

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children



A Situation Analysis of Pakistan



**Working Group Against
Child Sexual Abuse & Exploitation**



**Save the Children
Sweden**



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Child Sexual Abuse & Exploitation**



Save the Children
Sweden

Save the Children fights for children's rights.
We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.

Save the Children works for:

- A world that respects and values each child,
- A world which listens to children and learns,
- A world where all children have hope and opportunity.

Working Group Against Child Sexual Abuse & Exploitation is working for:
Creation of a society where all children enjoy their rights as guaranteed by the
United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and are free from all forms
of sexual abuse and exploitation

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Foreword

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is the most widely ratified human rights convention and the first International instrument, which covers the full rights of an individual. It was designed to create a common legal framework through which to increase governmental accountability, bring about legislative reforms and ultimately create a better world environment in which children can develop. Pakistan has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The first World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children was held in Stockholm in 1996 in response to growing concern that the right of children to protection from sexual exploitation was increasingly being violated. At the end of the first World Congress, more than 1,300 participants adopted by consensus the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action (SDAA) against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) which was signed by 122 states present in the Congress, including the Government of Pakistan.

Child Sexual Abuse and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children is one of the most serious violations of children's rights but at the same time the least explored and least acknowledged issue in Pakistan.

Save the Children Sweden is committed to protecting children from Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation through its commitment to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Several articles in the CRC address the issue of sexual abuse and exploitation of children and specifically Article 34 of the CRC which focuses on Child Sexual Abuse and protective measures to be taken by the state parties.

In 1999/2000 Save the Children Sweden with the collaboration of Child Rights and Abuse Committee of Pakistan Pediatric Association conducted a national situation analysis on Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation which was used for designing the National Plan of Action against Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation as well as a reference document on Child Sexual Abuse in Pakistan.

Meanwhile after the 2nd World Congress in Yokohama in 2001, it was realized that we have very inadequate and patchy information on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. The need was felt that in order to have sector specific interventions, we needed to have a very clear picture on CSEC in Pakistan. The Working Group against Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation in Pakistan, being organized by Child Rights and Abuse Committee of Pakistan Pediatric Association and supported by Save the Children Sweden, then got together to conduct a CSEC situation analysis in Pakistan.

A variety of research tools and data collection methodology was used which included walk through surveys, focus group discussions, in-depth interviews with key informants, interviews with professionals and other experts and newspaper reports. A rich data which already existed with the members of the working group was also used. The whole process spanned more than 18 months.

The present document mostly gives qualitative information on various forms and manifestations of CSEC in Pakistan. We still feel that a lot needs to be researched and explored further like quantitative information on the magnitude of CSEC in Pakistan. Despite this limitation, it is still a pioneering research in Pakistan which provides a solid starting point for those who would like to further explore this issue. The main use of this research will be for programme interventions, especially the operationalizing the National Plan of Action against CSEC in Pakistan.

Working on Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation from a Child Rights Programming perspective means; addressing the root causes of child sexual abuse and exploitation, including patriarchal power structures and unequal power relations between children and adults, etc. and recognizing children as rights holders and social actors. It means giving priority to children, creating child-friendly environments and providing child-friendly information on child sexual abuse and exploitation. The government should be recognized as primary duty bearer, accountable for addressing and taking action against child sexual abuse and exploitation. Parents and families are seen as the primary caregivers and protectors, and must be supported in this role. Using participatory and empowering approaches, partnerships and alliances must be created to promote the rights of the child for addressing child sexual abuse and exploitation.

I am pleased to present this report to you and I hope it will go a long way in contributing to increasing our knowledge and understanding of commercial sexual exploitation of boys and girls in Pakistan.

I would like to acknowledge the hard and professional work by the Working Group members namely; Child Rights and Abuse Committee of Pakistan Pediatric Association, Rozan, Sahil, Sach and Vision in constructing the CSEC situation analysis. My special thanks and acknowledgement to all the key informants, especially children, who gave us a wealth of information about their situation.

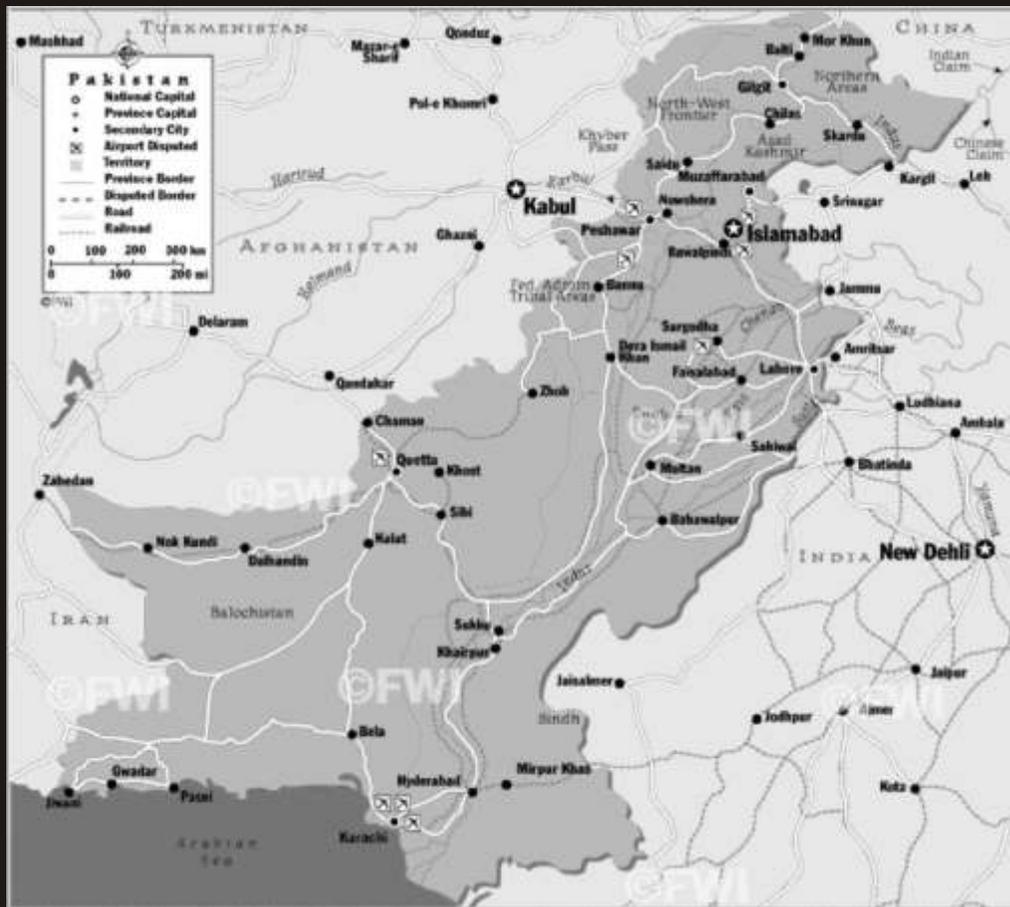
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Background

I.1 Pakistan-Country Profile



SITUATED at the confluence of South and Central Asia, Pakistan is bordered by Iran and Afghanistan in the west, China on the north, India on the east, and Arabian Sea on the south. The land is geographically diverse with varying climatic conditions and wide ranging temperatures. The northern part of the country constitutes three of the highest mountain ranges in the world; the Himalayas, the Hindukush and the Karakorum. The Indus River, another prominent physical feature, traverses the entire length of the country and supports the country's complex irrigation system, which is the largest in the world.

Carved out from British India in 1947 on the basis of Muslim nationhood, Pakistan itself was divided in 1971, when after a bloody war; the biggest ethnic group (Bengalis) chose to secede and formed a nation-state of its own Bangladesh. The country is a federation of four provinces; Balochistan, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Punjab and Sindh. In addition there are the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, the Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Federally Administered Northern Areas, and the Islamabad Capital Territory. The country is home to many unique

Pakistan has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and has also signed its two optional protocols. It has also adopted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action, the South Asia Strategy and the Yokohama Global Commitment against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. It presently has a National Plan of Action for children and also regularly reports to UN on the implementation of UNCRC. The lead agency for child rights and welfare in the country is the National Commission on Child Welfare and Development

cultural identities; the predominant ones are Punjabi, Sindhi, Pukhtoon, Balochi and Seraiki. The country is a parliamentary democracy and has two houses of parliament. As a result of the devolution process, the district and local government system also been introduced in the recent past. The country has a total population of 148 Million, with 68 percent rural and 32 percent urban distribution. Children up to 18 years of age constitute almost 47 percent of the total population. Since 1980, the country is hosting the largest number of refugees in the world, from the neighbouring Afghanistan. According to the UN Human Development Report (UNDP-2003), Pakistan is poorly placed so far its human development is concerned. The report allots Pakistan 144th position among 175 nations of the world. Pakistan didn't have an official poverty line for many decades and the subject was dealt with more as an academic exercise. It was later that the Planning Commission adopted an official poverty line of the 2350 calories per adult equivalence per day, which approximates to Pak Rs. 786.56 per adult per month in 2000-01. On the basis of official poverty line, slightly less than one-third of Pakistanis lived below the poverty line in 2001.¹ However, during the last three years, the economy is gradually getting momentum and according to Economic Survey 2003-4, the per capita income has risen to US \$ 652. The rate of inflation during the fiscal 2003-4 remained 3.9 percent. Pakistan's economy has undergone considerable diversification over the years, yet agriculture is still the largest sector. With its present contribution to GDP at 23.3 percent it accounts for 42.1 percent of the total employed labor force and is the largest source of foreign exchange earnings by serving as the base sector for the country's major industries like textile and sugar. It also contributes to growth by providing raw material as well as being a market for industrial products.² The share of manufacturing sector in employment is 13.8 percent while the construction and transport sector accounted for 6.1 percent and 5.9 percent respectively in 2004. According to available estimates, the un-employment rate in fiscal 2003-4 was 8.27 percent.³ Literacy rate for both sexes is estimated at 54 percent. Literacy rate for male and female are estimated at 66.25 percent and 41.75 percent respectively.⁴

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1.2 General overview of the situation of children in Pakistan



Official figures say 3.6 million children are working in Pakistan.

Pakistan has a youthful population. About half of the population is under the age of 20 years. According to a survey conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, 3.6 million children were engaged in labor in Pakistan.⁵ A recent national survey found that 40 percent boys and 25 percent girls in the age range of 15-17 are working. The latest labor force survey has revealed that 17 percent of the boys and 6 % of the girls in the age range of 10 to 14 are part time of labor force.⁶ Primary education in Pakistan is characterized by low enrolment and high dropout rates. The number of schools in Pakistan, especially in rural areas is quite insufficient for the growing number of children of school going age. In the rural areas, more than one-third of all children do not even complete primary education and drop out. The net enrolment rate is only 46 and 38 percent for boys and girls of five to nine years respectively. Despite government's recent efforts to increase the accessibility to primary education by making it free and compulsory, a huge proportion of children are dropped out of school as education is found to be of low quality and too expensive for parents to afford.⁷ Mostly the school dropouts from the poor households end up on the streets where they are exposed to all types of abuse and exploitation.

In Pakistan, there is no mandated system of reporting child exploitation, abuse and/or neglect. There is a paucity of reliable statistics and published data on the prevalence of CSEC and CSA in the country. Like other major public health and social problems, it is not easy to document the actual incidence or prevalence of child abuse. It is always difficult to obtain information on sensitive and highly stigmatised issues, and even more difficult when the victims are children who cannot narrate their woes. In such a socio-cultural setting, most cases of child abuse, particularly CSA, remain under cover and go unreported.

Despite the fact that the issue of child sexual abuse (CSA) and CSEC is shrouded in secrecy, it is rarely reported in the print media. Such incidents often occupy the limelight when they take a heinous turn; for instance if a child has been murdered after being sexually assaulted. Unfortunately this has led to an assumption, among others, that such incidents are rare or are committed by savage individuals who are primarily strangers. Another tricky question is about the relative vulnerability of various categories of children to sexual abuse and exploitation. Based on their experience, NGOs working on CSA and CSEC in Pakistan believe that all children, because of the fact that they are children are equally vulnerable to abuse, regardless of sex, class, income level, education etc. However, there are children in difficult circumstances, who may be even more at risk of being sexually abused and prostituted due to specific situations, such as street children, refugee children, economically active children especially those working in small hotels and restaurants, children in transport industry and bus terminals etc.

1.3 International and Regional Policies and Legal Instruments

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and Optional Protocol

The State shall protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse, including prostitution and involvement in pornography.

Article 34 UNCRC

Pakistan has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Children (UNCRC) in 1990, which in its article 34 commits State parties:

“To protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, state parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent: (1) the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity; (2) the exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices; (3) the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials”.

Article 34 of the UNCRC pertains to the trafficking of children and notes that:

“State parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form”.

The Optional Protocol (OP) on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, adopted by the UN General Assembly and signed by the Government of Pakistan in 2000, further refines the protection of children from sexual exploitation, calling for national measures and law reform taken to make the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography extraditable criminal offences. It defines all three forms. The OP gives the following definition of child pornography:

“Any representation, by whatever means, of a child engaged in real or simulated explicit sexual activities or any representation of the sexual parts of a child for primarily sexual purposes”.

According to Director NCCWD, the Government of Pakistan is actively considering to ratify the Optional Protocol.

Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action

The First World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, held in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1996, put the issue firmly on the international political agenda. Co-sponsored by the United Nations Children's Fund, ECPAT International, the NGO Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Government of Sweden, 122 states including Pakistan were represented in Stockholm, as well as international agencies and non-governmental organisations, service providers, law enforcement agencies and corporate representatives including tourism industry participated.

At the end of the five-day meeting, participants adopted a declaration and an Agenda for Action to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of Children. The agenda calls for "the development of national agendas for action and indicators of progress, with set goals and time frame for implementation, targeted to reducing the number of children vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation and nurturing an environment, attitudes and practices responsive to child rights". The Agenda calls for better coordination between countries in eliminating CSEC and proposes data collection on victims and perpetrators. It further elaborates on sets of concrete recommendations for strategies to combat CSEC, categorized under prevention, protection, recovery and reintegration and child participation.

