the root causes of poor academic performance all influence whether and how a teacher uses discipline to change a child’s behaviour.

Finding 5: Most children think that disobedient children are beaten.

Overall, children’s responses indicate that they consider beating to be a common response to disobedient behaviour. This is an important finding because it demonstrates both the types of behaviours that children consider to be disobedient, such as wetting the bed, and the type of disciplinary response that children associate with disobedience.

- **76% of children said that beating occurs if: The child is disobedient**

On average, 28% children said ‘always’, 48% said ‘sometimes’, 20% said ‘Never’, 2% said ‘Refused’, 3% said ‘Don’t know’.

- **73% of children said that beating occurs if: The child talks back to the parent**

On average, 30% children said ‘always’, 43% said ‘sometimes’, 22% said ‘Never’, 2% said ‘Refused’, 3% said ‘Don’t know’.

- **72% of children said that beating occurs if: The child does not want to go to the school**

On average, 23% children said ‘always’, 49% said ‘sometimes’, 23% said ‘Never’, 2% said ‘Refused’, 3% said ‘Don’t know’.

- **70% of children said that beating occurs if: The child does not want to do his/her homework**

On average, 21% children said ‘always’, 49% said ‘sometimes’, 24% said ‘Never’, 2% said ‘Refused’, 3% said ‘Don’t know’.

- **61% of children said that beating occurs if: The child does not want to go to work**

On average, 20% children said 'always', 41% said 'sometimes', 32% said 'Never', 2% said 'Refused', 5% said 'Don't know'.

▪ **76% of children said that beating occurs if: The child does not want to go to madrassah/or Quran lessons**

On average, 29% children said 'always', 47% said 'sometimes', 19% said 'Never', 2% said 'Refused', 3% said 'Don't know'.

▪ **60% of children said that beating occurs if: The child does not take care of younger brother or sisters**

On average, 19% children said 'always', 41% said 'sometimes', 35% said 'Never', 2% said 'Refused', 3% said 'Don't know'.

▪ **53% of children said that beating occurs if: The child wets bed**

On average, 16% children said 'always', 37% said 'sometimes', 40% said 'Never', 2% said 'Refused', 5% said 'Don't know'.

▪ **70% of children said that beating occurs if: The child steals**

On average, 30% children said 'always', 40% said 'sometimes', 22% said 'Never', 2% said 'Refused', 6% said 'Don't know'.

By gender, boys were more likely than girls to say that disobedient behaviours prompted beating. They were much more likely to say that wetting the bed and not wanting to attend school or work prompted parents to beat them.

By province, the data showed that children from Sindh, Baluchistan and Gilgit-Baltistan were much more likely to consider disobedient behaviours to prompt beating, while children from Punjab and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were much less likely to associate disobedience with beating.

Within focus group discussions, children echoed similar attitudes about disobedience prompting beating. For instance, one girl from Hyderabad said,

"I used to get beaten when I don't recite Holy Quran."

Many other children expressed similar experiences, in which one boy said that he was beaten for playing arcade games too frequently and another child said that she was beaten at work for not salting the food properly. Children overwhelmingly expressed negative attitudes toward beating—much more than parents. This indicates, contrary to many attitudes of parents, that children experience it as psychological and physical violence.

One girl from Lahore, for instance, said that beating with a stick *"will create a fear in a kid's mind."*

Another child, a boy from Phulgran, said,

"Beating... is very bad, it is hurtful and wrong. Caning... I am very scared of this. It disturbs my mind. I have seen teachers doing this in school."

These quotes show that children not only have negative attitudes toward beating, but also that they experience long-term emotional responses to such forms of discipline. Their responses suggest that their fear of being beaten or otherwise disciplined may motivate their "obedience." This is important because it shows that children

experience long-term consequences of violent discipline and that, even in contexts that are accepting of physical and psychological punishment, they have an awareness of its harm to them.

The findings below indicate that there is an agreement that girls do not receive physical punishment more often than boys, but a lack of consensus on whether boys receive physical punishment more often than girls. However, considering the results above, it can be inferred that boys are subjected to physical violence more often as compared to the girls in the Pakistani society.

- **Most children think that parents treat their own children better than other children in the house**

Most children (65%) agreed with the statement that parents treat their own children better than other children in the house. Boys were significantly more likely to agree with this statement compared to the girls.

There were no significant differences in agreement amongst children from different provinces, however a significantly higher proportion of children in Baluchistan (82%) agreed with this statement compared to children of all the other provinces.

- **Children were ambivalent about whether boys are punished with physical methods of discipline more often than girls**

There is a lack of consensus around this statement, as a comparable proportion of children agreed (43%) and disagreed (45%) with the statement that boys get physical punishment more often than girls. This lack of agreement is evident from gender differences, as significantly higher proportion of boys (50%) as compared to girls (36%) agreed with this statement.

- **Most children did not think that girls are punished with physical methods of discipline more often than boys**

There is, however, generally an agreement around the statement that girls are not physically punished more often than boys, as a significant majority of both boys (64%) and girls (63%) disagreed with the statement.

Finding 7: Most children said that they would keep quiet and do nothing if they saw someone using physical or psychological punishment on a child.

Very few of the children said that they would report if they saw or heard that a child has been beaten badly by their parents.

A very small percentage of children (10%) said that they would report an incident of severe physical violence by parents on their children. Most of the children (52%) said that they would stay quiet and do nothing. Only a small proportion of children (15%) reported confronting the parents and 7% said they would comfort the child. Of the children who said that they would report, 64% said that they would report the violence to their parents, and;

There were significant differences across gender, as a significantly higher proportion of girls (60%), as compared to 43% boys, reported they would stay quiet and do nothing. This suggests lower level of self-agency amongst girls as compared to the boys.

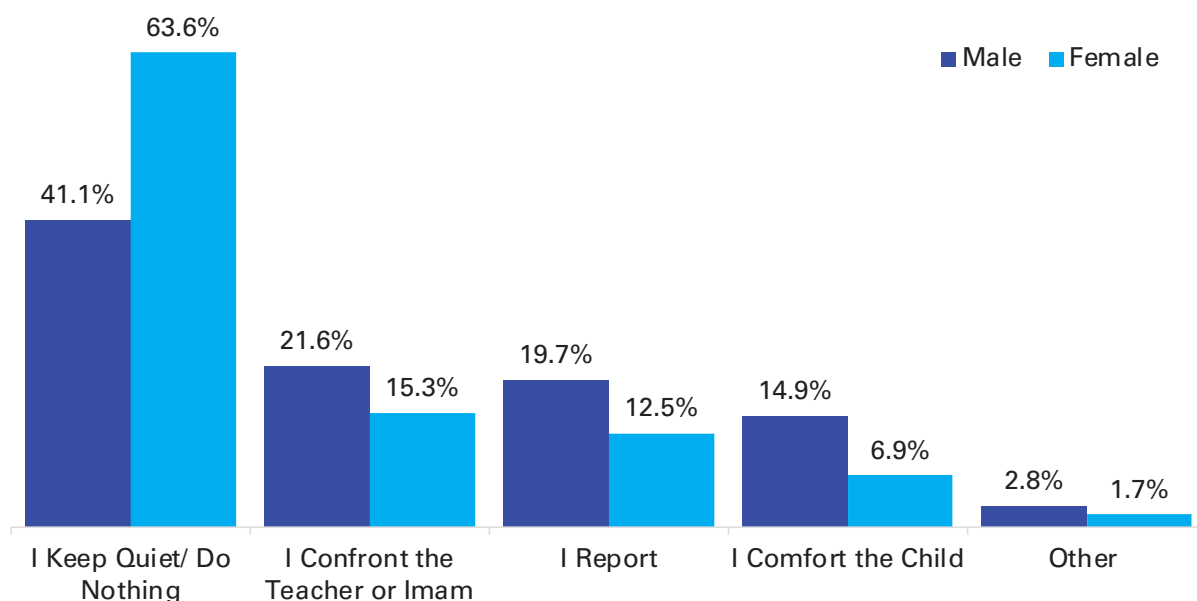


Figure 45: Percentage of respondents who would report if they saw or heard that a child has been beaten by their parents

Even though the 'reporting' option was selected very few times overall, boys were more likely to say that they would report the violence compared to the girls. Moreover, no children with no education stated that they would report the violence and were significantly less likely to know what to do in such a situation. A noteworthy proportion of children (28%) with no education said that they would confront the parents.

There were no significant differences across the provinces, however children in Sindh were more likely to report that they 'don't know' compared to children in other provinces. Out of the small proportion of children who said they would report the violence, a significant majority of them (64%) stated that they would report to their own parents, whereas 23% said they would report to the police. A small proportion of 8% and 3% stated that they would report to Family/Close friends and School principal/teacher respectively.

Moreover, of the children who did not choose to report, a noteworthy proportion of those children (32%) believed that it is the right of the parents to beat their children, whereas 36% of the children also believed that it is a family's internal matter. Other reasons selected for not reporting included 'I don't care, it is not my business' (22%), 'I don't know where or who to report to' (15%), 'No action will be taken' (17%), 'It is normal in my community for these things to happen' (13%) and 'out of respect for elders' (17%).

These findings indicate that children face steep and specific barriers to reporting violence. This is especially pronounced for children who have experienced violence at home, because they must confront and overcome feelings of loyalty, shame, disbelief and have enough trust in other people to be able to report the violence.

Furthermore, the finding that only 7% of children said that they would comfort a child that they saw being physically or psychologically punished underscores the severity of the social consequences and barriers that children face when intervening on violent discipline. This suggests that they may fear consequences for sympathising with the child. It also suggests that there may be significant stigma associated with intervening on such incidents.

Half of the children said that they would stay quiet and do nothing if they saw or heard that a child has been beaten badly by schoolteacher or imam, and;

Most the children (53%) reported that they would 'stay quiet and do nothing', whereas only 16% stated that they would 'report' an incidence of violent behaviour by a schoolteacher or an imam. Moreover, 18% said 'they would confront the teacher or imam' and 11% said would 'comfort the child'.

By gender, boys were more likely to report and comfort the child compared to girls, whereas girls (64%) were significantly more likely to keep quiet and do nothing as compared to the boys (41%).

Moreover, the lower the level of education of a child, the higher the likelihood of him/her keeping quiet and doing nothing. Those who stated that they would report, a significant majority of them (61%) mentioned reporting to 'their parents', with a sizeable proportion (46%) of children also mentioning reporting to 'Police'. Only 13% reported that they would report to School principal.

Those who did not choose to report, the primary reasons mentioned were 'their internal family matter' (29%), 'I do not care, it is not my business' (27%), 'respect to elders' (19%), 'no action will be taken' (18%), and 'it is normal in my community for these things to happen' (17%).

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Develop programming to focus on the prevention of violent discipline in early years.

One of the findings of this study is that violent discipline is both common and widespread in most households and that most children perceive beating to be a common consequence of disobedience. While this social norm is harmful for all children, it is particularly harmful for children during their early years. Research shows that children who experience violence during their early years are at increased risk of experiencing depression, aggression, antisocial behaviour, lower intellectual achievement, and long-term mental health consequences.⁷⁰ Focusing on the prevention of these consequences is therefore a vital strategy to promoting the long-term psychological and physical wellbeing of children at risk of experiencing violent discipline in their early years.

Prevention-focused programming could build on existing and well-established community channels and programmes. This approach would build on the study's insight that interpersonal networks are important vehicles for both maintaining and shifting social norms. Such interventions could include a suite of packages such as health worker and home visitation and outreach where parents can talk to health workers one on one to build parents' nurturing skills. As well as including social workers, social mobilizers, and child protection officers where available and necessary. Other programmes could incorporate gender-responsive modules, e.g., through participatory groups, that focus on promoting positive masculinity and fatherhood, and gender equality within families. These types of programmes could be implemented through existing channels like the lady health worker and district-based medical centres and building panchayat / jirga buy-in. Moreover, there are numerous examples of successful programmes affiliated with UNICEF⁷¹ and UN Women.⁷²

However, in many cases health systems are already overburdened, and therefore it is recommended for social workers of social welfare departments to support prevention and mobilise resources. In this context, programming interventions could include self-efficacy building training and interventions that are designed to improve support services for parents to enable children to reach their developmental potential. For example, UNICEF Tunisia's P+ program, was developed in partnership with MAGENTA with the goal of promoting nurturing parenting techniques and interventions by adapting the International Rescue Committee's Families Make the Difference (FMD) package for contexts in Tunisia. This program uses structured modules to build parents' capability to engage in non-violent ways with children through community-based training and teaching sessions. Similar programming could build on the insights of this study to support the creation and implementation of a FMD program in Pakistan.

The current program in Tunisia is aimed at parents of young children from 0 to 5 years old and focuses on the parent-child relationship. It also focuses on parent-parent relationships with an emphasis on nurturing and non-violent discipline through structured parenting modules organized around sessions aimed at the development of parenting skills in positive education, emotional communication of non-violent discipline, as well as support for parents in the management of their educational behavior.

70. Durrant J, Ensom R. (2021). Physical punishment of children: lessons from 20 years of research. doi:10.1503/cmaj.101314

71. UNICEF, (2020). Designing Parenting Programmes for Violence Prevention: A Guidance Note.

72. UN Women and Social Development Direct (2020) Child and Adolescent Abuse Prevented, Respect: Preventing Violence against Women Strategy Summary

It is important to also understand the importance of nurturing parenting throughout adolescence, as this period in a child's life provides another window of opportunity to influence developmental trajectories.⁷³ It is a pivotal time that affects emotional skills, where physical and mental abilities are reorganized, and some poor childhood experiences can be made up for.⁷⁴ Therefore developing programming that focuses on the prevention of violent discipline during a child's adolescent years, is crucial towards protecting children.

Recommendation 2: Focus programme efforts on increasing parents' self-efficacy to teach and support children with non-violent forms of discipline.

Future child protection interventions could build on the insights of the study, which found that there was limited awareness of what constitutes violence and low awareness about the long-term impact of violence. Such interventions could involve developing nurturing parenting toolkits, which provide parents and caregivers with tools and techniques to help them manage stress and have a suite of tools that empower them to use non-violent forms of discipline.

Interventions can take several forms to increase parents' capability to use non-violent forms of discipline. Many nurturing parenting programmes involve a significant commitment of parents' time, which can be a barrier to attendance for many parents, there are numerous ways in which tools can be shared with parents. For example, in partnership with UNICEF and building on Lebanon's Qudwa roadmap to prevent violence against girls, boys and women, MAGENTA used an insight about parent time-scarcity to focus on developing parents' skills through a mobile phone application where parents can find relevant information about common behaviours.

Another element of the Qudwa roadmap was the use of edutainment using a method of behaviour change call the Sabid Method.⁷⁵ This method uses edutainment to both shift social norms around violence. The method's central idea is that education can be entertaining and entertainment can be educational. This method uses the format of a serial-drama (e.g., a soap opera) to promote behaviour change by creating characters who serve as vicarious role models for the desired behaviours. This type of intervention creates opportunities for empathy-building because it provides a space in which parents and caregivers can observe and reflect on behaviours in a disinterested way while also gaining new skills for conflict resolution. It can be implemented through any popular media channel that enables a serial format, e.g., television, radio, and social media, and it has been used successfully in many behaviour change campaigns, including in public health, education promotion, and social inclusion.⁷⁶

Recommendation 3: Focus behaviour change campaigns on correcting misperceptions that physical and psychological punishment are not violent and that these forms of discipline can be correctly "dosed".

This study found that many people consider physical and psychological punishment to be acceptable, particularly when it is correctly "dosed". This is to say that many people have the perception that such forms of discipline can be administered in ways that are effective and beneficial to children and that excessive discipline can lead to stubbornness. However, as discussed above, research shows that all physical and psychological forms of discipline is harmful and that it can contribute to children's diminished physical and psychological wellbeing.

Addressing this misconception about the "dosage" of violence requires an intervention that responds to the root cause of the belief, which is a lack of awareness about the clinical consequences of violence. At the same time, it also requires an awareness of the root causes of violent discipline, which often stem from parents' frustration, anger, and lack of tools.

This type of two-pronged strategy would be particularly salient in this context because it not only discourages violent behaviours, but also provides parents and caregivers with empowering information and motivation to adopt nurturing behaviours.

73. UNICEF. (2018). UNICEF Programme Guidance for the Second Decade: Programming with and for Adolescents

74. Ibid

75. Population Media Center, (2007). Sex, Soap & Social Change: The Sabido Methodology.

76. Population Media Center, (n.d.). History of Sabido Serial Dramas./

Recommendation 4: Develop bystander training interventions that focus on familial intervention.

Another finding of this study is that most people do not feel empowered to intervene when they see children experiencing violence because they consider it to be a private family matter. Addressing this social norm requires a response that is empathetic to both the perceived and actual social repercussions that people face when intervening. Responding empathetically to children's experiences is especially important because they face significant barriers to intervening on violence—whether it is violence that they experience or violence that they observe. Responding to this therefore requires empowering adults to protect children to alleviate the consequences of violence that children experience.

Bystander intervention training to increase pro-social behaviours is a promising method of shifting social norms. Most of the latest research has been done on using bystander intervention trainings to prevent sexual violence and harassment of women.⁷⁷ However, as these behaviours are similarly sensitive and often stigmatised, they therefore provide opportunities for transversal analysis and approaches to addressing and preventing violent discipline.

Recommendation 5: Promote and scale reporting mechanisms whereby children and adults can report and seek support after experiencing violence.

An important finding of this study is that most people do not feel comfortable reporting incidents of violent discipline because they consider it to be a family's private matter. This indicates that there is a significant amount of stigma associated with reporting violent discipline, in part because children may feel ashamed of their behaviour and fearful that they may experience further violent discipline. For this reason, it is imperative to develop and promote uniform and toll-free reporting and response mechanisms that are stigma-aware and that actively promote the messaging that no child is ever deserving of physical or psychological violence. Communication and programming efforts to promoting the reporting of violence against children could focus on improving people's capability, opportunity, and motivation to use services. This approach would promote these services and could incorporate a behavioural change component to increase the salience of this service to people's lives. As well, incorporating capacity building among various stakeholders who operate these services to better respond and identify cases of violence against children.

This approach would include a marketing campaign to promote the hotline number, across multiple platforms like social media, billboards, and radio. Moreover, it is important to increase people's desire and interest to contact the hotline number—not simply to promote the number itself. Thus, messaging campaigns could adopt an edutainment approach that shares relatable, engaging, and memorable vignettes about how to use and contact the number.

This type of approach would ensure that the greatest number of people are reached, while also actively working to decrease stigma associated with reporting and experiencing violence.

Recommendation 6: Focus programmatic efforts on decreasing violent discipline in schools through teacher skills-building programmes and enforcement of existing laws.

Physical and psychological forms of discipline are legally prohibited in schools across Pakistan, despite its prevalence in schools. This presents an opportunity for changing behaviour by incorporating a two-pronged approach in which teachers develop classroom management tools and schools develop mandatory reporting program for documenting violence against children. This approach would focus on shifting behaviour at the individual and systems level. This would focus on prohibiting violence and reducing its prevalence by enforcing existing laws.

It would also involve teachers who use physical and psychological punishments as forms of discipline. An additional facet of the programme could involve working with government stakeholders to develop legislation that mandates the reporting of physical and psychological punishment used in schools.

77. Public Health England, (2016). A review of evidence for bystander intervention to prevent sexual and domestic violence in universities.

There is limited evidence-based data on how to shift attitudes and practices around corporal punishment in schools, but a 2017 randomised controlled trial conducted with the Behavioural Insights Team and the International Rescue Committee found that empathy-based messaging was highly effective in changing teachers' behaviour. The research team conducted a randomised controlled trial among teachers in Tanzania in which they were exposed to three types of messaging—rights-based, clinical-evidence based, and empathy-based. Groups exposed to the clinical and empathy-based messaging were also asked to complete an exercise in which they reflected on their new understanding of corporal punishment with their self-image. The study found that empathy-based messaging and self-reflective exercises that asked teachers to take the perspective of children were significantly more effective than the human-rights based approach and contributed to a 31% decrease in physical punishment among the study group.

These programme findings align with the findings of the study, which indicate that violence is prevalent in classrooms and that caregivers use violence when they are frustrated or angry. Furthermore, children reported that teachers frequently use physical punishment if they have not completed homework assignments or if they are perceived to be otherwise disobedient.

Future child protection interventions could include a positive teaching programme, in which teachers develop teaching and classroom management skills to empower students to complete their assignments. The programme could include a teacher accreditation component, e.g., through UNICEF, which enhance the prestige and the social desirability of the training.



CHILD LABOUR

CHILD LABOUR

Child labour is an issue that is influenced by a variety of environmental, sociological, and behavioural, i.e., psychological decision making, factors, that must be addressed through a holistic approach. It is also a topic that can have numerous and sometimes conflicting definitions. This report follows the definition established in International Labour Organisation No. 182 in which the worst forms of child labour are those that include slavery or trafficking; prostitution or pornography; the use of children for illicit activities; and any work that is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of a child.⁷⁸ Furthermore, per the ILO No. 182, this survey similarly defines all other forms of child labour and child work per those established by national governments, in this case the Government of Pakistan.

Coordinating a unified legal or policy response to child labour, is difficult. For one, there is no national law that fully prohibits child employment. For another, the regulation of child labour occurs at a provincial level, so enforcement is discordant. Current national laws, namely the Child Employment Law of 1991, exist primarily to provide the legal basis for the regulation of child labour through stipulation of the types of work in which children can be legally employed and the number of hours they can legally work. In August 2020, in response to the murder of Zohra Shah, an 8-year-old indentured servant, Pakistan passed an amendment to the Child Employment Law of 1991⁷⁹ that bans domestic child labour.⁸⁰ While this amendment applies only to Islamabad Capital Territory, it provides a precedent for banning child domestic labour in other provinces and a legal basis for the protection of children.

The most recent a nation-wide child labour survey, was conducted to better understand the issue of child labour in the country. This Child Labour Survey Report, first released by the Gilgit-Baltistan Planning and Development Department, reported that 13.1% of children in the territory were engaged in either hazardous work or child labour; of which 13.6% are boys and 12.6% are girls. Over 20% of boys (22.2%) and girls (20.6%) noted experiencing some form of abuse at work and were most likely to be employed within the agricultural, forestry, or water collection industry.⁸¹ Children in child labour tend to work an average of 8 hours per week (3.5 hours for 5 to 9 year olds, 7 hours for 10 – 13 year olds, 11.5 hours for 14-17 year olds), predominantly in elementary occupations performing simple and routine tasks which may require handheld tools and considerable physical effort.⁸²

The findings of this study show that both adults and children have mixed views when it comes to child labour and the reasons that it can be justified. Just over half of the children surveyed felt that early employment had negative consequences for a child, with some of the most mentioned negative consequences that children cited being the child's inability to attend school and their risks of emotional mistreatment and of emotional health problems. At the same time, many children felt that child labour could be justified if it allowed for their families to be more well off financially, particularly if it involved boys, rather than girls, working, as nearly half of the respondents felt that child labour was either 'both good and bad' or 'neither good nor bad'.

Most adult respondents agreed with the children's sentiment that working before turning 18 years old had negative consequences for children, however similarly many had conflicting views about child labour and ways to address it. **Respondents in the qualitative surveys emphasised the environmental factors that influence the decision for a child to seek early employment, such as a family's financial scarcity and precarity.** They also had a generally low awareness about both the negative consequences and legal prohibitions about early employment. This was also reflected in respondents' opinions about whether and how to report early employment of children: **Nearly half of the adult respondents felt that people should not report early employment, and a similar number cited a family's internal affairs as the main barrier to reporting.** Within focus group discussions, respondents expressed that they did not wish to meddle in other family's private matters and that, sometimes, they feared retribution.

People were wary of confronting others on private matters, particularly because they were aware that a child's employment can be crucial to a family's economic survival. Among respondents who said that at least one of their children was working, respondents in focus group discussions suggested that this topic can be very stigmatised

78. International Labour Organisation, Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182).

79. Government of Pakistan. (1991). Employment of Children Act.

80. Jamal, S. (2020). Islamabad: Child domestic labour banned following outrage over murder of eight year old Zohra Shah

81. Gilgit-Baltistan Planning and Development Department. (2019). Child Labour Survey. <https://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/child-labour-survey-2018-19>

82. Ibid

because it indicates that a parent is unable to financially support their family. The research showed that the primary people responsible for deciding whether and when a child works were fathers (43%) and indicated that many of the children working were boys (85%) and that they worked in environments where they could be exposed to harm. Hazardous environments were defined as those involving heights, using dangerous tools, exposure to extreme heat and cold, and exposure to fumes and dust. Only about 9% of the children surveyed indicated that a child in their house was working below the age of 18. Important to note also is that the qualitative findings also showed that many of the children who worked did not always feel that their early employment was wholly negative as it enabled them to provide for their families and themselves.

All of this has important implications for child protection because this means that the economic systems in which children live can predispose them toward employment. Children who are employed are vulnerable to workplace abuse, and their employment often prevents them from claiming their rights to education and health. Yet simply aiming to curb child labour will not alleviate families' economic strain, and for many children, their local educational opportunities are limited at best. This means that eliminating child labour requires a considerable awareness of the interaction between environmental, psychological, and sociological determinants of early employment and motivations that adult and children can have for enabling early employment.

The following section presents the findings of the knowledge, attitudes, and practices survey on child labour that was conducted with adults and children across Pakistan. The research team also conducted significance tests to analyse differences between demographic groups. As such, the quantitative findings present these differences across demographic factors, in particular age, gender, education, province and rural or urban location. Furthermore, the findings are supplemented with qualitative insights from focus group discussions with adults and in-depth interviews with children to analyse social norms and decision-making patterns among adults and children.

Summary of Findings

Adult KAP Findings

Knowledge

- Most adults have limited knowledge about the harmful consequences of child labour.
- Most adults do not know whether it is legal for children to work.

Attitudes

- Most adults do not think it is acceptable for a child to work.
- Adults hold conflicting attitudes about the harmful consequences of child labour.
- Adults do not think that child labour should be reported because it is a family's private matter.
- Most adults think that child labour is necessary for the survival of some families.
- Most children who work are male.
- Women in the household have a limited role in deciding whether a child works.

Child KAP Findings

Knowledge

- Most children do not know whether child labour is legal.

Attitudes

- Most children said that their parents or caregivers had never spoken to them about working for money.
- Most children do not believe that child labour should be reported because it is a private matter.
- Most children justify child labour if it helps to support their family.

Practices

- Most children who worked were working for pay or money.
- Of the children who have worked, about half are working in hazardous environments.
- Boys receive more family pressure to work outside of the home.

KAP Findings Among Adults

Adults' knowledge, attitudes, and practices of child labour was assessed by means of close ended questions in a quantitative household survey, with semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with adults across the country.

Importantly, the KAP survey does not—nor is intended to—measure prevalence of an issue. To date, there are provincial child labour surveys being conducted in Pakistan, and these surveys will measure the prevalence of child labour across Pakistan. This survey, rather, measures adults' understanding, misunderstanding, and behaviour around child labour in order to establish baseline reference value for use in future assessments and to measure the effectiveness of programme activities.

Finding 1: Most adults have limited knowledge about the harmful consequences of child labour.

Overall, adults have low awareness about the harmful consequences of child labour.

- **43% of respondents reported that child labour impacts education negatively**

An average of 43% of respondents reported that child labour can impact a child's education negatively. Respondents from rural areas (40%) were significantly less likely than respondents from urban areas (45%) to report this as a negative consequence of child labour. By province, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (53%) were significantly more likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour, while respondents from Sindh (37%) and Punjab (38%) were significantly less likely to report this as a negative consequence.

- **42% of respondents reported that child labour carries a risk of physical abuse**

An average of 42% of respondents reported that child labour can carry a risk of physical abuse. Men (46%) were significantly more likely than women (38%) to report this as a risk for children. Respondents from rural areas (39%) were less likely than respondents from urban areas (44%) to report this as a negative consequence of child labour. By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (53%) and Azad Jammu Kashmir (51%) were significantly more likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour. Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (30%) and Baluchistan (40%) were significantly less likely to report this as a negative consequence.

- **36% of respondents reported that child labour carries a risk of emotional mistreatment, e.g., blaming, belittling, or humiliation**

An average of 36% of respondents reported that child labour can carry a risk of emotional mistreatment. Respondents from villages (33%) were significantly less likely than respondents from cities (40%) to report this as a negative consequence of child labour. By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (45%) were significantly more likely to report this as a negative consequence while respondents from Sindh (30%) and Azad Jammu Kashmir (30%) were significantly less likely.

- **34% of respondents reported that child labour can result in a child feeling inferior due to not being able to go to school**

An average of 34% of respondents reported that child labour can cause a child to feel inferior due to not being able to attend school. Women were significantly more likely than men to report this as a risk for children. Respondents from villages and cities were about as likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour. By province, respondents from Sindh (36%), Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (41%), Gilgit-Baltistan (38%), and Azad Jammu Kashmir (40%) were significantly more likely to report this as a negative consequence than respondents from Punjab (24%) or Islamabad (25%).

- **30% of respondents reported that child labour carries a risk of accidents leading to physical injuries**

An average of 30% of respondents reported that child labour can carry a risk of accidents leading to physical injuries. Respondents from rural areas and urban areas were about as likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour.

By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (45%) and Baluchistan (42%) were significantly more likely to list this as a negative consequence.

- **30% of respondents reported that child labour carries a risk of emotional health problems**

An average of 30% of respondents reported that child labour can carry a risk of emotional health problems. Women (38%) were significantly more likely than men (30%) to report this as a risk for children. The responses of people from villages and cities did not differ significantly. By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (43%) were significantly more likely than to list this as a negative consequence of child labour.

- **27% of respondents reported that child labour carries a risk of sexual abuse and exploitation**

An average of 27% of respondents reported that child labour carries a risk of sexual abuse and exploitation. Respondents from villages and cities were about as likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour. By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (33%) and Islamabad (34%) were significantly more likely to list this as a risk, while those from Gilgit-Baltistan (21%) and Baluchistan (22%) were significantly less likely to list this as a negative consequence.

- **20% of respondents reported that child labour can result in children more likely to engage in dangerous activities, such as using drugs and smoking at a young age**

An average of 20% of respondents reported that children engaged in child labour may be more likely to engage in dangerous activities. Women (23%) were significantly more likely than men (17%) to report this as a risk for children. Respondents from villages and cities were about as likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour. By province, there were no significant variations in responses.

- **18% of respondents reported that child labour can result in a child missing out on time to play and socialise with peers**

An average of 18% of respondents reported that missing out on time to play and socialise was a negative consequence of child labour. Women were significantly more likely than men to report this as a risk for children. Respondents from villages and cities were about as likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour. By province, respondents from Azad Jammu Kashmir (21%) Islamabad (33%) Gilgit-Baltistan (38%) were significantly more likely to report this as a negative consequence of child labour. Those from Punjab (10%), Sindh (13%), and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (12%) were significantly less likely to list this as a negative consequence.

- **17% of respondents reported that child labour can result in learning problems**

An average of 17% of respondents reported that child labour carries a risk of learning problems. Respondents from villages and cities were about as likely to list this as a negative consequence of child labour. By region, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (33%), Azad Jammu Kashmir (33%), and Islamabad (40%) were significantly more likely to list this as a negative consequence, while respondents from Baluchistan (20%), Sindh (21%), and Punjab (22%) were significantly less likely.

- **13% of respondents reported that child labour can result in long-term health problems (exposed to dust, pollution, toxic materials, etc.)**

An average of 13% of respondents reported that children engaged in child labour may be more likely to develop long-term health problems. The data disaggregation showed significant variation by province, where respondents from Punjab (8%), Sindh (9%), and Baluchistan (11%) were significantly less likely to list this as a negative consequence, while those from Islamabad (31%) were significantly more likely.

By education, we found that adults with less education, specifically adults with no education, reading and writing and madrassah education, were more likely to know about specific risks associated with child labour than children who had more education. This is likely due to the fact that adults with less education are more likely to have been engaged in child labour and they are thus more likely to know about its risks.

Finding 2: Most adults do not know whether it is legal for children to work.

Most respondents reported that no law exists to prohibit child labour.

Most respondents responded that they either knew (46%) or assumed (24%) that no such law exists, while about 21% responded that they either were confident (5%) or assumed (16%) that such a law exists.

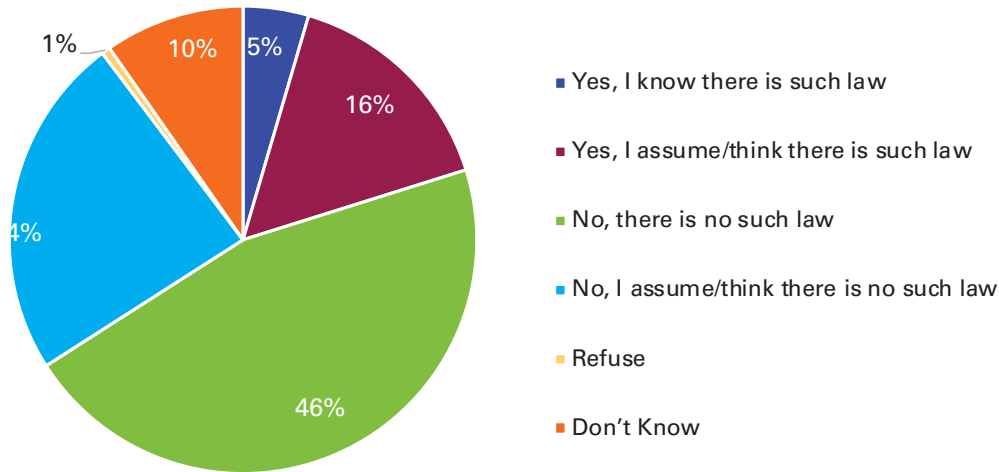


Figure 46: Percentage of respondents that are aware of the law prohibiting child labour

While the results did not show great variation by age and level of urban development, the findings did show great variation by gender, education, and province. Men (18%) were significantly more likely than women (13%) to say that they assumed that such a law existed. Respondents from Punjab (23%), Azad Jammu Kashmir (23%), and Islamabad (29%) were significantly more likely to say that they assumed such a law existed than respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (9%), Gilgit-Baltistan (9%), Baluchistan (12%), and Sindh (12%).

Most respondents reported that they either knew or assumed that no law exists to oblige reporting of child labour to the authorities.

Most respondents responded that they either knew (42%) or assumed (25%) that no such law exists, while about 22% responded that they were confident (6%) or assumed (16%) that such a law exists.

Respondents replies varied significantly by gender, education, province, and level of urban development. By gender, men were significantly more likely to report awareness of a legal obligation to report child labour to the authorities. By education, people with no formal education were about as likely to report awareness as people with madrassah education. They were also significantly less likely to report awareness than respondents with secondary, high school, and higher education. Provincially, respondents from Punjab (23%), Azad Jammu Kashmir (22%), and Islamabad (29%) were significantly more likely than respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (7%), Sindh (13%), and Baluchistan (16%) to report awareness of a legal obligation to report child labour to the authorities.

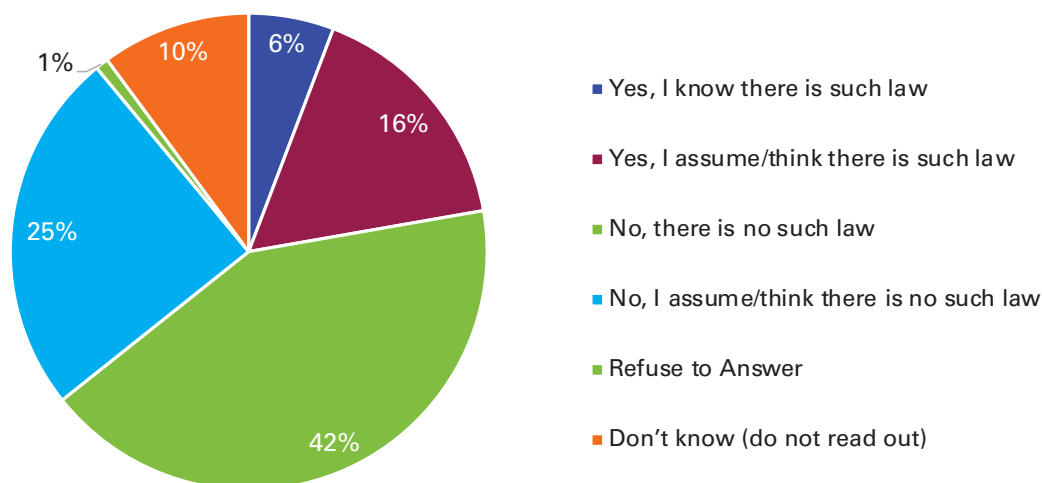


Figure 47: Percentage of respondents that are aware that the law obliges reporting of child labour to the authorities

Finding 3: Most adults do not think it is acceptable for a child to work.

Few respondents reported that it was acceptable for a child under 18 years to work unless they had completed “some level of education” or had completed 16 years of education.

Overall, only 2% of respondents felt that it was acceptable for children under 18 years to start working (1% age ‘15-17’ and 1% ‘14 or under’). Another 9% felt that it was acceptable after a child becomes an adult at 18 years to start working. Most respondents felt that working was only acceptable after some level of education was completed (46%) or after a child has completed 16 years of education (39%).

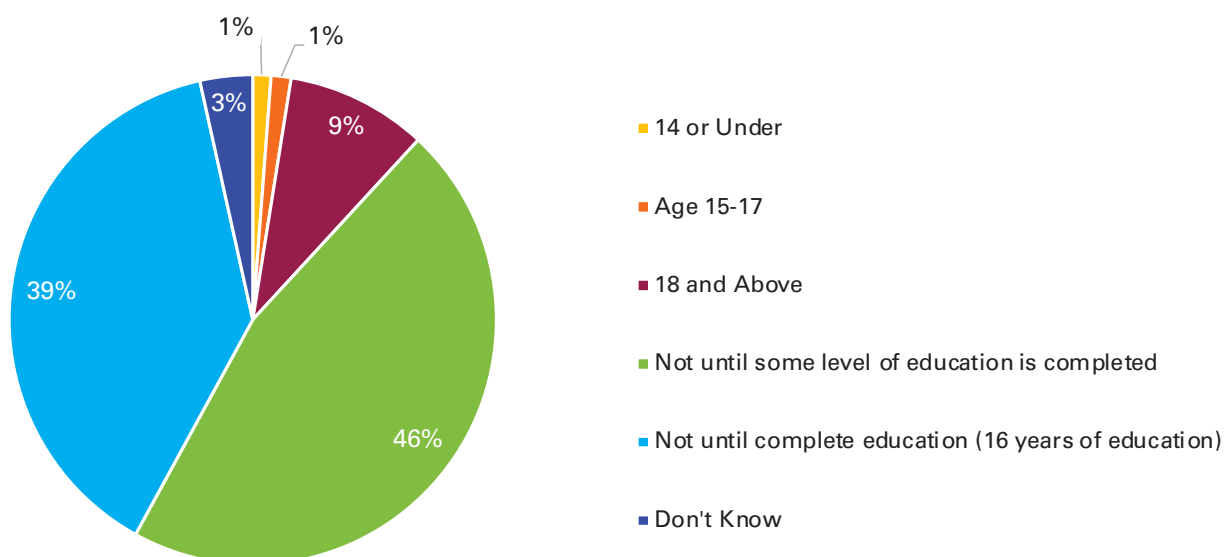


Figure 48: Percentage of respondents that believe it is acceptable for children to work (by age)

Disaggregating the data showed that men were significantly more likely to say that it was acceptable for a young person to work after becoming an adult. Women were significantly more likely to say that working was only acceptable after children had achieved some level of education. Moreover, disaggregating by educational level showed that respondents with no formal education or who had only reading and writing education were significantly more likely to say that working under 18 years was acceptable.

The data also showed that, by province, respondents from Sindh were significantly more likely to say that it was acceptable for children to work after completing 16 years of education.

Finding 4: Adults hold conflicting attitudes about the harmful consequences of child labour.

60% of respondents believe working before age 18 has harmful consequences.

While a 60% majority of respondents reported that working before turn 18 years old has negative consequences, a significant minority of respondents either supported or had ambivalent views about child labour: 6% felt that child labour had positive consequences; 11% felt that there were neither positive nor negative consequences; 17% felt that there were both positive and negative consequences; and 4% did not know whether the consequences were positive or negative.

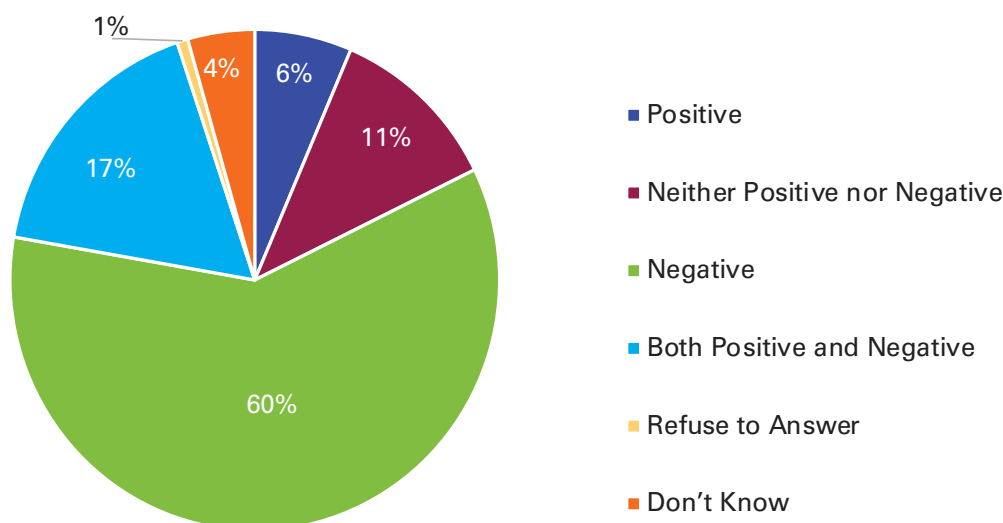


Figure 49: Percentage of respondents that believe working before age 18 has negative/positive consequences

By gender, women were significantly more likely to feel that there were both positive and negative consequences to child labour, as well as to report that they did not know whether there were positive or negative consequences.

The disaggregation by level of urban development and province also showed that respondents from villages were significantly more likely than those from cities to feel that working under 18 was acceptable. By provinces and territories, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan and Islamabad were also significantly more likely than others to say that working under 18 years was acceptable.

Most respondents had low awareness about what constitutes child labour.

Overall, the data showed that most respondents did not consider common forms of child labour to constitute child labour. Furthermore, no category exceeded 50% agreement, which suggests that respondents have limited awareness about what is constitutes child labour.

- **46% of respondents agreed that children under the age of 12 working in any economic activities are engaged in child labour**

An average of 46% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 42% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 12% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **45% of respondents agreed that child supporting parents in household chores are engaged in child labour**

An average of 45% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 39% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 15% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **43% of respondents agreed that child under 15 working in a shop not owned by family are engaged in child labour**

An average of 43% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 47% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 10% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **40% of respondents agreed that children working in a farm to support family are engaged in child labour**

An average of 40% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 44% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 15% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **39% of respondents agreed that the children under 18 working in hazardous conditions such as heights, using dangerous tools, extreme heat/cold, fumes/dust etc. are engaged in child labour**

An average of 39% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 46% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 35% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **38% of respondents agreed that children under 15 selling things on the streets are engaged in child labour**

An average of 38% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 45% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 16% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **38% of respondents agreed children under 18 years working as domestic workers at private houses or offices and not going to school are engaged in child labour**

An average of 38% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 48% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 14% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **37% of respondents agreed that children working at a place lifting heavy loads are engaged in child labour**

An average of 37% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 40% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 14% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

- **35% of respondents agreed that child under 15 working in a shop owned by his/her family are engaged in child labour**

An average of 35% of respondents agreed that this is a form of child labour; 43% of respondents disagreed that this is child labour; 21% were neutral on whether this is a form of child labour.

By gender, men and women were about as likely to have similar knowledge about what is child labour. Women were more likely to say that a child working under the age of 12 years is engaged in child labour. However, men were slightly more likely to say that certain forms of labour were child labour, such as working on a farm and working in a shop not owned by family. This indicates that men may have a slightly higher level of knowledge about what exactly child labour can entail.

By provinces and territories, respondents from Punjab, Gilgit-Baltistan and Islamabad were much more likely to say that working under 12 years in any economic activity is a form of child labour and respondents from these areas were also more likely to cite forms of labour as child labour. This suggests that respondents from these areas may have a slightly higher level of awareness about what constitutes child labour, although knowledge overall remained low.

Finding 5: Adults do not think that child labour should be reported because it is a family's private matter.

49% of respondents believe people should not report incidents of child labour to the authorities.

More respondents felt that incidents of child labour should not be reported to the authorities than felt that it should: 49% of respondents did not think that incidents should be reported; 35% felt that it should be reported; 11% did not know whether people should report incidents of child labour.

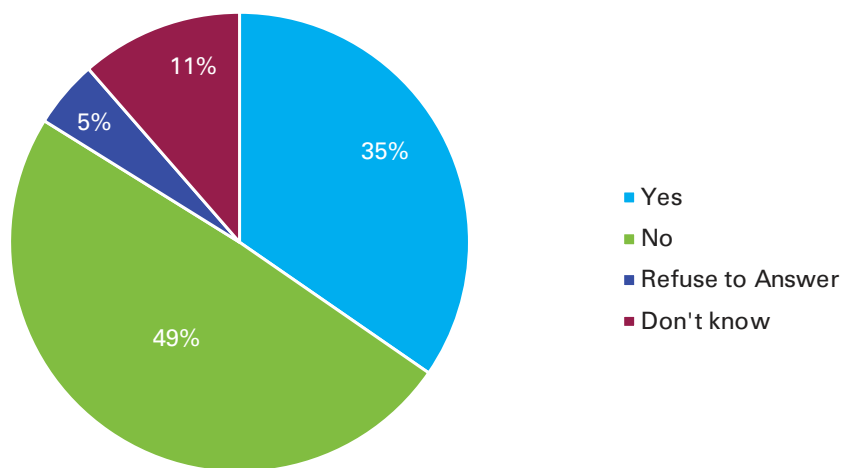


Figure 50: Percentage of respondents that believe people should report incidents of child labour to the authorities

Half of adults report family's internal affairs as a barrier to reporting child labour.

Of the respondents who felt that incidents of child labour should not be reported to authorities, nearly half (49%) cited a family's internal affairs as a barrier to reporting. The other half cited fear of retribution (23%) and lack of trust in authorities (34%) as the main barriers to reporting. Another 14% said that they did not know how to report; 4% said that they did not know the barrier to their lack of reporting.

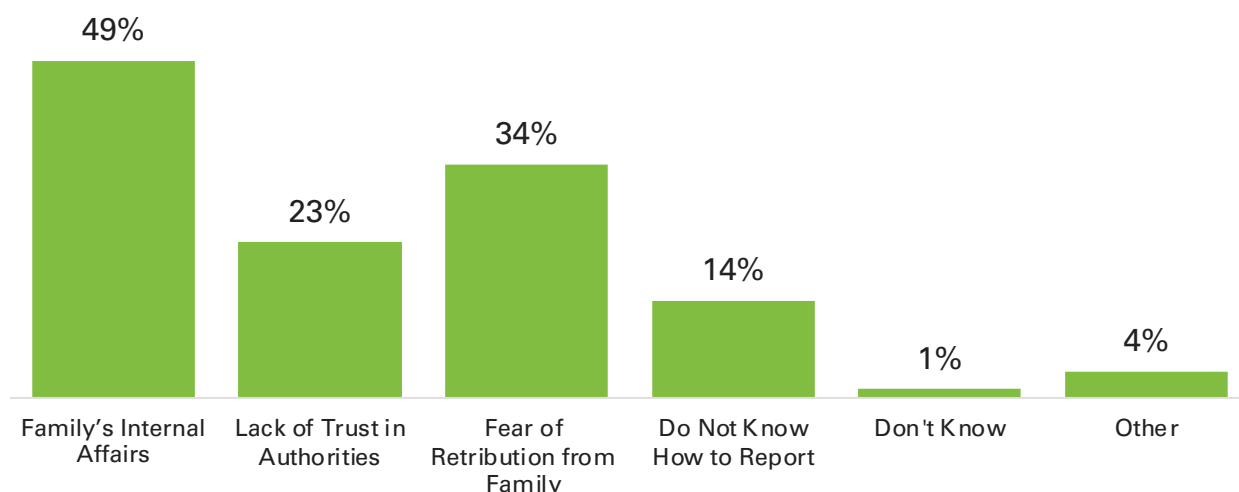


Figure 51: Percentage of respondents that name barriers to reporting

By gender, women were much more likely than men to cite a family's internal affairs, while men were more likely to cite a lack of trust in authorities.

Furthermore, the disaggregated data showed significant variation in attitudes by province. Respondents in Punjab (58%) and Azad Jammu Kashmir (59%) were significantly more likely to cite a family's internal affairs, while respondents from Baluchistan (42%) were significantly more likely to cite a fear of retribution as barriers to reporting. This indicates that social norms around family decision-making and respondents' fear could be major factor in whether respondents confront early employment of children.

In focus group discussions, for example, respondents expressed wariness about reporting child labour to authorities because they did not wish to meddle in a family's internal affairs, particularly if they perceived the decision to for a child to work to be motivated by financial scarcity. One man from Islamabad, for instance, told the enumerator that in some areas of the city child are working:

“Some are holding wipers in their hands at traffic signal stops, cleaning the car windows’ glass. This is not considered a very decent thing to do but it is something that relates to people’s private lives. We never know what they are going through. God knows or they know.”

This anecdote shows that while onlookers may disapprove, they are wary to intervene because they, first, do not want to meddle in someone’s private life and, second, because they recognise early employment to be a symptom of a family’s economic scarcity. Confronting a child or parent, thus, would not address the environmental determinants that informed the decision to employ a child.

Respondents also expressed that they feared retribution. A man from Azad Jammu Kashmir explained that that *“also happens [that] if you try to do something good, you will become a bad person”* The man recounted that he encountered a young child of about 8 years who *“was holding a garbage bag and... was shivering due to cold and was sitting in one place and crying.”* He sat with the boy and asked what happened.

The child explained that *“his family told him to collect garbage and bring 50 rupees in the evening and then come home.”* The man then took the boy home, warmed him and gave him tea and 50 rupees, and told him to come by daily for 50 rupees and a cup of tea.

A few days later, the boy’s father showed up to the man’s house with a group of other men and *“asked me to come out and asked me why his son comes to my home daily.”* The man replied:

“I am bringing him here. It is cold outside, and he is barefoot, and he shivers in cold that’s why I bring him here. He said you also give him Rs. 50. I said yes. He collected 4 or 5 men and established an assembly [Jirga]... I was so ashamed, I got stuck and I told him to forgive me, I will not do this again take him with you.”

This anecdote shows that both a fear of and a mistrust in others can be a determinant in the decision to confront parents about their decision to make a child work. In this story, the man expressed that he was both ashamed and insinuated that he was fearful of the group of men who *“asked me to come out.”* This fear and mistrust in others, indeed the possibility of experiencing a violent response from others, can be strong deterrents that inform respondents’ attitudes about reporting and addressing early employment.

Finding 6: Most adults think that child labour is necessary for the survival of some families.

Most adults think that child labour should be stopped but accept that it is necessary for some children to economically support their families.

These above findings show that respondents have negative attitudes about child employment. Most respondents agreed child labour may be necessary for the survival of some families and most also said that child labour should be stopped in their community. Furthermore, most respondents said that children should only work after completing their education. This suggests that while respondents may have negative attitudes overall about child labour, they can justify it if they see that it allows a family to survive.

- **67% of respondents agreed with the statement: Child labour is necessary for the survival of some families**

An average of 31% of respondents strongly agreed; 36% somewhat agreed; 17% were neutral; 9% somewhat disagreed; 8% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

- **61% of respondents agreed with the statement: We should stop child labour in this community**

An average of 36% of respondents strongly agreed; 25% somewhat agreed; 17% were neutral; 12% somewhat disagreed; 7% strongly disagreed; and 2% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

The data disaggregation showed that respondents' attitudes varied across provinces and territories. Those from Azad Jammu Kashmir were significantly more likely to say that child labour is necessary for the survival of some families. Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan were significantly more likely to say that both girls and boys are better prepared for adult life by working, while respondents from Baluchistan were significantly less likely to agree with this statement about children of either gender.

- **58% of respondents agreed with the statement: Neither boys nor girls should work until they have finished their education**

An average of 35% of respondents strongly agreed; 23% somewhat agreed; 20% were neutral; 12% somewhat disagreed; 9% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

- **55% of the respondents agreed with the statement: Children are more obedient and easier to manage/control as employees than adults**

An average of 25% of respondents strongly agreed; 30% somewhat agreed; 20% were neutral; 14% somewhat disagreed; 10% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

- **55% of respondents agreed with the statement: Children are better suited/more skilled than adults for some tasks/work (e.g., cotton picking, carpet weaving)**

An average of 20% of respondents strongly agreed; 25% somewhat agreed; 21% were neutral; 14% somewhat disagreed; 17% strongly disagreed; and 2% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

- **47% of respondents agreed with the statement: It is ok boys to work, but it is bad when girls work**

An average of 23% of respondents strongly agreed; 24% somewhat agreed; 15% were neutral; 15% somewhat disagreed; 21% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

- **44% of respondents agreed with the statement: Girls are better prepared for adult life by sending them to work than by completing their education**

An average of 19% of respondents strongly agreed; 25% somewhat agreed; 18% were neutral; 18% somewhat disagreed; 18% strongly disagreed; and 2% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

- **44% of respondents agreed with the statement: Boys are better prepared for adult life by sending them to work than by completing their education**

An average of 19% of respondents strongly agreed; 25% somewhat agreed; 21% were neutral; 17% somewhat disagreed; 17% strongly disagreed; and 2% did not know whether they were supportive of a child working in this situation.

Within the interviews, the discussants emphasised that they justified early employment not because they agreed with it, but because they recognised that a family's livelihood depended on it. Several respondents expressed that they felt that employers were at fault for employing children. One Baloch man, for instance, responded that "A 10-year-old girl is not sensible, but the rich family should have some sense" when asked about the acceptability of a young girl working.

He and others also argued that a family's decision is not motivated by personal sentiment but by economic forces that conspire to place some families in economically precarious positions. Consequently, they were able to justify early employment by contextualising the behaviour economically.

While many adults held attitudes that were accepting of child labour if it enabled the economic survival of family, many people also had negative perceptions, indeed misconceptions, about child who work. In particular, the concept of a child's greed—and in particular about how working can make a child greedy—emerged from the data. For instance, one man from Islamabad said, that “[children] have greed for money and they are in a tender age.” Another man from Islamabad said that working nurtures in children “greed and nothing else”; while a third women from Punjab said that she thought children would be happier working than going to school. She said, “I think he must be happy that I don’t even have to go to school and getting the tip, I think he feel good.” These findings indicate that people can hold both accepting and stigmatising attitudes about children who work and that these misconceptions can fuel stigmas about poverty.

Finding 7: Most children who work are male.

Very few of the respondents reported that children in the respondents’ household have worked or are currently working.

While a large majority of respondents (92%) reported that no children under 18 years in their household have ever or are currently working, a noteworthy minority of respondents either said yes (3%), refused to answer (3%), or said that they did not know (2%). To date, it is not possible to triangulate this finding with national prevalence data, as provincial labour surveys that measure the incidence of child labour are currently in progress.

However, the finding that only 3% said that children were working could suggest, as the field enumerators observed in their field report that respondents were hesitant to speak openly about child labour in their families. It also suggests that there could be a significant amount of stigma associated with child labour, in part because it indicates that a parent or caregiver was not able to economically support their family.

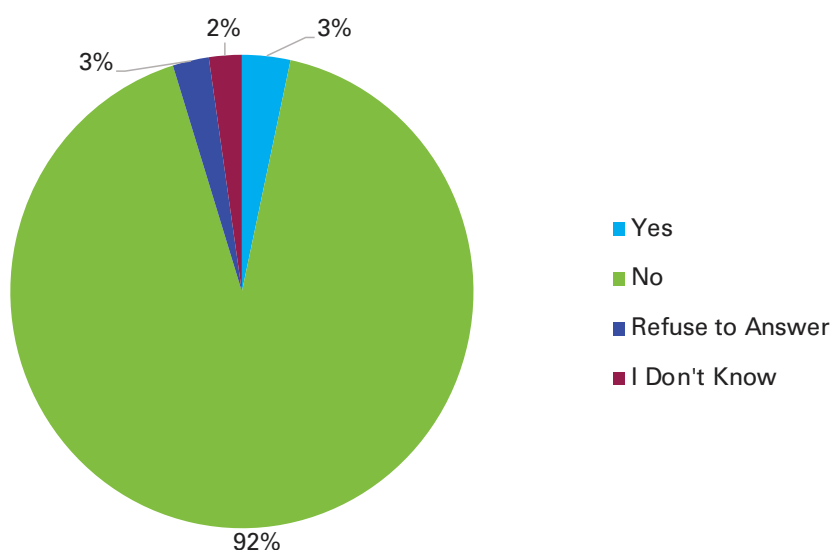


Figure 52: Percentage of respondents that report children in the household are working

Of the people (N=84) who reported that a child in their household had worked or was working, 86% of respondents said that the child working was male; 8% said the child was female; 6% said that the child workers were both male and female. Furthermore, the spread of child workers’ ages generally followed a bell curve: 4% of respondents aged 10; 4% were aged 11; 8% were aged 12; 14% were age 14; 32% were age 15; 15% were age 16; 5% were age 17; 2% were age 18; and 1% were aged 19.

Finding 8: Women in the household have a limited role in deciding whether a child works.

Many of the respondents that report that fathers are the main decision maker within the family for child labour.

Most respondents reported either that fathers (43%) or both parents (37%) were the most responsible for deciding when a child works. A minority (13%) of respondents said that mothers were most responsible; 2% of respondents said that grandparents and brothers were most responsible; and only 1% said that the child would be most responsible. Significance tests and demographic disaggregation would not show representative data for such a small sample size.

In focus group discussions, only a few respondents indicated that their children were employed. Many respondents went to lengths to explain how they would prevent their children from working. This latter point suggests that early employment is a stigmatised topic, as it shows that a parent is not able to financially support their family.

Of the respondents who said that their young children were employed, they unanimously said that the “parents decide” when and how a child works. One man, whose 7-year old son worked in their family shop, explained that the child attended school during the day and worked in the shop in the evening. This arrangement was not ideal, he said, but he felt that he had few other options to keep his family and store afloat.

KAP Findings Among Children

Children’s knowledge, attitudes, and practices of child labour were assessed by means of close ended questions in a quantitative household survey, with semi-structured in-depth interviews with children across the country.

Importantly, the KAP survey does not—nor is intended to—measure prevalence of an issue. To date, there are provincial child labour surveys being conducted in Pakistan, and these surveys will measure the prevalence of child labour across Pakistan. Rather, this KAP survey was conducted with children between 14-17 years old in order to measure their understanding, misunderstanding, and behaviour around child labour in order to establish baseline reference value for use in future assessments and to measure the effectiveness of programme activities.

Finding 1: Most children do not know whether child labour is legal.

A significant majority of children (60%) reported that there is no such law that prohibits child labour, with a significant segment (27%) reporting they ‘don’t’ know’ if such law exists. 11% of children reported that they did know of the law. Girls (37%) were significantly more likely to report that they ‘don’t know’ compared to boys (15%).

Child’s education level is also a significant factor in determining whether they know such a law exists or not, as children with no education were significantly more likely to report that they ‘don’t know’ if such a law exist.

There were no significant differences found across the provinces, as most of the children across the provinces report that no such law exists that prohibits child labour.

Finding 2: Most children said that their parents or caregivers had never spoken to them about working for money.

Majority of children reported that their parents or caregivers had never spoken to them about starting work for money.

A significant majority of children (88%) reported that their parents or caregivers have never spoken to them about starting to work for money. Out of the small proportion of 10% children who reported that their parents or caregivers have spoken to them about work for money, boys (17%) were significantly more likely to report that their parents have spoken to them about work for money as compared to the girls (3%).

This finding could suggest that there is more pressure on male children of the families to support the family

financially and to work outside of the home. Girls are more likely to work in domestic labour, which can often be unpaid. Therefore, this finding merely suggests that boys may be more likely to experience pressure to work outside of the home for money, but it does not indicate that boys are more likely than girls to experience pressure to work.

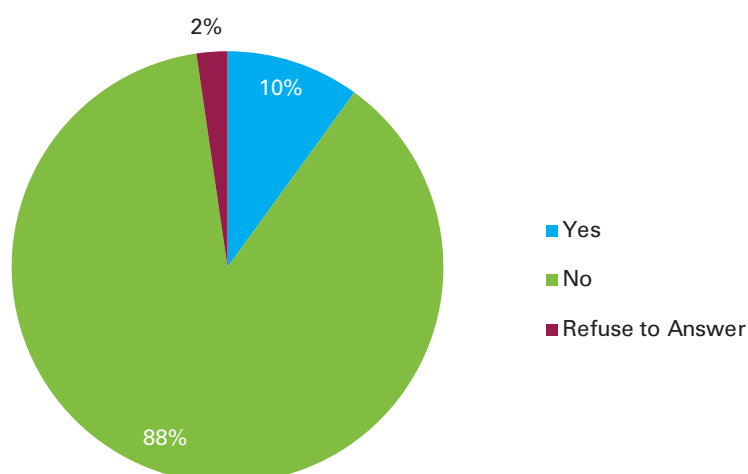


Figure 53: Percentage of respondents who report that their parents or caregivers have spoken to them about starting work for money

By province, children from Punjab and Baluchistan were much more likely to say that their parents or caregivers had spoken with them about starting to work for money. This finding was surprising as Punjab and Baluchistan are popularly considered to have different cultures. Punjab is considered to have a more liberal civil society, while Baluchistan is considered to have a more conservative and traditional civil society.