Yokohama Global Commitment and South Asian Strategy

Organized by UNICEF, ECPAT International, the NGO Group on the UNCRC and the Government of Japan, the Second World Congress focused in particular on the progress in developing national agendas for action and other national and regional policy and legal measures, and generated a rich body of experience and strengthened knowledge on issues around CSEC and CSA. At the end of the congress, the participants adopted the Yokohama Global Commitment in which they re-affirmed their commitment "to developing national agendas, strategies or plans of action ... and effective implementation of measures, including child-rights based laws and law enforcement". The Yokohama Global Commitment further expressed the commitment of the signatories to "addressing root causes that put children at risk of exploitation ... through comprehensive measures including improved educational access to children especially girls, [...] physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of child victims, and action to criminalize the commercial sexual exploitation of children ... while not criminalizing or penalizing the child victims". The Commitment stresses "adequate resource allocation to counter commercial sexual exploitation of children", adequate measures to protect children from child pornography on the internet and a deepened focus on awareness raising and community surveillance of CSEC.

In the process of preparing for the Second World Congress, regional consultations were organized in several locations. In November 2001 in Dhaka, Bangladesh, Governments of the region including Pakistan, young people, international and non-governmental organizations adopted the South Asian Strategy against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Child Abuse. The South Asia Strategy is comprehensive and elaborates on the specific concerns in the South Asian region regarding CSEC and CSA, the inclusion of which was particularly stressed by Pakistan and Bangladesh. The strategy identifies different groups of children especially vulnerable to CSA and CSEC, and reminds state parties of their obligation to develop "over the next two years" National Plans of Action and implement those. "These plans should — through a consultative process, involving governments and civil society at all levels, including children as active participants — present clear timeframes for actions and define effective monitoring mechanisms. They should be revised on a timely basis in light of lessons learned in implementation." The strategy further proposes very concrete strategies on the development of an effective and adequate legal framework, including training of law enforcement personnel, promotion of birth and marriage registration, child-friendly and gender-sensitive legal procedures. Finally, it proposes specific measures on creating partnerships with children and young adults by enabling their inclusion as equal partners in policy and programme design to combat CSEC and enhancing their capacity through raising awareness.

ILO Convention 182 against the Worst Forms of Child Labour

ILO Convention 182, adopted in June 1999, was ratified by Pakistan. It calls for ILO members to take immediate and effective measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour, including “the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances.”⁸ In line with the convention, recently the government has initiated a time bound program on the elimination of worst forms of child labor in collaboration with ILO and civil society organizations. This program is not directly addressing the issue of CSEC.

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UN & SAARC Conventions on Trafficking in Women & Children

The UN Convention on International Organized Crime, adopted in Palermo, Italy, in 2000 was supplemented by an Optional Protocol (OP) to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children. The OP provides a detailed and to date the most comprehensive legal definition on trafficking in persons: “The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or the use of force or other forms of abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

The SAARC Regional Convention on Combating Trafficking in Women and Children, adopted in Katmandu in 2002 and to which Pakistan is a signatory, invites states parties to the CRC and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women to include information and statistics on trafficking in women, girls and boys.⁹ The SAARC convention gives a more general definition of trafficking, reflecting the fact that trafficking in women and children does not occur only for sexual purposes but for many other reasons.

I.4 Draft National Plan of Action against child sexual abuse and exploitation structure

The National Policy and Plan of Action was developed through a participatory process spanning from September 2000 to June 2001, involving relevant stake-holders, but excluding children and young people. The lead Government agency for the process was National Commission for Child Welfare and Development (NCCWD), assisted by the Child rights and abuses Committee of Pakistan Pediatric Association and Save the Children Sweden. The document was approved by the national council of NCCWD but has not yet been put to the federal cabinet for approval. The NPA document starts with a one-page statement describing the national policy against sexual exploitation and abuse of children in Pakistan. The national policy states that the NPA is anchored on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action against CSEC. The policy statement is followed by a general outline of the document, mentioning the three distinct program components of the NPA -- prevention, protection, recovery and rehabilitation. It claims that the main strategy of the NPA is participation of the people. The other strategic thrusts are: political commitment, awareness raising, capacity building, networking, advocacy, social mobilization and setting up and strengthening functional structures and systems.

Every program component of the NPA starts with a description of the main objectives, and elaborates on a set of activities to reach these objectives. It identifies the lead agency to implement each activity, as well as partner organizations in this process.

PREVENTION

Activities identified in the program component on prevention are:

- Multi media awareness raising for general public;
- Development of culturally appropriate information, education and communication material on CSA and CSEC;
- Observance of a universal children's day to focus on prevention of all forms of CSA and CSEC;
- Awareness raising through traditional and performing arts like drama, street theatre etc.
- Capacity building of NGOs and professional groups like doctors, lawyers, teachers and journalists thorough workshops and seminars
- Integration of children's rights, gender perspectives, child abuse, personal health and protection education in the teachers training and school curricula in a culture sensitive manner
- Awareness raising /sensitization of high ranking officials and members of the parliament and provincial assemblies on children rights and issues surrounding child abuse and exploitation in the country.
- Sensitization of police and court officials on children's rights, relevant legislation and the need for special handling of children in police, legal and prison systems.
- Awareness raising on children rights and child abuse/exploitation for employers and children at the work place
- Community mobilization to develop local vigilance system against CSA/CSEC through the local government system.

PROTECTION

The activities included under the program component protection are

- Review of the existing legislation and development of new laws relating to child protection

The purpose of these activities is to remove the inconsistencies in the definition of child and bring all children related laws in conformity with UNCRC and CEDAW

- Review and strengthen the enforcement of laws on child protection particularly related to CSA/CSEC.
- Develop and implement a code of conduct for shelter homes
- Training of the law enforcement personnel including police, court official, public attorney, prison officials, lawyers and social welfare officers on improved legal and implementation mechanism.
- Education of general public through publicity of laws concerning CSA/CSEC and structures for enforcing the laws.
- Conduct situation analysis on child pornography
- Protect computer literate children from pornography on the web.
- Monitoring of regional (SAARC and Gulf states) trafficking mafias and networks through enhanced vigilance and stricter border control

RECOVERY AND REHABILITATION

The activities included under the program component recovery and rehabilitation are:

- Develop a national core group of master trainers in the area of psychosocial recovery and rehabilitation of victims of CSA/CSEC
- Develop training package for service providers including doctors, psychologists, counselors, social workers and staff of shelter homes for children.
- Training of service providers to enhance their knowledge and skills and shape their attitudes.
- Establish multi-disciplinary child sexual abuse committees in all major hospital of the country
- Support services for victim/survivors of CSEC/CSA
- Development of referral system for victims of CSA/CSEC in provinces and federal capital territory.
- Publicize the services available to victims of CSA/CSEC and their families
- Establish a documentation center on child sexual abuse and exploitation

MONITORING PLAN

A monitoring plan in the form of matrix is annexed to NPA. The monitoring plan links objectives of all the three program components to strategic activities and their expected outcome. Indicators of achievement and the responsible agency along with partner organization have also been mentioned in the matrix. The document is silent on the resource allocation for implementation of different activities.

1.5 Implementation of the draft NPA

Until recent past, the issue of child sexual abuse and exploitation was not accepted as a problem of Pakistani society. The common perception was that being an ideological nation-state following Islamic ideals; the society was some how immune to immorality and even if there was a problem of CSA/CSEC, its magnitude was very small. Given the sensitivity of the issue in Pakistan, the development of NPA is a leap forward from a mode of denial to one of acceptance. Some important implementation steps undertaken so far are;

IEC material on CSA /CSEC has been developed and printed by Rozan, Sahil, Sach, LHRLA, Vision and PPA. NCCWD has developed and printed "Code of Ethics for Media on Reporting of Children's issues". It has also formed three media groups to improve the coverage of child rights related issues, including CSA/CSEC. national and universal children's days are being observed, but CSA/CSEC has not been highlighted on these occasions. At a large public ceremony on the occasion of Universal Children's Day 2003, the President of Pakistan signed a pledge to ensure all rights to Pakistani children, including protection from abuse and exploitation. The Federal Government has declared 2004 as the Year of Child Rights and Welfare in Pakistan and a number of activities have been planned to raise awareness on child rights and issues surrounding child protection

NCCWD conducted a national campaign on " a world fit for children", where the issue of HIV/AIDS was linked to CSA. NCCWD, members of the Core Group on CSA and other NGOs have conducted many seminars, symposia and Workshops on CRC in collaboration with UNICEF, Save the Children Sweden and other donor agencies. Sahil, Rozan and PPA are imparting personal health and protection education at limited number of schools in the main cities. They have also done some pioneering work on the sensitization of police officials on CRC and CSA related issues. (2002-4). Rules have been framed for Juvenile Justice System Ordinance 2000 by all provinces and Islamabad Capital territory (2002). The government has promulgated a new ordinance on human trafficking (2002).

PPA and Save the Children conducted a study on "Exposure of Children to Pornography at the Internet Cafés". Pakistan Telecommunication Authority has blocked more than 10,000 porno web sites. The authority has also warned Internet café owners to follow a code of conduct. PPA and Save the Children Sweden have conducted Seminars on the issue of exposure of children to pornography for Internet service providers, café owners and media in all provincial capitals (2003)..

A Manual on Psychosocial Recovery and Rehabilitation of Victims of CSA/CSEC has been developed (adapted from UN ESCAP manual) by NCCWD in collaboration with Rozan and other members of the Core Group and UNICEF (2004). A pilot workshop ,using the manual, was conducted by Rozan in collaboration with Sahil. LHRLA, and other members of the Core Group have organized training events for a limited number of professionals (2002-4). LHRLA has launched a help line "Madadgar" at Karachi. The help line has received a tremendous response from the general public. Sahil, Rozan, PPA, Sach, Vision and LHRLA are providing services to victims of CSA in the capital cities of the country (ongoing).¹⁰

1.6 Revision of NPA

In order to revise and update the NPA, the NCCWD, in collaboration with UNICEF, Save the Children Sweden and Working Group on Child Sexual Abuse & Exploitation, initiated a participatory process involving all stakeholders. A "child-friendly" version of NPA was prepared and distributed amongst all children participating in the process. A number of consultations were held with children including at risk, child victims of CSEC and children with disabilities. The process culminated at a two day National consultation held on January 28-29, 2005 at Islamabad. The draft was amended and the revised NPA (final draft) will be put before the federal cabinet for official adoption.

Study Methodology

Commercial Sexual exploitation of children comprises child sexual abuse involving a commercial transaction, through the exchange and/or perceived exchange in cash or kind to the child or third person/s. The child is treated as a sexual object and as a commercial object. Child sexual exploitation involves street-based and brothel-based sex work, trafficking in boys and girls for sexual purposes, child sex tourism and exposing children to and using children for the production of pornographic material.

Objectives of the Study:

- Collect qualitative (and quantitative when possible) on the nature, scope and manifestations of CSEC in Pakistan.
- Identify key factors which affect and/or facilitate the commercial sexual exploitation of children and study the socio-economic and legal context of the issue
- Identify key stakeholders at the national and local level target area; and
- Recommend actions that can be taken at local and national levels to address the issue of CSEC in the country.

2.1 Data Types

Data gathered for the purpose of this study was of two types:

- A. Primary qualitative data/information was gathered using rapid assessment techniques like Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), walk through surveys, consultations with professionals and in-depth interviews of the key informants.
- B. Review of secondary data sources: existing research studies and reports, policy documents, and international, regional and national legal instruments.

2.2 Data Collection

Considering the time and resource constraints, the research team made a selection of research sites in both rural and urban areas in localities where child prostitution is believed to be occurring. This assessment was based on the already published data, newspaper stories, anecdotal evidence and experiences of the member organizations of the Working Group against Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation.

A team of trained social workers and field interviewers undertook data collection, supervised and coordinated by members of the Working Group .

Research Activities Conducted

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Place</u>
Interviews of key informants on boys prostitution	NWFP
FGD community leaders on boys prostitution	Swabi- NWFP
FGD vulnerable children	Rawalpindi
FGD child victims of CSEC	Islamabad
Walk through survey	Haji Camp Bus Terminal, Peshawar City
Walk through survey	Shahi Mahalla (Red light area) Lahore
Walk through survey	Minar Park, Lahore
Walk through survey on drugs and CSEC	Lyari, Karachi
Consultation with Journalists/key informants	Karachi
FGD- nomad girls	Lahore
FGD -nomad boys	Lahore
Anthropological glance regarding CSA/CSEC at a nomadic community	Pindora-Rawalpindi
FGD- Chawas/Zenanas	Lahore
Interview with Dr.Fauzia Saeed	Islamabad
Interview Mr. .Tahir Khilji	Lahore
Interview with a service provider at a drop-in center	Lahore
Review of literature and legislation	Peshawar
Walk through survey Bari Imam	Islamabad
Walk through survey Shah Jamal shrine	Lahore
Interview key informants, deep-sea fishing	Gwadar
Interview key informants about forced early marriages of girls	Swat
Walk-through survey Lorry Adda	Lahore
FGD with vulnerable adolescents	Lahore
Researchers meetings	

Focus Group Discussion

The Process

The child has the right to express his or her opinion freely and to have that opinion taken into account in any matter or procedure affecting the child.

Article 12 CRC

A total of seven FGDs were held with children and adolescents in different locations, all over the country. On the average, eight-fifteen persons were invited to all FGDs. These included FGDs with Nomad boys and girls, children/adolescents with alternate sexual identities and other groups of children, vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. Separate FGDs were organized for vulnerable/at risk children and child victims of CSEC. The FGDs were organized and conducted by trained facilitators/data collectors. The facilitators with the help of local contacts selected the participants. The selection of venue for FGD was based on the following criteria

- amount of privacy
- accessibility to participants
- safety level
- minimized level of adult interference
- comfort and logistical factors

The ages of child participants were 10-17 years. Participants were given brief pre-discussion briefings on the purpose, process and norms of the FGD. The process of all FGDs with children/adolescents began with a session, in which all participants were asked to introduce themselves and give some personal information like what they do to spend their days. After building the initial rapport, the facilitators proceeded to specific questions, according to the FGD protocol for each group. Given the sensitivity of the subject matter in the country, the initial segment of the FGD was kept general and related to enlarging the knowledge on the situation of children in Pakistan. The facilitators gradually (and cautiously) proceeded to bring out opinions and perceptions on the issues surrounding the prostitution of boys. At the start of discussions, there was usually confusion between child sexual abuse and CSEC. However, the facilitators explained the difference before further advancing the discussion. The topics discussed during FGDs were concurrent with the main objectives of the study, focusing on:

- familial and personal background
- current living conditions
- circumstances pushing the children into increased vulnerability to CSA/CSEC
- their relationships at the workplaces
- abusive/exploitative situations
- health awareness and service delivery regarding sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS
- support systems/structures available for the children

The type of questions asked by the facilitators is given in the tables. However more probing questions were asked, whenever the need arose during discussion.