The interpretation of this finding is limited, as the survey did not cover what the conversation entailed. Thus, it is not possible to definitively interpret the findings. However, a potential interpretation could be the possibility that parents and caregivers from both of these provinces are more likely to talk about children in the family working for money, e.g., to discuss the logistics and to consider and plan for this occurrence.

These provincial interpretations are speculative and as there is, to date, limited data on the actual incidence of child labour in Pakistan while each Child Labour Survey⁸³, conducted by province, is finalised. This survey will enable further interpretation and triangulation of this finding.

Finding 3: Children consider child labour to most negatively affect their education.

53% of children believe it is bad for a child under 18 to work for money outside of their own home.

Most children (53%) believe that it is bad for a child under 18 to work for money outside of their own home. Girls, as compared to boys, were significantly more likely to say that it is bad.

However, almost 16% of children believed it is 'both good and bad, whereas an additional 14% of children believe that it is 'neither good nor bad. This shows that there is still a significant size of the population that does not completely disapprove of children under 18 working outside of their own homes.

83. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Child Labour Survey in Pakistan. <https://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/cls-progress>

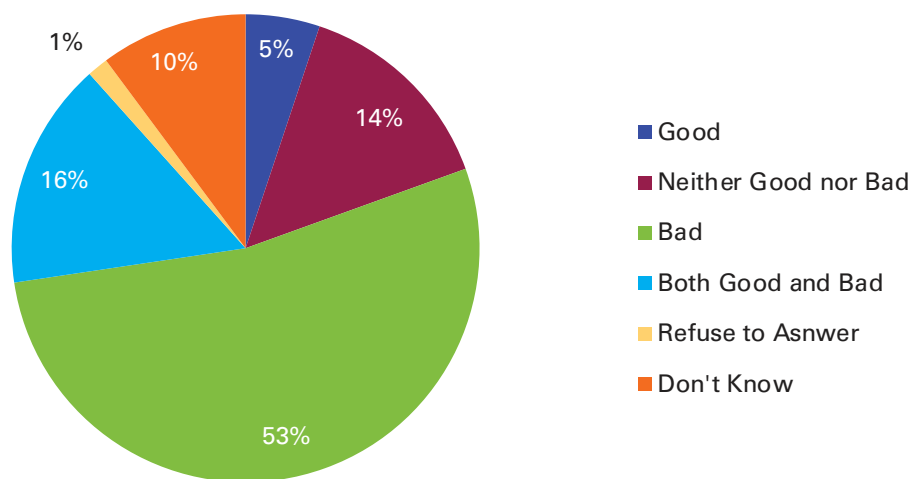


Figure 54: Percentage of respondents who believe it is bad for a child under 18 to work for money outside of their own home

Many children consider child labour to negatively affect their ability to attend school and many children say that they feel inferior to others.

Almost half of the children who believe working outside is bad mentioned a 'negative impact on education as one of the major negative consequences of working at childhood age. This indicates that when children are aware of child labour's impact, they are most familiar with its consequences on their lives. Furthermore, over 1 in 3 children said that child labour made them feel inferior due to the inability to attend school, which suggests that working children likely face stigmatised attitudes about poverty that contribute them feeling inferior, ashamed and socially excluded.

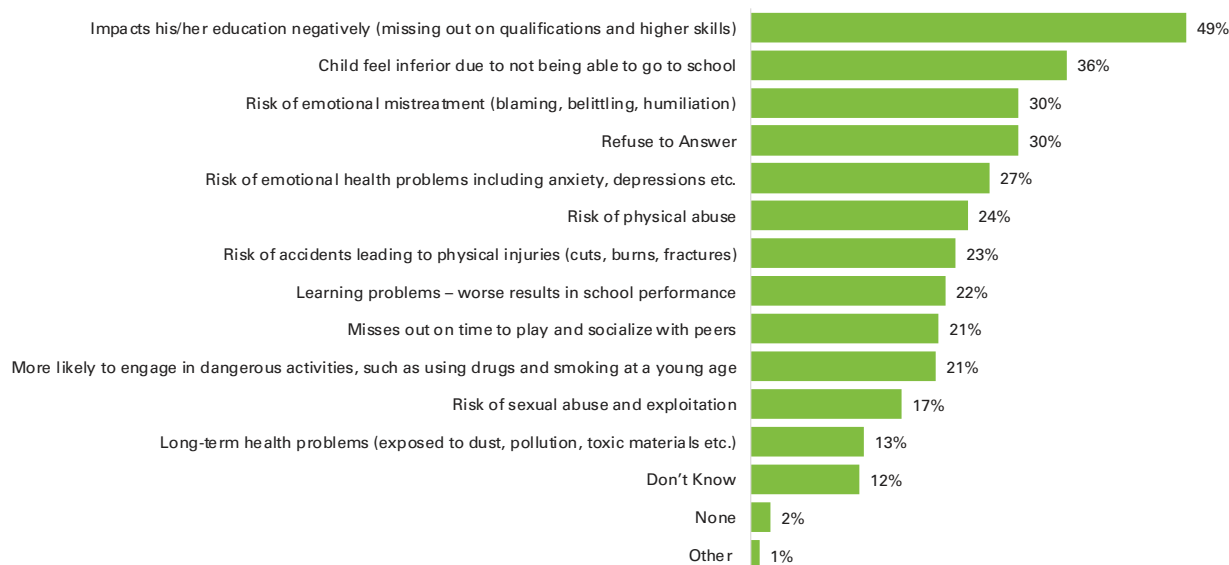


Figure 55: Percentage of respondents reporting bad or negative aspects of working outside of their own home

By gender, boys and girls beliefs did not differ greatly. However, boys were more likely than girls to say that child labour can contribute to learning problems, can make children more likely to engage in other forms of risky behaviours, and carries the risk of physical abuse. This difference in knowledge likely reflects the fact that boys are more likely than girls to be engaged in work outside of the home and thus increases their awareness about its risks.

By province, children from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were more likely to know about specific risks of child labour. In particular, they were more likely to say that child labour impacts a child's education, carries a risk of physical abuse and risks to emotional health. Children from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan were both more likely than children from other areas to say that child labour carries a risk of accidents.

Whereas, children from Gilgit-Baltistan and Islamabad more likely to say that child labour causes a child to miss out on valuable time to socialise with peers.

Finding 4: Most children do not believe that child labour should be reported because it is a private matter.

Majority of the children indicated that they either should not or did not know whether people in their community should report cases of child labour to the authorities.

Only 25% of the children reported that people should report cases of child labour to the authorities, whereas an overwhelming majority (71%) either said 'No' or 'Don't know'. Girls, as compared to boys, were significantly more likely to say, 'don't know'. There were no significant differences across the provinces as most of the children across these provinces said that people should not report, except in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where only 26% reported that people should not report, whereas 31% of children reported that they 'don't know' and 38% reported that people should report cases of child labour.

The primary reason mentioned by children for why people should not report is 'Family's internal matter' (46%), suggesting both an unawareness of the negative effects of child labour at the community and societal level and an indication of the social and familial repercussions of reporting child labour. In addition, around 15% of the children also report that 'it is normal or okay for children to work' and hence people should not report the cases of child labour to the authorities.

Within in-depth interviews, children emphasised the familial motivations as justification for early employment, and indeed a barrier to reporting their employment to authorities. They emphasised the financial burden that children's labour helped to alleviate and the ways that their labour was crucial to a family's survival. One girl, for instance, said:

"My Father do drugs and doesn't earn anything, so I need to take care of family responsibilities. I need to pay off my brother fees too, so I want to earn money and help my mom."

While this is an extreme example for the motivations behind child employment, it nonetheless both exhibits the precariousness of the family's survival and suggests why people may be wary of intervening on a family's internal matter. The girl's employment was not necessarily her preference, but her family's survival necessitated her employment. Intervening on her employment simply by reporting her decision to work, rather than addressing the root causes of her employment, could have consequences that perpetuate her family's financial poverty further.

Finding 5: Most children justify child labour if it helps to support their family.

The results show an accepting attitude of children towards child labour when required to support their family financially. Moreover, the data indicated that children were more accepting of the boys working as compared to the girls. This reflects gender norms in Pakistan, where it is more accepting of boys to work outside of the house and provide for the family.

- **71% of children agreed with the statement: "I will work to support my family if needed, even if it requires me to leave school/education"**

On average, 71% of children agreed with the statement, 20% disagreed, 4% refused, and 5% said 'don't know'.

- **67% of children agreed with the statement: "Neither boys nor girls should work unless they complete their education at least until intermediate level/2nd year college"**

On average, 67% of children agreed with the statement, 24% disagreed, 4% refused, and 5% said 'don't know'.

- **63% of children agreed with the statement: "We should stop child labour in this community"**

On average, 63% of children agreed with the statement, 27% disagreed, 6% refused, and 4% said 'don't know'.

- **63% of children agreed with the statement: "Sometimes it is necessary for a child to work to support family financially"**

On average, 63% of children agreed with the statement, 26% disagreed, 6% refused, and 5% said 'don't know'.

- **55% of children agreed with the statement: "It is ok for boys to work, but it is bad when girls work"**

On average, 55% of children agreed with the statement, 37% disagreed, 4% refused, and 4% said 'don't know'. A significantly higher proportion of boys (52%), compared to girls (43%), agreed with this statement.

- **47% of children agreed with the statement: "There is a lot of child labour in my community"**

On average, 47% of children agreed with the statement, 42% disagreed, 6% refused, and 7% said 'don't know'.

- **40% of children agreed with the statement: "Children can do all the work that adults can do"**

On average, 40% of children agreed with the statement, 51% disagreed, 4% refused, and 5% said 'don't know'.

- **25% of children agreed with the statement: "It is ok for girls to work, but it is bad when boys work"**

On average, 25% of children agreed with the statement, 66% disagreed, 4% refused, and 5% said 'don't know'.

This accepting attitude was similarly echoed in interviews with children, who expressed that early employment was justifiable if it supported their family. A girl from Quetta told the enumerators both that she embroiders dupattas, for which she earns about 900-1000 Rupees (about 13 USD) per piece, and that *"I have been doing this [for] 3 years,"* since she was 11 years old. She continued,

"I feel that working and being paid helps in sharing the financial burden of our parents."

She feels her work will inspire her younger siblings *"to work hard and eventually contribute to the household."*

Her comments show that she considers her work to be beneficial at two levels: First, her comments expressed that she sees her work as important to supporting her family financially. Second, however, she also expressed that she finds her work socially satisfying because she can model behaviours and beliefs, e.g., hard work and industriousness, that she wants her younger siblings to adopt.

Finding 6: Most children who worked were working for pay or money.

Most children who worked reported that they worked for their family.

Overall, 11% of the children reported that they worked outside of their household in the past few months, whereas a significant majority of 86% reported that they did not work outside. 59% of children who worked were working for pay or money.

In terms of gender differences, out of those who reported to have worked outside of their house, 89% were boys, therefore boys are significantly more likely to have worked outside of their house as compared to the girls, which reflects the traditional gender roles in Pakistani society where women are expected to stay at home and boys have more responsibilities that require leaving the house.

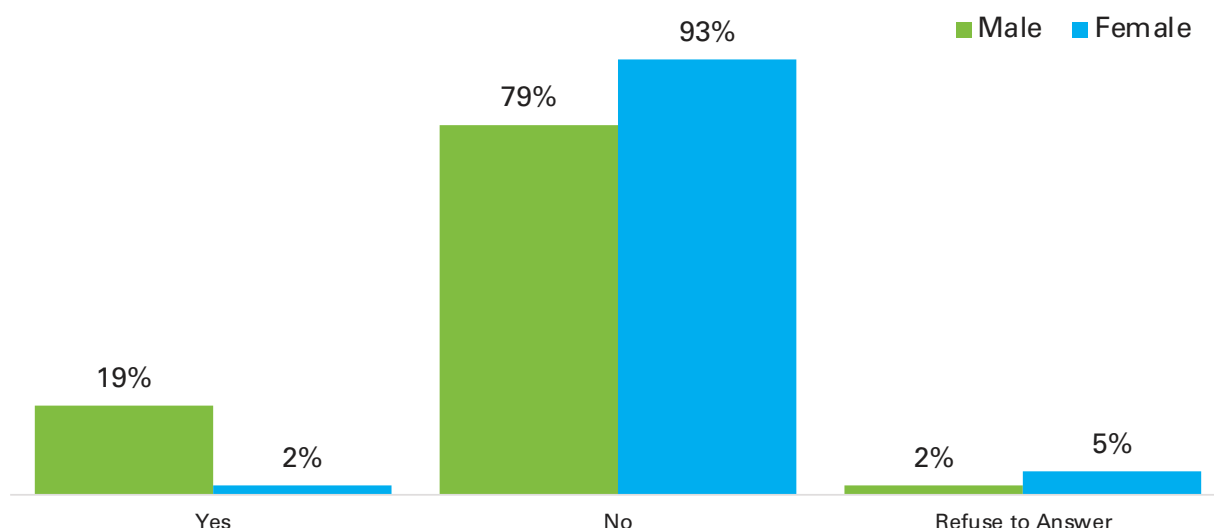


Figure 56: Percentage of respondents who report to have worked outside of their house in the past few months

Logically, the children with higher education level are significantly more likely to report that they haven't worked outside of their house, indicating the fact that the students who do not go to school or have either dropped out are more likely to join the workforce at a very young age.

Children in Baluchistan (21%), Punjab (16%) and Sindh (12%) are significantly more likely to report to have worked outside as compared children of the other provinces. A noteworthy finding is from Gilgit Baltistan, where no child reported to have worked outside of their house in the past few weeks.

Amongst the children who report to have worked outside of their house, a significant majority of 59% stated to have worked for pay or money, whereas the rest did not work for money. Boys (61%) are significantly more likely to have worked for pay or money as compared to the girls (43%), reflecting the gender roles in Pakistan where male members of the family are considered breadwinners for the family.

Even though children in Baluchistan were significantly more likely to report to have worked outside of their household, they are significantly less likely to work for pay or money as compared to children of other provinces, as majority of those working outside of their house in Baluchistan (69%) reported that they did not work for money or pay. A significant majority of working children in all the other provinces reported to have worked for pay or money.

This non-paid work by children in Baluchistan is partly explained by the type of work they do, as a sizeable proportion (44%) of working children in Baluchistan reported that they worked to 'help their family in a shop/farm'. Overall, most of the children (66%) who worked outside of their home report to have either worked 'to help family in a shop or a farm' (34%) or 'work in a shop/store/restaurant not owned by family' (32%). Other prominent work types mentioned by children include 'Working as domestic worker' (18%), 'work at a factory' (18%) and 'work in a garage/workshop' (14%).



Figure 57: Percentage of respondents reporting the type of work they did outside their house

Gender disaggregation reflected the gender norms in Pakistan, as a significantly higher proportion of boys reported working in shops/farms/stores owned by family or by others, whereas significantly higher proportion of girls reported working as a domestic worker.

Finding 7: Of the children who have worked, about half are working in hazardous environments.

Very few children reported that a child under 18 in their household has worked or is currently working.

On average, 9% of children reported that a child under 18 has worked or is currently working in their household, whereas 3% 'refused to answer' and 5% said 'don't know'. Boys are significantly more likely to say 'yes' as compared to the girls, which aligns with the results when asked about the gender of the working child as an overwhelming majority of the children (91%) report that only male children under 18 in their household worked or is currently working. Male children are disproportionately more likely to be part of the labour force at a very young age, as amongst other factors, sending female children outside of the house for work is perceived to bring shame and dishonour to the family.

Within in-depth interviews, children echoed these sentiments about honour and the role of boys and men to work outside the home in comparison to women. A girl from Quetta explained that

"Boys... can go outside and do external work, girls can only do work that is done from within their homes because they do not have the permission to go outside."

She further explained that: *"The younger boys can do small jobs like keep a vending cart while the older boys can do more labours work. They start from as young as 12 or 13."*

While the respondent did not express that anyone in her household was working, her point is important because it reveals how moral beliefs about the role of women are incorporated into social norms about their workforce participation. In particular, the beliefs that people hold about bringing honour to their families inform how they conceptualise work and whose work counts as labour participation. This is important because girls' labour is often less publicly visible, which can make it more difficult to address through program and policy initiatives.

Regarding the age when the children started working, most of the children (64%) reported 16-14 years, which is the legal age to start working in a non-hazardous environment in all the provinces of Pakistan. However, around 26% also reported that children in their household started working between the age of 7% .13-11 reported that children in their household started working at age 10 or younger.

Proportionally, among children who worked, the largest group reported that their labour involved working in a risky environment.

The children that worked outside of their house, a significant proportion (47%) reported that their work involved lifting heavy loads. This is partly explained by the type of work these children did as most of them were involved in working at a shop, restaurants or a garage that sometimes require lifting heavy loads.

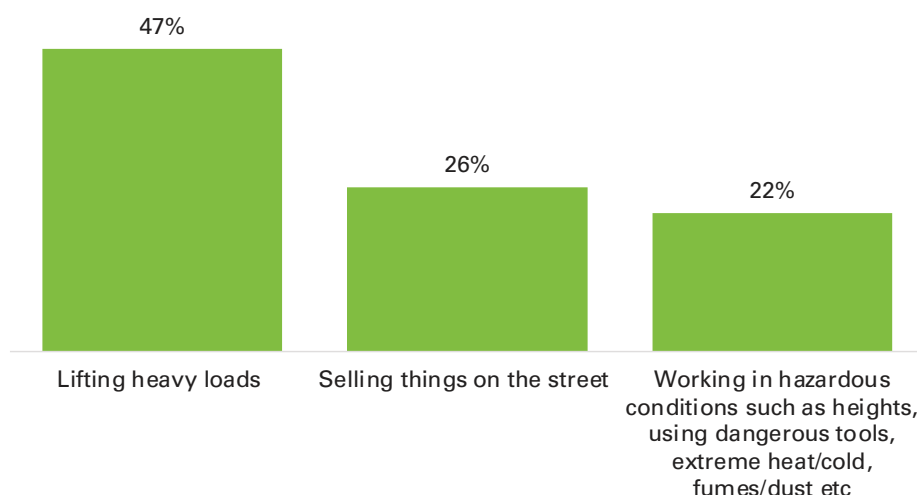


Figure 58: Percentage of respondents reporting that their labour involved working in a risky environment

By province, children in Baluchistan were more likely to report their work involving lifting heavy loads, as they were also more likely to report working at a factory.

Finding 8: Boys receive more family pressure to work outside of the home.

Most children said that fathers were the main people responsible for deciding whether children work.

In terms of the primary decision-maker regarding the children to work outside of their home, most of the children (40%) said that their 'father' or 'both parents' (31%) were the most responsible for deciding that the child work, which indicates that the male head of the household is mostly responsible for deciding that the child/ren work outside of their own home.

On average, only 11% of the children said that their mother was the one most responsible for making this decision. An interesting finding here is that female children are more likely to say that they decided 'themselves' to work as compared to the boys, which indicates a more family pressure on boys to work as compared to the girls.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Align existing conditional cash transfer programmes with resilience-focused financial health and literacy interventions.

The findings of this study indicate that children who work primarily enter the labour market due to poverty and their family's poor financial health. Ending child labour therefore requires a multi-pronged approach to the economic and environmental factors that influence whether a child enters the workforce, as financial programmes alone are not enough. This is evidenced by a report by the Gilgit-Baltistan Planning and Development Department, which shows the percentage of children in child labour belong to households receiving BISP (The Benazir Income Support Programme, launched by the government of Pakistan in 2008) (25.3%) is higher than the percentage of children not in child labour belonging to households receiving it (18.8%). Future social and behavioural change interventions require holistic approaches that could align with existing programmes, e.g., conditional cash transfer schemes, by building on the insight that financial health and financial literacy are the main determinants of a child's entry into the labour force.

To do this, UNICEF Pakistan could collaborate develop financial literacy programming that focuses on building the skillset of women and adolescents. The programming could exist in collaboration with organisations like the World Bank, Grameen Foundation, and FINCA, a micro-finance bank in Pakistan, to develop financial inclusion and literacy programming among adolescents and women. This type of response would incorporate a behaviourally-grounded and systems-oriented interventions to promote the long-term financial of adolescents and women and to address root causes of early employment.

There is evidence that financial inclusion programmes benefit people who are highly vulnerable to financial precarity. To develop this type of programme, UNICEF Pakistan could focus on transversal projects with organisations like the World Bank and focus interventions with target populations like women and adolescents. Since 2017, the World Bank has run the Pakistan Financial Inclusion and Infrastructure Project, which focuses on improving market infrastructure; increasing digital payments and financial services; improving access to financial services for micro, small and medium enterprises; and targeting these programmes to increase engagement and uptake among women.

This type of response is important because Pakistan has some of the lowest rates of financial literacy and financial inclusion. Only about 64 million of Pakistan's 221 million have a single or joint bank account. According to the World Bank's 2017 Global Findex Database, about 80% of people in Pakistan do not have a bank account and women are especially unlikely to hold a bank account. This means that most people do not have a savings account, savings with interest or access to financial services. Focusing on financial inclusion and savings among families provides an opportunity to focus on the prevention of child labour because it addresses the root cause of children's employment: their family's financial health.

Recommendation 2: Focus programme efforts on increasing children's access and retention to education and alternative learning opportunities.

The findings of this study indicate that nearly half of children who work are working in hazardous conditions, which carry the risk of injury, illness, and death. Addressing the occupational hazards of children's employment is therefore an important part of the project of reducing child labour. Furthermore, many children's labour conditions preclude them from attending school, often because they do not have time.

Future interventions for UNICEF Pakistan could include transversal projects with employers and the private sector to increase children's access to education and alternative learning opportunities that is adapted to their unique educational needs. Educational interventions, for example, could include focus programming on creating bridges between schools and workplaces. The programmes could include, for instance, employment and training opportunities and flexible learning schedules that are designed to keep children in school for longer and to nudge them to complete their education. At the same time, the programmes would also focus on reaching children who are currently working by offering flexible opportunities for them to re-enrol in school.

This type of programming is important because it attends to the individual social needs of children who are currently working—including children working in hazardous conditions—while connecting them with support and educational services that can help them to exit the cycle of child labour.

Recommendation 3: Focus social norms efforts on addressing social stigma associated with child labour.

An important observation of this study is that discussing child labour is a stigmatised topic for many people and that there is shame attached to financial scarcity and poverty. Many parents feel shame that they are not able to financially provide for their children, and many children feel shame that they are not able to attend school like many other children. This is a very important emotion and experience to address because the stigmas associated with poverty can foster social exclusion and, in fact, perpetuate poverty.⁸⁷

To address the stigmas associated with poverty, UNICEF could develop a multidimensional campaign that promotes empathy toward vulnerable populations. This type of campaign would focus on creating more conducive social environments so that parents in financial poverty and children who work have a positive self-image and are empowered to access help. A campaign could utilise various modalities for disseminating key messages through various traditional and digital channels. For instance, onboarding community leaders to support and reinforce messages around child labour towards the community, and using an edutainment component, such as a radio series that follows the lives of children who work. Such a series would build the public's empathy toward children by enabling them to see how they share similar values and aspirations with the children.

Furthermore, another component of this programming could include a visual communications series that corrects misconceptions about children who work. For instance, this study found that a common misconception is that children who work are “greedier” than children who attend school because children who work are focused on making money. This type of misconception fuels stigmatised beliefs that lead to working children's social exclusion from Pakistani society. Addressing these types of misconceptions is, thus, an important aspect of reducing child labour and protecting and promoting the dignity of children who work.



CHILD MARRIAGE

CHILD MARRIAGE

An early 20th century law known as the Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929 stipulates that the legal age for marriage for girls is 16 and for boys is 18⁸⁴, but this law is rarely enforced. Consequently, child marriage in Pakistan is high—about the 6th highest in the world for girls married before the age of 18 years.⁸⁵ UNICEF reports that 18% of women aged 20-24 years being married before reaching the age of 18.⁸⁶ The country's low rate of birth registration, particularly among girls, contributes to the issue because it is difficult for authorities to verify a girl's age if they suspect that she is underage. Another part of the issue is that many child marriages occur within religious frameworks and outside of civil law. Child marriage is, thus, a sensitive topic because it is closely linked to moral and religious beliefs, and it is a widely accepted social practice.

This study found that the prevalence of child marriage is closely linked to moral and religious beliefs, in which many child marriages occur within religious frameworks outside of civil law. This means that there is more room for religious or textual interpretation about when and how to best marry. This practice contributes to the lack of knowledge about Pakistani legal institutions and marriage, and a generally low level of awareness about the legal age of marriage and the law governing marriages in Pakistan.

Education is also an important factor when analysing child marriage, because leaving school can be both a cause and a consequence of child marriage. Put differently, girls who leave school are more likely to marry as a child, just as child marriage increases their likelihood of leaving school. Research has shown that girls who marry young are less likely to finish their education and are at a higher risk for health complications related to childbirth.⁸⁷ This is further compounded by the low rate of birth registration and is particularly true among girls, as it is difficult for authorities to verify a girl's age if the suspect that she is underage.

There is significant differences and a lack of consensus about the acceptability of child marriage. Most child respondents expressed that the minimum acceptable age for marriage of girls and boys was 18 years. Interestingly, however, their responses about how they perceived their reference networks were split. About 40% of respondents felt that their families would disapprove of child marriage, while about a 26% felt that their families were accepting of it and 20% felt that their families were wholly supportive.

Due to the different social gender norms associated with marriage, men and women have different understandings of the consequences of child marriage. Most adult respondents indicated that child marriage carries harmful consequences for children, in terms of both their health and economic outcomes. In general, adults indicated that the most detrimental health risks for a young child bride and her children were early pregnancy, depression, academic interruptions, social isolation, and poverty. However, women were more likely to cite gender-based violence, depression, and poverty as consequences of child marriage. Whereas men were more likely to cite early pregnancy and health risks for the child.

Family social norms and values surrounding virtue and honour are key determinants as to whether or how a child should marry. Adult respondents from regions with historically high rates of child marriage agree that virtue and honour were factors in the decision to marry a child and that the perception of a child's maturity, or readiness for childbirth, were also considered in the decision. This suggests that people may have diverse beliefs about what constitutes "maturity" and what constitutes as "child," and that these beliefs may not always align with legal definitions operating across the country. Beliefs about honour and morality were especially clear when adult respondents discussed whether and why they would intervene on a marriage of which they did not approve. Respondents in the qualitative surveys shared that they felt that such marriages, even if they disapproved of them, were a private family matter.

Both parents are responsible for deciding when and how their child gets married, with fathers being reported higher than mothers in terms of the decision making around their child. Many children also reported that they 'did not know' whether their families discuss child marriage with them, with discussions about child marriage being a commonplace in just under half of families. This finding is both interesting and concerning because it

84. Government of Pakistan. (1929). The Child Marriage Restraint Act.

85. UN Women. (2020). Costing Study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A Report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

86. UNICEF Pakistan. (2021). Draft Country Programme

87. Nour, N. (2009). Child Marriage: A silent health and human rights issue.

suggests that respondents may not feel comfortable discussing the topic and that they may associate social stigma with child marriage and thus may avoid discussing the topic. This is particularly true for girls as there is a social norm that it is shameful for girls to talk about getting married and that 'good girls' allow their elders to make the decision without their input.⁸⁸

The social, religious, economic, and psychological determinants of child marriage are heavily interwoven, and interventions must accurately understand the knowledge, attitudes, and practices around it' recognizing the complexities around the determinants is crucial towards the elimination child marriage for girls and boys across Pakistan.

The following section presents the findings of the knowledge, attitudes, and practices survey on child marriage that was conducted with adults and children across Pakistan. The research team also conducted significance tests to analyse differences between demographic groups. As such, the quantitative findings present these differences across demographic factors, in particular age, gender, education, province and rural or urban location. Furthermore, the findings are supplemented with qualitative insights from focus group discussions with adults and in-depth interviews with children to analyse social norms and decision-making patterns among adults and children.

Summary of Findings

Adult KAP Findings

Knowledge

- Most adults are aware that child marriage leads to increased health risks for the girl and her child.
- Most adults are not aware about whether there is a law prohibiting child marriage.

Attitudes

- Most respondents think that girls and boys should marry after turning 18 years old, but external social expectations can influence whether, when and how a child marries.
- Children are not actively involved in the decision-making process around their marriage.
- While most respondents believe that child marriage has negative consequences, about half believe that marriage provides important forms of social protection for girls.
- Most people do not think that incidents of child marriage should be reported because it is part a family's internal affairs.
- Nearly all respondents said that boys and girls marry after turning 18 years old.
- Most respondents said that both parents are equally responsible for deciding the marriage of girls and boys..

Child KAP Findings

Knowledge

- Many children consider school interruption and increased responsibility to be negative consequences of child marriage.
- Most children are not aware that there are laws prohibiting child marriage and few children know the minimum legal age for marriage.

Attitudes

- Nearly all children believe that 18 years old is the youngest acceptable age for marriage.
- Boys are more likely to say that child marriage has positive consequences.
- Boys are more likely to say that child marriage should be reported and they are also more likely to say that family is a barrier to reporting.
- Nearly all respondents indicated that girls in their family marry after turning 18 years old.

88. Nour, N. (2009). Child Marriage: A silent health and human rights issue.

KAP Findings Among Adults

Adults' knowledge, attitudes, and practices of child marriage were assessed by means of close ended questions in a quantitative household survey, with semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with adults across the country. The KAP survey questions were formulated to measure understanding, misunderstanding, and behaviour around child marriage to establish baseline reference value for use in future assessments and to measure the effectiveness of programme activities.

Finding 1: Most adults are aware that child marriage leads to increased health risks for the girl and her child.

When asked about the negative consequences of child marriage, 54% of adult participants cited the girls' health risks and her children's health risks.

In response to a multiple answer question about the negative consequences of child marriage, most survey participants (54%) cited girls' health risks and her children's health risks (41%) as salient negative consequences of child marriage. Respondents also cited depression (39%); early pregnancy (39%); academic interruption (33%); gender-based violence (30%); academic isolation (26%); reduced freedom (22%); fewer job opportunities (10%); and poverty (15%) as some of the negative consequences of child marriage. Overall, the data showed that respondents considered the risks of child marriage to primarily be health-related, either physical or psychological, rather than economic.