Questions asked from children & adolescents

- Who is a child?
- What are the rights and obligations of children?
- How are children treated inside and outside your community/family?
- How do you relate to your parents? To peers (boys/girls)?
- What types of good and bad treatment are you aware of, and how do they make boys feel?
- Are you aware of prostitution in your area and why children fall into prostitution
- What are suggestions on ways in which children and adults can make life better for children and combat bad treatments of children?

FGD with community leaders in NWFP:

The FGD was conducted at Swabi, some 100 km from the provincial capital, Peshawar. 15 men participated in the discussion. The topics of discussion are given below;

Topics of discussion with community leaders

Perceptions of parenthood and family structures

- Ideas surrounding childhood and participation of children in decision-making on matters affecting children
- Gender relations in the community and the family
- Types of punishment or maltreatment of children
- Push and pull factors of CSEC

Walk-Through Surveys

Seven walk-through surveys (informal small group discussions and semi-structured interviews and direct observations) were conducted to study different groups of children, victimized by/vulnerable to sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation. These children were informally approached by researchers in (the vicinity of) their working localities and include boys living on the street (Karim Park Lahore), boys working in the transport industry and in bus terminals (Peshawar, Lahore and Indus highway – the locations commonly perceived to be associated with CSEC activities), boys on the streets of Lyari, Karachi, both boys and girls at the shrines, and girls at Shahi Mahallah-a famous red light district of Lahore. On the average eight-ten boys/girls, age 12-17 years, were interviewed per survey location.

Type of questions asked

- How do adults in daily life treat children?
- Can you mention good and bad types of treatment of children?
- What are especially difficult/dangerous aspects of the daily life of your friends?
- What do you like most about your own life? What do you dislike?
- Would it have been different if you were a different gender?
- How do you get money necessary for your living?
- What are suggestions on ways in which children and adults can make life better for children in especially difficult circumstances, and what can they do to combat bad treatment of children?

Individual Interviews & Group Discussions

Informal interviews were held with key informants, stakeholders, duty bearers and service providers. The informants included the Chief executive of Vision, doctors at a Drop in Center for MSM (men who have sex with men), Dr. Fouzia Saeed (author of the book *Taboo about life at Shahi Mahallah*), an official of Nigehban and a group consultation with investigative journalists and other key informants at Karachi.

2.3 Data Analysis:

The researchers and field interviewers did the initial data analysis. The final analysis, synthesis and report writing was done by the Lead researchers /members of the Working Group .

2.4 Limitations of the Study:

As with all rapid assessments, the current study is limited both in range of the topics covered and the extent to which these findings can be generalized beyond the communities/groups surveyed. Resources were simply too limited and the study time frame too constrained to allow for the type of broad scale national survey to accurately capture the incidence rates and detailed dynamics of the existing trends. Most of the street based data came from participant observation, which by definition entails objective interpretation and therefore the potential for bias. In order to maximize rigor of the data, a pair of researchers, who carefully documented their findings, conducted each observation. The data summarized in this report came from a limited number of geographic locations and it would be hard to generalize if the practices, behaviors and trends that are reported reflect a uniform national picture. Despite these limitations, this effort represents one of the pioneering attempts to explore the issue of CSEC in a scientific way in Pakistan and could serve as a basis and starting point for constructing a comprehensive picture of CSEC in Pakistan.

2.5 Ethical Considerations

In accordance with the existing social and religious value systems, sex is a taboo subject in Pakistan and any discussion on sex related matters is considered as dirty and immoral. This context necessitated the development of strict ethical guidelines for this study. All participants were treated with dignity and respect, and participation in the study was voluntary. Confidentiality and the right to privacy were ensured. Verbal consent was obtained from all participants prior to their participation. Participants were able to end their participation in the research at any time during the process. Researchers made all efforts to protect children from physical, psychological, emotional and moral harm while they were participating in FGDs. Researchers were sufficiently trained to provide psychosocial support to children in case a need arose. The appropriate place for FGDs and interviews (in the community) was selected in consultation with children/young people and the local contacts. Children were monetarily compensated for their participation in the research activities.

Socio-Economic Context of the Research Locations

3.1 Research Locations

Lahore

Lahore, the capital of Punjab, is a metropolitan city with strong modernizing influences. It is recognized as the cultural and fashion capital of Pakistan. The city is also the most favorite destination for run-away children from all parts of the country. Lahore is home to the famous and centuries old red light district known as Heera Mandi (Diamond market). During the Zia regime in 1979, the Hadood ordinance was imposed resulting in tough regulations in the red light areas to condemn the commercial sex industry. This led to the dispersion of commercial sex workers from red light districts to residential areas where they have been operating secretly through a network of pimps and contacts. Many preferred to stay back in the red light districts (like Heera Mandi), and continued to work under the cover of performing art. Still others, including boys, operate from streets, hotels, parks and other public places. Heera Mandi is still a well-known area for the organized and institutionalized form of prostitution in Lahore. Heera Mandi begins from Taxali Gate, where Bazar-e-Sheikhupurian starts and spreads till Taranum cinema

chowk, also known as *chakla* (brothel) chowk. It is a dense and wall-to-wall cluster of concrete and semi-concrete houses. In the area called Sabz Pir Wali Gali, only low-rate prostitutes and their pimps live, whereas Hydree Street, Kuch-e-Shahbaz and Cheet Ram Road are places for dancing girls and higher rate prostitutes. Many girls below 18 years, who are involved in commercial sex at Heera Mandi, work in the garb of dancing girls and dance students. The researchers found that a majority of these girls are daughters and relations of the other prostitutes working in the area. Many more come during the daytime only. They come from other areas of Lahore like Chungi Amer Sadhu, or adjacent small cities, and go back home in the evening.



Islamabad-Rawalpindi

Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, is a beautiful and well-planned city. Rawalpindi, another metropolitan center, lies very close to Islamabad. Pir Wadhai, the main bus terminal of Rawalpindi, is a favorite destination for runaway children from Azad Kashmir, NWFP and upper Punjab. *Qasai Gali*, a neighborhood in the downtown Rawalpindi, was a famous red light area, some years ago. The famous shrine of Bari Imam (a highly revered sufi saint) is located in the close vicinity of Islamabad. A nomadic tribe



Karachi

Karachi, a metropolitan port city and the capital of Sindh, is the commercial and industrial hub of Pakistan. It has a cosmopolitan population of around 10 million, including all ethnic groups of Pakistan as well as migrants/refugees from other countries like Bangladesh, Iran, India, Myanmar, Srilanka, Vietnam, Afghanistan and some African countries. Lyari, the biggest slum area in the country, is a place identified with crimes, gangs and drugs. Napier road, is the well-known red light district of Karachi.

Peshawar -NWFP

The North West Frontier Province (NWFP) is situated at the northwestern tip of Pakistan, bordering Afghanistan. The historic city of Peshawar is the capital and main metropolitan center of NWFP. The province having a population of almost 22 million is home to ethnic Pukhtoons or Pushtoons, who follow their own code of life and honor. A large number of refugees from the neighboring Afghanistan are residing in Peshawar and other parts of NWFP.

The picturesque valley of Swat lies in the northern part of NWFP. The valley is surrounded by snow-clad mountains with the river Swat and its tributaries snaking in the mid of the valley and the bordering hills. Besides agriculture, the area is economically dependent on tourism from home and abroad. Unlike Lahore, there are no red light areas in Peshawar or other parts of NWFP, and most of the adults and children engaged in commercial sex are of floating nature.



3.2 Gender dynamics

Pakistani society is patriarchal and most of the socio-economic space is owned and controlled by men. The primordial ideology of subcontinent is male domination. Islam came later and it was selectively adapted to serve the ideology of male domination. Modernity posed a challenge to this old ideology. Ironically enough, the men had to adapt themselves to go out and make a living under British rule, which meant learning English and wearing Western clothes. So, to compensate for this desecration, they made the women become the symbol of Oriental/Indian femininity. The existing cultural norms and religious beliefs dictate different attitudes towards males and females with respect to adolescent and youth sexuality and sexual practices. For female, only sex within marriage is considered socially acceptable and tradition continues to place a high premium on female virginity at the time of marriage. In contrast young males are not held to the same standard, and sex before marriage, while not condoned socially, is more accepted.

While the traditional concepts are fast undergoing transformation in the metropolitan centers like Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad, the changes in the NWFP are much slower. The world of Puktoons is a world dominated by men and masculinity is always praised in the social discourse. The Pukhtoon male is the member of a chauvinistic society, which revolves around the concept of manliness (*saritob*). Due to strict gender segregation in most of the rural NWFP, men and women are virtually living in separate worlds. The assigned gender roles pushes boys from poor families to early work and streets, so that they may financially contribute to the family well being. It exposes them (boys) to all forms of abuse. Family (both biological and extended) is considered to be strictly a private domain and no outside intervention is accepted or tolerated. Parents have full control over their children and adulthood is conferred only after marriage.

While the sex exploiters come from all ethnic groups and social classes, most of the prostituted children hail from poor and lower middle class families.

3.3 Class and Ethnic dynamics

While the sex exploiters come from all ethnic groups and social classes, most of the prostituted children hail from poor and lower middle class families. Despite steady economic progress and improvement of macro-economic indicators, the incidence of poverty is on the rise in Pakistan. Distribution of household income reveals that more than 40 percent of income was held by 20 percent of the households, whereas 40 percent of the households at the bottom possessed only about 20 percent of the income.¹¹ The problem has been compounded by the existence of the feudal system in many rural areas of the country. The poor in Pakistan have not only low income but they also lack access to basic needs such as education, health, clean drinking water and proper sanitation. This "mountain of poverty" and the associated social deprivation are perceived to be the root cause of many social problems including CSEC. NGOs working on CSA and CSEC feel that rising unemployment rates are pushing families to put their children into work. They may also willingly send children to the areas where they have a better chance of finding a job, and thus inadvertently exposing children to the risk of exploitation.

Legal Context

4.1 Over view of legislation concerning children

State parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or exploitation . . .

.Article 19 - CRC

PAKISTAN has a comprehensive set of federal and provincial laws pertaining to children, all relating to different policy areas¹²: employment, education, juvenile justice and guardians. As a general rule, federal laws override provincial laws pertaining to the same issue. Certain laws cover sexual exploitation and abuse of children, however no single law deals specifically with the different aspects of (suppression of) violence against children. In practice, the child rights violations regarding (sexual) abuse, exploitation and trafficking (of children) are mostly covered by the outdated Penal Code or the more recent Hudood Ordinance. The complex question of age, brought about by the inconsistent legal definition of a child within and between the UNCRC, national laws, customary laws and cultural practices is still an unresolved issue. In the absence of a uniform legal definition of a child, it is hard to appreciate the seriousness of the government's efforts to devise and design child protection policies. There are some child protection laws but enforcement is weak. Laws, which criminalize prostitution, make no distinction between adult and child. This not only places the burden of guilt on sex workers rather than perpetrators, but also doubly penalizes the children by treating them as adults in the legal system and subjecting them to punishment rather than support or protection. The police force in Pakistan is underpaid, overworked and lacks resources, making it an easy target for bribery and corruption. Moreover, most of them are not aware of the existing child protection laws and "child friendly" police practices.

As a follow-up to the World Summit for Children in 1990, the Government of Pakistan developed a National Plan of Action for Children 1990-2000. Following the 2002 UN Special Session on Children, a new NPA is currently being prepared. The goals and targets as set forth by the outcome document "A World Fit for Children" will be reflected in the new NPA. The new NPA intends to address the situation of children in situations of exploitation, including physical and psychological recovery and social integration. The NPA intends to provide strategies for improved protection as well as monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Apart from the NPA for Children, an NPA for Women, including a chapter on the girl child, has also been officially adopted. The NPA against Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation has been revised and updated (still in the draft form).

In the Pakistan's legal system, protection of the child is anchored on the Constitution and family codes, pertaining to the social welfare of children and women inside the family . The law considers the family as the fundamental unit of society.. The constitution of Pakistan declares that all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law. Article 3 of the Constitution provides for the elimination of exploitation. The following forms of non-discrimination are addressed by the Constitution: equality before the law; special protection for women and children; entitlement to minorities to education in their own religion; entitlement to basic necessities due to disability. Several articles of the Constitution provide for the legal protection of the child against discrimination.

4.2 Child Prostitution

The prevention of prostitution is a principle of policy as per clause 37 of the Constitution of Pakistan¹³. Brothel and public soliciting for prostitution are illegal in Pakistan. Although it is illegal to procure, entice women, regardless of age, to engage in prostitution as well as profiting from a woman's prostitution. It is also a criminal offence under the Penal Code, which makes abduction, trafficking and procuring of children under the age of 18 for the purposes of prostitution punishable by 10 years imprisonment or fine or both. The Provincial Suppression of Prostitution Ordinance (1961) prohibits the attraction, attention by words, gestures, willful and indecent exposure of the body for the purpose of prostitution of a girl fewer than 16 years of age. The Ordinance prohibits brothels, and makes it illegal to keep or detain any woman against her will, at any place, with intent to force her to have sexual intercourse with any man other than her lawful husband. These laws apply to women are irrelevant as for the prostitution of boys is concerned.

Two provincial laws have been adopted to provide legal protection to children, although specifying different ages of a child. The Punjab Children Ordinance (1983) and the Sindh Children Act (1955) prohibit allowing children between the ages of four and 16 to frequent a brothel, or to abet, cause or encourage the seduction or prostitution of a girl under the age of 16 years, or encourage anyone other than her husband to have sexual intercourse with her.

Sodomy as a crime is covered by the Pakistan Penal Code in section 337, which states that "whomever, intending or voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal shall be punished with imprisonment for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than two years nor more than ten years and shall also be liable to fine."

4.3 Child pornography

Child pornography is insufficiently covered by the national legal system. Pakistan has not enacted specific legislation to combat child pornography. Instead, child pornography falls under a general ban on obscene material. Clause 37 of the Constitution provides that the state shall prevent printing, publication, circulation and display of obscene literature and advertisements. Sections 292, 294 and 298 of the Pakistan Penal Code make it an offence to sell, let to hire, distribute, exhibit or circulate to any "obscene" literature, including any book, pamphlet, paper, drawing, painting, representation or figure. Apart from the fact that the laws do not define the term 'obscene', the punishment for crimes committed under these provisions are low, to a maximum of 6 month imprisonment or a fine or both. There is no specific law that provides protection to children in the case of being exploited to produce pornography or being exposed to pornography. Moreover, legal provisions have not been updated to include crimes relating to the development, distribution, possession or exposure to pornographic material on the internet.

Brothel and public soliciting for prostitution are illegal in Pakistan. National laws prohibit to procure, entice women, regardless of age, to engage in prostitution as well as profiting from a woman's prostitution. The laws however, are irrelevant as for the prostitution of boys is concerned.

4.4 Child Marriages & Birth Registration

The betrothal and marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

Article 16/2 CEDAW

The Child Marriages Restraint Act (1929) prohibits the marriage of children under the ages of 18 for boys and 16 for girls. This law lacks proper implementation, and the traditional practice of early marriage for especially rural girls, including the large Afghan refugee population, is persisting. Moreover, as the Death, Birth and Marriage Registration Act (1890) is not widely adhered to, a large number of children remain unregistered at birth and many marriages are not registered, thereby hampering the legal protection of children, especially of girls. Under the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (1939), the girl whose marriage was arranged by her guardian can repudiate the marriage upon the attainment of puberty. In practice however, societal norms and legal complications make it virtually impossible for minors to repudiate a marriage.

The legal obligation to register children at birth is provided by the Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (1886), the Cantonment Act (1924), the National Registration Act (1973) and the NADRA (National Data Registration Authority) Act 2000. However, there is a general lack of awareness in society regarding the importance to register children at birth, as well as on the increased legal protection this provides to children and adults throughout their life. As a consequence, birth registration rates in Pakistan are low, as in other parts of South Asia. To improve the system of birth registration in the country, the government has constituted a National Committee on the Registration of Child at Birth. Local government institutions responsible for birth registration have, under instruction from the government, initiated a process of reviewing their by-laws so as to remove bottlenecks and simplify the procedure for birth registration.

On May 9 (2005), the Lahore High Court validated the marriage of a 12-year old 'woman' who had secretly wed a man without the consent of her parents. The ruling has triggered a new round of debate on what's legal and what is permitted by religion, and how the two can be reconciled with each other. Zeenat, the girl in question, had married Babar Javed some time ago. As usually happens, her parents lodged a *Hadood* case complaint against the couple. In response, the couple - the man really went to court seeking to get the nullification of the first information report registered with the police. But Justice Shabbar Raza Rizvi of the High Court ruled that a girl was free to marry a man of her choice after reaching puberty. Supporting the ruling with an interpretation of *Sharia* law, the learned judge observed that the puberty started with menstruation. A medical report submitted with the court said that Zeenat was pregnant which was evidence of her adulthood under the principles laid down by religion.¹⁴

4.5 Child Sexual Abuse

According to World Health Organization (WHO), “CSA is the involvement of a child in a sexual activity, that he/she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and can not give consent, or that violate the laws or the social taboos of society”.

Most child abuse cases in Pakistan are registered under the Offence of Zina-bil-jabr (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance of 1979. The ordinance makes it a crime punishable with imprisonment for life and flogging not exceeding 30 strikes and a fine, to kidnap or abduct any woman with the intent to compel her to marry any person against her will or to force or seduce her to have intercourse; and to sell, let to hire, or otherwise to dispose any person with intent that such person at any time be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or illicit intercourse with any person or for any unlawful and immoral purpose. Since the amendment of 1997, the death penalty may be imposed for those found guilty of gang rape or sodomy with a child.

The Hudood Ordinance defines the person that may commit an offence under this law, any male of at least 18-years-old and any female of at least 16 years old, or any person having reached puberty. To prove an offence under the law has been committed, a confession by the accused or a testimony of four Muslim male witnesses must be provided. In practice, girls who fail to provide the necessary proof of rape under the ordinance, or in case a girl is a wife of minor age (under the age of 14), may be accused of adultery instead, indicating a serious anomaly in the capacity of the Hudood Ordinance to provide appropriate legal protection for children.¹⁵

4.6 Trafficking of Children

The Pakistan Penal Code criminalizes kidnapping, abduction, or inducing a woman to compel her to marriage; to procure a minor girl under 18; or to import a girl under the age of 21 from abroad with the intent that she may be or knowing that it is likely that she will be, forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person (section 366) with punishments up to ten years imprisonment. This law doesn't cover boys thus leaving them unprotected. Kidnapping of a child under 10 is punishable with death under the Penal Code. Section 370 criminalizes buying or disposing of any person as slave or dealing in slaves, and sections 399 and 340 prohibit wrongful confinement and restraint. The constitution provides for security, safeguards as to arrest and detention, and the prohibition of slavery, forced labour as fundamental rights. Despite these legal provisions, in practice, most trafficking cases were tried under the Passport Act, which gives very low fines.

A new law has just been passed in 2002, the Prevention and Control of Human Trafficking Ordinance in order to more effectively curb human trafficking, including the smuggling of women abroad for prostitution and children for camel racing and sexual abuse. The Ordinance has been designed to control human trafficking from and through Pakistan. It lays down that purchasing, selling, harboring, transporting, providing, detaining or obtaining a child or woman through coercion, kidnapping, abduction or by giving or receiving benefit for trafficking for exploitative entertainment (sports, sex), is punishable between 10-14 years imprisonment and fine. An inter-ministerial committee has been constituted to suggest ways and means to implement the Ordinance and to monitor enforcement.¹⁵

4.7 Juvenile Justice



Whereas legal provisions relating to juvenile justice do not necessarily touch upon child sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation, they are relevant not only as children may be offenders, but also as children in contact with the law are vulnerable to sexual abuse (by police and prison authorities) and in need of special protection

The Pakistan Penal Code exempts a child below the age of 7 years of age from criminal liability, and a child above 7 but fewer than 12 of age may also be given similar exemption, if it is proved that such a child did not have sufficient maturity to understand the nature and consequence of his conduct. The Criminal Procedure Code provides that a child below the age of 16 years of age may be released on bail even if charged for a non-bailable offence carrying life imprisonment or imprisonment for life. Legal standards pertaining to the juvenile justice system have been revised and improved with the adoption, in 2000, of the Juvenile Justice System Ordinance and Rules (2001), which increased the age of a child, defining the child as a person who at the time of commission of offence has not attained the age of 18 years. In case the age of the child is unknown, the Juvenile Court shall call for a medical report to determine the age. The ordinance provides for legal assistance at the expense of the state for every accused child, and provides for special Juvenile courts to try juveniles' cases. The ordinance further provides for rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents and bans the sentence of death for children below the age of 18. It protects the privacy of the accused in prohibiting publication of identification and photo of the accused juvenile. It further introduces special measures to protect the rights of the child during police detention.¹⁶

Forms of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

5.1 Girls in the red light district of Lahore

CSEC related research conducted so far in Pakistan focuses on boys and only a scanty information regarding girls is available. A recent Behavioral Mapping Study¹⁷ provides valuable data regarding female sex workers (FSWs) in Pakistan. The study indicates that the overall age range of FSWs in Karachi, Lahore and Multan extends between 13-45 years. The majority of FSWs belong to 15-25 years in all the three cities. In Karachi, less than 15 years was the second most prevalent category.¹⁸



Dancing girls of Heera Mandi

A walk-through survey, re-confirmed the existence of girl child performers in the red light district of Lahore called Heera Mandi or Bazar-e-hussan (Beauty market). The locals of the area prefer to call it Shahi Mahallah (royal neighbourhood), because of its close proximity to centuries old majestic structures, Shahi Masjid (Royal mosque) and Shahi Qilla (Royal fort). Heera Mandi in Lahore is a well-known area for the organized and institutionalized form of prostitution, including girl child prostitution. An unspecified but large number of girl children are busy in commercial sex at Heera Mandi. Heera Mandi begins from Taxali Gate, where Bazar-e-Sheikhupurian starts and spreads till Taranum Cinema Chowk, also known as Chakla (brothel) Chowk. It is a dense and wall-to-wall cluster of concrete and semi-concrete houses and labyrinthine streets. In the area called Sabz Pir wali Gali, only low-rate prostitutes and their pimps live, whereas Hydree Street, Kuch-e-Shahbaz and Cheet Ram Road are places for dancing girls and higher rate prostitutes. Many girls below 18 years, who are involved in commercial sex at Heera Mandi, work in the garb of dancing girls and dance students. A majority of these girls are daughters and relations of other prostitutes working in the area. Many more are day sex workers. They come from other areas of Lahore like Chungi Amer Sadhu, or adjacent small cities, and go back home in the evening. Some of them informed that their families were not aware of their exact profession. Some of the girls are from other parts of the country and they live in shared houses with other girls and adult commercial sex workers at Heera Mandi.

Random interviews with girls working as FSWs indicated that their ages ranged between 12-18 years; Most had been born here but some had arrived from nearby towns through distant relatives or had run away from home. The towns were Muridke, Shahdara, Pattoki, Sheikhpura, Mianwali, Sialkot, and Multan. Most had been educated up to primary level; the recent trend is to send girls even to secondary schools. Agents or pimps are usually involved in recruiting girls from outside. There are many methods that are used by these agents;

- Marrying girls from Swat and the tribal areas along the Afghanistan border. This is usually done by paying a bride price to poor families.
- Another form of recruitment is when an agent 'befriends' a girl. He pretends to fall in love with her and gradually involves her sexually. He pushes her to disown her family and run away with him. Once in Lahore, the girl is tricked into prostitution. The girl is totally at his mercy and she is unable to go back to the family. These girls usually come from conservative poor families.
- Places of natural disasters are yet another hunting ground for these agents. They look for vulnerable children and take them away, to be inducted as prostitutes later on. Sometimes, girls are kidnapped and sold/handed over to brothel owners.

It is important to understand that there is a major difference between a typical brothel and the *Shahi Mahalla* culture. In a typical brothel, the focus is on the business only. They prefer to get girls at the age of 10 - 12 years so that they are not responsible for their up-bringing. The girls are not allowed to establish any long-term relationships. They may be frequently rotated to different places so that they are unable to establish permanent relationships. Girls may be brought into prostitution even before they reach the age of puberty. At *Shahi Mohalla*, it is considered bad and distasteful to provide girls for sexual purposes before puberty and prior to their grooming at mannerism, singing and dancing. Girls in a typical brothel have no social support system or family ties and are therefore more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. As they grow older they may be thrown out on the streets. Some may continue in the brothels assisting the managers or they become women abettors for recruiting new girls. There is not much research on what happens to these girls when they leave the brothels. This does not happen in the traditional system of *Shahi Mohalla* where girls are treated as family members and looked after forever. The rate for prostitutes in brothels within the *Shahi Mohalla* is quite low but brothels outside this area must charge higher to make it profitable for them, especially because of the risks they take. Brothels usually have a place for their business, but they may even allow customers to take girls with them. The manager keeps the income from these transactions. This again is unlike the *Shahi Mohalla* where earnings of the dancers are divided amongst the musicians, *naikas* (older women looking after the girls—most often *naikas* are retired sex workers and are owners of the houses, or *kothas*), pimps and dancers. Girls performing in '*Mujras*' are also an extension of *Shahi Mohalla* culture. The money is shared with the stakeholders including the older women (*khalas*) who accompany them to the shows. There are usually two to three accompanying men to ensure that there is no mishap.

There is a major difference between a typical brothel and the *Shahi Mohallah* culture. In a typical brothel, the focus is on the business only. Girls have no social support system, hence more vulnerable. While in *Shahi Mohallah* culture girls are treated as family members and looked after for ever.

Bano - the Shahi Mohalla girl

My name is Bano. and I hail from Sahiwal. I belong to a poor and large family. Two years ago, a woman came to visit my mother and said that she could help me find a place as a domestic servant. I accompanied her to Lahore and she left me at a house where there were other girls of my age who were looked after by a man. We were first made to have sexual experiences with one another in order to overcome our hesitation. Gradually, boys started visiting us and we were then trained how to satisfy customers. A year later, I was shifted through the same woman to a house in Shahi Mahallah. I now live here and take, on the average, 5 clients a day. Most of the money is kept by the naika but I get enough to meet all my needs. I don't think that going back could be an option, because no one would accept me.

According to Dr.Fauzia Saeed, the young daughters of prostitutes usually start the tricks of the trade from early childhood.They undergo long training periods in singing and dancing. Usually they first enter the commercial sex trade at the age of 14-16 years. It is a process of socialization within the family. Business is going on around them. An adult prostitute recalled her 5-year old daughter saying to her "first take the money from this man and then go to room with him". Mothers and sisters are the most significant role models. Girls are socialized from birth and soon become very aware of their bodies. They are very conscious of how they look, and begin to use makeup and admire themselves. They prize their looks and bodies. They internalize the values of the trade.They are taught to sing and dance as early as at 5 years age.At around 7-8 years a girl is given under the supervision of a teacher (a musician/singer) called Ustad, to learn singing and dancing to musical tunes.They start performing at the age of 8-9, years if they are good, otherwise after they are ten years old. Even if they go to school, they perform in the evening. The girls are well aware of the sexual implications of this trade.They groom themselves for this purpose.

The first sex encounter (nath utrayee) is a special occasion, with a high price tag. Nath Utrayee is usually arranged after a girl attains the age of puberty.This may be anywhere from the age of 13 years onwards till the family receives an attractive (in terms of money) proposal. While the average rate is Rs.10,000- 15,000 but the rate for a good proposal can range from rupees 50,000 to 200,000. Some of them may establish long term relationship with one rich person, who looks after her entire needs, thus assuming the role of a dashta (keep or mistress).

The girls surveyed told that commercial sex is a 24 hours business. Most of the clients come at night but a sizeable number also frequent the brothels during day hours. Usually a girl takes 4-6 clients per day but the number may jump to 8-12 during festivals.The usual fee is Rs.100-500 or more per encounter, depending upon the looks of the girl and pocket of the customer. If a girl is taken for a whole night, the charges may range between Rs. 2000-5000.A 12 years old girl told the researchers that her mother drops her at the brothel every night and picks her up in the morning. In return her mother is paid Rs. 150-200 per night, by the brothel owner. Some of the young and beautiful girls also work as film actresses and models, but majority of such girls have moved into posh neighborhoods of Lahore, like Gulberg, Saman Abad and Defense Society. The girls and women in these localities offer sex services only to high budget customers. Condom usage is uncommon, though girls are aware of its use as a contraceptive.Very few girls had any awareness about sexually transmitted infections and there are prevalent misconceptions about HIV/AIDS. They could not make a connection between condoms and prevention of diseases and only linked their usage to the prevention of pregnancy.The girls reported to washing their hands and private parts after each sexual encounter, as a safety measure and kept a (dirty re-usable) cloth to clean up. Some of them informed that they insist the clients to use condoms, but the response is not always positive The girls at *Shahi Mahallah* frequently fall prey to sexually transmitted infections. Some of them reported infections and "smelly vaginal discharge". A Community Health Worker in *Shahi Mahallah* told that she was aware of a few girls infected with HIV/AIDS.

transmitted infections are very common because of bad hygiene, no condom usage and a high number of customers. For most of their health problems, the girls visit the clinics of private parishioners in the locality. In case of accidental pregnancy, they seek the services of their trusted doctors and lady health visitors. It is strange that they do not make enough efforts to protect their major asset, their bodies.