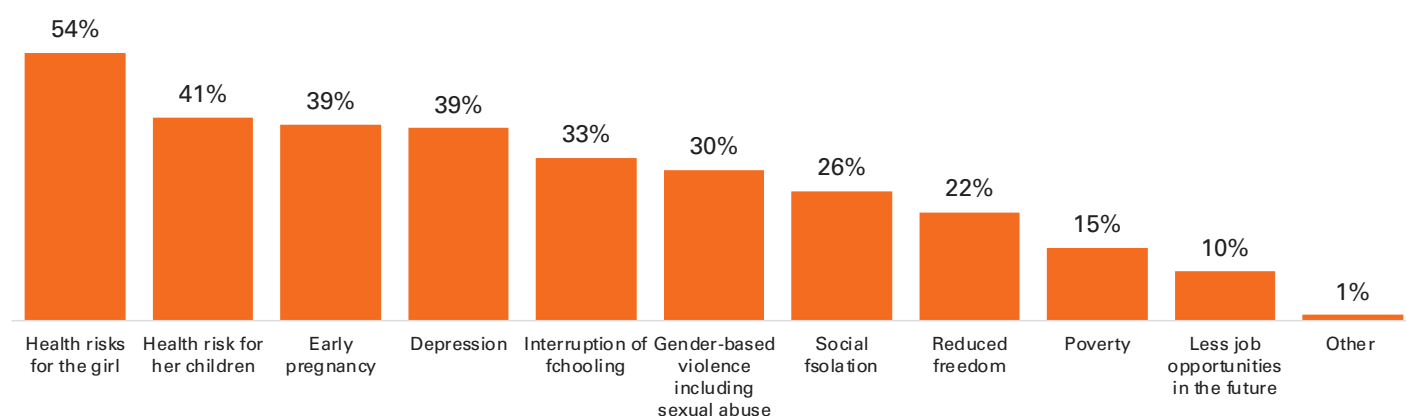


Figure 59: Percentage of respondents that can name negative consequences of child marriage

There were significant differences in awareness between men and women about the negative consequences of child marriage. Women were more likely to cite gender-based violence, depression, and poverty as the main negative consequences, while men were more likely to cite early pregnancy and health risks for the child. This indicates that women have more awareness about the chronic negative consequences for their own health, as well as about the economic effects of child marriage, while men were more aware of the acute negative consequences to health.

By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were more likely to cite early pregnancy, social isolation, academic interruption, and health risks than respondents from other provinces. This is an interesting finding because Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa has the second highest rates of child marriage after Baluchistan⁹³, so this finding suggests that people are aware of negative consequences of child marriage despite—or perhaps because of—its normalcy.

Finding 2: Most adults are not aware about whether there is a law prohibiting child marriage.

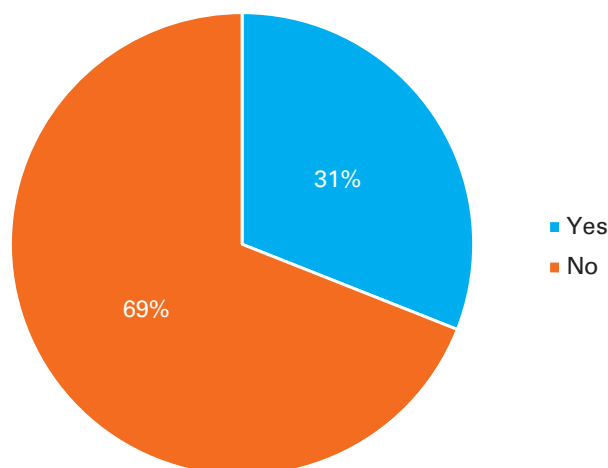


Figure 60: Percentage of respondents that are aware of the law prohibiting marriage of children under 18 years of age

Respondents' knowledge differed by province and by whether they lived in urban or rural areas. People in Punjab were more likely to say that they knew such a law exists while respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan were less likely to say that they knew of such a law. Respondents from rural areas were more likely to say that no such law exists, while those from cities were more likely to say such a law exists.

These findings show that there is low awareness about laws prohibiting child marriage. This could be because there are conflicting legal interpretations the law around child marriage. For example, Global Citizen in 2020 reported that the Federal Shariat Court had ruled against the Child Marriage and Restraint Act that indicates 16 years of age as the minimum age for marriage.⁹⁴ This means that there are at least two conflicting legal interpretations of readiness for marriage, and this legal conflict could contribute to social confusion about the law.

Finding 3: Most respondents think that girls and boys should marry after turning 18 years old, but external social expectations can influence whether, when, and how a child marries.

Nearly all respondents said that it is not acceptance for girls or boys to marry before turning 18 years old.

About 95% of respondents said it is unacceptable for girls to marry before turning 18 years, and 98% of respondents believe it is unacceptable for boys to marry before turning 18 years old. Only a small minority of respondents (5%) felt that girls should get married between the ages of 15-17 years, and only 2% of respondents felt that boys should get married between the ages of 15-17 years. The average also showed that virtually no respondents said that girls or boys should marry below the age of 15 years.

By gender, men (96%) were more likely than women (93%) to say that girls should be married after turning 18 years old, while women (6%) were more likely than men (3%) to say that girls should marry between 15-17 years. Similarly, men were also more likely to say that boys should marry after turning 18 years old, while women were more likely to say 15-17 years.

By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (10%) were more likely to select 15-17 years as an appropriate marriage age for girls, while respondents from Azad Jammu Kashmir (0.3%), Islamabad (2%), Punjab (4%), Gilgit-Baltistan (4%), Sindh (7%), and Islamabad (2%) were less likely. For boys, there was no significant variation by province.

Moreover, respondents from rural areas were also more likely to select younger ages for both boys and girls to marry.

These findings suggest that there is a discrepancy between respondents' conditional preferences, i.e., what they think should be done, and their unconditional preferences, i.e., what they do. The findings here would suggest that very few people think that marrying before turning 18 years is acceptable, which is supported by the 2017-2018 Demographic Health Survey which reports that the average age for urban women to be married is 21.3 years, and 19.8 years among rural women.⁹⁵

One of the social expectations that parents expressed frequently in focus group discussions was the social and moral responsibility to marry their children.

For example, one woman from Peshawar said:

"It is our responsibility to marry our children so that they can start their family and build their home... The responsibility is given to us by God and we have to fulfil it."

This quote shows the seriousness by which parents take the responsibility of marrying their children. The decision to marry a child is not only a social, but also a moral, obligation. This suggests also that parents do not consider marriage to be a decision that can be amended or revoked after the marriage.

Other parents expressed similar ideas about the responsibility of marrying their children. Another woman from Peshawar, for instance, suggested that she felt the pressure of social expectations from other people about marrying children. She said:

"[T]hey say [to] fulfil your responsibility, you have a daughter, marry her soon and why are you making them sit at home and they have grown up and they are ready for marriage. They are ready for marriage. They might not get involved in bad things and create problems for you."

This quote shows that others' social expectations are a factor in the decision to marry a child and that parents may consider child marriage to be a form of child protection, rather than as violence. This is an important point because while most parents may feel that 18 years and older is the most appropriate age for marriage, they are likely other factors such as social norms that inform the decision-making process. In other words, these findings suggest that 18 years and older may be considered as an ideal and that the actual age is decided based on a calculation of conditional and unconditional preferences.

Finding 4: Children are not actively involved in the decision-making process around their marriage.

Survey participants' responses were split about the attitudes of their community members regarding child marriage.

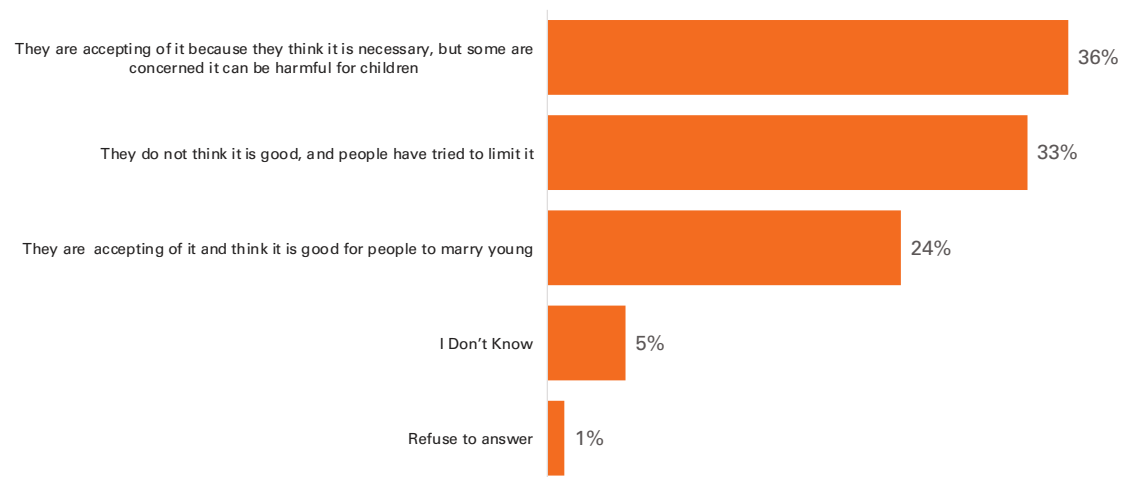


Figure 61: Percentage of respondents attitude towards child marriage

Women (32%) were more likely than men (17%) to say that they felt community members were accepting of child marriage, while men were more likely than women to say that community members did not approve and that they had tried to limit it (37% of men compared to 29% of women).

By province, respondents from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (43%) were significantly more likely to say that community members approved of child marriage. Moreover, respondents from Baluchistan (57%) were more likely to say that people are accepting but concerned about it. Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (57%) were more likely to say that community members do not support child marriage and that they have tried to limit child marriage.

Most respondents felt that both boys and girls should have a say in the decision about whom they should marry, but that they should not be allowed to make the final decision.

69% of respondents felt that girls should exercise agency in the decision to get married, and 75% of respondents felt that boys should exercise agency in the decision to get married.

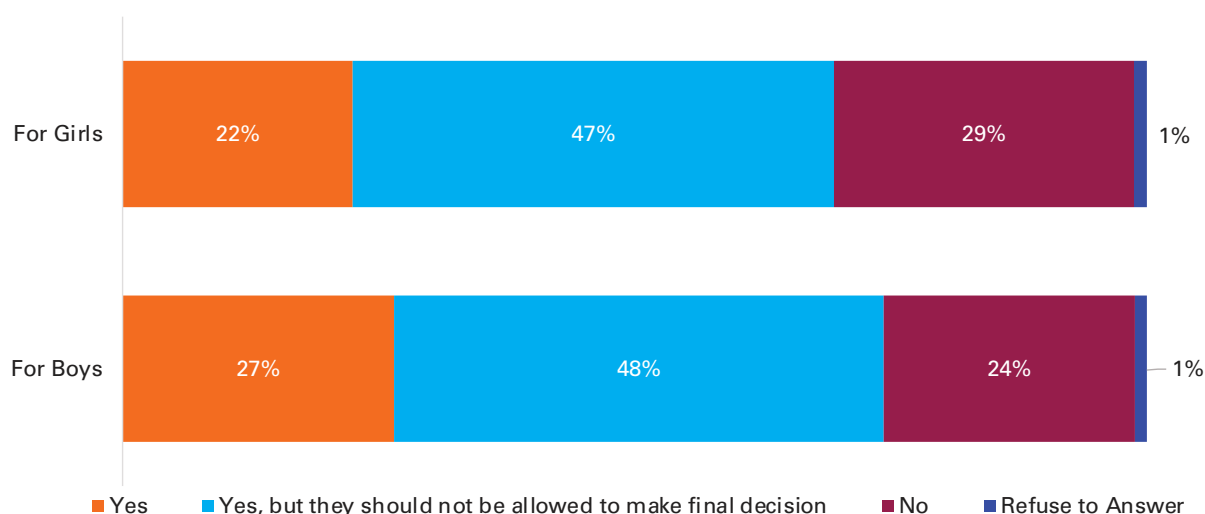


Figure 62: Percentage of respondents that believe a girl/boy should exercise agency in decision to get married

Men were more likely to say that children should not be involved in the decision-making process, while women were more likely to say that children should be involved without a final say. These findings did not differ significantly between whether girls or boys married.

This indicates that there are conflicting ideas about what is the agency of a child in the family decision to marry them. Within focus group discussions, interviewees did not discuss frequently the child's role in making the initial decision, but they did highlight the child's role in telling their parents if they did not wish to marry the person chosen.

This suggests that parents do see children has having a role in the decision process, but that their role is contribute their attitudes about whether they want to marry, rather than have an active role throughout the decision-making process and in making the final decision about whether to marry or not.

Finding 5: While most respondents believe that child marriage has negative consequences, about half believe that marriage provides important forms of protection for girls.

Many of the respondents believe child marriage has negative consequences.

While most respondents felt that child marriage has negative consequences for children, many respondents held ambivalent attitudes about the consequences of child marriage: 9% felt that child marriage had positive consequences; 14% felt that there were neither positive nor negative consequences; 14% felt that there were both positive and negative consequences; and 5% did not know whether the consequences were positive or negative.

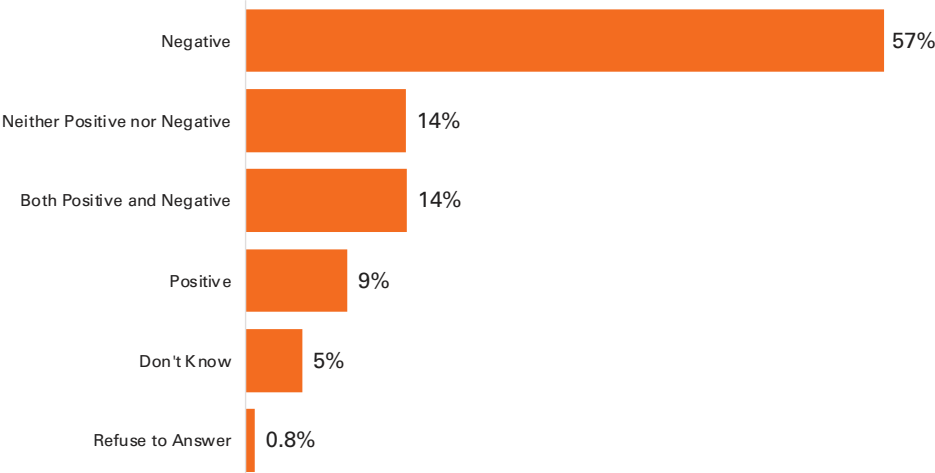


Figure 63: Percentage of respondents that believe child marriage has negative consequences

Women were more likely than men to say that child marriage had either positive (12% women compared to 6% men) or both positive and negative consequences (17% women compared to 11% men).

Provincially and territorially, respondents from Baluchistan were more likely to feel ambivalent about child marriage, with 32% saying that child marriage had neither positive nor negative consequences. Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (72%) and Azad Jammu Kashmir (63%) were both more likely than respondents from other regions to say that child marriage had negative consequences.

Overall, adult respondents in focus group discussions expressed negative views about the consequences of child marriage. One married woman in Peshawar, for example, explained that there were more disadvantages than advantages to her marriage at 13 years old. She said,

“Life completely changes after marriage. We have to manage in-laws and our own family as well. I had to manage grocery for the whole house, how did a 13-year-old manage that? They shouldn’t get married at the age of games and play.”

She went on to say that she felt her child marriage was an injustice that she will have carry for the remainder of her life because it had minimised her ability to achieve other social and professional goals.

Other respondents expressed more similarly negative views about the consequences of child marriage. For instance, a man from Azad Jammu Kashmir replied, “if the girl get[s] married early then she will be busy [with] her children and she will have more babies and her attention will divide due to responsibilities”.

The consequence he expressed here, in addition to children, is that the girl may experience emotional stress from the increased responsibilities and that she similarly may not be able to achieve other academic and professional goals. However, some respondents expressed positive views on the consequences of child marriage. These views related to moral beliefs about virtue and maturity. One respondent from Islamabad said, *“Sur, I think children should get married early,”* to which another man chimed in to say that *“one benefit is that our Prophet... said that as soon as a child is mature, he should be married so it is the Sunnah of the Prophet.”*

Such ideas about “maturity” also came up in other interviews, such as in an interview with a man from Baluchistan who explained that he felt girls should marry once they have become mature, which the researchers understood to mean that they have passed puberty. The man emphasised that puberty, more than other indicators (e.g., 18 years) is a salient indicator of a person’s readiness for marriage and for childbirth. Furthermore, the positive consequence of such a marriage at this time is that the child’s behaviour will align with, and indeed uphold, social norms around virtuosity.

There is a discrepancy between conditional norms, i.e., what people think that others should do, and the unconditional norms, i.e., what people do. Most respondents agreed that child marriages should be stopped, although half of the respondents also agreed with normative statements describing the perceived benefits of, or readiness for, child marriage.

- **68% of respondents agreed with the statement: “We should stop marrying children under 18 in my community”**

An average of 40% of respondents strongly agreed; 28% somewhat agreed; 14% were neutral; 9% somewhat disagreed; 8% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. The disaggregated data showed that women (44%) were more likely than men (37%) to strongly agree. By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Azad Jammu Kashmir were more likely to somewhat agree with this statement.

- **64% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Marriage provides protection to a girl”**

An average of 36% of respondents strongly agreed; 28% somewhat agreed; 18% were neutral; 11% somewhat disagreed; 5% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By province, respondents from Sindh (49%) were more likely to strongly agree, whereas respondents from Baluchistan (16%) were more likely to somewhat agree.

- **61% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Education provides protection to a girl”**

An average of 33% of respondents strongly agreed; 28% somewhat agreed; 18% were neutral; 11% somewhat disagreed; 7% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women (35%) were both more likely than men (31%) to strongly agree with this statement, indicating that women likely have stronger feelings about the social importance of girl’s education. By province, respondents in Azad Jammu Kashmir (42%) were more likely to strongly agree, whereas those from Sindh (15%) were more likely to strongly disagree.

- **57% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Marrying girls under 18 can have negative health consequences for the girl and/or her children”**

An average of 30% of respondents strongly agreed; 27% somewhat agreed; 18% were neutral; 12% somewhat disagreed; 9% strongly disagreed; and 3% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women (34%) were more likely than men (26%) to strongly agree. Men’s attitudes, however, were ambivalent, as they were much more likely to neither agree nor disagree.

- **50% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Physical changes in appearance are a sign that a girl is ready for marriage”**

An average of 22% of respondents strongly agreed; 28% somewhat agreed; 20% were neutral; 16% somewhat disagreed; 12% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women (16%) were more likely than men (8%) to strongly disagree. By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (24%) and Baluchistan (16%) were more likely to somewhat disagree.

- **50% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Marrying before 18 is required by our religion”**

An average of 27% of respondents strongly agreed; 23% somewhat agreed; 15% were neutral; 13% somewhat disagreed; 19% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By province, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (24%) and Azad Jammu Kashmir (28%) were more likely to strongly disagree.

- **45% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Marrying girls under 18 ensures purity (virginity/chastity) on their wedding day”**

An average of 21% of respondents strongly agreed; 24% somewhat agreed; 19% were neutral; 16% somewhat disagreed; 17% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women were more likely than men to both somewhat (18% women compared to 13% men) and strongly disagree (20% women compared to 15% men). By province, respondents from Sindh (28%) and Gilgit-Baltistan (36%) were more likely to strongly agree

- **44% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Marrying my daughter before she turns 18 allows me to secure her financial status”**

An average of 17% of respondents strongly agreed; 27% somewhat agreed; 21% were neutral; 16% somewhat disagreed; 14% strongly disagreed; and 3% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women (15%) were more likely than men (12%) to strongly disagree and men (18%) were more likely than women (16%) to strongly agree.

- **44% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Girls over 18 who are not married are a burden to their families”**

An average of 13% of respondents strongly agreed; 21% somewhat agreed; 19% were neutral; 15% somewhat disagreed; 28% strongly disagreed; and 2% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women (31%) were more likely than men (25%) to strongly disagree with this statement.

- **43% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Seizing the opportunity of a good marriage is more important than continuing a girl’s education”**

An average of 26% of respondents strongly agreed; 27% somewhat agreed; 17% were neutral; 9% somewhat disagreed; 14% strongly disagreed; and 1% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, men (29%) were more likely than women (23%) to strongly agree with this statement, while women (17%) were more likely than men (12%) to strongly disagree. By province, respondents from Baluchistan were more likely to somewhat disagree.

- **43% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to manage disputes”**

An average of 17% of respondents strongly agreed; 26% somewhat agreed; 21% were neutral; 15% somewhat disagreed; 16% strongly disagreed; and 3% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women (20%) were more likely than men (14%) to strongly agree, whereas men (17%) were more likely than women (15%) to disagree with the statement. By province, respondents in Azad Jammu Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan were much more likely to strongly agree.

- **42% of respondents agreed with the statement: “Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to get money to repay a debt”**

An average of 17% of respondents strongly agreed; 25% somewhat agreed; 20% were neutral; 15% somewhat disagreed; 18% strongly disagreed; and 3% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. By gender, women were more likely to strongly agree with the statement, whereas men were more likely to strongly disagree. By province, respondents in Azad Jammu Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan were much more likely to strongly agree with this statement.

- **40% of respondents agreed with the statement: “A girl under 18 is more fertile than a girl above 18”**

An average of 17% of respondents strongly agreed; 23% somewhat agreed; 19% were neutral; 16% somewhat disagreed; 20% strongly disagreed; and 4% did not know whether they agreed with this statement. The disaggregated data showed that women were more likely than men to strongly disagree and did not show significant variations by province.

In focus group discussions, people expressed differing attitudes about the forms of social protection, e.g., economic and moral forms of social protection, that a marriage can provide to a girl and her family. These attitudes demonstrate that there can be significant differences in what people think about a concept like child marriage when it is presented as a standalone concept and when it is contextualised within social norms that influence people’s decision-making process.

For instance, when asked about the factors that he thinks about in terms of child marriage, one man from Sindh told the moderator that “It’s my responsibility to think about their future.” He then added a proverbial saying from the poetry of the Allama Iqbal, the renowned Pakistani poet and philosopher:

“Khudi ko etna buland kr, khuda tujh se pochhy teri raza kya hain.”

This saying, the original of which is transliterated as “*Khudi ko kar buland itna, ki khuda bande se khud puche, bata teri raza kya hain*”, meaning (roughly), “*Elevate yourself to the extent, that before every destiny, God himself should ask Man what he desires.*”⁸⁹ Here, the man conveys two important and connected ideas about parents’ responsibility to “elevate” themselves through moral fortitude and to use this fortitude to provide for their children. This indicates that moral social norms are closely tied with parents’ ideas about how best to think about their children’s futures, including and especially, in their marriages.

To this end of moral responsibility, one man from Islamabad emphasised that people’s sense of honour is an essential factor in all aspects of life, including marriage. He said,

“Honour is something for people lay their lives... We have a family in our neighbourhood who lost 7 lives for honour. A family’s honour, a man’s honour, and a girl’s honour is something that is extremely important.”

This quote shows that honour is a central value that organises, and indeed can end, people’s lives and that it is therefore important to protect. This indicates that social norms and values, e.g., honour, underpin people’s actual decision-making process. Such norms can, as shown above, transcend people’s conditional preferences about concepts presented as standalone (e.g., “child marriage”) to inform how they consider these concepts in relation to the ethical and moral values that they hold.

89. Quora, 2018. Akhtar Naseem Response to “What message is Dr. Iqbal trying to convey in “Khudi ko kar buland itna, ki khuda bande se khud puche, bata teri raza kya hain?”” <https://www.quora.com/What-message-is-Dr-Iqbal-trying-to-convey-in-Khudi-ko-kar-buland-itna-ki-khuda-bande-se-khud-puche-bata-teri-raza-kya-hain>

Finding 6: Most people do not think that incidents of child marriage should be reported because it is part of a family's internal affairs.

Half of the respondents believe people should not report incidents of child marriage to relevant authorities.

The data showed that survey participants were conflicted over whether people should report incidents of child marriage to authorities: 51% said that people should not report child marriage, while 39% said that people should report and 10% said that they did not know whether people should report incidents of child marriage.

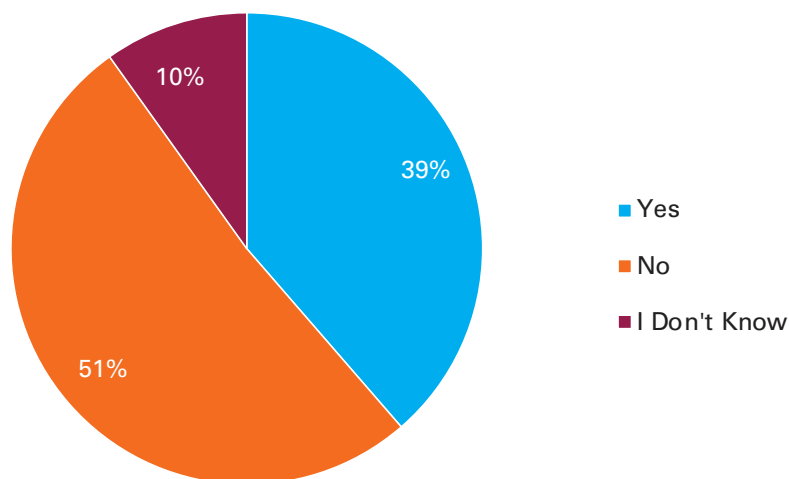


Figure 64: Percentage of respondents that believe people should report incidents of child marriage to relevant authorities

Provincially and territorially, respondents from Punjab, Azad Jammu Kashmir and Islamabad were more likely to say that child marriages should be reported, while respondents from Baluchistan were more likely to say that people should not report child marriages.

Respondents from villages were much more likely to say that people should not report child marriages or that they did not know whether they should report such marriages.

Half of the respondents reported that a main barrier to reporting child marriage is that it is a family's internal affairs.

Of the survey participants who said that child marriages should not be reported, most felt that they should not report them because such marriages are part of a family's internal affairs, although about a quarter of respondents also cited a fear of retribution and a lack of trust in authorities.

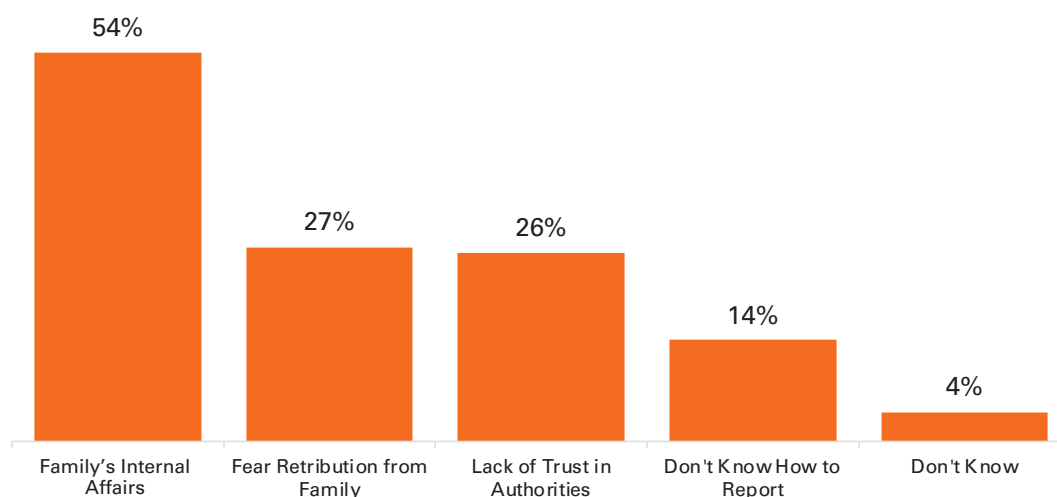


Figure 65: Percent of respondents that name barriers to reporting incidents of child marriage to relevant authorities

Women were significantly more likely than men to say cite a family's internal affairs as barriers to reporting, while men were significantly more likely to cite fear of retribution and lack of trust in authorities as main barriers to reporting. By province and territory, respondents from Punjab, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, and Azad Jammu Kashmir were significantly more likely to cite internal family affairs. Those from Baluchistan were more likely to cite fear of retribution as well as a lack of trust in authorities.

In discussions, adults' opinions about the barriers to reporting a child marriage aligned with the barriers highlighted in the quantitative survey. Respondents expressed unease about confronting parents or community members about a child marriage, in part because they identified child marriage to typically be a symptom of financial scarcity and in part because they felt that the obligation to report lay with the child.

For example, in response to a hypothetical situation depicting a 16-year-old girl marrying a 40-year-old man, a respondent exclaimed that the *"girl is not ready for this marriage"*. Consequently, *"she should go to the court and file a complaint... and [say] 'I am not ready'... The Court will decide accordingly. She shouldn't just give in."* This passive response shows that while people may express concern, their motivations for intervening on the marriage may be low. Both this unease and low motivation contribute to social norm that child marriages are private, family matters. This effectively marginalises child marriages, which makes them more difficult to address.

Finding 7: Nearly all respondents said that boys and girls marry after turning 18 years old.

Only about 5% of respondents reported that girls in the family marry before 18 years.

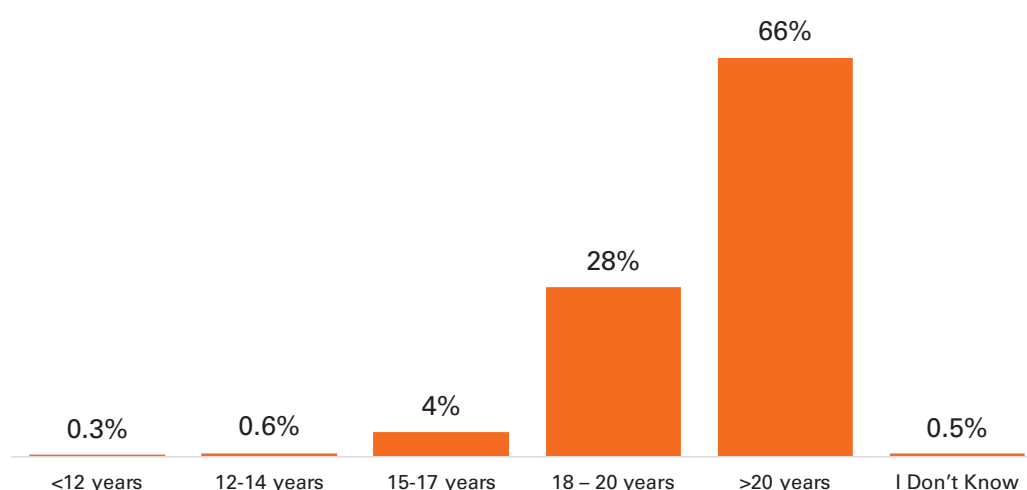


Figure 66: Percentage of respondents that indicate girls in the family marry before 18 years of age

Only about 2% of respondents said boys in the family marry before 18 years.

Most (75%) of respondents indicated that boys in their families married when they were older than 20 years. Few respondents indicated that boys in their families had married before turning 18 years old. Only about 0.2% said that boys married before turning 12; 0.2% said that boys had married before 12-14 years; 2% said that boys had married between 15-17 years.