The researchers found police men present at the main intersections and would stop or question people at will. When asked, the girls stated that police sometimes harassed them. The cops would label them as "loose girls" and would find some reason to extort money from them. Politicians, especially those whose power base is the Shahi Mohalla, support the industry so that they maintain their vote bank and confidentiality for influential persons



Karachi

as customers. They have key links with "Naikas"; they reciprocate favors and the relationships are beneficial for all parties. This system is very much entrenched in the local socio-political culture.

Like Lahore, Karachi is another big market for commercial sex, where girls as young as 14 can be purchased for 300 rupees upwards, depending upon the client, the services demanded, the location and the girl's physical attributes.¹⁹ The motivating factor for most call girls in Karachi is the considerable amount of money they can earn in profession. While some of the girls start out on their own, the majority of them enter after coming into contact with a pimp. When a new girl enters any den, the incumbent workers show her the ropes and how to behave with the clients. Each girl, however, is responsible for striking her own deal with pimps. While some share 40-50 percent of their income with these pimps, others prefer to work under a fixed monthly amount. In return, pimps provide police protection, shelter and bear their day-to-day expenses, including food and cigarettes. Pimps more often than not retain all the money the girl receives in tips. The majority of call girls learn to dance, because they can earn more money. The most astute call girls in Karachi work in tandem with their pimps for between six to eight months, after which time they strike out the deals on their own and also become suppliers. "It is all a game of contacts, the more connected you are, the better the business", a supplier commented.²⁰ In order to hire a call girl in Karachi one has to be personally known to her or her pimp. If this is not so, then acquaintances with someone who has connections with a supplier is essential. When contact has finally been made, rates are conveyed and the girl is supplied. Once the pimp is familiar with the new contact however, acquiring services becomes far less convoluted in future. A "madam" who has been operating in Karachi for the last decade said: "every man who comes asks for younger and younger girls. The demand for them means that the young ones fetch more money and get more clients per day".²¹

5.2 Girl child trafficking in the garb of marriages-Swat case study

The enchanting valley of Swat lies in the northern tip of the North West Frontier Province. The area, although blessed by natural beauty, is poverty infested. One of the symptoms of this abject and grinding poverty is the trafficking of girl children to down country destinations, in the garb of marriages. The crime is socially justified under a centuries old tradition of "selling brides for a price", still practiced in some pockets of NWFP and the neighboring Afghanistan. Over the years, this sordid practice has transformed into a lucrative business in Swat, Chitral and some other localities in the mountainous districts of NWFP. The same is true of some other areas in other provinces of Pakistan,



Picturesque Swat Valley

Demand

The demand is mostly from men hailing from Lahore, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and other parts of Punjab. Sometimes men from Peshawar, Mardan and Charsadda also approach middlemen for such marriages. Recently men as far as Karachi have ascended on Swat to buy young girls as wives. Most of these men hail from the middle class and are either widowers or want to go for a second marriage.

Factors underlying the practice

Extreme poverty, unemployment, large family size, ignorance, illiteracy, low status of women, discriminatory cultural practices are the main underlying factors behind female child trafficking in Swat and other adjoining districts of NWFP. Another confounding factor is a weak legal system in the shape of PATA (Provincially Administered Tribal Areas) Regulations. The whole of Malakand Division (including Swat) is outside the purview of laws like Pakistan Penal Code, the Employment of Children Act 1991, Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929, the Industrial Relations Ordinance 2001, the Factories Act, the Mining Act etc. Only a segment of the family laws is in place. The weak judicial system coupled with an extremely poor implementation and a corrupt and inadequate police system have transformed Swat into a favorite hunting ground for traffickers and their accomplices.

Vulnerable areas

The researchers found that the poorest families in some areas of the district like Butkara, Barama, Kokarai, Dangram, Jambal, Odigram, Qambar, Marghzar, Madiyan and Bahrain have been particularly targeted by the trafficking mafia. Most of them hail from Kohistani, Gujar and Ghorband tribes. One particular social group of professional dancers, in a village near Mingora is particularly vulnerable.²²

Not much is known of what happens to these girls after they get shifted to their new homes. The dealers argue that any way they would be in much better conditions, compared to their poverty stricken homes or had they been married to equally poor men. Many a times, neither these girls are brought back to visit their homes, nor their families are allowed to visit them in Punjab, thus putting them at extreme risk of being subjected to all forms of abuse and exploitation, including prostitution.

Age of victims

The researchers found it difficult to probe the exact ages of girls sold into marriage/trafficked due to non-availability of child registration documents and poor recall by the respondents. However, what was revealed that although girls as young as 11 years had been sold into marriage, but the majority were between 13-16 years of age.

Process of Operation

On the demand side, the main dealers of the business are based in Punjab. They operate through a local network of dealers. The local groups work at the village and household level, taking advantage of their knowledge and familiarity with the local customs and traditions. The women in the local gangs have intensive information about the families in their target areas, particularly their financial position, their needs for money and the presence of young unmarried girls. These well-dressed women, having excellent communication skills, develop friendships with poor families and particularly keep an eye on young and beautiful girls. Whenever a local dealer receives a demand from outside, the women in his group are mobilized to find a suitable girl (compatible to the money in offer). The final price to be paid to the family is reached through a process of negotiations between the girl's family and the local dealer. However the actual money received from the buyer is much higher and is not disclosed to the family. Once the price is agreed, the prospective groom is called to the village of the would-be bride. The *nikah* or marriage is arranged at a local mosque in the presence of witnesses. Many a times, the *nikah* is also registered to avoid any future complications.

Distribution of the booty

The money received from the groom varies from transaction to transaction, depending upon the beauty and figure of the girl and the financial status of the buyer. Usually the price ranges between Rs. 80,000 to 200,000. The major share of the booty goes to the local dealer and his field functionaries (30-40 percent); the share of the outside (Punjabi) dealer is around 20 percent; another 10 percent goes to the local *nikah-khwan* and lawyer; the family receives the remaining 30 percent. The man may also buy clothes and some jewellery for the girls and give gifts (in the form of clothes) to her family.

What happens to the girls?

Not much is known of what happens to these girls after they get shifted to their new homes. The dealers argue that any way they would be in much better conditions, compared to their poverty stricken homes or had they been married to equally poor men. Many a times, neither these girls are brought back to visit their homes, nor their families are allowed to visit them in Punjab, thus putting them at extreme risk of being subjected to all forms of abuse and exploitation, including prostitution. In one instance, a girl managed to run back to her home, due to the abusive behaviour of her husband. The man followed her to Swat but despite all tricks and threats, she refused to reunite with him. Through the local dealer, a compromise was reached between the man and the girl's family. The man divorced the girl and through a fresh deal married her younger sister - and yet for a second time another booty was distributed amongst all stakeholders.

5.3 Child sexual exploitation at the shrines

The landscape of Pakistan, like other countries of the Sub-continent is dotted with the *mazaars* (shrines) of holy men (saints), known locally as *Auliya* and *Sufis*. Some of the well known like Data Darbar at Lahore, Barri Imam near Islamabad, Bahauddin Zakriya at Multan, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar at Sehwan Sharif, Ghazi Abdullah Shah at Clifton Karachi etc. command the spiritual allegiance of millions of people who pay visits to these shrines to offer prayers and pay their respects to the saints. For many people the main purpose of the visit is to seek the intercession of a saint for grant of worldly favours by the Almighty. The biggest attraction at these venerated shrines is the ritual of celebrating the annual *urs*; when large crowds of devotees, carrying gaily decorated gift baskets, flock to the shrines for some great spiritual (and also worldly) experience.

The shrine of Shah Abdul Latif Kazmi, popularly known as Barri Imam, is located at village Nurpur Shahan, at the foot of the picturesque Margalla Hills, near Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad. The mirrors studded shrine was originally built on the order of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. Presently, the shrine is controlled and supervised

by Auqaf Department, under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. It is a fascinating experience to witness the warmth and spontaneity of expression of faith by the visitors, as also the crookedness of some shady characters, who take advantage of the unwavering faith of the devotees and exploit them through various means. For a casual visitor, Barri Imam offers an ambience of a rural-cum-urban *mela* (fair), displaying countless food marts, trinket shops and drug addicts in green dress, posing as holy men. As a token of their respect, the visitors put their donations in the steel boxes put there by Auqaf Department. A community kitchen (*langar*) is always in operation to feed the visitors. The biggest attraction is *qawwali* (which is like choral singing from the West) and *dhamal* (mystical dancing), further adding to the mystery and spirituality, engulfing the place. The high point at the shrine is the observance of the death anniversary (*urs*) of the Saint in the first week of May, beginning Monday to Thursday, with lots of fun and festivities. But there is a seamy side of things at Barri Imam; the place is also a haven for drug addicts, drug pushers, prostitutes, crooks and child sex exploiters. One can always see groups of addicts, men and women, with expressionless faces and staring eyes, smoking hashish and roaming aimlessly or dozing off on the roadside or under a tree or at a verandah.

On a single day, almost 300 children, majority of them boys, can be seen hovering around the place to sell sweets, flowers, shopping bags or wash cars. Some of them also work at the shops and food stalls. Most of these children are ethnic Pushtoons, hailing from various districts of NWFP, but mostly from Swabi, Mardan, Peshawar and Dir. A small number are from the adjacent districts of Punjab. Most of these children are runaway from their homes, due to poverty and abusive home environment. The children told the researchers that they are physically and



Pappu Sayeen beating the dhole at the shrine of sufi saint Shah Jamal in Lahore

“It is easy to become involved in sexual encounters when one is high on charas. Only later does one regret it. When someone makes an offer or when one's friends are also indulging in something, it is compelling to succumb to pressure. Charas makes my limbs feel loose and I want to do something reckless. But later on I feel bad about it. But it's too late now, I am hooked”.

A 16-year-old student

emotionally abused by police, employers, *malangs* and even by some visitors. There are also authentic reports that children are being sexually abused and some are also involved in prostitution, selling sex to visitors. A number of women residing in the adjacent localities are also involved in selling sex for money. Besides pimps, the children also act agents for these women and bring clients for them. Police and Auqaf Department have turned a blind eye to all that happens at Barri Imam. On one occasion a very senior official of the Auqaf Department was caught red-handed molesting a teenaged boy.²³ Many of these children smoke cigarettes; some also smoke hashish or use Samad bond (a solvent glue). The shrine of Barri Imam is not an isolated case. There are reports that mafias dealing with drugs and prostitution have been operating in several shrines across the country. Many a times, police has conducted raids on the dens operating in shrines, but the business continues as usual.

At Lahore, the researchers conducted a walk through survey of the famous shrine of Baba Shah Jamal. Though shrines are usually famous for the religious fervour they generate in the devotees, this particular shrine is infamous for its easy access to young sex workers and narcotics. The prime attraction on Thursday nights for all visitors is the mystical dance performance to the tune of drums by Pappu Sayeen, a popular character and icon of Shah Jamal. Pappoo has an amazing stamina and can perform for hours without a break, driving the people crazy. Preparations for the big night of the week begin in the afternoon, usually after lunch at around 2 pm. The drums strike their highest notes between 10 pm and 4 am, which is also the time of the '*charas mela*'. Nearby hotels offer cheap accommodation if someone wishes to catch the whole show and spend the night there. According to an 18 year old boy who has been visiting the shrine since the age of 13, many hawkers and peddlers start setting up camp in the afternoon. Devotees begin to arrive in large numbers with the aim of being privileged by glancing at Pappu Sayeen (the *fakir*), who makes his entry in the early evening. The lucky ones may get a chance to touch his clothes, which is perceived as a high spiritual gratification. The place is most frequented by adolescent boys and girls of Lahore, belonging to poor but also middle and well-off families. One reason for the large numbers of young visitors could be the fact that Pappu Sayeen himself is quite young for a *fakir*, aged between 30-35 years only. He is the son of Ludden Sayeen, who was a descendant of the hereditary dancers of Shah Jamal, the saint. The CSEC related business usually starts late at night. It is usually a direct transaction between men and the boys frequenting the shrine. The role of police, at best, is that of a silent spectator. A couple of raids are conducted every year, but nothing has changed over time.

A 16-year-old student of a renowned institute disclosed that most of his friends visited Shah Jamal just for fun and enjoyment. He admitted to being involved in the drug business, and stated that CSEC was a common reality in the area: “it is easy to become involved in sexual encounters when one is high on *charas*. Only later does one regret it. When someone makes an offer or when one's friends are also indulging in something, it is compelling to succumb to pressure. Charas makes my limbs feel loose and I want to do something reckless. But later on I feel bad about it. But it's too late now, I am hooked”.

5.4 Massage Boys (Malishias)

Malishias are highly visible at a range of sites like public parks, clanging their bottles to advertise their presence, or standing by the roadside/pavement. They offer massage services at site, usually at a secluded corner in a park, or at the client's place. Many of them also have regular customers who will take them to local hotels or their homes for massage and/or sex.

Boys and men offering massage services can be found in all big and many small cities of Pakistan. Professional massage workers (*Malishias*) either work at one specific place or roam around to offer their services to clients. *Malishia* is an occupational term rather than a term defining sexual practice or identity. It is commonly believed that besides massage most Malishias will also offer sex services to their customers, but is not true about the majority.

Malishias are highly visible at a range of sites like public parks, clanging their bottles to advertise their presence, or standing by the roadside/pavement. They offer massage services at site, usually at a secluded corner in a park, or at the client's place. Many of them also have regular customers who will take them to local hotels or their homes for massage and/or sex. During informal interviews, the *Malishias* informed that it is generally a clean business except that some clients expect them to massage at all body parts till they (clients) ejaculate; they charge extra for this service. They told that some of their colleagues, especially the younger ones, might also be involved in commercial sex. They have usually fixed clients and the rates are pre-negotiated.

Many children are lured into the massage trade while working/living on the street, often between the ages of 13-15. Usually, runaway children want to learn a marketable skill so they come to these professionals or are tricked by them into staying on and learning the darker secrets of the profession. While the child is under training, a period of 3-4 years, the trainer collects all the money. If the child has *zenana* or *chawa* characteristics, he does not stay on but finds his own partner or "pakka dost" (best friend) to live with. Both usually live together in some servant quarter or other low-rent housing and pose as two laborers or friends who share the accommodation to save on rent. The usual age of being inducted into the business of massage work is between 13-15 years.