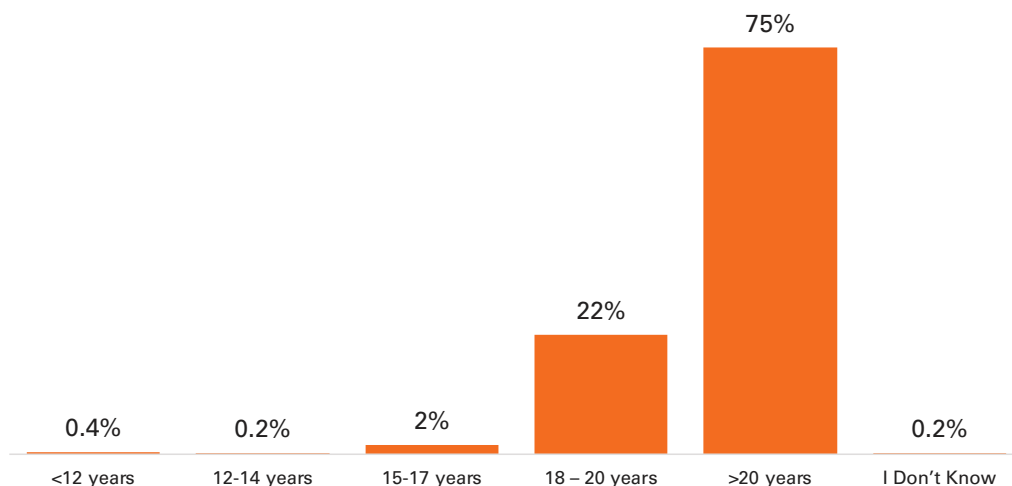


Figure 67: Percentage of respondents that indicate boys in the family marry before 18 years of age

Interestingly, women (26%) were more likely than men (18%) to say that boys married between the ages of 18-20 years, while men (79%) were significantly more likely than women (71%) to say that boys married after turning 20 years.

The finding that women were more likely to say that boys married between 18-20 years while men were more likely to say that boys married after turning 20 years suggests that there is a discrepancy between what people think is a norm and what the norm is.

This finding is likely a case of pluralistic ignorance because boys cannot be both more likely to marry between 18-20 years and more likely to marry after turning 20 years. This suggests that one respondent group knows that boys do not typically marry at the age that they selected, but selected because they assume, incorrectly, that others also selected this option.

Over 90% of respondents from both urban (96%) and rural (92%) areas reported that girls in their family marry before 18 years of age, with numbers being higher for boys in their family (98% in urban areas and 96% in rural areas). As well, over 85% of respondents from each province also reported both girls and boys in their family marrying before 18 years of age.

Finding 8: Most respondents said that both parents are equally responsible for deciding the marriage of girls and boys.

- **81% of respondents said that both parents would be equally responsible for deciding the marriage of a girl**

Most survey participants (81%) said that both parents would be equally responsible for deciding the marriage of a girl. Fewer respondents reported other main decision makers for a girl's marriage: 4% cited the girl herself; 9% cited her father; 3% cited her mother; 0.3% cited her brother; 0.1% cited her sister; 2% cited his uncle or aunt; and 0.1% did not know.

Women (84%) were significantly more likely than men (78%) to say that both parents were equally involved in the decision.

- **78% of respondents said that both parents would be equally responsible for deciding the marriage of a boy**

Most survey participants (78%) said that both parents would be equally responsible for deciding the marriage of a boy. Fewer respondents reported other main decision makers for a boy's marriage: 8% cited the boy himself; 9% cited his father; 3% cited his mother; 0.3% cited his brother; 0.1% cited his sister; 2% cited his uncle or aunt; and 0.2% did not know.

Men (10%) were significantly more likely than women (6%) to say that the boy himself would be most responsible for deciding his marriage.

By province, respondents in Gilgit-Baltistan (63%) were significantly less likely to say that both parents were involved in the decision-making process.

KAP Findings Among Children

Children's knowledge, attitudes, and practices of child marriage were assessed by means of close ended questions in a quantitative household survey, with semi-structured in-depth interviews with children across the country. The KAP survey was conducted with children between 17-14 years old, and the questions were formulated to measure understanding, misunderstanding, and behaviour around child marriage in order to establish baseline reference value for use in future assessments and to measure the effectiveness of programme activities.

Finding 1: Many children consider school interruption and increased responsibility to be negative consequences of child marriage.

Children's responses on the negative consequences of child marriage were split overall, and no one consequence had a majority agreement, although the disaggregated data showed significant variation by gender and province

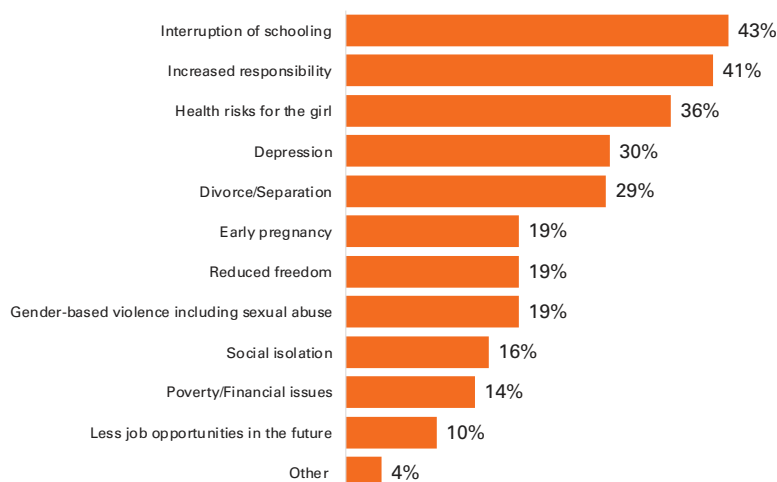


Figure 68: Percentage of respondents that can name negative consequences of child marriage

By gender, boys were significantly more likely than girls to cite gender-based violence (28% boys compared to 12% girls), fewer job opportunities (17% boys compared to 5% girls), and poverty (22% boys compared to 8% girls) as negative consequences of child marriage. Girls, on the other hand, were significantly more likely to cite increased responsibility (43% girls compared to 39% boys), health risks (44% girls compared to 27% boys), and divorce (34% girls compared to 23% boys) as negative consequences of child marriage. This suggests that boys are more familiar with the negative socio-economic consequences of child marriage, while girls are more familiar with negative interpersonal and social consequences of child marriage.

Furthermore, by province, respondents from Baluchistan (39%) were significantly more likely to cite early pregnancy as a negative consequence of child marriage, while respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan were significantly more likely than respondents from other provinces to cite academic interruption (58%) and health risks for the girl (49%) as negative consequences of child marriage.

Finding 2: Most children are not aware that there are laws prohibiting child marriage and few children know the minimum legal age for marriage.

Many of the children were not aware of laws prohibiting marriage of children under 18 years.

Most respondents were not aware of any laws that prohibited marriage of children under 18 years in their province, and a significant minority (28%) did not know whether there was any such law.

Only 12% thought that such a law existed. Important to note is the fact that child marriage is prohibited for boys under 18 years, while for girls it is prohibited under 16 years (except in Sindh).

Boys (63%) were significantly more likely than girls (53%) to say that no such law exists, while girls (39%) were significantly more likely than boys (17%) to say that they did not know whether such a law exists.

Provincially, respondents from Baluchistan were significantly more likely to say that such a law exists, while those from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were significantly more likely to say that no such law exists.

This suggests that the existing laws preventing child marriage are, first, not well enforced and, second, that there is limited awareness about how the civil legal system intersects with children’s lives. Many marriages, particularly of children, occur within religious, rather than civil institutions, which means that children who are getting married are unlikely to either experience a legal conflict or an alternative narrative when they marry.

Very few children are aware of the legal minimum age for marriage.

Across Pakistan, the legal age for marriage for girls and boys in Pakistan is 16 and 18 respectively, except in Sindh where it is 18 for both girls and boys. Most children (58%) reported that there is no law in their province that establishes a minimum age for marriage. Of the children who reported that they know of such a law in their province, 77% reported that the minimum age was 18 years. These two findings show that there is a very low level of awareness among children about the existence of the law and the legal minimum age.

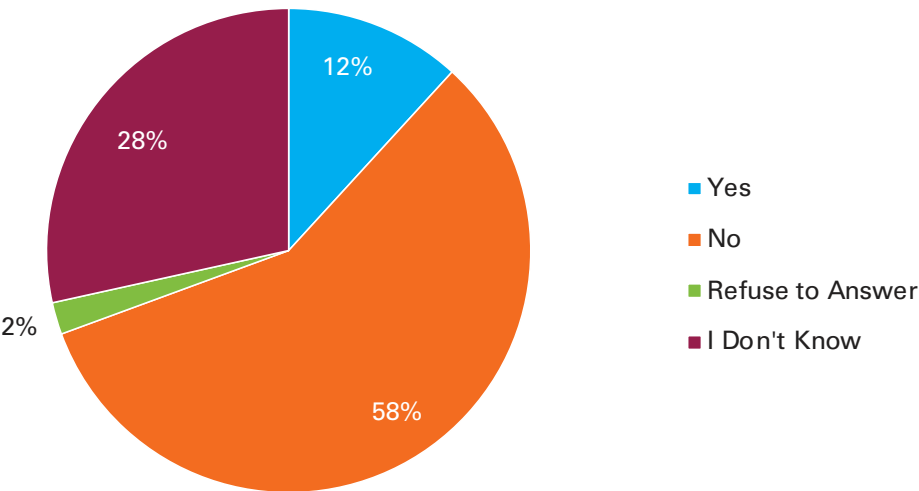


Figure 69: Percentage of respondents that are aware of the legal minimum age for marriage

By gender, girls (92%) were significantly more likely than boys (72%) to say that the minimum age for marriage is 18 years or above.

By province, children in Sindh were significantly more likely to report 16-17 as the minimum age or ‘don’t know’. On average, around 16% of those who reported to be aware of the law said they ‘don’t know’ the minimum age for marriage.

Finding 3: Nearly all children believe that 18 years old is the youngest acceptable age for marriage.

Almost all of the children believe that 18 years old is the youngest acceptable age for a girl to marry.

While most respondents (92%) felt that the youngest age a girl should marry was 18, a noteworthy minority of respondents felt that 13-15 years (2%) and 16-17 years (5%) was acceptable. By province, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (98%) were significantly more likely to say that girls should be at least 18 years old than those

from Baluchistan (87%), Sindh (87%), or Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (90%).

Nearly all of the children believe that 18 years old is the youngest acceptable age for a boy to marry.

98% of respondents felt that boys should marry after turning 18 years old, with about 1.5% feeling that 15-17 years was acceptable and 0.5% reporting that 13-15 years was acceptable. The disaggregated data did not show significant attitudinal variation and showed limited variation by province. Respondents from Sindh (5%) were significantly more likely to say that marrying between the ages of 16-17 was acceptable for boys.

Most children were ambivalent about whether their family members feel that it is acceptable for girls/boys to marry before 18 years.

Survey participants expressed ambivalent attitudes about whether they believe that family members feel child marriage is acceptable: While 39% said that their family members did not approve of child marriage, 26% said that their family members were accepting of it and 19% said that their family members were accepting but concerned about its negative consequences. Another 13% stated that they did not know how their family feel about child marriage.

The disaggregated data showed that there was significant variation by gender, education, and province: Boys (44%) were significantly more likely than girls (35%) to say that their family members were not supportive of child marriage, whereas girls (15%) were significantly more likely than boys (11%) to say that they did not know how their family members felt.

Finding 4: Girls are more likely to understand the negative consequences of child marriage.

About half of the survey participants indicated that child marriage had negative consequences for the persons involved: 50% said that it had negative consequences, whereas 7% said that it had positive consequences. The remaining survey participants expressed ambivalent attitudes.

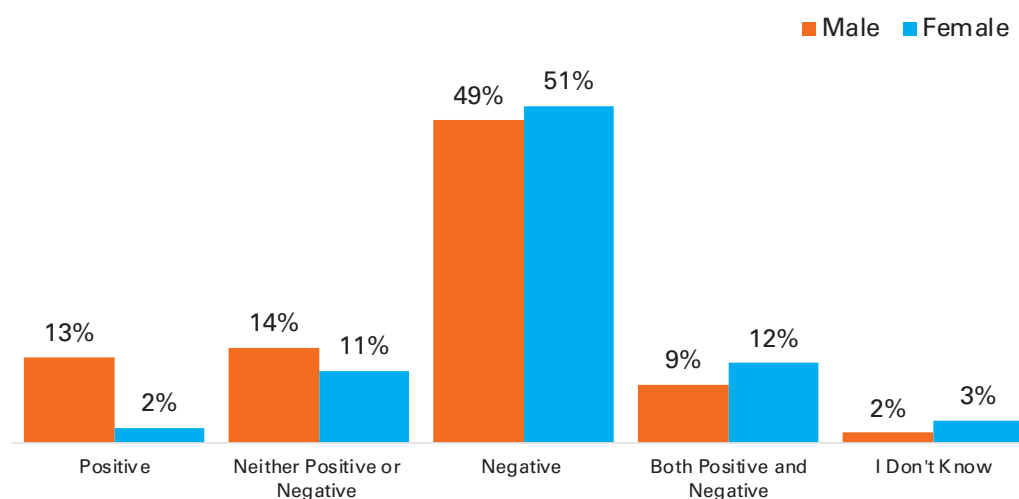


Figure 70: Percentage of respondents that believe child marriage has positive/negative consequences

Boys (13%) were significantly more likely than girls (2%) to say that child marriage had positive consequences, whereas girls (12%) were significantly more likely than boys (8%) to say that child marriage had both positive and negative consequences.

By education, respondents with high school education (59%) were significantly more likely than those with no formal education (19%) or secondary education (45%) to say that child marriage had negative consequences. Interestingly, those with secondary or madrassah education (50%) were significantly more likely to say that they did not know whether child marriage had positive or negative consequences.

Through semi-structured interviews, children expressed ambivalent attitudes about the positive and negative consequences of marrying early, and these attitudes mainly centred around fulfilling moral values of honour, protection, and responsibility. One girl, for example, observed, *“A child gets married out of compulsion.”* She explained that *“from the girl’s side, the compulsion is that there is no one to take care of the girl at home due to any reason, so the girl gets married.”*

The positive consequence is that such a marriage can hold the promise of stabilising a child’s economic precarity. This suggests that she considered marriage to provide both a form of social protection and a form of economic protection because there would be someone to ‘take care of the girl at home’.

Yet there can also be unintended consequences, such as social isolation, of such a marriage. Another girl explained that she felt herself to be safer when her husband was beside her but that life prior to marriage was nonetheless better as *“this [life] is a bit restricted one.”* The few friends she had were *“in contact with me via mobile phone.”*

Two other themes that emerged from the in-depth interviews were those of protection and responsibility, about which children expressed ambivalent views. Adults also expressed similar attitudes, which they also articulated as protection. For instance, respondents in the focus group discussions described how child marriage could focus adolescents’ attention away from pursuing romantic interests outside of marriage. Similarly, children who expressed positive attitudes toward marriage often described how it could provide protection from unacceptable forms of romance. One boy from Peshawar expressed that he felt child marriage was good because it focused boys’ attention on their wives and families. He said:

“I feel it is good to get married in less age. Most of the boys at the early age start roaming around girls and the marriage does not let them into those things.”

This quote shows that he considers marriage to be beneficial and ethically advantageous because the confine of marriage protects children from “roaming” and seeking out other forms of romance. Similarly, another boy from Sindh said, *“I married early because I was in love... People marry early to stay away from bad deeds.”* He explained that his marriage was satisfying and that this child marriage enabled him to live out his ethical values.

Children who expressed acceptance toward child marriage also tended to focus on how the experience child marriage could develop in children responsibility toward their families because they would need to economically provide and emotionally care for their families. To this end, one girl from Killi Noshar, commented:

“... [C]hildren are married so that sense of responsibility develops in them... a boy will understand his responsibility that he has a wife and children and he has to feed them... So by the age of 20-22, a boy has already become a great business person, because he is working since childhood.”

Conversely, children who expressed ambivalence about child marriage focused on the increased responsibility as a negative aspect of marriage. One girl from Peshawar observed that *“Marriage is a big responsibility. You have to go to a different house and then look after it.”* To that end, a boy from Quetta said that his child marriage was a mistake. He said that he had married early because he needed someone to care for his mother while he worked in a shop:

“I married because my mother used to remain very sick, and I had to go to shop for work. So I got married so that there is someone at home who can take care of my mother. Overall, marriage in young age is a mistake.”

This quote shows that there were many factors that informed this boy's decision to marry early, and that he needed someone to share in the economic and emotional responsibility of caring for his mother. While the positive and negative consequences of child marriage are many, these vignettes exhibit how respondents' perspectives on their marriages were informed by psychological, sociological, and economic factors. Children considered the positive and negative consequences of marriage to be intertwined and a part of the cost-benefit of a marriage.

Finding 5: Children's attitudes toward the negative consequences of child marriage are contradictory.

Children's attitudes toward the negative consequences of child marriage are contradictory: While most children said that education provides protection to a girl, most children also said that child marriage can provide social and economic protection to a girl. This indicates that children hold ambivalent attitudes about the effects of protection and that further research into the perceived motivations of child marriage are necessary to better understand the determinants of marriage.

Children, like adults, have complex attitudes about the social importance of marriage and their social values, e.g., about honour, can transcend and inform their attitudes about child marriage.

While most children considered education to be a form of social protection and indicated that child marriage has negative health consequences for girls, about half of children also agreed with normative statements about the hypothetical benefits that child marriage can provide.

- **72% of children agreed with the statement: "Education provides protection to a girl"**

While most children agreed with this statement, 21% disagreed; 3% refused to answer; and 4% reported that they did not know whether education provides protection to a girl. By gender, that boys (25%) were significantly more likely than girls (16%) to disagree with this statement. By province, respondents from Punjab (78%), Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (77%) and Gilgit-Baltistan (89%) were significantly more likely to agree.

- **66% of children agreed with the statement: "Marrying before the age of 18 affects a child's education/schooling"**

Most children agreed with this statement, but 25% disagreed; 3% refused to answer; and 6% reported that they did not know whether marrying before the age of 18 affects a child's education/schooling. Girls (69%) were significantly more likely than boys (61%) to agree, while boys (29%) were significantly more likely than girls (21%) to disagree.

- **61% of children agreed with the statement: "Marriage provides protection to a girl"**

Most children agreed with this statement, although about 27% disagreed; 4% refused to answer; and 8% reported that they did not know whether marriage provides protection to a girl. By gender, boys (65%) were significantly more likely than girls (57%) to agree with this statement.

- **63% of children agreed with the statement: "Marrying girls under 18 can have negative health consequences for the girl and/or her children"**

Most children agreed with this statement, but about 26% disagreed; 4% refused to answer; and 7% reported that they did not know whether they thought that marrying girls under 18 can have negative health consequences for the girl and/or her children. By gender, boys were significantly more likely to disagree with this statement. By province, respondents from Punjab, Sindh, and Gilgit-Baltistan were significantly more likely to agree.

- **61% of children agreed with the statement: "Marriage provides protection to a girl"**

An average of 61% agreed; 27% disagreed; 4% refused to answer; and 8% reported that they did not know whether marriage provides protection to a girl. By gender, boys (65%) were significantly more likely than

girls (57%) to agree with this statement. The disaggregation by province showed no significant variations by province.

- **55% of children agreed with the statement: “Boys should have a say in who and when (at what age) they will marry”**

An average of 55% agreed; 33% disagreed; 5% refused to answer; and 7% reported that they did not know whether boys should have a say in who and when they will marry. The disaggregation of data by gender showed that girls (62%) were significantly more likely to agree while boys (48%) were significantly more likely to disagree. By province, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (77%) were more likely to agree, whereas those from Sindh were less likely to agree (39%).

- **51% of children agreed with the statement: “Seizing the opportunity of a good marriage is more important than continuing education”**

An average of 51% agreed; 39% disagreed; 4% refused to answer; and 8% reported that they did not know whether seizing the opportunity of a good marriage was more important than continuing education. By gender, boys (53%) were more likely than girls (49%) to agree. Provincially, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (54%) were more likely to disagree than respondents from other provinces.

- **49% of children agreed with the statement: “Girls should have a say in who and when (at what age) they will marry”**

An average of 48% agreed; 39% disagreed; 5% refused to answer; and 8% reported that they did not know whether girls should have a say in who and when they will marry. By gender, girls (55%) were more likely than boys (40%) to agree, while boys were more likely to disagree. By province, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (76%) were more likely to agree with the statement.

- **46% of children agreed with the statement: “Marrying before the age of 18 is common in our community”**

An average of 46% agreed; 43% disagreed; 4% refused to answer; and 8% reported that they did not know whether child marriage was common in their communities. By gender, women (53%) were more likely to agree with this statement than men (38%), while boys (52%) were more likely than girls (35%) to disagree. By province, respondents from Baluchistan (65%) were more likely to agree, while those from Gilgit-Baltistan (30%) were less likely.

- **41% of children agreed with the statement: “Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to manage disputes”**

An average of 41% agreed; 38% disagreed; 6% refused to answer; and 14% reported that they did not know whether marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to manage disputes. By gender, boys (45%) were more likely than girls (32%) to disagree with this statement. By province, respondents from Baluchistan (52%) were more likely to agree, while respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (31%) and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (38%) were less likely to agree.

- **41% of children agreed with the statement: “Marrying before 18 is required by our religion”**

An average of 43% agreed; 40% disagreed; 5% refused to answer; and 13% reported that they did not know whether marrying before 18 is required by our religion. By gender, boys (46%) were more likely than girls (40%) to agree with this statement. By province, children from Baluchistan (56%) were more likely to agree, while those from Punjab (32%) and Gilgit-Baltistan (36%) were less likely to agree.

- **37% of children agreed with the statement: “In our community, families face peer/social pressure to get their children married between the age of 14-17”**

An average of 37% agreed; 44% disagreed; 6% refused to answer; and 13% reported that they did not know whether families face pressure to marry their children early. By gender, boys (49%) were more likely than girls (40%) to disagree with this statement. By province, children from Punjab (46%) were more likely to agree, while those from Gilgit-Baltistan (26%) were more likely to disagree.

- **33% of children agreed with the statement: “I would not have any problem marrying before the age of 18”**

An average of 33% agreed; 54% disagreed; 5% refused to answer; and 7% reported that they did not know whether they would have a problem marrying before the age of 18. The disaggregation of data by gender showed that boys (36%) were more likely than girls (30%) to agree with the statement. By province, respondents from Baluchistan (44%) and Islamabad (52%) were more likely to agree.

- **40% of children agreed with the statement: “Girls over 18 who are not married are considered a burden in our family”**

An average of 40% agreed; 48% disagreed; 4% refused to answer; and 8% reported that they did not know whether they thought that girls over 18 who are not married are considered a burden in our family. The disaggregation of data by gender showed no significant differences. By province, respondents from Baluchistan were more likely to agree, while those from Gilgit-Baltistan were more likely to disagree.

- **39% of children agreed with the statement: “Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to get money to repay a debt”**

An average of 39% agreed; 42% disagreed; 6% refused to answer; and 14% reported that marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to get money to repay a debt. The disaggregation of data by gender showed that boys were more likely to disagree. By province, respondents from Baluchistan were more likely to agree than respondents from other provinces.

Finding 6: Boys have a more positive attitude toward reporting child marriage than girls.

Almost half of the children believe that people should not report incidents of child marriage to relevant authorities.

Overall, children’s views on whether people should report child marriage were split. While nearly half of respondents said that people should not report, only 24% said that they should and 28% said that they did not know whether people should report child marriages.

By gender, boys (31%) were more likely than girls (17%) to say that they thought that people should report, while girls (40%) were more likely to say that they did not know whether people should report.

By province and territory, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (56%) and Islamabad (72%) were more likely to say that people should not report.

Of the children who said that they did not think people should report child marriages, most respondents cited a family’s internal affairs (45%) as the primary barrier to reporting, and a significant minority (20%) cited social norms as a barrier to reporting. About 9% cited a fear of retribution; 5% cited a lack of trust in authorities; 5% cited that they did not know how to report; and 16% cited that they did not know the barriers to reporting or not.

By gender, boys (49%) were more likely than girls (39%) to cite a family’s internal affairs as a barrier to reporting, while girls (27%) were more likely than boys (14%) to cite social norms as a barrier.

Finding 7: Nearly all respondents indicated that girls in their family marry after turning 18 years old.

Most respondents (63%) indicated that girls in their families marry when they are 20 years or older, but a significant minority indicated that girls marry prior to this: 25% of respondents said that girls marry between 18-20- years old; 6% indicated that girls typically marry between 15-17 years; and 1% indicated that girls marry

between 12-14 years.

Disaggregating the data showed significant variation by gender. Boys (29%) were more likely than girls (20%) to say that girls marry between 18-20 years, while girls (8%) were more likely than boys (4%) to say that girls marry between 15-17 years.

Finding 8: While most children have a limited role in whether and how they will marry, girls are much less likely to have an active role in deciding their marriage.

▪ **71% of children indicated that girls in their family do not have a say in who and when they will marry**

Most children indicated that girls in their families did not have a say in whether, when and with whom they married: 71% said that girls did not have say, while 18% said that girls had a say; 7% did not know; and 3% refused to answer. The disaggregation of the data showed significant variation by gender and province. Girls (27%) were more likely than boys (13%) to say that girls had a say in the process, while boys (80%) were more likely to say that girls (62%) did not have a say. This suggests that girls may perceive themselves to have a more active role in the decision making process than they have. It also suggests that boys may discount the role that girls have in determining when and how they will marry. By province, respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (45%) were more likely to say that girls had a say in the process, whereas respondents from Sindh (6%) were less likely.

▪ **65% of children indicated that boys in their family do not have a say in who and when they will marry**

Most children indicated that boys in their families did not have say in whether, when, and with whom they married, although the children's suggest that boys have a greater say in the process: 65% of respondents said that boys did not have a say; 26% said that boys did have a say; 7% did not know; and 3% refused to answer. The disaggregation of the data showed significant variation by gender and province. Girls (31%) were more likely than boys (20%) to say that boys had a say in the process, and girls (10%) were also more likely than boys (4%) to say that they did not know whether boys had a say or not. The provincial variation mirrored the findings from the above indicator: Respondents from Gilgit-Baltistan (58%) were more likely to say that boys had a say, while those from Sindh (9%) were less likely.

▪ **66% of children that report that both parents are equally responsible for deciding whether and how they married.**

Most children indicated that both parents would be equally responsible for deciding whether and how they married. Of the children who indicated another family member, 14% reported that their father would be the main decision maker; 7% indicated their mother; 7% indicated that they would be most responsible; 2% indicated another family member (e.g., a brother, sister, aunt, or uncle); and 3% indicated that they did not know who the primary decision maker would be.

By gender, boys (14%) were more likely than girls (1%) to report that they were the main decision makers. Moreover, boys (19%) were also more likely than girls (9%) to say that their fathers were the main decision makers, while girls (75%) were more likely than boys (57%) to say that both parents were equally responsible.

Provincially and territorially, respondents from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (75%) and Gilgit-Baltistan (77%) were more likely to say that both parents were equally responsible for deciding a child's marriage. Conversely, respondents from Sindh (25%) were more likely to say that their fathers were most responsible for deciding the particulars of a marriage.

Furthermore, children's perspectives in the in-depth interviews showed the seriousness with which they considered marriage and caregiver's role in the decision-making process. One girl from Peshawar explained that arranging a marriage is "the duty of the parents" and that "a partner should be chosen after looking into every aspect of him, his nature of job, his house, etc."

By this, she articulated that considering all the attributes is a large responsibility that requires the maturity and foresight of an adult. For these reasons, she felt that parents should be the primary decision makers in the decision for a child to marry.

However, children also frequently expressed the importance of parents’ consideration of their child’s emotional happiness, which requires that they consider the child’s perspective on the marriage. Another girl from Killi Noshar recounted that her cousin was married to a man at least double her age and that “she thinks of him as her father.” She continued, “she won’t be happy in such kind of marriage... this marriage is a punishment for her.”

Through this anecdote, the respondent shared that marital suitability requires that parents consider the emotional and social satisfaction of their children, which requires their input in the process. Overall, these findings similarly suggest that while most children consider it their parents’ responsibility to decide whether and with whom they should marry, they also expect that their parents will think about their child’s happiness and expectations as they consider the marriage and the fit for their child.

Finding 9: The province in which children live is correlated with whether their family members discuss child marriage with them.

More than half of the children reported that family members never discuss child marriage with them.

Slightly more than half of the respondents (56%) reported that their family members never discussed marrying soon or before turning 18 years old, leaving about third of respondents who indicated that family members either very often (11%) or sometimes (20%) discussed child marriage with them. About 8% reported that they did not know whether their family members discussed child marriage with them. These statistics did not differ by gender disaggregation.

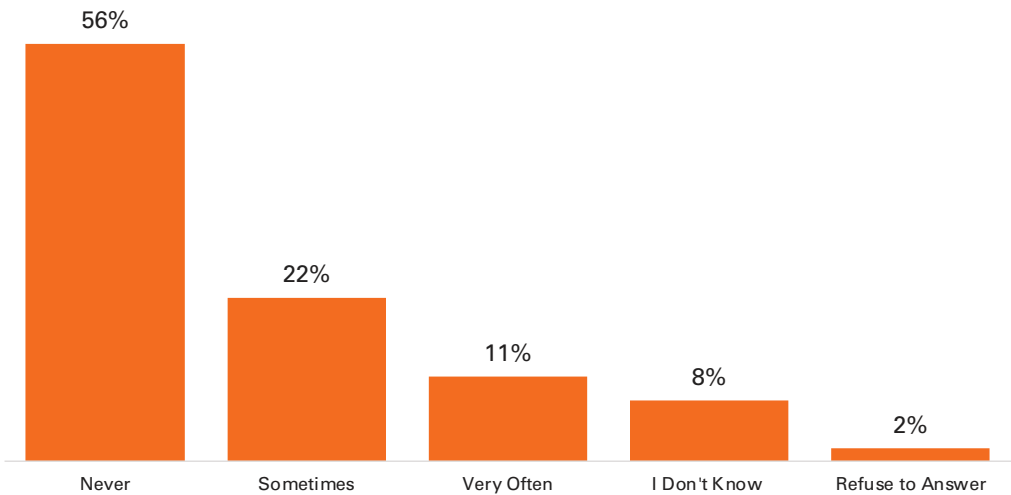


Figure 71: Percentage of respondents that indicate that family members discuss child marriage with them

The statistic in which 8% of respondents did not know whether their families discuss child marriage is noteworthy. It suggests that many respondents may feel uncomfortable discussing child marriage or may associate social stigma with child marriage and thus may prefer to avoid the topic altogether.

By province, respondents from Punjab (71%) and Gilgit-Baltistan (75%) were more likely to say that their family members never discussed child marriage, while respondents from Sindh were more likely to say that they did not know (22%) if their families discussed it. Conversely, respondents from Baluchistan (35%) were more likely to say that their family members sometimes discussed child marriage with them.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Focus programming efforts on addressing stigma associated with child marriage and reporting child marriage, and promoting channels by which children at risk of marriage can get help.