Most of the massage workers reported that their mode of operation was such that they would camp out at any dark corner and provide services to anyone who would seek them out. Usually, information about their presence in the area was spread through word of mouth. If a client asked them to accompany him to their house, then they charge double the amount. In 2001, Vision conducted 92 in-depth interviews of boys/men from four provincial capital cities i.e Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta. In addition, another 10 interviews were conducted at Murree during the peak tourist season. Based on these interviews and other information, vision had produced a highly revealing documentary video called "After the Sunset". The interviews and video provides a vivid picture of how massage is a very convenient pretext for male-to-male sex. From the interviews, it came out that at least 80 percent of masseurs provide sexual services to their clients. Masseurs immediately pick up from the body language and the eye contact that the client is looking for sexual gratification via massage.²⁴

The massage business is lucrative on average a massage worker may get Rs.50-100 per client and may have 2-3 clients per day. There are no pimps or middlemen in the business. A medical doctor looking after the health needs of massage workers informed that many of them were addicted to drugs like hashish. Some of them suffered from contagious skin diseases and sexually transmitted infections received from their clients.

5.5 Boys with alternate sexual identities:

While all of them may not be necessarily associated with commercial sex, but Hijras, Zenanas and Chawas are some categories of men/boys often associated with prostitution.

Hijras, commonly called as third sex, are biological males, fully castrated but not always. Hijras are categorized as neither male nor female i-e belonging to neither of the sexes but they dress up like women, wear jewellery and make-up, keep long hair like most women and prefer to be called as "she". They usually have feminine names and live within their own separate communities. Their traditional occupation is performing dances but some of them also sell sex. Some can also be seen begging on the streets.

Chawas are usually young men who look and behave like ordinary males (some wear bright colored clothes), and whose sexual practice is usually mutual. In other words, they will penetrate and be penetrated, orally and/or anally. There are about 2500 Chawas in the cruising areas of Lahore.

Zenanas, who are also biological males, not castrated, and perceive themselves as "a woman in a man's body". They may or may not feminize their social behavior in public places. They often wear make-up, dress in female clothes, and take on the female sex role as the penetrated partner. Zenanas may or may not be castrated; the castrated are "*Nirban zenana*" and the non castrated are "*Aqua zenana*". Becoming *Nirban zenana* is an inspiration for all those who are so called born with the rooh (soul) of a zenana. There are about 5000-6000 Zenanas in the cruising areas of Bhati Gate and Yadgar at Lahore.

The fate of these children is sealed from the very beginning as they stand out because of their body language. Pressure is exerted upon these children to change their orientation and live up to the demands of their biological gender that they have been born with whereas they feel helpless and are often confused. Their ability of protecting themselves is a lot lesser than the other children. They are mostly bullied and abused by their peers and are sexually and emotionally exploited by the adults. A vast majority of these children leave homes because they reflect gender roles and sexual orientation that does not conform to the societal expectations. The most common age for leaving home is 10-15 years. Once the child makes a decision to leave his biological support structure and comes to any of the metropolis, he is sucked in by a Zenana household. For becoming Zenana, the child has to undergo a ritual called "*chatai*". This is the ceremony where the child is taken in as a daughter of zenana household and becomes a property of the guru of the household. In this space though the child has the freedom of expression of his orientation and sexuality, he also is exposed to extreme abuse. Since the Zenana community has its roots in an institutionalized hierarchical structure, therefore the Zenana household works around "guru-chela" system. The guru is responsible for the livelihood of his chelas (followers). The entire income belongs to the guru, and he looks after the basic needs (food, clothing, shelter, medicines) of the chelas. He teaches them the art of public performance and "ensnaring" victims, and the tricks of getting money from and giving pleasure to the clients. The earnings from this trade are brought to the guru in entirety.

For becoming Zenana, the child has to undergo a ritual called "chatai". This is the ceremony where the child is taken in as a daughter of zenana household and becomes a property of the guru who teaches them the art of public performance and 'ensnaring' victims, and the tricks of getting money from and giving pleasure to the clients. The earnings from this trade are brought to the guru in entirety.

The youngest *chela* is exposed to the maximum abuse in all its three forms i.e physical, emotional and sexual. However the child still prefers this space as it gives him freedom to be “himself” without any pressure. Children who are drawn into the vortex of *Zenana* community are the most vulnerable children as they are socialized to an entire different life-style where body tempering and castration is a strong possibility. This child, more than any other children living on their own, internalize his role as an object of pleasure for others and this is the child who is also visible as “someone who sells sex”. For this child, commercial sex becomes a way of life and is internalized as his destiny. If due to excessive abuse, the child does want to change the household, the new *guru* has to pay a substantial amount to the old *guru*. In other words, the sale of the boy child takes place between two *gurus*. Value keeps on adding till the boy is able to get out of it by paying off a substantial amount to the last *guru*, but remains indebted psychologically to his first *Guru*. There is always an inner conflict in the child that remains with him till his



A Hijra giving a public performance

adulthood where he does not clearly know whom to blame for what. Parents have neglected him, *guru* has been abusive but still someone who provided him the space for expression as well as freedom to be what he wanted to be. However, the child/adult cannot justify the heavy price he has paid for his so called freedom and that price is emotional, physical and financial.

As mentioned before, four main categories of boys are involved in the sex trade market of Lahore: *hijras*, *zenanas*, *chawas*, and *malishias* (massage workers). Those having sex with them (penetrating partners) are termed as *giryas*. The “gender politics” of the MSM (men who have sex with men) context is complicated and has many connotations. The above-mentioned categories are only broad definitions, but encompass varying shades of ‘manliness’, thus being the grounds for differentiation. In Lahore, there are men who have developed a gay sensibility and a personal gay identity within the confines of Pakistani culture and social practices. They may be living together as ‘couple’ but pose themselves as friends sharing a common residence.

At a focus group discussion, *zenanas* quoted rivalry between themselves as a major problem after police harassment. This infighting is reportedly universal due to the low self-esteem and a sense of insecurity. Therefore, the relationships are often tense, self-stigmatizing, and sometimes abusive because of the social construct of penetration being seen as the equivalent of feminizing and stigmatization. The *zenanas* reported that they seek out their clients by dressing up as transvestites and are clearly “available” for services. The *chawas* are subtler and do not attempt to dress up like females. However, they make advances on anyone they think of as homosexual, even passersby on the street. This is the usual way of seeking out customers. The cost of their services varies from customer to customer but mostly range from Rs.100-500 per sexual encounter, with no pimp/middleman in between. To most of the participants, leaving the trade was challenging as the individuals faced issues of: lack of support, lack of self worth, and a perception that it was too risky to exit. Money was a prime motivator to be in sex business as without an education or skills, it often was the sole means of generating an income.

5.6 Nomad Children

Gypsies or nomads, locally known as *Khana-badosh* can be found in and around many cities in Pakistan. They do not have a permanent abode but live on the outskirts of towns and cities, putting up their tents around pavements or vacant public and private places. Some live in huts of mud walls and thatched roofs. Most often these open spaces are located near garbage dumps and polluted riverbanks or sewage



Most Nomad children work as scavengers

lines, which pose a grave danger to their health and well-being. Illiteracy, disease, malnutrition, and conflicts based on apparently trivial issues are commonplace in these communities.

The gypsy communities perceive themselves and are also perceived by others as outclass of the society. They have limited relationship with the larger community because they think they are inferior which gives them a low self-esteem. Unpublished data collected from secondary sources confirm the presence of about 34,800 nomad families in the city of Lahore and its surroundings.²⁵

The total number of these people in the city is around 2,90,000. Most of these gypsies have been living in Defence, Faisal Town, Garden Town, Allama Iqbal Town, Johar Town, Model Town and Gulberg for more than 20 years. The gypsies in a particular locality live like one large family. They choose a chief (*Mukhia*) who they must obey. Among the gypsies of Punjab, ethnically fifteen different designations related to their caste and professions have been located. One can find various groups belonging to different origins and castes such as Qalandhar, Changar, Oudh, Musali, Bathu, Jogi, Nut, Kinghar, Bazigar, Marasi, Lali-marasi, Koray, Garhwi and Gurjimar.²⁶ The duration of stay at a particular location usually varies with the type of class, the family belongs to. Nut and Bazigar gypsies, mostly working as acrobats, do not stay for more than a few weeks or months at a particular location. On the other hand, Musali and Uirjimar (beggars) families may live in one place for as long as a decade.

As a part of the present research, FGDs were conducted with nomad boys and girls at Lahore and a separate study was conducted at village Pindora in Rawalpindi-Islamabad area. The girls participating in the FGDs stated that gambling, alcoholism and other forms of substance abuse were rampant in their communities. The gypsy children are extremely neglected, as their parents leave for work in the early hours and return home after dark. Meanwhile, the children, especially the younger ones are left hungry; consequently growing up with the habit of stealing food from others. Because they are often unsheltered against the weather elements, such as extreme heat or cold and rain, they are predisposed to many diseases. Because of poverty and stigmatization, very few gypsy children go to schools and the vast majority are deprived of educational opportunities.

Apart from begging, the most commonly adopted means of earning a living include, singing and dancing, working as acrobats, making mud toys, snake-charming, bangle-selling, garbage and rag picking. Boys perform and are often dressed in girls' clothes to attract people at fairs and other public events. The participants commented that females in the community work twice as many hours as males, who are often addicted to drugs. Domestic violence is a norm and is common occurrence. The girls stated that it was common for them to work as part-time sex workers. This was particularly true of the girls belonging to *Jogi* and *Kinghar* communities. They lamented that the main reason behind indulging in commercial sex was to escape the violent beatings they were subjected to by the male members of the household, if they didn't earn enough money. They also stated that drugs are commonly used by men especially during sex, as this "heightens pleasure" for men but enhances their own vulnerability to be subjected to rough behavior. Sometimes, sex is exchanged for food, clothes or other essential items, such as firewood. If there is a case of sodomy against a boy in the community, the offender has to pay a fine (Rs. 500/- to 1000/-), besides compensation to the aggrieved. The participants said that the repeat offenders were humiliated and treated roughly by the community. The boys who have been abused (penetrated) are seen as feminized and are made the butt of jokes by their friends. "After abuse, some of the boys take up selling sex as a profession. A participant commented. "We all go out of the community to earn money, so we cannot really ascertain how many boys are involved in commercial sex"; another boy remarked.

Evidence dictates that CSEC amongst the gypsy community is not an organized criminal activity with pimps and brothels, but is more based on the economic situation of the individual families and the type of the community. One of the clients, who regularly buy the sexual services of gypsy girls in Pindora, told the researchers that he never used condoms during sexual encounters. He revealed that his preference for the *Changar* girls stems from the fact that they are very sexy, cooperative and know the skills of the trade very well.

Health services are practically not accessible, because they (nomads) can't afford the costs involved. When asked to describe who fell sick most often in the family, the unanimous reply was "our mothers". The reproductive health situation of the women is extremely bad due to uncontrolled fertility, poor diet and non-availability of essential health services. The maternal and infant mortality ratios are both reportedly high, as the girls exclaimed "many infant around here die after birth or at a very young age". The same is true of mothers as many die during childbirth or soon after. Health awareness messages do not reach these communities because of language and socio-cultural barriers. There is no knowledge about HIV/AIDS or the consequences of unsafe abortions and unsanitary midwifery practices. Contraception is out of the question, primarily because of lack of awareness. Although medical services are available in the neighboring communities, the nomads are reluctant to use these facilities because of the economic and social constraints. Some NGOs visit them but apart from GODH no other organization is working for their development and welfare.

There is a custom of early betrothal and marriages. Exchange marriages (*vatta satta*) are quite common. Even children, as young as eleven years, may be engaged. Marriage (nikah) takes place whenever it is convenient for the two parties. If for any reason the girl's parents call off the wedding, they have to pay a certain amount of penalty to the groom's family. No such financial binding is applicable to the boy's family in case it is they who cancel the marriage contract.

Police harassment and exploitation was cited as a major and perpetual problem, being faced by the community. It was found that the police often conducts raids on their settlements and uproots their houses on the premise of illegal encroachments. In the process, no one is spared from the beating, be it an infant, woman, or elderly person. Girls are purposely manhandled and touched in a sexual manner.

"It is not common for these children to run away. Whenever someone does leave home, he usually returns after a couple of weeks. This is because, there is a lot of freedom in our lives. We can do whatever we want, so we don't run away."

Asim, 15

5.7 Children in transport industry

The child has the right to be protected from work that threatens his or her health, education or development. The State shall set minimum ages for employment and regulate working conditions.

(Art. 32, UNCRC)



Victims of abuse & exploitation: Children in transport industry

The street based prostitution of boys mostly takes place at the bus terminals and in public parks of the major cities. The bus terminals at the major cities of Pakistan are the main abodes of street children and runaway children, as well as the venues where they sell sex for money. A survey of the Haji Camp bus terminal in Peshawar by researchers, came with even more harrowing findings.²⁷

- Children at Haji camp, mostly aged 10-16 years, are subjected to physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Most of them are runaway children, from the poor families of rural NWFP (mostly the northern mountainous districts). A majority of children were from families with five or more children. All of them were school dropouts and complained of physical and emotional abuse at home and school. Haji Camp was the first place, they landed in a city and preferred to stay and hang around this place because of the many work opportunities.
- Most of them have no proper place to live and spend their nights in the small hotels and workshops around the terminal.
- All of them had suffered sexual abuse before entering the commercial sex.
- Sexual abuse and exploitation was the main problem, identified by all children.
- Children are sexually abused and exploited by the employees of the terminal and the staff and owners of small hotels, inns and workshops in the close vicinity of Haji camp.

- Older children at Haji camp and from the surrounding neighborhoods usually beat the younger children to force them for sex with them (older children). Children told that the older children even snatch their money and that there is no way they can protect themselves from such abuse /exploitation.
- *Bachabaz* men (pedophiles) frequently come to Haji camp to get the sexual services of young boys through offering money or using other tricks. They usually approach boys through pimps and also sometimes directly or through other children in the area. These pedophiles are mostly rich men from Peshawar city and adjacent areas, but sometimes also from other parts of the province. Many pedophiles are frequent visitors to Haji Camp and are well known to children and other men at Haji Camp. Some of them come in their own cars, pick up boys and ride away



“We are shattered by poverty; our forefathers were poor, our children will remain poor”

Farhan, 15

- Some of these children smoke and are addicted to hashish. They are offered hashish and money by men and are then penetrated.
- The drivers of coaches usually take these boys for ride to other cities, where they are abused. Both children and key informants told that many long distance truck drivers have even kept boys for sexual services, on permanent basis (the information was also endorsed by the animators). These boys are kept under the guise of helpers/apprentices and accompany the drivers on all trips.
- Children informed that owners of the inns and hotels severely beat boys and force them to have sex with customers. While the client may be charged Rs100-200, but the children are only paid Rs20-30 per sexual encounter. The customers are usually passengers and visitors from other parts of the province/country.
- The key informants told that police was well aware of what was happening at the terminal and adjacent establishments but have turned a blind eye to the whole affair.