A key finding of this study was that most people did not want to report incidents of child marriage and that a family's internal affairs was cited as a main barrier to reporting. This indicates that there may be a lot of stigma associated with both child marriage and reporting incidents. This type of stigma already steep barriers to reporting for children at risk of child marriage. For this reason, addressing both the stigmas and creating communication channels that support children are an important part of changing social norms to end child marriage.

Programming efforts could involve a suite of communications packages to increase the promotion and awareness raising of existing national helplines where people can call to seek social and psychological support. For example, UNICEF Pakistan could promote the hotline through an edutainment series on television and radio, as well as through billboards, social media or trust community and celebrities. This type of approach ensures that the greatest number of people are reached. It also shifts social norms by creating the perception that this new attitude is normalized and accepted because it is shared across several media platforms.

Recommendation 2: Focus social marketing efforts on community pledges to shift social norms that are accepting of child marriage.

A key finding of this study was that most people hold accepting attitudes toward child marriage even though most people also think that marriage should occur after a child turns 18 years old. Addressing this disjuncture through social marketing efforts like community pledges could tap into collectivist cultural norms that promote group over individual desires.

This type of community pledge programming can be effective, especially when it is highly publicized and promoted by people who are trusted by the community. Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs and USAID have utilized community pledges as part of a suite of social and behavioural change interventions to end child marriage in Bangladesh.⁹⁷

UNICEF Pakistan could similarly develop a program that uses a pledge bank, e.g., if the pledge is part of a wider campaign to end child marriage, or a messaging campaign, e.g., if the community pledge is a standalone program. A part of the success of this type of effort involves nudging people to feel cognitive dissonance toward the harmful social norm, while empowering people through positive messaging to adopt the desired behavior.

This is important because shifting social norms through efforts like community pledges requires a careful disaggregation of the harmful behaviour from the underlying social value (e.g. honour). Championing the social value through an accepted but new desired behaviour can help to ensure that the campaign is successful and empowering to audiences.

Recommendation 3: Focus programmatic efforts on shifting social norms around maturity and adulthood.

A key finding of the quantitative and qualitative components of this study was that social norms about virtue and honour were important aspects of a family's calculus about a child's marriage. Adults from regions with historically high rates of child marriage were more likely to agree that virtue and honour were considerations when deciding about whether and how a child should marry.

The data also showed people had diverse beliefs about a girl's "maturity", in particular about whether a girl was considered "mature" after menarche or after turning 18 years. Incorporating these insights into future programming efforts could involve an edutainment approach using the Sabido Methodology, which was discussed in the recommendations section on violent discipline. In short, the methodology is a theory of behaviour change through serialised entertainment. The central idea is—and the evidence shows—that social norms can be shifted through engaging and educational mass entertainment, such as serialised television or radio shows, by creating characters who are vicarious role models for desirable behaviours.

In the context of shifting social norms around virtue, honour, and maturity, UNICEF Pakistan could enhance its social norms change programming by incorporating an edutainment programme focus on child marriage. This type of programming would be designed to appeal to a large audience and focus on shifting social norms through empathetic and empowering everyday female and male characters. These characters would act as role models of important ideals like virtue and honour. At the same time, a major plotline could centre around child marriage and the ways in which the main characters negotiate family expectations presenting new ways in which young women and men in Pakistan can be both empowered and virtuous.

This type of approach targets more than just girls' attitudes and beliefs. This is important because, as this study shows, girls are not the main people responsible in the decision about whether and how to marry, although programmatic responses to child marriage have focused on supporting girls. This is an important insight because focusing on the wider reference networks and shifting norms that influence decision-making will support existing projects to end child marriage by using innovative methods.

Recommendation 4: Incorporate child marriage prevention and gender transformation into existing conditional cash transfer programmes.

The study showed that marriage is often linked with financial scarcity, in which girls and boys who marry young are more likely to marry due to their family's poor financial health. Research from the World Bank also shows that child marriage is closely tied to poverty. A 2014 World Bank report evaluating the impact of child marriage prevention programmes also emphasised the importance of holistic responses to ending child marriage by focusing on gender mainstreaming. Specifically, the report asserts that effective programmes must focus on girls' educational attainment, increasing girls' value in society, and addressing poverty.

Future programming for UNICEF Pakistan could focus on the economic drivers of child marriage and incorporate a gender transformation programme on child marriage into existing conditional cash transfer and financial health programmes. Such an intervention could incorporate a suite of gender-mainstreamed packages, e.g., on skills building, educational opportunities, sexual and reproductive health, and culturally contextualised programming on girls' empowerment and self-efficacy that would tie both financial health with positive norms around gender empowerment.

Furthermore, this approach would align with and support the implementation of the UNICEF UNFPA Global Programme to End Child Marriage. The Strategy focuses on transforming the social and environmental circumstances that predispose children, and especially girls, to child marriage. While this includes policy and programme initiatives, it also includes social and behavioural change initiatives like the one suggested above in order to both support girls through methods that focus on empowering, sustainable, and scalable change.

Recommendation 5: Build rapport with religious and community leaders to harmonise civil and religious interpretations of maturity for marriage and raise awareness of the negative consequences of child marriage.

A key finding from this study is that most adults not aware of existing laws that prohibit child marriage. This is likely due to both limited enforcement of existing laws and conflicting civil and religious interpretations of the laws. To this end, 16 years old is the youngest age at which girls are legally allowed to marry in a civil court in all provinces except Sindh, where the legal age is 18 years.

This presents an opportunity for UNICEF Pakistan to develop programming that focuses on harmonising civil and religious interpretations of maturity by building trust and rapport with religious leaders, particularly at the local level and in the judiciary. Organisations like UN Women are conducting this type of work with religious leaders, e.g., through outreach and participatory workshops with religious leaders and policy makers to discuss the marriage bill in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. UNICEF programming could similarly include community outreach and focus group discussions in which teams build rapport and dialogues with religious leaders in order to understand how best to harmonise civil and religious interpretations of maturity for marriage.



ANNEXES

ANNEX A: Key Indicators List

Birth Registration	Indicator
Knowledge	K1. Percent of respondents that are aware of birth registration processes
	K2. Percent of respondents that are aware of birth registration processes/ by medium
	K3. Percent of respondents that know where to register the birth of their child/by location
	K4. Percent of respondents that are aware of the purpose of birth registration/ by reason
	K5. Percent of respondents that are aware that a child's birth must be registered within 1 month
	K6. Percent of respondents that name barriers to birth registration by type
Attitudes	A1. Percent of respondents that believe birth registration is difficult / complicated
	A2. Percent of respondents that believe birth registration is expensive
	A3. Percent of respondents that believe birth registration is more important for boys than girls
	A4. Percent of respondents that believe birth registration is the right of every child
	A5. Percent of respondents that believe birth registration is equally important for both boys and girls
	A6. Percent of respondents that believe informing the authorities about a birth is legally essential
	A7. Percent of respondents that believe births must be registered within one month
	A8. Percent of respondents that believe birth registration is important for various life events/ by event
Practices	P1. Percent of respondents that have registered the birth of their child/ren (gender disaggregated)
	P2. Percent of respondents that report main decision maker for birth registration/ by type

Violent Discipline	Indicator
Knowledge	K1. Percent of respondents that are aware of the negative consequences of using physical punishment as a form of discipline/ by consequence
	K2. Percent of respondents that can name negative consequences of using physical punishment as a form of discipline (1 consequence, 2 consequence, 3 or more consequences)
	K3. Percent of respondents that are aware of there is a law against the violent discipline of children
	K4. Percent of respondents that are aware that the law that obliges reporting an incident of violent discipline to the authorities
Attitudes	A1. Percent of respondents that believe physical punishment as a form of discipline has negative/positive consequences
	A2. Percent of respondents who believe violent forms of discipline are effective
	A3. Percent of respondents who believe non-violent forms of discipline are effective
	A4. Percent of respondents that believe (insert method) is a form of violent discipline
	A5. Percent of respondents that believe people should report incidents of violent discipline of children to the authorities
	A6. Percent of respondents that name barriers to reporting to the authorities / by reason
	<p>A7. Percent of respondents who believe:</p> <p>If parents/caregivers do not use physical punishment (such as beating, smacking, slapping or spanking), a child will not learn how to behave</p> <p>Parents/caregivers who talk to their children about their behavior develop stronger self-esteem</p> <p>Hitting a girl is worse than hitting a boy</p> <p>A parent has the right to discipline their child in any way they believe is right</p> <p>Physical punishment impedes a child's ability to pay attention, learn and remember</p> <p>Physical punishment teaches children that hitting others is acceptable</p> <p>Physical methods of discipline are necessary to raise children</p> <p>Use of physical punishment should be stopped in my family</p>

Practices	P1. Percent of respondents who report having used any form of violent of discipline against any of their children in the past 3 months
	P2. Percent of respondents who report having used any form of non-violent of discipline against any of their children in the past 3 months
	P3. Percent of respondents that report main person responsible for discipline is the: Father Mother Both parents equally Siblings

Child Labour	Indictator
Knowledge	K1. Percent of respondents that are aware of birth registration processe
	K2. Percent of respondents that can name negative consequences of child labour/ by type/ number of consequences
	K3. Percent of respondents that are aware of the law prohibiting child labour
	K4. Percent of respondents that are aware that the law obliges reporting of child labour to the authorities
Attitudes	A1. Percent of respondents that believe it is acceptable for children to work (by age of age group below 12, 12-14, 15-17)
	A2. Percent of respondents that believe working before age 18 has negative/positive consequences
	A3. Percent of respondents that believe [example given] is a form of child labour
	A4. Percent of respondents that believe people should report incidents of child labour to the authorities
	A5. Percent of respondents that name barriers to reporting (type)
	A6. Percent of respondents that believe child labour is acceptable/ hold attitudes that are supportive of child labour?
Practices	P1. Percent of respondents that report child/ren in the respondents have/are working
	P2. Percent of respondents that report main decision maker within the family for child labour

Child Marriage	Indictator
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Knowledge	K1. Percent of respondents that can name negative consequences of child marriage/ by type/ number of consequences
	K2. Percent of respondents that are aware of the law prohibiting marriage of children under 18 years
Attitudes	A1. Percent of respondents that believe it is acceptable for girls/boys to marry before 18 years. (under 12, 12-14, 15-17 years) Average age considered appropriate for marriage (by gender)
	A2. Percent of respondents who believe people in their community approve of child marriage
	A3. Percent of respondents who believe people in their community accept child marriage but are concerned it may be harmful to children
	A4. Percent of respondents who believe people in their community disapprove of child marriage
	A5. Percent of respondents that believe a girl/boy should exercise agency in decision to get married
	A6. Percent of respondents that believe child marriage has positive/negative consequences
	A7. Percent of respondents that believe people should report incidents of child marriage to relevant authorities
	A8. Percent of respondents that name barriers to reporting incidents of child marriage to relevant authorities
	A9. Percent of respondents that believe: We should stop marrying children under 18 in my community Seizing the opportunity of a good marriage is more important than continuing a girl's education. Physical changes in appearance is a sign that a girl is ready for marriage. Marrying girls under 18 ensures purity (virginity/chastity) on their wedding day. Marrying before 18 is required by our religion. Marriage provides protection to a girl. Education provides protection to a girl. Marrying my daughter before she turns 18 allows me to secure her financial status. Girls over 18 who are not married are a burden to their families. A girl under 18 is more fertile than a girl above 18.
Practices	P1. Percent of respondents that indicate girls in the family marry before 18 years
	P2. Percent of respondents that indicate boys in the family marry before 18 years
	P3. Percent of respondents that report main decision maker for child marriage

ANNEX B: Research Questions

	Qualitative Research		Quantitative Research	
	Adults	Children	Adults	Children
Birth Registration	What are the behavioural drivers affecting men and women's decision to register their child's birth?	How has birth registration, or the lack of it, affected girls and boys claiming their protection rights (including accessing services)?	What is the prevalence of the relevant behavioural drivers for birth registration for men and women?	What is boys' and girls' understanding of how birth registration affects their protection rights (including access to services)?
Violent Discipline	What are the behavioural drivers affecting men and women's decision to engage in violent discipline with children?	How has violent discipline affected girls and boys claiming their protection rights (including accessing services)?	What is the prevalence of the relevant behavioural drivers for violent discipline for men and women?	What is boys' and girls' understanding of how violent discipline affects their protection rights (including access to services)?
Child Marriage	What are the behavioural drivers affecting men and women's decision to practice child marriage?	How has child marriage affected girls and boys claiming their protection rights (including accessing services)?	What is the prevalence of the relevant behavioural drivers for child marriage for men and women?	What is boys' and girls' understanding of how child marriage affects their protection rights (including access to services)?
Child Labour	What are the behavioural drivers affecting men and women's decision to engage their children in child labour?	How has child labour affected girls and boys claiming their protection rights (including accessing services)?	What is the prevalence of the relevant behavioural drivers for child labour for men and women?	What is boys' and girls' understanding of how child labour affects their protection rights (including access to services)?

ANNEX C: Research Tools

Adult Quantitative Survey Tool

Variable				
Survey Information				
SPID_A	ALL	SPID_A. Unique code (for PSU)	[Captured]	Complete prior to first contact
SPID_B	ALL	SPID_B. Confirm unique code (for PSU)	[Captured]	Complete prior to first contact
S12	ALL	<p>S12. Hello/Salam. My name is _____, and I work for Ipsos, an independent research company and public opinion polling agency. Ipsos conducts research about many issues concerning the lives of people living in Pakistan. Today we are conducting a study, on behalf of UNICEF, that is taking place all across the provinces of Pakistan and I would like to know if anyone in your family is eligible to participate.</p> <p>Your household has been randomly selected to participate in the study, among a total of nearly 3,000 households across the country. I have a questionnaire that will take about 35-40 minutes to complete, and targets those above 18 years of age. Anyone above this age may be randomly chosen to participate in the interview. It is my hope that an adult member of your household will agree to share their views with me. There are no right or wrong answers, and our discussion will be treated confidentially. All data collected is anonymous and the respondent's name is not connected to any results. Results are combined with hundreds of other participants. The survey may be monitored for quality purposes.</p> <p>May I have your permission to interview one of the adult members of your household?</p>	<p>1 = Accepted</p> <p>2 = Refused</p>	S12=2 / Submit Interviewer complete
S5	ALL	S5. First, I need to randomly choose who to interview from this household. How many people in this household are over 18?	1 = Enter number	S5=0 / Submit Read out
S8	ALL	RS7. Are there any children under the age of 18 years in your household?	1 =Yes	<p>S8 = 1 / Go to S9</p> <p>S8 = 2 / Submit Read out</p>
S9	S8= 1 & S5 > 1	S9. Are you a parent/ primary caregiver or someone who spends most of the time with a child aged less than 18 years? (A primary caregiver may be a grandparent, foster parent, or guardian who is the main the person responsible for a child).	1 =Yes	<p>S9 = 1 / Go to R S 4 D</p> <p>S9 = 2 & S5=1 / Submit</p> <p>S9 = 2 & S5 > 2/ Go to S10 Read out</p>

S10	S9=2 & S 5 > 1	S10. Okay, is there anyone else over 18 in this household who is a parent/ primary caregiver or someone who spends most of the time with a child aged less than 18 years, and is available to interview?	1 =Yes	S9 = 1 / Go to R S 4 D S9 = 2 & S5=1 / Submit S9 = 2 & S5 > 2/ Go to S10 Read out
RS4D	ALL	RS4D. Selected respondent availability	1 = Selected respondent is available now or on revisit (pause interview if returning later)	S9 = 1 / Go to R S 4 D S9 = 2 & S5=1 / Submit S9 = 2 & S5 > 2/ Go to S10 Read out
RS5	RS4D=1	RS5. [Read if selected respondent is the same as initial contact] You have been randomly selected to participate in this interview. At the moment we are conducting research about knowledge, attitudes and practices towards use of different forms of children upbringing among households with children aged under 18 years old in the country. Do you have around 35-40 mins to spare to answer several questions? Your answers are very important to us. To reiterate, there are no right or wrong answers, and our discussion will be treated confidentially. You may end the interview at any point. The survey may be monitored for quality purposes. May I have your permission to begin the interview? [Read if selected respondent is different than initial contact] Hello/Salam. My name is _____, and I work for Ipsos, an independent research company and public opinion polling agency. Ipsos conducts research about many issues concerning the lives of people living in Pakistan. Today I am conducting a study, on behalf of UNICEF, that is taking place all across the provinces of Pakistan and I would like to know if anyone in your family is eligible to participate. Your household has been randomly selected to participate in the study, among a total of nearly 3,000 households across the country. I have a questionnaire that will take about 35-40 minutes to complete, and targets those above 18 years of age. Anyone above this age may be randomly chosen to participate in the interview. It is my hope that an adult member of your household will agree to share their views with me. There are no right or wrong answers, and our discussion will be treated confidentially. All data collected is anonymous and the respondent's name is not connected to any results. Results are combined with hundreds of other participants. The survey may be monitored for quality purposes. May I have your permission to interview you?	1 =Yes 2 = No	RS5 = 2 / Submit Read out
RS6				
Respondent Demographics				

RS5	ALL	D1. What is the respondent's gender?	1 = Male 2 = Female	Interviewer complete
D2	ALL	D2. I'd like to start by asking you some basic information about your demographics and life situation. First, what is your age?	18<=x<=100	Do not read out; code to fit
D3	ALL	D3. What is your working status now?	1 = Employed 2 = Unemployed 3 = Housewife – not working outside home 4 = Student/apprentice 5 = Retired 96 = Other 97 = Refused (Interviewer: do not read out)	Read out
D4	ALL	D4. What is the highest educational level you have completed?	1 = None 2 = Reading and writing 3 = Primary School 4 = Madrassah 5 = Intermediate School 6 = High School Diploma 7 = Technical Institute Diploma 8 = University Degree or Higher	Read out
D5	ALL	D5. Which province do you mostly live?	1 = Punjab 2 = Sindh 3 = Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa 4 = Baluchistan 5 = Gilgit – Baltistan 6 = Azad Jammu Kashmir 7 = Islamabad 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refused (Interviewer: do not read out) 98 = Don't Know (Interviewer: do not read out)	Do not read out; code to fit
D5a.	ALL	D5a. Where do you mostly live?	1 = City/Town 2 = Village	Read Out

D6	ALL	D6. What is your religion?	1 = Sunni Islam 2 = Shia Islam 3 = Christian 4 = Hindu 5 = Sikh 96 = Other (Specify) 97 = Refused (Interviewer: do not read out) 98 = Don't know (Interviewer: do not read out)	Do not read out; code to fit
D7	ALL	D7. What is your ethnicity?	1 = Punjabi 2 = Sindhi 3 = Pashtun / Pathan 4 = Balochi 5 = Saraiki 6 = Hazara 7 = Muhajirs 8 = Shina 9 = Baltis 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refused (Interviewer: do not read out) 98 = Don't know (Interviewer: do not read out)	Do not read out; code to fit
D8	ALL	D8. What is your marital status?	1 = Married 2 = Single 3 = Divorced 4 = Widowed 96 = Other (Specify) 97 = Refuse (Interviewer: do not read out)	Do not read out; code to fit
D9	ALL	D9. What is your approximate household income per month?	1 = Less than 25K Rs. 2 = 25K – 50K Rs. 3 = 50K – 100K Rs. 4 = 100K- 150K Rs. 5 = 150K – 200K Rs. 6 = Above 200K 7 = Do not know (interviewer: do not read out) 8 = refuse (interviewer: do not read out)	Read out

D10

Children Demographics

CD1	ALL	CD1. What is your relation to the child/children under 18 in this household?	1 = Parent 2 = Grandparent 3 = Sibling 4 = Uncle 5 = Aunty 6 = Relative 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer 98 = Don't Know	Do not read out; code to fit
CD2	ALL	CD2. How many children under the age of 18 years live in your household?	1 = 1 2 = 2 3 = 3 4 = 4 5 = 5 96 = Other (specify)	Do not read out; code to fit
CD3	ALL	CD3. What is their gender?	1 = Only boys 2 = Only girls 3 = Both boys and girls 4 = Transgender	Read Out If CD3 = 3, then option 1 and 2 cannot be selected.
CD3a	CD3 = 1 or CD3 = 3	CD3a. How many boys?	(open-ended numeric)	None
CD3b	CD3 = 2 or CD3 = 3	CD3b. How many girls?	(open-ended numeric)	None
CD3c	CD3 = 4	CD3c. How many transgender children?	(open-ended numeric)	None
CD4				
Children Birth Registration				
CB1	ALL	CB1. Now I'll ask you some questions about the child birth registration process in your area. Do you know or have you ever heard about the child birth registration process?	1 = Yes 2 = No	None
CB1a_A	CB1 = 1	CB1a. How did you hear about the child birth registration? (Select all that the respondent mentions) Television Radio Newspaper Internet Billboard/ leaflets/posters Relatives Friends People in my community Government staff Hospital Mosque / Religious cleric/Imam	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize Topics

CB2	1 =Yes	CB2. Have you registered the birth of any of your child/children?	1 =Yes 2 = No	Read out IF CB2 = 1/Go to CB3 IF CB2 = 2/Go to CB4
	None	CB2.1 How many boys have you registered?	(open-ended numeric)	None
	CB2 = 1 & (CD3 = 2 or CD3 = 3)	CB2.2 How many girls have you registered?	(open-ended numeric)	None
	CB2 = 1 & CD3 = 4	CD2.3 How many transgender children have you registered?	(open-ended numeric)	None
CB4	CB2 = 1	CB3. Who in your family decided to register your child/ren?	1 = Father 2 = Mother 3 = Both parents 4 = Grandparent 5 = Relative 6 = Brother 7 = Sister 8 = Child him/herself 96 = Other (specify) 98 = Don't know	None
	ALL	CB2. Have you registered the birth of any of your child/children?	1 = Father 2 = Mother 3 = Both parents 4 = Grandparent 5 = Relative 6 = Brother 7 = Sister 8 = Children themselves 96 = Other (specify) 98 = Don't know	None
	D5 = 2 or D5 = 5 or D5 = 7	CB5_Thirty. When do you think parents/caregivers should register the birth of their child/ren?	1 = At birth 2 = Within 30 days 3 = Within 6 months 4 = Within One year 96 = Other (specify)	Read out
	1 =Yes	CB5_Sixty. When do you think parents/caregivers should register the birth of their child/ren?	1 = At birth 2 = Within 60 days 3 = Within 6 months 4 = Within One year 96 = Other (specify)	Read out
2 = No	Read out	CB5_Ninety. When do you think parents/caregivers should register the birth of their child/ren?	1 = At birth 2 = Within 90 days 3 = Within 6 months 4 = Within One year 96 = Other (specify)	Read out

	ALL	<p>CB7. Now, I am going to read a few statements regarding childbirth registration. For each of the statements, tell me how much you agree or disagree with the statement</p> <p>The process for birth registration is difficult/complicated</p> <p>Informing the concerned authorities about the birth of a child is legally essential</p> <p>A birth registration is the right of every child</p> <p>Birth registration is equally important for both boys and girls</p> <p>Birth registration is expensive</p> <p>Births must be registered within XXX days</p> <p>Registration of boys is more important than girls</p>	<p>1 = Strongly agree</p> <p>2 = Somewhat agree</p> <p>3 = Neither agree, nor disagree</p> <p>4 = Somewhat disagree</p> <p>5 = Strongly disagree</p> <p>98 = Don't know</p> <p>(interviewer: do not read out)</p>	<p>Do not read out; code to fit</p> <p>In CB7_F</p> <p>XXX should be</p> <p>KP = 90 days</p> <p>Punjab = 60 days</p> <p>Sindh = 30 days</p> <p>Baluchistan = 60 days</p> <p>Gilgit Baluchistan = 30 days</p> <p>Azad Kashmir = 90 days</p>
IF CB2 = 1/ Go to CB3	ALL	<p>CB8. Do you know where you can register a child's birth? (Note to enumerator: Do not read out option. Select all that the respondents mention)</p> <p>NADRA</p> <p>Union Council</p> <p>Hospital</p> <p>School</p> <p>Nazim/ Councilor</p> <p>Municipal or Community Administration</p> <p>Mosque/Madrassa/ Religious Leader (Imam)</p> <p>District Court</p> <p>Other (specify)</p> <p>I don't know</p>	<p>0 = Unchecked</p> <p>1 = Checked</p>	<p>Do not Read out</p> <p>Randomize topics</p>
	ALL	<p>CB9. What do you think is the purpose of registering the birth of your child/ren? (Do not read out options. Select the options that the respondent mentions)</p> <p>Future planning by the government</p> <p>Enrollment in schooling</p> <p>For knowing child's age</p> <p>For obtaining official civil documents (CNIC, passport, driver's license etc)</p> <p>For job employment</p> <p>Other (Specify)</p> <p>I Don't know (exclusive option)</p>	<p>0 = Unchecked</p> <p>1 = Checked</p>	<p>Do not read out</p> <p>Randomize topics</p>
IF CB2 = 2/ Go to CB4	ALL	<p>CB10. How important is child birth registration for each of the following?</p> <p>Future planning by the government</p> <p>Enrollment in schooling</p> <p>For knowing child's age</p> <p>For obtaining official civil documents (CNIC, passport, driver's license etc)</p>	<p>1 = Not important at all</p> <p>2 = A little bit important</p> <p>3 = Somewhat important</p> <p>4 = Very important</p> <p>5 = Extremely important</p> <p>98 = I Don't Know</p> <p>(interviewer do not read out)</p>	<p>Read out</p> <p>Randomize topics</p>
CB10_E				
Violent Discipline				

VAC1_A VAC1_B VAC1_C VAC1_D VAC1_E VAC1_F VAC1_G VAC1_H VAC1_I VAC1_J VAC1_K VAC1_L VAC1_M VAC1_N	ALL	<p>VAC1. Now I will ask you some questions about how children are disciplined, and different methods that parents' and caregivers' adopt to manage their child/ren's behaviour</p> <p>What do you think are some of the most effective means for parents/caregivers to discipline a child? Note to enumerator: do not read answers, select all that respondent mentions)</p> <p>Ignoring the child when his/her behaviour is incorrect/bad</p> <p>Explaining why his/her behaviour is incorrect</p> <p>Praising the children about his/her good behaviour</p> <p>Sending the child to his/her room, or to the corner or to sit somewhere alone</p> <p>Taking away things he/she likes, or forbidding the child to do something he/she likes</p> <p>Giving the child something else to do.</p> <p>Warning the child with a threat that he/she will be punished</p> <p>Yelling or screaming at the child.</p> <p>Humiliating, criticizing or insulting the child</p> <p>Hitting, spanking, beating or shaking the child</p> <p>Denying food, clothing or other basic needs</p> <p>Other (specify)</p> <p>Refuse (Interviewer do not read out)</p> <p>Don't Know (Interviewer do not read out)</p>	<p>0 = Unchecked</p> <p>1 = Checked</p>	Do not Read out Randomize Topics
VAC2_A VAC2_B VAC2_C VAC2_D VAC2_E VAC2_F VAC2_G VAC2_H VAC2_I VAC2_J	ALL	<p>VAC2. Now, I am going to read you a list of different methods of discipline; by using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means 'Strongly agree' and 5 means 'Strongly disagree', can you tell me to what extent do you agree or disagree that each statement represent a form of violence against children?</p> <p>Warning the child with a threat that he/she will be punished</p> <p>Yelling or screaming at the child</p> <p>Hitting or spanking the child on the bottom</p> <p>Hitting or spanking the child on the hand, arm or leg</p> <p>Hitting the child on the face, head or ears</p> <p>Twisting the child's ear or pulled his/her hair</p> <p>Humiliating, criticizing or calling a child stupid, lazy and dumb or other similar words</p> <p>Hitting the child anywhere on the body with an object such as a belt or stick</p> <p>Shaking a child with hands</p> <p>Denying the child food, clothing or other basic needs</p>	<p>1 = Strongly agree</p> <p>2 = Somewhat agree</p> <p>3 = Neither agree, nor disagree</p> <p>4 = Somewhat disagree</p> <p>5 = Strongly disagree</p> <p>97 = Refuse (do not read out)</p> <p>98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)</p>	Read out Randomize topics Read each topic separately with scale
VAC3_0	ALL	VAC3_0. In your opinion, does physical punishment as a form of discipline have positive or negative consequences for a child?	<p>1 = Positive</p> <p>2 = Neither positive nor negative</p> <p>3 = Negative</p> <p>4 = Both positive and negative</p> <p>97 = Refuse to answer</p> <p>98 = Don't know</p>	

VAC3_A VAC3_B VAC3_C VAC3_D VAC3_E VAC3_F VAC3_G VAC3_H VAC3_I VAC3_J VAC3_K VAC3_L VAC3_M VAC3_N	VA3_0 = 3 or 4 or 97 or 98	VAC3. In your opinion, what are some of the negative aspects of using physical punishment as a form of discipline? (Note to enumerator: do not read answers, select all that respondent mentions) Produces only short-term effect Immediate physical health problem, such as injuries, bruises, and fractures Long term physical health problems, such as changes in the development of brain and long term physical impairment Long-term mental health and psychological problems Difficulties in dealing with other people Learning problems – bad results in performance at school/school dropouts Finding it hard to express feelings in a way that other people can understand Emotional health problems including anxiety, depression, aggression or even wanting to kill him or herself Being more likely to engage in dangerous activities like using drugs Children who experience violence accept this as normal behaviour and mirror the same behaviour Other (specify) None Don't know (interviewer do not read out) Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out)	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize topics
VAC4	ALL	VAC4. Based on your knowledge, does the province have a law that prohibits violent discipline of children of any age and in all settings (school, home and other institutions)?	1 = Yes, I know there is such law 2 = Yes, I assume/think there is such law 3 = No, I don't know there is such law 4 = No, I assume/think there is no such law 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Read out
VAC5	ALL	VAC5. Do you think people in the province should report violent discipline to the authorities?	1 = Yes (to whom – specify open ended) 2 = No 98 = Don't know	None
VAC5A	VAC5 = 2	VAC5A. If not, why?	1 = Family's internal affairs 2 = Fear retribution from family 3 = Lack of trust in authorities 4 = Do not know how to report 5 = Other (please specify) 98 = Do not know	Read Out

VAC6.	ALL	VAC6. Based on your knowledge, does the province have a law that obliges people to report a case of violent discipline to the authorities?	1 = Yes, I know there is such law 2 = Yes, I assume/think there is such law 3 = No, I don't know there is such law 4 = No, I assume/think there is no such law 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Read Out
VAC7_A VAC7_B VAC7_C VAC7_D VAC7_E VAC7_F VAC7_G	ALL	VAC7. I am going to read some statements. For each one, please tell me the degree to which you agree or disagree. If parents/caregivers do not use physical punishment (such as beating, smacking, slapping or spanking), a child will not learn how to behave. Parents/caregivers who talk to their children about their behavior develop stronger self-esteem Hitting a girl is worse than hitting a boy A parent has the right to discipline their child in any way they believe is right Physical punishment impedes a child's ability to pay attention, learn and remember. Physical punishment teaches children that hitting others is acceptable. Physical methods of discipline are necessary to raise children Use of physical punishment should be stopped in my family	1 = Strongly agree 2 = Somewhat agree 3 = Neither agree, nor disagree 4 = Somewhat disagree 5 = Strongly disagree 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)	Read out Randomize topics Read each topic separately with scale

VAC8_A VAC8_B VAC8_C VAC8_D VAC8_E VAC8_F VAC8_G VAC8_H VAC8_I VAC8_J VAC8_K VAC8_L VAC8_M VAC8_N VAC8_O VAC8_P	ALL	<p>VAC8. Adults exercise certain ways to discipline children or teach them how to behave. Now, I will read out some methods that are used and I would like you to tell me if you or any other person in your household has ever used this method with child in the last 3 months. Please tell me if each of the method is never used, sometimes or frequently.</p> <p>Child was ignored when his/her behaviour was incorrect/bad</p> <p>Explained why his/her behaviour was incorrect</p> <p>Praised the children about his/her good behaviour</p> <p>Child was sent to his/her room, or to the corner or to sit somewhere alone</p> <p>Things he/she likes were taken away, or child was forbidden to do something he/she likes or punished him/her to go out.</p> <p>Child was given to do something else.</p> <p>Warned the child with a threat that he/she would be punished</p> <p>Yelled or screamed at the child.</p> <p>Hit or spanked him/her on the bottom.</p> <p>Hit or spanked him/her on the hand, arm or leg</p> <p>Hit him/her on the face, head or ears</p> <p>Twisted his/her ear or pulled his/her hair.</p> <p>Shook him/her with hands</p> <p>Beaten, i.e. hit him/her over and over as hard as one could</p> <p>Humiliated, criticized or insulted the child</p> <p>Denied food, clothing or other basic needs</p>	<p>1 = Never</p> <p>2 = Sometimes</p> <p>3 = Frequently</p> <p>97 = Refuse (do not read out)</p> <p>98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)</p>	<p>Read out</p> <p>Randomize topics</p> <p>Read each topic separately with scale</p> <p>1) Positive parenting practices (Methods No. B, C, F)</p> <p>2) Non-violent discipline practices (Methods No. A,D, E)</p> <p>3) Psychological aggression (Methods No. G,H)</p> <p>4) Minor physical punishment (Methods No. I, J, L, M)</p> <p>5) Severe physical punishment (Methods No. K, N).</p>
VAC9				
Child Labour				
CL1a	ALL	<p>CL1a. Now, I will ask you some questions about child labour.</p> <p>At what age do you think it is okay for children to start working for money or to work for their families?</p>	<p>open-ended numeric)</p> <p>94 = Not until some level of education is completed</p> <p>95 = Not until complete education (16 years of education)</p> <p>98 = Don't know (interviewer do not read out)</p>	None

CL2_A CL2_B CL2_C CL2_D CL2_E CL2_F CL2_G CL2_H CL2_I	ALL	CL2. Now, I am going to read you a list of different situations; by using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means 'Strongly agree' and 5 means 'Strongly disagree', can you tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that each statement represents a form of child labour? Children under the age of 12 working in any economic activities Child under 15 working in a shop not owned by his/her family Child under 15 working in a shop owned by his/her family Children under 18 years working as domestic workers at private houses or offices and not going to school Child working in a farm to support his/her family Child working at a place lifting heavy loads Child supporting parents in household chores Child under 15 selling things on the streets Child under 18 working in hazardous conditions such as heights, using dangerous tools, extreme heat/cold, fumes/dust etc.	1 = Strongly agree 2 = Somewhat agree 3 = Neither agree, nor disagree 4 = Somewhat disagree 5 = Strongly disagree 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)	Read out Randomize topics Read each topic separately with scale
CL3	ALL	CL3. In your opinion, does working before age 18 have positive or negative consequences for a person?	1 = Positive 2 = Neither positive or negative 3 = Negative 4 = Both positive and negative 97 = Refuse to answer 98 = Don't know	
CL4_A CL4_B CL4_C CL4_D CL4_D CL4_E CL4_F CL4_G CL4_H CL4_I CL4_J CL4_K CL4_L CL4_M CL4_N	CL3 = 3 or 4 or 97 or 98	CL4. In your opinion, what, if any, are the bad or negative aspects of working before 18 years? (Note to enumerator: do not read answers, select all that respondent mentions) Impacts his/her education negatively (missing out on qualifications and higher skills) Risk of physical abuse Risk of accidents leading to physical injuries (cuts, burns, fractures) Risk of emotional mistreatment (blaming, belittling, humiliation) Risk of emotional health problems including anxiety, depressions etc. Child feel inferior due to not being able to go to school Risk of sexual abuse and exploitation Learning problems – worse results in school performance More likely to engage in dangerous activities, such as using drugs and smoking at a young age Long-term health problems (exposed to dust, pollution, toxic materials etc.) Misses out on time to play and socialize with peers Other (specify) Don't know None Refuse to answer	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize topics

CL5	ALL	CL5. Based on your knowledge, does the province have a law that prohibits employing children or parents/caregivers from sending their children to work?	1 =Yes, I know there is such law 2 =Yes, I assume/think there is such law 3 = No, I don't know there is such law 4 = No, I assume/think there is no such law 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98= Don't know (do not read out)	Read out Code to fit
CL6	ALL	CL6. Do you think people in the province should report incidents of child labour to the authorities?	1=Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse to answer 98 = Don't Know	None
CL6a	CL6 = 2	CL6a. If no, why?	1 = Family's internal affairs 2 = Fear retribution from family 3 = Lack of trust in authorities 4 = Do not know how to report 5 = Other 98 = Do not know	Read Out
CL7	ALL	CL7. Based on your knowledge, does the province have a law that obliges people and children to report a case of child labour to the authorities?	1 =Yes, I know there is such law 2 =Yes, I assume/think there is such law 3 = No, I don't know there is such law 4 = No, I assume/think there is no such law 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98= Don't know (do not read out)	Read out Code to fit

CL8_A CL8_C CL8_D CL8_E CL8_F CL8_G CL8_H CL8_I	ALL	CL8. Thank you again for all the answers so far. Now, I am going to read some more statements, would you please specify to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements: Child labour is necessary for the survival of some families It is ok boys to work, but it is bad when girls work Neither boys nor girls should work until they have finished their education Girls are better prepared for adult life by sending them to work than by completing their education Boys are better prepared for adult life by sending them to work than by completing their education Children are more obedient and easier to manage/control as employees than adults Children are better suited/more skilled than adults for some tasks/work (e.g. cotton picking, carpet weaving) We should stop child labour in this community	1 = Strongly agree 2 = Somewhat agree 3 = Neither agree, nor disagree 4 = Somewhat disagree 5 = Strongly disagree 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)	Read out Randomize topics Read each topic separately with scale
CL9	ALL	CL9. Has any child under 18 years in this household worked or is currently working?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)	Read out
CL9A	CL9 = 1	CL9A. If yes, what is/was the gender of the child?	1 = Male only 2 = Female only 3 = Both male and female	
CL9B	CL9 = 1	CL9B. What age did they start working?	(open-ended numeric)	
CL10				
Child Marriage				
CM1	ALL	CM1. Thank you very much for your answers. We have reached the last section and only have a few more questions to ask you. In this section, I will ask you question with regards to marriage and specifically child marriages. In general, between what age range do boys get married in your family?	1 = < 12 years 2 = 12 – 14 years 3 = 15 – 17 years 4 = 18 – 20 years 5 = > 20 years 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)	Read out

CM2	ALL	CM2. In general, between what age range do girls get married in your family?	1 = < 12 years 2 = 12 – 14 years 3 = 15 – 17 years 4 = 18 – 20 years 5 = > 20 years 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)	Read out
CM4	ALL	CM4. Who in your household would be MOST responsible for deciding when and how a boy get married?	1 = the boy himself 2 = His father 3 = His mother 4 = Both parents 5 = His brother 6 = His sister 7 = His uncle/aunty 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)	Do not read out
CM5	ALL	CM5. Who in your household would be MOST responsible for deciding when and how a girl get married?	1 = the girl herself 2 = Her father 3 = Her mother 4 = Both parents 5 = Her brother 6 = Her sister 7 = Her uncle/aunty 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)	Do not read out
CM6	ALL	CM6. What do you think is the youngest age a girl should get married?	(open-ended numeric)	Do not read out
CM7	ALL	CM7. What do you think is the youngest age a boy should get married?	(open-ended numeric)	Do not Read out

CM8	ALL	CM8. What are the general attitudes in your community towards child marriage?	1 = They are accepting of it and think it is good for people to marry young 2 = They are accepting of it because they think it is necessary, but some are concerned it can be harmful for children 3 = They do not think it is good, and people have tried to limit it 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (Interviewer do not read out)	Read out
CM9	ALL	CM9. In your opinion, does marrying before age 18 have positive or negative consequences for a person?	1 = Positive 2 = Neither positive or negative 3 = Negative 4 = Both positive and negative 97 = Refuse to answer 98 = I don't know	Read out
CM10_A CM10_B CM10_C CM10_D CM10_E CM10_F CM10_I CM10_J CM10_K CM10_G CM10_H	CM9 = 3 or 4 or 97 or 98	CM10. What are the negative consequences that someone can face by marrying before 18? (Note to enumerator: do not read answers, select all that respondent mentions) Gender-based violence including sexual abuse Early pregnancy Social isolation Interruption of schooling Health risks for the girl Health risk for her children Depression Reduced freedom Less job opportunities in the future Poverty Other (specify) _____	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not read out

CM11_A CM11_B CM11_C CM11_D CM11_E CM11_F CM11_G CM11_H CM11_I CM11_J CM11_K CM11_L CM11_M	ALL	<p>CM11. Please tell me to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements</p> <p>We should stop marrying children under 18 in my community</p> <p>Seizing the opportunity of a good marriage is more important than continuing a girl's education.</p> <p>Physical changes in appearance is a sign that a girl is ready for marriage.</p> <p>Marrying girls under 18 ensures purity (virginity/chastity) on their wedding day.</p> <p>Marrying before 18 is required by our religion.</p> <p>Marriage provides protection to a girl.</p> <p>Education provides protection to a girl.</p> <p>Marrying my daughter before she turns 18 allows me to secure her financial status</p> <p>Girls over 18 who are not married are a burden to their families</p> <p>A girl under 18 is more fertile than a girl above 18.</p> <p>Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to get money to repay a debt.</p> <p>Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to manage disputes.</p> <p>Marrying girls under 18 can have negative health consequences for the girl and/or her children</p>	<p>1 = Strongly agree</p> <p>2 = Somewhat agree</p> <p>3 = Neither agree, nor disagree</p> <p>4 = Somewhat disagree</p> <p>5 = Strongly disagree</p> <p>97 = Refuse (do not read out)</p> <p>98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)</p>	<p>Read out</p> <p>Randomize topics</p> <p>Read each topic separately with scale</p>
CM11_G CM11_H CM11_I CM11_J CM11_K CM11_L CM11_M CM11_G CM11_H CM11_I CM11_J CM11_K CM11_L CM11_M CM11_G CM11_H CM11_I CM11_J CM11_K CM11_L CM11_M				

CM12	ALL	CM12. Do you think that girls should have a say in who, and when they will marry?	1 = Yes 2 = Yes, but they should not be allowed to make final decision 3 = No 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out)	Read out
CM13	ALL	CM13: Do you think that boys should have a say in who, and when they will marry?	1 = Yes 2 = Yes, but they should not be allowed to make final decision 3 = No 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out)	Read out
CM14	ALL	CM14. Based on your knowledge, does the province have a law that prohibits child marriages (i.e. marrying children under 18)?	1 = Yes 2 = No	Read Out
CM15	ALL	CL15. Do you think people in the province should report incidents of child marriage to the authorities?	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Do not know (Interviewer: do not read out)	
CM16	CM15 = 1	CM16. If No, why?	1 = Family's internal affairs 2 = Fear retribution from family 3 = Lack of trust in authorities 4 = Do not know how to report 5 = Other 6 = Do not Know	

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Survey End

Adult Qualitative Focus Group Discussion Tool

Q#	Question	Probes
1	<i>Can each of you tell me one word to describe your childhood and one word to describe your children's childhood?</i>	

Birth Registration

Space for notes		
2	Can you tell me about the process of birth registration? Would you share with me your understanding and / or experience with the birth registration process	What does it mean for births to be 'registered'? What is the process like, easy or difficult? Why? How does this differ for male or female children? How does COVID-19 change the process?
3	(To be asked only from married participants) When you had your child or children, why did you or did you not register their birth? Instead, you can also speak about other children in your family, if you don't have your own children.	<p>Why you registered the births of your children – or other children in the family – or why not?</p> <p>What are some of the benefits that your children enjoyed after getting their births registered?</p> <p>Was the decision yours? Who else helped make the decision or influenced your decision?</p> <p>What made the process easier or more difficult? (access to information, service availability, government staff, people in your community, information from the media, friends, NGOs)</p> <p>Who do you know who thinks differently to you? Why do you think that is?</p> <p>Is there any reason why you or people you know delay the birth registration of their children?</p>
4	According to you, how's the life of a child whose birth is registered different from the one whose birth is not registered?	Are there differences in access to services or treatment by the authorities? Does registration affect economic or education prospects once they enter adulthood? Are they treated differently by friends, family, community? Are there differences between boys and girls?

Space for notes

Violent Discipline

Space for notes

Q#	Question	Probes
5	<p>Now I'll ask you questions about your children and how they are disciplined. But before that I'll ask a couple of questions about your childhood.</p> <p>What was your childhood like? Have you ever been disciplined in ways that you did not like or that you now think were bad? How has that impacted on your personal development?</p>	<p>Do you remember any story from your childhood when you did something wrong and how you were disciplined by your parents?</p> <p>What do you think of the ways that your parents adopted to discipline you? In hindsight, do you think they were more or less violent than now?</p> <p>What's your view of child development and how they should be raised?</p>
6	<p>Now, would you please recall or imagine a time when your child did something which you thought was wrong; how did you, or would you respond in that situation?</p>	<p>What did your child do that you thought was wrong? Why did you think so? Who decided how to punish the child (e.g. which parent or caregiver)? Was there any debate within the family on how to punish the child? Any disagreements?</p> <p>How and why did you first decide to use this kind of discipline with your child?</p> <p>What kinds of punishments do people you know give that are: a) too soft for the offence? b) too harsh for the offence?</p> <p>To what extent is it safe or risky to discipline children in this way? Why?</p> <p>How would you answer differently for boy or girl children?</p>

Space for notes

7	<p>What non-physical discipline methods have you seen other parents, teachers or caregivers using?</p>	<p>Would you first list down those other ways of disciplining children?</p> <p>What outcomes do parents/teachers/community think they will get by using verbal abuse or physical discipline? (e.g. a method brings shame, brings better behaviour?)</p> <p>To what extent do people who use non-violent forms of discipline (e.g. calmly discussing the action with the child) see good or bad results in their children?</p> <p>Have you ever considered using any of these (violent/non-violent) kinds of discipline with your children? Why (not)?</p>
8	<p>To what extent do others' opinions on how you discipline your child matter to you or influence your approach?</p>	<p>If a friend's or relatives or neighbour's child misbehaves, what would you think about that child and the family?</p> <p>If a friend or relative or neighbour told you that the way you disciplined your child was causing harm to the child, would you change it? Why (not)?</p> <p>Replace friend with: local leader, religious leader, politician, celebrity, police, government official etc.</p> <p>Have you tried to adopt the parenting style of any of your relative, family member, neighbour or friend? If yes, why?</p> <p>What laws or rules do you know of that affect how you treat your child?</p> <p>If you see violence against children happening in your family or neighborhood, would you report? If no, why? If yes, why and do you know where to report?</p> <p>Has Covid-19 affected how you discipline your children now?</p>

Space for notes

Child Labour

Space for notes

Q#	Question	Probes
9	Can you tell me about the types of work your children carry out? I mean any kind of work except for light chores inside the house or outside of the house, for a wage or for free.	<p>Who are the children doing this (gender, age) and what kind of work are they doing?</p> <p>What made your family decide that the child would work? Who made this decision in your family?</p> <p>What would need to happen in order for the child to stop working?</p> <p>When children work, what good or bad effects does it have on them or their family?</p> <p>How is this different for boys or girls?</p> <p>How is this different for disabled children?</p>

Space for notes

10	<p>Scenario 1: Fatima is a ten-year old girl who is helping out in the household of a wealthy family. She spends about nine hours a day cooking, cleaning, and helping take care of the family's small children. Before Fatima started the job she was going to school, but now she is not.</p> <p>Scenario 2: Abdullah is a 13 year old boy who is working in a local restaurant. He spends about nine hours a day cleaning the restaurant, re-stocking shelves, and buying ingredients for the meals. Before Abdullah started the job he was going to school, but now he is not.</p>	<p>For each scenario:</p> <p>Would you say the work the child is doing is acceptable or unacceptable? Why?</p> <p>If not acceptable, what other options do their parents have to avoid their child work?</p> <p>Why do you think the child's parents want the child to work?</p> <p>What would other people in the community think of the parents' decision to have their child work?</p> <p>What do you think the child might feel about doing this kind of work?</p> <p>Do you think the children are vulnerable to violence at work?</p>
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Space for notes

Q#	Question	Probes
11	To what extent do local leaders', authorities' or the governments' views on whether or how much your child works matter to you?	<p>What do the government, politicians and police say about children working? Do they take any action on child labour?</p> <p>What do local community or religious leaders say about children working?</p> <p>If the government said something different, would you change your views on what work is acceptable for children?</p> <p>In Pakistan, how old does a child have to be in order to work legally?</p> <p>Has COVID-19 changed how you feel or act about child labour now?</p>

Space for notes

Child Marriage

Child Marriage

Space for notes

Q#	Question	Probes
12	Can you tell me if you think your children should get married and, if so, why it is important? And, what you think is an ideal age for marriage?	<p>Why does your family or community value marriage?</p> <p>What age do you think is appropriate for girls and boys to marry? What factors would make you vary this?</p> <p>What else matters the most for getting married?</p> <p>What do you think would be the consequences of getting your child married?</p>

Space for notes

13	<p>I'd like to better understand why parents might want their children to marry before they turn 18 years old.</p> <p>Can you describe to me how people in your community decide that their children should get married before they turn 18? And why?</p>	<p>Which people inside or outside of the family, including the children, help to make the decision to marry before the age of 18? Can you describe any discussion that takes place, and what factors are considered?</p> <p>Is child opinion or decision taken into account at any point?</p> <p>What are some of the advantages and disadvantages when children marry before they turn 18?</p> <p>To what extent are traditional agreements relevant to your situation? (e.g. Swara, Watta Satta, Pait Likkhi), and does the physical and mental maturity of the child play a role? How far is children's consent regarded?</p> <p>Relevance of concerns around honour/ izzat?</p> <p>In what circumstances do parents decide children are too young to get married?</p> <p>Does the decision depend on whether the child is a male or female? Is child marriage preferred for boys or girls? If boys, why? If girls, why?</p> <p>What needs to happen, or what needs to change, to prevent any marriage before the age of 18, both for girls and boys, in your community?</p>
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Space for notes

14	Imagine this scenario: there is a girl who is 16 years old whose parents have asked her to marry a man who is 40 years old. She does not want to marry him. What should she do and what should her parents do?	<p>What would be the likely outcome from the girl's or parent's actions?</p> <p>Would other people in your community agree or disagree with you?</p> <p>Is this likely to happen? Do you know of cases where this or something similar has happened?</p> <p>[only if time] How would your answers differ if the girl was 12 years old?</p> <p>What do you think should be the ideal age for that girl to get married?</p>
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Space for notes

15	<p>To what extent do you think government policy on child marriage matters to the parents of children who are married?</p> <p>To what extent do you think that the opinion of local leaders matters to the parents of children who are married?</p> <p>To what extent do you think that the opinion of neighbors and friends matters to the parents of children who are married?</p>	<p>What laws are there that tell parents what is acceptable around child marriage?</p> <p>Have you seen the government or police take action on child marriage? What was the outcome?</p> <p>Have others ever discussed this topic with anyone that made you change your opinion on child marriage?</p> <p>What's the opinion of local religious leaders and others in your community regarding child marriages? And, how far those influence decisions in families regarding child marriages?</p> <p>Do you think the practice of child marriage should stop? If yes, how do you think this practice could be curbed in the society?</p> <p>Has Covid-19 made it more or less likely for children to get married, how has it changed things?</p>
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Space for notes

Adult Qualitative Key Informant Interview Tool

Q#	Question	Probes
1	Can each of you tell me one word to describe your childhood and one word to describe your children's childhood?	
Space for notes		
Birth Registration		
2	Can you tell me about the process of birth registration? Would you share with me your understanding and / or experience with the birth registration process?	What does it mean for births to be 'registered'? What is the process like, easy or difficult? Why? How does this differ for male or female children? How does COVID-19 change the process?
Space for notes		
3	[To be asked only from married participants] When you had your child or children, why did you or did you not register their birth? Instead, you can also speak about other children in your family, if you don't have your own children.	Why you registered the births of your children – or other children in the family – or why not? What are some of the benefits that your children enjoyed after getting their births registered? Was the decision yours? Who else helped make the decision or influenced your decision?
Space for notes		
4	According to you, how's the life of a child whose birth is registered different from the one whose birth is not registered?	Are there differences in access to services or treatment by the authorities? Does registration affect economic or education prospects once they enter adulthood? Are they treated differently by friends, family, community? Are there differences between boys and girls?
Space for notes		

Violent Discipline		
5	<p>Now I'll ask you questions about your children and how they are disciplined. But before that I'll ask a couple of questions about your childhood. What was your childhood like? Have you ever been disciplined in ways that you did not like or that you now think were bad? How has that impacted on your personal development?</p>	<p>Do you remember any story from your childhood when you did something wrong and how you were disciplined by your parents? What do you think of the ways that your parents adopted to discipline you? In hindsight, do you think they were more or less violent than now? What's your view of child development and how they should be raised?</p>
6	<p>Now, would you please recall or imagine a time when your child did something which you thought was wrong; how did you, or would you respond in that situation?</p>	<p>What did your child do that you thought was wrong? Why did you think so? Who decided how to punish the child (e.g. which parent or caregiver)? Was there any debate within the family on how to punish the child? Any disagreements?</p> <p>How and why did you first decide to use this kind of discipline with your child?</p> <p>What kinds of punishments do people you know give that are: a) too soft for the offence? b) too harsh for the offence?</p> <p>To what extent is it safe or risky to discipline children in this way? Why?</p> <p>How would you answer differently for boy or girl children?</p>
7	<p>What non-physical discipline methods have you seen other parents, teachers or caregivers using?</p>	<p>Would you first list down those other ways of disciplining children? What outcomes do parents/teachers/community think they will get by using verbal abuse or physical discipline? (e.g. a method brings shame, brings better behaviour?)</p> <p>To what extent do people who use non-violent forms of discipline (e.g. calmly discussing the action with the child) see good or bad results in their children?</p> <p>Have you ever considered using any of these (violent/non-violent) kinds of discipline with your children? Why (not)?</p>
8	<p>To what extent do others' opinions on how you discipline your child matter to you or influence your approach?</p>	<p>If a friend's or relatives or neighbour's child misbehaves, what would you think about that child and the family?</p> <p>If a friend or relative or neighbour told you that the way you disciplined your child was causing harm to the child, would you change it? Why (not)?</p> <p>Replace friend with: local leader, religious leader, politician, celebrity, police, government official etc.</p> <p>Have you tried to adopt the parenting style of any of your relative, family member, neighbour or friend? If yes, why?</p> <p>What laws or rules do you know of that affect how you treat your child? If you see violence against children happening in your family or neighbourhood, would you report? If no, why? If yes, why and do you know where to report?</p> <p>Has COVID-19 affected how you discipline your children now?</p>

Child Labour		
9	Can you tell me about the types of work your children carry out? I mean any kind of work except for light chores inside the house or outside of the house, for a wage or for free.	<p>Who are the children doing this (gender, age) and what kind of work are they doing?</p> <p>What made your family decide that the child would work? Who made this decision in your family?</p> <p>What would need to happen in order for the child to stop working?</p> <p>When children work, what good or bad effects does it have on them or their family?</p> <p>How is this different for boys or girls?</p> <p>How is this different for disabled children?</p>
10	<p>Scenario 1: Fatima is a ten-year old girl who is helping out in the household of a wealthy family. She spends about nine hours a day cooking, cleaning, and helping take care of the family's small children. Before Fatima started the job she was going to school, but now she is not.</p> <p>Scenario 2: Abdullah is a 13 year old boy who is working in a local restaurant. He spends about nine hours a day cleaning the restaurant, re-stocking shelves, and buying ingredients for the meals. Before Abdullah started the job he was going to school, but now he is not.</p>	<p>For each scenario:</p> <p>Would you say the work the child is doing is acceptable or unacceptable? Why?</p> <p>If not acceptable, what other options do their parents have to avoid their child work?</p> <p>Why do you think the child's parents want the child to work?</p> <p>What would other people in the community think of the parents' decision to have their child work?</p> <p>What do you think the child might feel about doing this kind of work?</p> <p>Do you think the children are vulnerable to violence at work?</p>
11	To what extent do local leaders, authorities' or the governments' views on whether or how much your child works matter to you?	<p>What do the government, politicians and police say about children working? Do they take any action on child labour?</p> <p>What do local community or religious leaders say about children working?</p> <p>If the government said something different, would you change your views on what work is acceptable for children?</p> <p>In Pakistan, how old does a child have to be in order to work legally?</p> <p>Has COVID-19 changed how you feel or act about child labour now?</p>
Child Labour		
12	Can you tell me if you think your children should get married and, if so, why it is important? And, what you think is an ideal age for marriage?	<p>Why does your family or community value marriage?</p> <p>What age do you think is appropriate for girls and boys to marry?</p> <p>What factors would make you vary this?</p> <p>What else matters the most for getting married?</p> <p>What do you think would be the consequences of getting your child married?</p>

13	<p>I'd like to better understand why parents might want their children to marry before they turn 18 years old. Can you describe to me how people in your community decide that their children should get married before they turn 18? And why?</p>	<p><i>Which people inside or outside of the family, including the children, help to make the decision to marry before the age of 18? Can you describe any discussion that takes place, and what factors are considered? Is child opinion or decision taken into account at any point? What are some of the advantages and disadvantages when children marry before they turn 18? To what extent are traditional agreements relevant to your situation? (e.g. Swara, Watta Satta, Pait Likkhi), and does the physical and mental maturity of the child play a role? How far is children's consent regarded?</i></p> <p><i>Relevance of concerns around honour/ izzat?</i></p> <p><i>In what circumstances do parents decide children are too young to get married? Does the decision depend on whether the child is a male or female? Is child marriage preferred for boys or girls? If boys, why? If girls, why? What needs to happen, or what needs to change, to prevent any marriage before the age of 18, both for girls and boys, in your community?</i></p>
14	<p>Imagine this scenario: there is a girl who is 16 years old whose parents have asked her to marry a man who is 40 years old. She does not want to marry him. What should she do and what should her parents do?</p>	<p><i>What would be the likely outcome from the girl's or parent's actions? Would other people in your community agree or disagree with you? Is this likely to happen? Do you know of cases where this or something similar has happened?</i></p> <p><i>[only if time] How would your answers differ if the girl was 12 years old?</i></p> <p><i>What do you think should be the ideal age for that girl to get married?</i></p>
15	<p>To what extent do you think government policy on child marriage matters to the parents of children who are married?</p> <p>To what extent do you think that the opinion of local leaders matters to the parents of children who are married?</p> <p>To what extent do you think that the opinion of neighbors and friends matters to the parents of children who are married?</p>	<p><i>What laws are there that tell parents what is acceptable around child marriage?</i></p> <p><i>Have you seen the government or police take action on child marriage? What was the outcome?</i></p> <p><i>Have others ever discussed this topic with anyone that made you change your opinion on child marriage?</i></p> <p><i>What's the opinion of local religious leaders and others in your community regarding child marriages? And, how far those influence decisions in families regarding child marriages?</i></p> <p><i>Do you think the practice of child marriage should stop? If yes, how do you think this practice could be curbed in the society?</i></p> <p><i>Has COVID-19 made it more or less likely for children to get married, how has it changed things?</i></p>

Child Quantitative Survey Tool

Variable	Entrance Rule	Question Text	Response Options	Instructions
Survey Information				
S5	ALL	S5. First, I need to randomly choose who to in-terview from this household. How many people in this household are between 14 to 17?	1 = Enter number 97 = Refuse 98 = Don't know	S5 = 0 /97/98 End Interview S5 = 1/Go to RS4D Read out
S8	S5 > 1	S8. Do you know which of these people between 14-17 has the next upcoming birthday? Is this per-son available to interview, either now or a bit later?	1 =Yes 2 = No – that person is not available 3 = No – that person does not want to speak with you 4 = No – that person is not allowed to speak with you 96 = No – other reason	S8 = 1 / Go to RS4D S8 = 2/96 & S5=1 / Submit Read out
S9	S8=2/96 & S5>1	S9. What about the person with the second-next birthday? Is that person available to interview	1 =Yes 2 = No – that person is not available 3 = No – that person does not want to speak with you 4 = No – that person is not allowed to speak with you 96 = No – other reason	S9 = 1 / Go to RS4D S9 = 2/96 & S5<=2 / Submit S9 = 2 & S5 > 2/ Go to S10 Read out
S10	S9=2 & S5>1	S10. Okay, is there anyone else between 14-17 years available to interview?	1 =Yes 2 = No – nobody is available 3 = No – nobody wants to speak with you 4 = No – nobody is allowed to speak with you 96 = No – other reason	S10 = 2/96 / Submit Read out
RS4D	ALL	RS4D. Selected respondent availability	1 = Selected respondent is available now or on revisit (pause interview if returning later) 2 = Selected respondent was unavailable and needs to be replaced (cancels interview)	RS4D = 2 / Submit Interviewer complete

RS5	RS4D=1	<p>RS5. [Read if selected respondent is the same as initial contact]</p> <p>You have been randomly selected to participate in this interview. To reiterate, there are no right or wrong answers, and our discussion will be treated confidentially. You may end the interview at any point. The survey may be monitored for quality purposes. May I have your permission to begin the interview?</p> <p>[Read if selected respondent is different than initial contact]Hello/Salam. My name is _____, and I work for Ipsos, an independent research company and public opinion polling agency. Ipsos conducts research about many issues concerning the lives of people living in Pakistan. Today we are conducting a study, on behalf of UNICEF, that is taking place all across the provinces of Pakistan. The study is about understanding the safety and protection issues that children face all over Pakistan. Your household has been randomly selected to participate in the study, among a total of nearly 2000 households across the country. You have been randomly selected from your household members to complete the survey. Do you have around 35-40 mins to spare to answer several questions? Your answers are very important to us. It is my hope that you will agree to share your views with me. There are no right or wrong answers, and our discussion will be treated confidentially. All data collected is anonymous and your name is not connected to any results. You may end the interview at any point. Results are combined with hundreds of other participants. The survey may be monitored for quality purposes. May I have your permission to begin the interview?</p>	<p>1 = Yes</p> <p>2 = No</p>	<p>RS5 = 2 / Submit</p> <p>Read out</p>
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Respondent Demographics