Almost similar findings were obtained from another bus terminal (Kohat Road) at Peshawar, which is a starting point for all down-country buses, plying on Indus Highway.

The scale of CSEC at Pir Wadhai (Rawalpindi) is much bigger than Haji Camp. Situated between Islamabad and Rawalpindi, Pir Wadhai is one of the busiest bus terminals in Pakistan. The terminal has several other facilities in the form of post office, mosque, petrol pumps, a bank, dozens of PCOs (public call offices), auto workshops, tea shops, hotels and restaurants. Children doing odd jobs and just hanging around are clearly visible in this river of humanity. Most of them are runaway kids from various parts of NWFP, Punjab and Azad Kashmir. Around 300 children are employed in the local hotels and other business establishments. They work at various times and stay in the hotels at the terminal. Sach and Sahil, both Islamabad based NGOs, and members of the Working Group, have extensively studied the situation at Pir Wadhai. According to Sach, children working and living at Pir Wadhai are put into the worst forms of sexual abuse and exploitation. Child prostitution, both male and female, has become a way of life at Pir Wadhai. Over the years, due to a high demand, the dingy hotels at the terminal, have transformed into clandestine brothels. The pimps have mastered the skills of enticing customers. They approach new and old clients and entice them to hire either a rickshaw or a taxi, the derogatory Pir Wadhai specific names, coined for male and female prostitutes. Girls and women, although not visible, are supplied on demand. Like Haji Camp, many boys are taken on as cleaners and then forced to submit to the lust of the drivers and it eventually becomes clear to the boys that selling their bodies is a sure, even if undignified way of making a quick buck. Occasionally, the local police rounds up some boys and customers to make a news story, but things return to the usual soon after. At a focus group discussion, the children informed that police is deeply involved in the business. Some times, the children arrested during raids, are first taken to private places (*baithaks*), where they are sexually abused by the cops. Children said that food, money and accommodation were the main factors behind their falling into commercial sex. The other important reasons quoted were violence, fear of violence and peer pressure.

TRACKING THE TRUCKERS

Interviews with long distance truckers confirmed their widespread involvement in commercial sex (with their boy helpers and others.)

'Pappu Yar Tang Na Kar'

"Pappu yar tang na kar" (Pal, don't be a nuisance), a driver said. "And you guess, what I mean", he laughed. The truckers complained that they are burdened by erratic and extremely difficult work schedules that leave them little time for rest and recreation. Many a times, they are not able to visit their families for several months at a stretch. According to them, their indiscriminate indulgence in sex stems from their frustration and is an indicator of their loneliness. Eating meat and spicy foods and smoking *charas* were mentioned as other favourite pastimes. At many roadside hotels where drivers can take rest, eat food or gossip with one another, sex workers can be accessed. "You can buy anything, provided you can pay for it", a trucker commented. "You can have sex with boys or women, in the dark rooms, tucked behind many of these brightly illuminated driver-hotels", he informed. And there is no dearth of such establishments on the Grand Trunk Road and Indus Highway, the two main arteries running down from Peshawar to Karachi. Although the truckers have heard about HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections but they rarely use condoms during sexual encounters.

‘Sex & drugs are freely available’

Haji Mir Zaman while describing the overall situation vis-à-vis commercial sex workers and its linkages with the goods transport industry mentioned that both boys and girls are available in abundance for sexual purposes on all the major highways of the country like the Grand Trunk Road, the Indus Highway and the super highway etc. Some of the hotels where boys and girls are available are located in Lodhran, Rohri, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Daulatpur (on super highway), Khanewal and Sahiwal. Almost all these hotels provide all the facilities to its clients including separate bedrooms and toilets which are normally located in the rear of the hotel and go unnoticed by others. Pathans' runs most of the hotels in Sindh province providing prostitution facilities whereas in Punjab they are mostly run by Punjabis and Pathans.

The age group of these girls is between 12 to 25 years and they work together in a group of three to five women. These groups of prostitutes are quite mobile as they keep on changing their service points (hotels) as the clients (drivers and conductors etc.) asks for new faces all the time and do not like to get the services of those already used. Almost all the girls/women and children involved in prostitution in the goods transport industry either belongs to NWFP or Punjab province. Some Afghan girls are also involved in prostitution. No girls from Sindh or Balochistan are involved in commercial sex in the goods transport industry.

According to Mir Zaman, the rate of these girls varies between Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 depending upon the age and feature of girls. In some places pimps also exist who take the money from the client before sending them to the women.

Mir Zaman mentioned that the area between Bhai Pheru and Lodhran is quite notorious for mobile prostitutes who come out on the road after 11.p.m and remain on the road till 4 am. They offer their services to the truck drivers either in the adjacent field or on the truck. These women had torches in their hand which they use to indicate their presence by waving it up and down on the roadside. Almost all the drivers are aware of the presence of these girls/women in the area and sometimes they pick them up to have sex in the truck to save time and sometimes they go to the adjacent fields. These girls/ women are dropped by the truck drivers on the road side and then these girls/women find another truck to get back to their original place before dawn. According to Mir Zaman, some of the prostitutes have ganged up with men who rob the drivers of all their money and valuables while they are engaged in a sexual activity in the fields. These men normally have guns which they use to extort money from the drivers. Once these men rob the drivers, they run away along with the women from the scene in the darkness. In some cases, Mir Zaman mentioned that, drivers resisted the robbery and they were killed by the men.

The truck drivers mainly comprise of three main ethnic groups i.e. Pathans, Punjabis and Afghans.

Mir Zaman further informed that drugs are also available in abundance in most of the hotels along the G.T Road and Indus Highway. He specifically mentioned that all 'Marwat' hotels, belonging to people hailing from Lakki Marwat district of NWFP are quite notorious for the availability of drugs.

Children, drivers confirm sexual abuse

Interviews with children and drivers at *Lorry Adda* (bus terminal) Lahore came up with almost similar information.

"I come from a village near Lahore. Our family consists of 12 people. My father has died and we are living from hand to mouth. I am the eldest of my siblings. I am working at *Lorry Adda* (bus stand) Lahore with a *ustad* (bus driver). I clean the bus and do other errands for my *ustad*. I was reluctant to have sex with my *ustad* but he told me that it is must, if I am interested to learn driving. I gave in and now he has sex with me almost every day. He gives me food and money and is also training me to become a driver. I live with him near the bus stand. I visit my family once a month and give them my savings". (Amanullah, 16)



"I am from Sialkot and we are nine siblings in the family. I dropped out of primary school. My father is a drug addict and he is very abusive with all of us. He left me at the *Lorry Adda* Lahore so that I earn some money. I work with a driver (*ustad*), along with two more boys. I clean bus and do other errands. My *ustad* is a very cruel man. When he gets angry, he beats me black and blue. He usually uses very foul language. When he is in good mood, he has sex with me. He gives me free food and also some money. When I get sick, he buys medicines for me. I always weep, whenever I am alone." (Sajjad, 13)

"I am 32 years old and I hail from Faisalabad. Am married and have 3 children. I usually drive for more than 16 hours every day. Life is hard and boring. I am away from home for months. Good food and having sex with boys are the two things, which keep me going." (FB, truck driver).

"Driving a bus is a very hard and demanding job. I hate roads and always feel frustrated. I smoke hashish. I know that extra-marital sex is a sin but still I have sex with my cleaner. I have no other option (RK, bus driver, Sialkot)

5.8 Bachabazi

The construction of gender relationships, sex and sexuality is very complex and least researched in Pukhtoon society. The world of Puktoons, is a world dominated by men and masculinity is always praised in the social discourse. A typical Pukhtoon male is the member of a chauvinistic society, which revolves around the concept of manliness (*saritob*). The greatest compliment you can pay a Pukhtoon is 'saray dey' (he is a man). Even a woman is praised through compliments like 'Nara khaza da' (she is a very manly woman). There is a strict gender segregation and male control of the social space and economic resources. Gender roles and rules are strictly defined not only in terms of physical space and control but also in terms of social duties and obligations. Transgressions of these rules can lead to severe punishment through stigmatization, social exclusion, physical and emotional abuse and even death in some instances. The traditional concepts of *izzat* (honour) and *sharam* (shame or dishonour) construct this form of social order. These concepts have strict cultural definitions e.g. *sharam* doesn't necessarily mean a wrongful or sinful act but is defined by behaviour and conduct, which brings shame to the family, tribe or community as a whole. Traditions, customs and values define these precepts. Such value system leads to the denial of socially unacceptable behaviour, including child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation. In many cultures around the world, a sense of guilt plays a central role in controlling personal behaviour. In Pukhtoon culture, while a measure of guilt does exist; shame is a much stronger factor, and for the shame to exist, the behaviour must be public. A well-known Pushtu wish "*Bey pardeh ma shey*" (may you never be uncovered), clearly testifies this perception. The wish implies that God should always keep your honour intact and anything or act, which may jeopardize your honour, should never happen and even if any such thing happens, it should remain hidden from the public eye.

While denied, child commercial sexual exploitation of boys, does occur in the country. A study conducted by NCCR-UNICEF on "Community perceptions of male child sexual abuse in NWFP" conducted in 11 districts²⁸ (1997) came to the following broad conclusions:

- There is a high prevalence of male child sexual abuse including CSEC in the NorthWest Frontier Province.
- Children are being sexually exploited at the workplace, in markets, hotels, bus stations, video shops, snooker clubs, schools and other community places.
- Keeping young boys for sexual services (*bachabazi*) by rich and influential adults is a well-known fact and is by and large tolerated and somewhat accepted by the society. The issue is further complicated due to double societal standards vis-à-vis homosexuality and *bachabazi*, and other social norms, which perpetuate these practices.

Family (both biological and extended), in Pukhtoon society, is considered to be strictly a private domain and no outside intervention is accepted or tolerated. Parents have full control over their children and adulthood is conferred only after marriage. Adolescent boys are not "full men", a state usually defined by marriage besides age. In that sense, adolescents are "beardless youth" sexually available to men. Male homo-sociability and homo-affectionalism exist and is socially tolerated. For many men, because women are just not accessible, romantic longings are at a distance, unfulfilled and often filled with sexual urgency. All this emotional and sexual energy, the affectional needs and desires have very few socially acceptable outlets. However, intense male friendships are formed within the homo-affectionalist framework, which include extensive touching, body contact and even sharing of beds.

In Bachabazi, a boy would offer sex services only to one man, and is not perceived a form of prostitution by the society at large. In contrast, a male child prostitute would sell sex to any body for money.

During focus group discussion, the community leaders admitted that they were aware of the fact that some men have friendships with young boys (*bachabazi*) and it is commonly understood that they (men) have sex with these boys. In return, the boys may be paid money or else compensated in kind. The community leaders opined that it is totally a wrong and sinful practice but admitted that the practice is tolerated by the society. They lamented the double societal standards vis-a-vis *bachabazi* and male homosexuality. In NWFP, while it is quite shameful and disgracing to be a passive agent (receptive partner), it is a matter of male pride and power to be an active agent (insertive partner) in a homosexual relationship. In such relationships, a boy would offer sex services only to one man, and is not perceived a form of prostitution by the society at large. In contrast, a male child prostitute would sell sex to any body for money. Regarding *bachabazi* and other forms of CSEC, the community leaders felt that children from poor families are much more prone to be trapped into it. Besides poverty, the other factors pushing children to prostitution were, inadequate parental control, falling moral standards, gradual erosion of traditional values, drifting away from religion, culture of materialism and consumerism, and obscenity on electronic media.

At a Focus Group Discussion at Karachi, journalists and other key informants revealed that the a similar practice also exists in rural Sindh, particularly in Dadu, Jacobabad and Sukker areas. Not even rich, but also not so rich men keep boys for sexual services to boost their social status. Most of these boys (12-18 years old) are well looked after and pampered by their keepers. Some times, these boys may even serve as active partners in homosexual relationship with the elderly men. It is a *Rawait* (custom) in some areas of the rural Sindh (particularly the upper Sindh) and is not considered some thing bad or a sin. More than 50 percent household has a male child in the house as a "keep" said the participants from interior Sindh. A key informant from Mirpurkhas informed that Mathiari (a place near Hyderabad) is famous for this purpose and majority of men keep young boys for sexual services.

5.9 Children trafficked for camel jockeying:

It is the state's obligation to make every effort to prevent the sale, trafficking and abduction of children.

Child trafficking is not a new phenomenon. In the recent years, however it has assumed alarming proportions globally. Millions of children are trafficked every year as part of a lucrative human trafficking industry that is beginning to rival the illegal drugs and arms trade, with an estimated revenue of up to \$ 10 billion a year.²⁹ The grinding poverty has forced many Pakistani families to send their children to find whatever work they can. Even Pakistani children are smuggled as camel jockeys to the Gulf states; some are sent on the consent of their parents and others are kidnapped by organized criminal groups. Most of these children are trafficked from Rahimyar Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan districts of southern Punjab.³⁰

Camel racing at UAE is an old sport. However, the use of children as jockeys' dates back to early seventies. This sport activity, which initially was used as a source of entertainment at weddings and festivals, has now turned into a multi-million dollar business. A community based research carried out by Pakistan Rural Workers Social Welfare Organization (PRWSWO) and Save the Children Sweden at Rahimyar Khan, came out with some interesting findings. The research methodology was based on the active participation of children, involving them as key informants. This included both the repatriated trafficked children and other vulnerable groups of children, belonging to socioeconomic strata of the district. Other stakeholders i.e. parents, officials of the law enforcement including police, Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) and Anti-Narcotics Force (ANF), teachers, community leaders, district government officials, elected representatives of the local bodies, religious leaders, members of judiciary, and lawyers were also consulted individually and through focus group discussions.



Child jockeys: victim of abuse and exploitation.