D1	ALL	I'd like to start by asking you some basic information about yourself and your life situation. D1. First, What is your gender?)	1 = Male 2 = Female 3 = Transgender 4 = Does not identify as male, female or transgender 96 = Other	Do not read Out option
D2	ALL	D2. What is your age	14<=x<=17	IF D2 <14 or D2>17 / End Do not read out; code to fit
D3	ALL	D3. Have you ever been to school? If yes, what is the highest level you have attended?	1 = Never attended school 2 = Reading and writing 3 = Primary School 4 = Madrassah 5 = Intermediate School 6 = High School Diploma 7 = Technical Institute Diploma 8 = Other (please specify)	Read Out
D4	ALL	D4. What is your working status now?	1 = Working fulltime outside of own home 2 = Don't do anything/Not working outside of own home 3 = Studying/ Student 4 = Housewife – not working outside home 5 = Working part time 96 = Other 97 = Refused (Interviewer: do not read out)	Read Out
D5	ALL	D5. Which province do you mostly live in?	1 = Punjab 2 = Sindh 3 = Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa 4 = Baluchistan 5 = Gilgit – Baltistan 6 = Azad Jammu Kashmir 7 = Islamabad 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refused (Interviewer: do not read out) 98 = Don't Know (Interviewer: do not read out)	Do not read out; code to fit

D5a.	ALL	D5a. Where do you mostly live?	1 = City/Town 2 = Village	Read Out
D6	ALL	D6. Have you been going to school since the beginning of this school year?	1 = Yes 2 = No	None
D6a.	D6 = 2	D6a. Why were you not going to school when it was not vacation or holidays?	1 = Schools closed due to COVID (coronavirus) 2 = I was sick 3 = I had to work 4 = I was pregnant 5 = We had no money for fees, uniform, books or transportation 6 = I had to take care of a sick relative 7 = I dropped out of school 8 = I did not want to go 9 = The school is too far/No transport 10 = School closed for other reasons 11 = I was mistreated in school 96 = Other (specify)	Random response options
D7	ALL	D7. What is your ethnicity?	1 = Punjabi 2 = Sindhi 3 = Pashtun / Pathan 4 = Balochi 5 = Saraiki 6 = Hazara 7 = Muhajirs 8 = Shina 9 = Baltis 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refused (Interviewer: do not read out) 98 = Don't know (Interviewer: do not read out)	Do not read out; code to fit
D8	ALL	D8. Are you currently married or engaged? (Note to enumerator: If married girl, ask if apart from herself, if the husband has any other wives)	1 = Married (monogamy) 2 = Married (polygamy) 3 = Single (never married) 4 = Engaged 5 = Divorced 6 = Widowed 96 = Other (Specify) 97 = Refuse (Interviewer: do not read out)	Do not read out; code to fit

D9	ALL	D9. Do you have any children of your own?	1 = Yes 2 = No	None
D10	ALL	D10. Is your household headed by a male or female household member?	1 = Male 2 = Female	None
D11	ALL	D11. What is your relation to the head of this household? (Head of the household is the main person making decisions in this house)	1 = Son/Daughter 2 = Grandson/ g r a n d d a u g h t e r 3 = Brother/Sister 4 = I am the head of the household (child-headed household) 5 = Niece/nephew 6 = Stepchild 7 = Not family related 8 = Spouse/husband 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer 98 = Don't Know	Do not read out; code to fit
D12	ALL	D12. Are you living with your parents?	1 = Yes, both parents 2 = No, living with only one parent 3 = No, not living with my parents	Do not read out; code to fit
CD3	D12 = 2 or 3	CD3. Are your parents alive?	1 = Father dead 2 = Mother dead 3 = Both parents dead 4 = Both parents alive 97 = Refuse 98 = Don't know	Do not Read Out
D14	ALL	CD4. Do you have any siblings (brothers and sis-ters)?	1 = Yes 2 = No	None
D15	ALL	D15. Do you have any difficulties with hearing; see-ing; walking; remembering or concentrating; selfcare; or communicating?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = refuse to answer	None

D16_A D16_B D16_C D16_D D16_E D16_F D16_G D16_H D16_I D16_J D16_K D16_L	ALL	D16. What do you normally do during the day-time? (Note: do not read out options. Select all that respondent mentions) Go to school Help my parents/relative in the farm/shop/business outside Go to madrassah Help my mother to do household chores Work as a domestic worker Take care of my brothers and/or sisters Work in a factory/garages/workshop/stores Work as a street vendor Play/hangout together with friends Do homework Do nothing Other (please specify)	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize Topics
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Birth Registration				
CB1	ALL	CB1. Now I'll ask you some questions about the birth registration process in your area. Do you know or have you ever heard about the birth registration process?	1 = Yes 2 = No	None
CB1a_A CB1a_B CB1a_C CB1a_D CB1a_E CB1a_F CB1a_G CB1a_H CB1a_I CB1a_J CB1a_K CB1a_L CB1a_M	CB1 = 1	CB1a. How did you hear about the birth registra-tion? (Select all that the respondent mentions) Parents Radio Newspaper Internet Billboard/ leaflets/posters Relatives/family Friends People in my community Government staff Hospital Mosque / Religious cleric/Imam School Other (specify)	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize Topics

CB8_A CB8_B CB8_C CB8_D CB8_E CB8_F CB8_G CB8_H CB8_I CB8_J	ALL	CB8. Do you know where you can register a child's birth? (Note to enumerator: Do not read out option. Select all that the respondents mention) NADRA Union Council Hospital School Nazim/ Councilor Municipal or Community Administration Mosque/Madrassa/ Religious Leader (Imam) District Court Other (specify) I don't know	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize Topics
CB0	ALL	CB0. Do you know if you had your birth registered?	1 = Yes 2 = No 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	None
CB0_A	CB0 = 1	CB0_A. Do you have a birth registration certificate?	1 = Yes 2 = No 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	None
CB0_B	CB0 = 1	CB0_B. Do you know at what age you had your birth registered?	0 = At birth (0-9 months) 96 = Enter number 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	None
CB1b_A CB1b_B CB1b_C CB1b_D CB1b_E CB1b_F CB1b_G CB1b_H CB1b_I CB1b_J CB1b_K CB1b_L CB1b_M CB1b_N CB1b_O	CB0_A = 1	CB1b. Which institution issued your birth registration certificate? (Enumerator: Do not read out options. Select the options that the respondent mentions) Doctor/Clinic Hospital Police station Mosque/religious cleric/imam Madrassah Community/village head NADRA Union Council Government staff Hospital District Court School Other (specify) I don't know (note: do not read out) Refuse (note: do not read out)	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize Topics

CB2	CB0 = 1	CB3. Do you know who in your family registered yours or your sibling's birth?	1 = Father 2 = Mother 3 = Both parents 4 = Grandparent 5 = Relative 6 = Brother 7 = Sister 8 = Child him/herself 96 = Other (specify) 98 = Don't know	None
CB3	CB0 = 2	CB4. If someone in your household were to register a child's birth, who in your household would take that decision?	1 = Father 2 = Mother 3 = Both parents 4 = Grandparent 5 = Relative 6 = Brother 7 = Sister 8 = Children themselves 96 = Other (specify) 98 = Don't know	None
CB4	ALL	CB4. Have you ever been asked for a birth registration certificate by anyone for any reason?	1 = Yes 2 = No 98 = Don't know/Don't remember (do not read out)	None
CB9_A CB9_B CB9_C CB9_D CB9_E CB9_F CB9_G CB9_H	ALL	CB9. What do you think is the purpose of registering the birth of child/ren? (Do not read out options. Select the options that the respondent mentions) Future planning by the government Enrollment in schooling For knowing child's age For obtaining official civil documents (CNIC, Form-B, passport, driver's license etc) For job employment For government's record Other (Specify) I don't know (exclusive option)	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not read out Randomize topics
CB10_A CB10_B CB10_C CB10_D CB10_E CB10_F CB10_G CB10_H	ALL	CB10. How important is birth registration for each of the following? Future planning by the government (e.g. knowing the population increase, school required for children in the future, creating job opportunities etc.) Enrollment in schooling For knowing child's age For obtaining official civil documents (CNIC, passport, driver's license etc) For job employment For government's record For healthcare/hospitals/medical treatment For marriage	1 = Not important at all 2 = A little bit important 3 = Somewhat important 4 = Very important 5 = Extremely important 98 = I Don't Know (interviewer do not read out)	Read out Randomize topics

Violent Discipline

VAC0.	ALL	<p>VAC0. Now we will talk about disciplining methods that parents use in households to discipline their children, and different methods that parents' and caregivers adopt to manage their child/ren's behaviour.</p> <p>I'll tell you story of a family who lives in this district (name the district where the interview is being conducted). The family is composed of the parents, Tariq and Fatima, and their two kids, Bilal and Huma. Bilal is 12 years old and Huma is 8 years old. Like other children, Bilal and Huma also sometimes misbehave and their parents use different disciplining techniques. Last week, Huma asked her father to give her 20 rupees. Her father, Tariq, asked her to take 20 rupees from his wallet. Huma, however, took 40 rupees instead of 20, which means she stole 20 rupees. Her father, Tariq, noticed that 20 rupees are missing in his wallet and asked Huma. Huma lied to her father but her cousin told Tariq that Huma had 40 rupees. Huma explained that she stole 20 rupees because she wanted to buy things for her cousin as well.</p>		
VAC1	ALL	VAC1. What do you think would most parents in your community do in Huma's situation? (Note to enumerator: If child mentions 'punish', ask how?)	<p>1= Use physical punishment</p> <p>2 = Use verbal punishment</p> <p>3 = Both physical and verbal punishment</p> <p>4 = Not punish but explain to the kid that what she did was wrong</p> <p>96 = Other (please specify)</p> <p>98 = I Don't know</p>	Do not read options. Select what the respondent mentions
VAC2	ALL	VAC2. Who in your household usually would discipline the children in such situation?	<p>1 = Parents</p> <p>2 = Father</p> <p>3 = Mother</p> <p>4 = Grandparent</p> <p>5 = Uncle</p> <p>6 = Aunty</p> <p>7 = Brother</p> <p>8 = Sister</p> <p>96 = Other (please specify)</p> <p>97 = Refuse (Do not read out)</p>	None

VAC3_A VAC3_B VAC3_C VAC3_D VAC3_E VAC3_F VAC1_G VAC3_H VAC3_I VAC3_J VAC3_K VAC3_L VAC3_M VAC3_N VAC3_O VAC3_P	ALL	<p>VAC3. Adults and parents use certain ways to discipline children or teach them how to behave in such situation. Now, I will read out some disciplining methods that are used and I would like you to tell me how often you think such disciplining methods are used in your community by adults and parents. Please tell me if each of the method is never used, sometimes or frequently.</p> <p>Child is ignored when his/her behaviour is incor-rect/bad</p> <p>Explain to kid why his/her behaviour is incorrect</p> <p>Praise the children about his/her good behaviour</p> <p>Child is sent to his/her room, or to the corner or to sit somewhere alone</p> <p>Things he/she likes are taken away, or child is forbidden to do something he/she likes or pun-ished him/her to go out.</p> <p>Child is given to do something else.</p> <p>Warned the child with a threat that he/she would be punished</p> <p>Yelled or screamed at the child.</p> <p>Hit or spanked him/her on the bottom.</p> <p>Hit or spanked him/her on the hand, arm or leg</p> <p>Hit him/her on the face, head or ears</p> <p>Twisted his/her ear or pulled his/her hair.</p> <p>Shook him/her with hands</p> <p>Beaten, i.e. hit him/her over and over as hard as one could</p> <p>Humiliated, criticized or insulted the child (e.g. name calling the child)</p> <p>Denied food, clothing or other basic needs</p>	<p>1 = Never</p> <p>2 = Sometimes</p> <p>3 = Frequently</p> <p>97 = Refuse (do not read out)</p> <p>98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)</p>	<p>Read out</p> <p>Randomize topics</p> <p>Read each topic separately with scale</p> <p>1) Positive parenting practices (Methods No. B, C, F)</p> <p>2) Non-violent discipline practices (Methods No. A,D, E)</p> <p>3) Psychological aggression (Methods No. G,H,O,P)</p> <p>4) Minor physical punishment (Methods No. I, J, L, M)</p> <p>5) Severe physical punishment (Methods No. K, N).</p>
		Tariq, Huma's father, decided to discipline her by slapping her and hitting her very hard. Whereas, her mother yelled at her and called her stupid and thief.		
VAC3	ALL	VAC3. How often do you think parents or care-giver hit or slap their children in your community in such situation?	<p>1 = Very often</p> <p>2 = Sometimes</p> <p>3 = Never</p> <p>97 = Refuse (do not read out)</p> <p>98 = Don't know (do not read out)</p>	Read Out
VAC4	ALL	<p>VAC4. How often do you think parents or care-givers yell, shout or scream and call their children names to discipline them?</p> <p>Later that day, Bilal (Huma's brother), went to madrassah to recite Quran, but realized he had not revised his lesson. Upon asking, Bilal told imam sahib/molvi/cleric that he forgot to revise his Quran lesson</p>	<p>1 = Very often</p> <p>2 = Sometimes</p> <p>3 = Never</p> <p>97 = Refuse (do not read out)</p> <p>98 = Don't know (do not read out)</p>	

VAC5	ALL	VAC5. What do you think the molvi/imam sa-hib/cleric would most likely do in such situation that Bilal had not revised his lesson?	1 = Use physical punishment 2 = Use verbal punishment 3 = Both physical and verbal punishment 4 = Not punish but explain to the kid that he/she should always revise the lesson 96 = Other (please specify) 98 = I Don't know	Do not read options. Select what the respondent mentions
VAC6	ALL	VAC6. How often do you think clerics/molvi hit or slap children in madrassahs/ mosques in your community?	1 = Very often 2 = Sometimes 3 = Never 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Read Out
VAC7	ALL	VAC7. How often do you think teachers hit or slap children in schools in your community?	1 = Very often 2 = Sometimes 3 = Never 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Read out
VAC8_A VAC8_B VAC8_C VAC8_D VAC8_E VAC8_F VAC8_G VAC8_H VAC8_I		VAC8. There are also other situations when sometimes parents and caregivers become angry by the things children do, and they hit or slap the children hard. Tell me how often parents or care-givers beat children in your community in the following situations. Please tell me whether these happens never, sometime, or always. If the child is disobedient If the child talks back to the parent If the child does not want to go to the school If the child does not want to do his/her home-work If the child does not want to go to work If the child does not want to go to madrassah/or quran lessons If the child does not take care of younger brother or sisters If the child wets bed If the child steals	1 = Never 2 = Sometimes 3 = Always 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)	Read out Randomize topics Read each topic separately with scale
VAC9_A VAC9_B VAC9_C	ALL	VAC9. Now, I am going to read a few statements, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the statements below. Parents treat their own children better than other children in the house Boys get physical punishment more often than girls Girls get physical punishment more often than boys	1 = Agree 2 = Disagree 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Do not read out

VAC10	ALL	VAC10. What would you do if you saw or heard that a child has been beaten badly by their parents?	1 = I report 2 = I confront the parents 3 = I comfort the child 4 = I keep quiet/do nothing 5 = Other (please specify) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Do not read out. Please select what the respondent mentions
VAC11_A	VAC10 = 1	VAC11_A. Who would you report to?	1 = My Parents 2 = Family member/ Close friends 3 = Police 4 = Religious leader/ Mosque imam 5 = Village head/Malik 6 = School principal/ teacher 7 = Child Protection Unit/Social Welfare Department/Child Protection and Welfare Bureau 8 = Court 9 = Hospital 10 = NGO 11 = Helpline 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Do not read out. Please select what the respondent mentions

VAC11_B	VAC10 = 2/5	VAC11_B. Why would you not report?	<p>1 = I don't know where to report or who to report to</p> <p>2 = I don't care, it is not my business</p> <p>3 = It is their family internal matter</p> <p>4 = No action will be taken</p> <p>5 = It is normal in my community for these things to happen</p> <p>6 = Fear of retribution or being beaten</p> <p>7 = Respect for big/old people</p> <p>8 = Parents have the right to beat their children</p> <p>97 = Refuse (do not read out)</p>	Do not read out. Please select what the respondent mentions
VAC12	ALL	VAC12. What would you do if you saw or heard that a child has been beaten badly by school teacher or imam?	<p>1 = I report</p> <p>2 = I confront the teacher or imam</p> <p>3 = I comfort the child</p> <p>4 = I keep quiet/do nothing</p> <p>5 = Other (please specify)</p>	Do not read out. Please select what the respondent mentions
VA12_A	VAC12 = 1	VAC12_A. Who would you report to?	<p>1 = My Parents</p> <p>2 = Family member/ Close friends</p> <p>3 = Police</p> <p>4 = Religious leader/ Mosque head imam</p> <p>5 = Village head/Malik</p> <p>6 = School principal/ teacher</p> <p>7 = Child Protection Unit/Social Welfare Department/Child Protection and Welfare Bureau</p> <p>8 = Court</p> <p>9 = Hospital</p> <p>10 = NGO</p> <p>11 = Helpline</p> <p>97 = Refuse</p> <p>98 = Don't know (do not read out)</p>	Do not read out. Please select what the respondent mentions

VAC12_B	VAC12 = 2/5	VAC12_B. Why would you not report?	1 = I don't know where to report or who to report to 2 = I don't care, it is not my business 3 = It is their family internal matter 4 = No action will be taken 5 = It is normal in my community for these things to happen 6 = Fear of retribution or being beaten 7 = Respect for big/older people 8 97 = Refuse (do not read out)	Do not read out. Please select what the respondent mentions
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Child Labour

CL1	ALL	CL1. Now, I will ask you some questions about working outside of the household. In the past few months, did you work outside of your household?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse (do not read out)	None; Do not read out
CL2	CL1 = 1	CL2. Did you work for pay or money?	1 = Yes, work for pay or money 2 = No, work but not for pay or money 97 = Refuse (do not read out)	Read out
CL3_A CL3_B CL3_C CL3_D CL3_E CL3_F CL3_G CL3_H CL3_I	CL1 = 1	CL3. What type of work did you do? Help my family in a shop/farm Work as a domestic worker in a private house or an office Work at a factory Work in a shop/store/restaurant not owned by family Work in a garage/workshop Work in a farm not owned by family Work at a construction site Other (please specify) Refuse (do not read out)	0 = Uncheck 1 = Check	Do not read out. Please select all that the respondent mentions
CL4	ALL	CL4. Have your parents or caregiver ever spoken to you about starting to work for money?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse (do not read out)	Read out

CL5	CL1 = 1	CL5. Did your work involve any of the following: - Lifting heavy loads - Working in hazardous conditions such as heights, using dangerous tools, extreme heat/cold, fumes/dust etc - Selling things on the street	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse (do not read out)	
CL6	ALL	CL6. In your opinion, is it good or bad for a child under 18 to work for money outside of their own home?	1 = Good 2 = Neither good nor bad 3 = Bad 4 = Both good and bad 97 = Refuse to answer 98 = Don't know	
CL7_A CL7_B CL7_C CL7_D CL7_D CL7_E CL7_F CL7_G CL7_H CL7_I CL7_J CL7_K CL7_L CL7_M CL7_N	CL6 = 3 or 4 or 97 or 98	CL7. In your opinion, what, if any, are the bad or negative aspects of working outside of your own home (such as in shops, factories, workshops, construction sites, or as domestic worker) before 18 years? (Note to enumerator: do not read answers, select all that respondent mentions) Impacts his/her education negatively (missing out on qualifications and higher skills) Risk of physical abuse Risk of accidents leading to physical injuries (cuts, burns, fractures) Risk of emotional mistreatment (blaming, belittling, humiliation) Risk of emotional health problems including anxiety, depressions etc. Child feel inferior due to not being able to go to school Risk of sexual abuse and exploitation Learning problems – worse results in school performance More likely to engage in dangerous activities, such as using drugs and smoking at a young age Long-term health problems (exposed to dust, pollution, toxic materials etc.) Misses out on time to play and socialize with peers Other (specify) Don't know None Refuse to answer	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not Read out Randomize topics
CL8	ALL	CL8. Based on your knowledge, does the province have a law that prohibits employing children or parents/caregivers from sending their children to work?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = I Don't know (do not read out)	Read out Code to fit
CL9	ALL	CL6. Do you think people in your community should report incidents of child labour to the authorities?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse to answer 98 = Don't Know	None

CL9a	CL9 = 2	CL6a. If no, why?	1 = Family's internal affairs 2 = Fear retribution from family 3 = Lack of trust in authorities 4 = Do not know how to report 5 = It is okay/normal for children to work 6 = Other 98 = Do not know	Read Out
CL10_A CL10_B CL10_C CL10_D CL10_E CL10_F CL10_G CL10_H	ALL	CL8. Thank you again for all the answers so far. Now, I am going read some more statements, would you please specify if you agree or disagree with the following statements: Sometimes it is necessary for a child to work to support family financially It is ok for boys to work, but it is bad when girls work I will work to support my family if needed, even if it requires me to leave school/education It is ok for girls to work, but it is bad when boys work Neither boys nor girls should work unless they complete finished their education atleast until in-intermediate level/2nd year college Children can do all the work that adults can do There is a lot of child labour in my community We should stop child labour in this community	1 = Agree 2 = Disagree 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)	Read out Randomize topics Read each topic separately with scale
CL11	ALL	CL9. Has any child under 18 years in this house-hold worked or is currently working?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)	Read Out
CL11A	CL11 = 1	CL9A. If yes, what is/was the gender of the child?	1 = Male only 2 = Female only 3 = Both male and female	
CL11B	CL11 = 1	CL9B. What age did they start working? (Note to enumerators: please record the youngest age)	(open-ended numeric)	
CL12	CL11 = 1	CL10. Who in your household was MOST responsible for deciding that the child/ren work?	1 = Father 2 = Mother 3 = Both parents 4 = Grandparent 5 = Relative 6 = Brother 7 = Sister 8 = Child him/herself 96 = Other (specify) 98 = Don't know	

Child Marriage

CM1	ALL	<p>CM1. Thank you very much for your answers. We have reached the last section and only have a few more questions to ask you. In this section, I will ask you questions with regards to marriages in your community and family.</p> <p>In general, between what age range do boys get married in your family?</p>	<p>1 = < 12 years 2 = 12 – 14 years 3 = 15 – 17 years 4 = 18 – 20 years 5 = > 20 years 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)</p>	Read Out
CM2	ALL	<p>CM2. In general, between what age range do girls get married in your family?</p>	<p>1 = < 12 years 2 = 12 – 14 years 3 = 15 – 17 years 4 = 18 – 20 years 5 = > 20 years 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)</p>	Read out
CM3	ALL	<p>CM3. How often do your parents or anyone in your family talk about getting you married soon or before the age of 18?</p>	<p>1 = Very often 2 = Sometimes 3 = Never 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)</p>	Do not read out
CM4	ALL	<p>CM4. Who in your household would be MOST responsible for deciding when and how you get married?</p>	<p>1 = Myself 2 = My father 3 = My mother 4 = Both parents 5 = My brother 6 = My sister 7 = My uncle/aunt 96 = Other (specify) 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = I don't know (interviewer do not read out)</p>	Do not read out

CM6	ALL	CM6. What do you think is the youngest age a girl should get married?	(open-ended numeric)	Do not Read out
CM7	ALL	CM7. What do you think is the youngest age a boy should get married?	(open-ended numeric)	Do not Read out
CM8	ALL	CM8. What are the general attitudes in your family towards a child under 18 getting married?	<p>1 = They are accepting of it and think it is good for people to marry young</p> <p>2 = They are accepting of it because they think it is necessary, but some are concerned it can be harmful for children</p> <p>3 = They do not think it is good</p> <p>96 = Other (specify)</p> <p>97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out)</p> <p>98 = I don't know (Interviewer do not read out)</p>	Read out
CM9	ALL	CM9. In your opinion, does marrying before age 18 have positive or negative consequences for a person?	<p>1 = Positive</p> <p>2 = Neither positive or negative</p> <p>3 = Negative</p> <p>4 = Both positive and negative</p> <p>97 = Refuse to answer</p> <p>98 = I don't know</p>	Read Out

CM10_A CM10_B CM10_C CM10_D CM10_E CM10_F CM10_G CM10_G CM10_I CM10_J CM10_K CM10_L	CM9 = 3 or 4 or 97 or 98	CM10. What are the negative consequences that someone can face by marrying before 18? (Note to enumerator: do not read answers, select all that respondent mentions) Gender-based violence including sexual abuse Increased responsibility Early pregnancy Social isolation Interruption of schooling Health risks for the girl Divorce/Separation Depression Reduced freedom Less job opportunities in the future Poverty/Financial issues Other (specify) _____	0 = Unchecked 1 = Checked	Do not read out
CM11_A CM11_B CM11_C CM11_D CM11_E CM11_F CM11_G CM11_H CM11_I CM11_J CM11_K CM11_L CM11_M CM11_N		CM11. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements. Marrying before the age of 18 is common in our community Seizing the opportunity of a good marriage is more important than continuing education Marrying before the age of 18 affects a child's education/schooling Girls should have a say in who and when (at what age) they will marry Boys should have a say in who and when (at what age) they will marry Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to manage disputes. Marrying before 18 is required by our religion. In our community, families face peer/social pressure to get their children married between the age of 14-17 Marriage provides protection to a girl. Education provides protection to a girl. I would not have any problem marrying before the age of 18 Girls over 18 who are not married are considered a burden in our family Marrying girls under 18 can have negative health consequences for the girl and/or her children Marrying children under 18 can sometimes be a means to get money to repay a debt.	1 = Agree 2 = Disagree 97 = Refuse (do not read out) 98 = Don't know (interviewer: do not read out)	Read out Randomize topics Read each topic separately with scale
CM12	ALL	CM12. Do girls in your family have a say in who, and when they will marry?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = Don't Know (do not read out)	Read out
CM13	ALL	CM13: Do boys in your family have a say in who, and when they will marry?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse to answer (interviewer do not read out) 98 = Don't know (do not read out)	Read out

CM14	ALL	CM14. Do you know if your province has a law for minimum age for marriage?	1 = Yes 2 = No 97 = Refuse (Do not read out) 98 = I don't know (do not read out)	Read Out
CM15	CM14 = 1	CM. What according to the law is the minimum age of marriage?	1 = Enter Number 98 = I don't know (do not read out)	None
CM16	ALL	CL15. Do you think children in the province should report incidents of child marriage to the authorities?	1 = Yes 2 = No 98 = Do not know (Interviewer: do not read out)	
CM17	CM16 = 1	CM16. If No, why?	1 = Family's internal affairs 2 = Fear retribution from family 3 = Lack of trust in authorities 4 = Do not know how to report 6 = It is okay/normal to marry before the age of 18 96 = Other 98 = Do not Know	
		Thank you for your time today. The interview ends here. Is there anything else you would like to add before we end the interview?		

Survey End

Child Qualitative Key Informant Interview Tool

Q#	Question	Probes
1	Can you tell me what you do in your spare time?	

Space for notes

Birth Registration		
Q#	Question	Probes
2	Do you know if you had your birth registered by your parents?	What does it mean for a birth to be registered? Who did it for you? Is it different for different children?

Space for notes

3	What do you think the good things and bad things about having your birth registered?	What are some of the benefits that you enjoy because you are registered? Do you know any children who are not registered? Are things different for them because of it? Is it different for a girl or a boy?
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Space for notes

Violent Discipline		
Q#	Question	Probes

We are now going to talk about discipline methods that use violence. Today we are talking both about physical violence such as slapping or beating as well as emotional violence such as intimidating

5	Now I'm going to play a game called word asso-ciation. I will say a word and I want you to tell me what it makes you think of. There is not a right or wrong answer her just say whatever comes into your head.	Naughty Discipline Shouting Slapping Beating Caning
6	I am going to ask you to think through what is called a problem tree, I want you to look at the word in the middle of the tree and tell me what you think causes it to happen.	Use problem tree, slide 2, and question guide, slide 3, in annex A

Space for notes

7	I am going to show you some cards, can you put them in one pile if they make you behave better another if they make you behave worse and a third if they have no effect on how you behave. See Annex A slide 1	Shouting at me Threaten me with punishment Calling me names Taking away things I like Slapping me with hand Talking to me about what I did wrong Made to stay in the house Sent me to my room to be on my own Beating me with a stick
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Space for notes

8	Can you tell me a story about the last time you did something wrong, and your parents were upset?	Who was upset at you? What did they do? How did it make you feel? Did you do the behaviour again?
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Space for notes

Child Labour		
Q#	Question	Probes

We are now going to talk about child labour. In this case we mean young children below 12 working for money or in ways that prevent children from going to school. Or older children working in ways that is harmful to them.

9	Now we are going to play word association again. I will say a phrase and I want you to tell me what it makes you think of. Remember there are no right or wrong answers here.	Working with machinery Serving in a restaurant Helping parents clean the house Getting paid money Lifting heavy items Missing school
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Space for notes

10	I am going to ask you to think through what is called a problem tree, I want you to look at the word in the middle of the tree and tell me what you think causes it to happen.	Use problem tree, slide 4, and question guide, slide 3, in annex A
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Space for notes

11	Can you tell me a story about a young child (under 12) you know who had to work to earn money?	What did they have to do? How did they feel? What happened to them because of it? What did you think of the situation?
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Child Marriage		
Q#	Question	Probes

Now we are going to talk about Child Marriage, this means a child getting married before the age of 18.

12	Now I'm going to play a game called word association. I will say a phrase and I want you to tell me what it makes you think of. Remember there are no right or wrong answers here just say whatever comes into your head.	Marriage Bride's age Choosing a partner Groom age Not getting married Mother/Father-in-law Child Marriage
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Space for notes

13	I am going to ask you to think through what is called a problem tree, I want you to look at the word in the middle of the tree and tell me what you think causes it to happen.	Use problem tree, slide 5, and question guide, slide 3, in annex A
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Space for notes

14	I am going to show you some cards, can you put them in order of how important they are to you. Use slide six in annex A.	Finishing school Having a good job Having a good marriage Pleasing my family Having a family Earning money
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Space for notes

15	Can you tell me a story about someone you know who got married while they were under 18?	How did it happen? Were they the bride or groom? How old were the bride and groom? How did they feel about it? How did it change their life? What do you think about it?
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Space for notes