The jockeys riding camels during races are called 'Rakbi' or 'Rajbi'. Commonly children in the age-group of 5-10 year are hired as camel jockeys. The main reason for preference of young children as jockeys is their lightweight. The light weighted jockeys try to propel the camels to greater and greater speed, bringing laurels and rewards to the racing parties. According to the rules and regulations formulated by the Camel Racing Association (CRA) of the UAE in 1993 on the use of camel jockeys³¹:

- a. very young children are not allowed as camel jockeys;
- b. the jockey's weight should be similar to the international standards of the horse jockeys and their weight shall not be less than 45 kg
- c. the jockey shall be medically examined to ensure his fitness
- d. the jockey shall wear a head helmet during racing.
- e. A jockey shall be given an identity card according to a standard format.
- f. Any person who violates these regulations set in respect of the jockeys, as indicated above, will not be allowed to participate in the races of the season.

It is important to note that within six months of the promulgation of the regulation regarding the weight of the jockeys, the owners of racing camels criticized the regulation as not "realistically suitable". As a result, the CRA's regulation on the issue of jockey's weight was changed to "not less than 35 kg".

The child jockeys stay at the 'azba' (camel farms), along with other workers and labourers and *masool* or *mudhamer*, where they are also used as helpers in other petty tasks. While living at 'azbas', these young jockeys, especially those who have no relatives with them, are also exposed to different types of exploitation and abuse at the hands of *masool* or *mudhamer* and/or other labourers staying there. Young camel jockeys are frequently used in the camel races and are prone to accidents, sometimes fatal. The children quoted numerous instances and examples, when young camel jockeys had met fatal accidents or had broken their necks, legs or ribs. The monthly wages of a child jockey ranges between 600- 800 dirhams.

During the interview with an agent and from the focus group discussions, it was revealed that the more strict measures are being taken by the government to prevent child trafficking, the more innovative techniques are being used by the traffickers for trafficking children to UAE. It was revealed that more and more young women are now entering the trafficking business and involved in child trafficking to UAE. These women are quite modern and fashionable and have ample knowledge and information on immigration rules and regulations. Sometimes they even challenge the immigration authorities if they stop the women or children from leaving the country. These women are known to sheikhs who sometimes keep them as their maids/ or for sexual purposes. According to the agent, most of these women are involved in prostitution and earn a handsome amount of money while in UAE. Sometimes the mothers of children also accompany them, but on arrival in UAE, they are separated from their children and are either taken to sheikh's residence to work as maid or taken to prostitution dens for prostituting.

The parents mentioned that most of the children who are trafficked to UAE and are not accompanied by their parents or relatives are very badly treated by the agents or their accomplices in UAE. They do not let go any opportunity to exploit the child and the agent takes whatever the child earns. The agent sends a small amount of this money (approximately 200-250 dirhams) to the child's family in Pakistan and pockets the rest for himself.

While discussing the treatment meted out to children by the agents, the parents mentioned that they have the information that the male agents who traffic children also sexually abuse them sometimes, on their way to UAE.

According to children their lives were always at risk while working as camel jockeys in races. Normally the children who had their male relatives with them like father, elder brother, uncle etc. at the *azba*, were in a better position than those children who were without any relatives and brought to the country by the agents. The situation at the *azbas* was also not very good. "We were treated like slaves; we didn't get much to eat; sometimes got harsh beatings from different people, even over minor mistakes"; the children told. Sexual abuse of child camel jockeys at the hands of *masool*, *mudhamer* or a labourer was also not uncommon.

One child mentioned that he witnessed another child being sexually abused by a *masool* at an *azba*. Mr. AP, a camel trainer or *mudhamer*, mentioned that sexual abuse of children is common and according to his estimates at least 10 percent of the total children are being sexually abused.

I went to UAE along with a woman namely Ms. Rashidan Bibi, who was not my real mother. She handed me over to *bedu* who took me to an *azba* while she went to a place known for prostitution. After few days the *masool* at the *azba*, who was a Sudanese, made an attempt to rape me but I escaped and went to *bedu*'s home. I informed the *bedu* but he did nothing to stop the *masool*. The *masool* at last succeeded to rape me thrice. At the third time I cried loudly on which the *bedu* became angry with the *masool*, narrated an ex-camel jockey.

Postscript

Recently (March 2005), the Government of UAE has promulgated a law putting a total ban on the use of children (below 16 years) as camel jockeys. The racing experts are also mulling the idea of using robots as jockeys at the camel races.

5.10 Children in deep-sea fishing: Gwadar case study



Gwadar district with its 600 km long coastline and un-irrigated tracts of Kulanch and Dasht has always been an important chapter of Makran's history. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Gwadar and the surrounding area fell into the hands of Muscat (Amman). The first Afghan war (1838-9) directed the attention of British to the area. Major Goldsmith visited the area in 1861 and an assistant political agent was appointed in Gwadar in 1863. Both Pasni and Gwadar have been ports of call for the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company. After the partition of Indian sub-continent, areas except Gwadar and its surroundings joined the Balochistan States Union as part of Makran state. In October 1955, Makran (except Gwadar) was given the status of a district after its accession to Pakistan. In 1958 Gwadar and its surrounding area was reverted back to Pakistan. Gwadar was notified as a district on July 1, 1977, with its headquarters at Gwadar town.

With a population of 125,000, the once sleepy town of Gwadar is now set on its way to become a hub of shipping, commercial and industrial activities. The first phase of Gwadar port has already been completed and connected to Karachi through Makran coastal highway. The cost of real estate is skyrocketing as the mad rush to grab land for residential, commercial and industrial purposes gets more and more momentum. But there is an element of skepticism among the local community who feel that the mega projects of Gwadar Sea Port and Makran Coastal Highway may marginalise them, instead of bringing welfare gains. Their particular concern is that these projects have not meaningfully internalized the local community in the process of development.

Like other coastal areas, the fishery sector has always been the most important component of Gwadar's economy. According to Economic Survey of Pakistan (2003-4), the fishing sector engages 395,000 people, out of which 125,000 were engaged in marine sector. In addition to direct fishing activities, some 400,000 are employed in ancillary industries. 31.6 percent of the fishermen are living along the 1050 long coast of Sindh and Balochistan. The safety of marine fishermen lies with nature's calmness, as there is always a risk of capsizing of boats because fishermen do not know about a sudden tide or tempest.

Interviews with some former walaed (children employed at deep sea fishing boats) revealed that in the camouflage of work, the children are sexually exploited by the adults on board. On some occasions, 5-8 adults may have sex with a single child during the fishing trips.

SEHER, a Quetta based NGO, with support from Save the Children UK and Save the Children Sweden sent a fact-finding mission³² to Gwadar district to study the situation of children employed in deep-sea fishing. The team visited the high concentration fishing communities at Kumadi, Mullah Bund, Koh Ban and Sur Bandar areas. Over the years, the subsistence fishing in Gwadar has been replaced with the commercial fishing, using launches and trawlers. The commercial fishing approach turned the conventional way of fishing from small simple nets to large wired nets, increasing the time span on the sea and from small family business to larger commercial enterprises. The fishing launches have usually 15-20 members crew (having distinct responsibilities), including boys as young as 7-9 years. Children are usually employed as *Walaeds*³³. The other crew members are Captain³⁴, Srinki³⁵, Bandari³⁶, and Khalasi. For a Walaed, the age of 9-14 years is basic pre-requisite. Another study by ILO at Gwadar also came out with the findings that over 80 percent of the currently employed labour force in marine fisheries, within the age of 19 years and above, started their careers as child labourers. Even the currently working child labour started their career much earlier i.e. at the age of 5 years or so³⁷.

Launch owners hire children for Rs.1500-1800 per month and take them into the deep sea for two to three weeks. Once at sea, these children without any parental supervision and protection are at risk of being subjected to physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Interviews with some former Walaed revealed that in the camouflage of helping the cook, the children (Walaed) are sexually exploited by the adults on board. On some occasions, 5-8 adults may have sex with a single child during the fishing trips, exposing them to the risks of genital trauma and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS.

Interviews with key informants brought the following facts regarding the factors behind the phenomenon and plight of children involved in the deep-sea fishing:

- Poverty, unemployment and lack of opportunities were cited as the main reasons for involvement of children in deep-sea fishing.
- Low quality education was quoted as another common reason for child labour, including deep-sea fishing. Parents wanted their children to learn a marketable skill (rather than wasting their time on 'meaningless' education) and deep-sea fishing was an available option.
- Children at Gwadar are growing-up in an environment of total parental neglect. Due to large family size; parents are always occupied to make both ends meet. They have no time to supervise their children or protect them from abuse and exploitation.
- Cultural factors restrict any communication regarding sexual abuse and exploitation between parents and children. Children are reluctant to say any thing about their abuse and exploitation at sea and the crime goes un-noticed, most of the times.

5.1 | Drug abuse and CSEC: Lyari Case Study

Children have the right to protection from the use of narcotic and psycho-tropic drugs, and from being involved in their production or distribution.

Article. 33 UNCRC

The World Health Organization defines the word 'drug' as any substance that when taken into living organism, may modify its perception, mood, cognition, behaviours or motor function. This includes alcohol, tobacco and solvents but excludes medicinal or psychoactive substances. The rising rate of drug abuse by children and young people is a major global problem. It threatens both the child's development and a nation's economic prosperity and social order. Drug abuse by children is particularly damaging. It may not only irreversibly harm their mental or physical development but is also associated with criminality.

The problem of drug abuse in Pakistan is of alarming proportions and is interwoven with many other social issues like child sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of children. The local drugs mafia have used

children as intercity drug carriers and also as drug pushers, usually in the slum areas of metropolitan cities. In May-June 2003, Sahel (a member of the Working Group) in collaboration with Pakistan Paediatric Association, SPARC and Azad Foundation conducted a study on the "Drug use and its relationship to sexual abuse of street children" in five metropolitan cities of Pakistan.³⁸ The study demonstrated a strong relationship between drug use and CSA in two ways:

1. Children who started using drugs before sexual abuse ultimately started selling sex because they needed money to buy drugs and some were paid with drugs for sex work.
2. Children who admitted to using drugs after being victimized were doing so in order to get rid of the memory of the abuse/exploitation. Childhood sexual abuse has been correlated with an increased risk for a wide range of mental health problems like substance abuse and suicidal behaviour³⁹.



Lyari: The largest slum of Pakistan

A teen aged boy approached me and offered to sell the 'powder' (heroin). When I declined, he asked if I needed a 'bacha' (boy) or a 'bachi' (girl). "They are right there... you can choose anyone you like," he implored. At some distance, I saw two teenage girls and a girl less than 10 years old standing in the shade of a house. They appeared to be talking among themselves.

In order to further probe the nexus between drugs and CSEC, a walk through survey was conducted at Lyari, Karachi. The neighbourhood of Lyari with a population of around 700,000, is the largest slum settlement in Pakistan. The area is infamous for its association with drugs, crimes and political volatility. The impressions recorded by the researcher, a journalist by profession, are reproduced below;

Karamat is a young waif-like boy. Had he been born into a well off family, he would have been blowing eight candles on his birthday cake, maybe a month ago. He would also be going to school. But he has no home, no family; only the streets to live on. The expression on his face, as he sits on a sidewalk with his two buddies in front of a welfare home, is that of a street-smart ruffian. I am there to meet Karamat and others like him to find if there is a link between drug dealing and child abuse in this oldest and least developed locality in Pakistan's largest city, Karachi. My companion is a man who knows his way around Lyari because he has grown up here. His family has been living here for many generations.

As I accost him, Karamat looks at me curiously. I give him a smile and he smiles back at me boldly. It is late in the afternoon and my companion, a middle-aged man I would call Mamnoon, speaks to Karamat in the local dialect, Mekrani. Soon the three of us roll away in a car, leaving Karamat's two friends behind. Three kilometres away from where we picked him up, we park the car and enter a small dingy café. We settle down in rickety plastic-and-steel chairs and order tea and some vanilla-cream biscuits for the kid and start talking.

Mamnoon introduces me as a person who writes in newspapers. Karamat understands and asks if I would give him any money. I reply in the affirmative. He nods and gives me a go-ahead.

"Ask!" Karamat says in Urdu in a tone that reflects his Lyariite background.

"Do you have a family? Parents?"

From his narration, I gather that the kid had learned from the neighbours that many years ago his father killed his mother on suspicion that she had a boyfriend. He was sent to jail and a woman, who like many other women here, earned her living by dealing in drugs, gave the child shelter. Later, she died and Karamat took to living on the street with a band of homeless kids.

Tea arrives and Karamat gets busy dipping a vanilla-cream biscuit in tea before he puts it in his mouth, relishing its sweetness. He recalls something and tells, "A begum came in a big car to where I hang out. She gave us some used clothes and a 100-rupee note as alms and drove away. We could not wear those clothes because they were too nice for us and no one would give us any alms if we wore them."

He laughs, "who would then have pity on us poor hapless kids! So we kept the money and sold the clothes."

"But you don't have to go begging. I know you also sell 'the powder', I coax him.

"Have to do anything for a living," Karamat replies.

I ask him about other kids living on the street and he tells me the whole story as best as he can.

He knew from the beginning that he could make a living not only by begging but also by being an intermediary between drug suppliers and users. The woman who gave him shelter after his mother's was an intermediary too and he assisted her in business. After she too died, leaving him alone, another man of the same locality came to him and took him aside. Karamat was scared stiff when the man told him that he was from anti-narcotics police and knew that Karamat supplied drugs. It was the first time the man beat him. Karamat was in unbearable pain. Then the man released him and made him do things Karamat had heard about, or occasionally seen, others do it. He and other kids were not totally unfamiliar with sex as they explored each other. But this time, it was painful. Karamat had no choice but to become a sex slave to the man who did many things to him and made Karamat do things to him.



Scavengers: Highly vulnerable to abuse

Karamat is not the only one in Lyari involved in this drug and commercial sex racket. He told that every child, irrespective of age and sex, living on the street is subject to these practices. Most of them are physically abused. Occasionally, one gets lucky to find a patron who treats them well.

After listening to Karamat's narration for about 90 minutes, we take him back. He promises to help us meet others like him. We play cautious, visiting the locality, three times afterwards, with at least four days' interval so that people don't get suspicious. There are kids from other cities too. They are all runaways and tend to converge to places, which are notorious for drug dealing.

Kaliya, "the dark one" is from Multan. He is living in Lyari for the past four years. His reputation is that of a male prostitute. He visits his village every year with a lot of gifts for his mother and sisters. On the side, he deals in drugs.

There are many kids who pick plastic, glass, metal and other nick-knack from the garbage thrown out in the streets and sell them at shops dealing in such things.

Something unexpected happened to me one day. As I wait for Mamnoon, a teenager accosted me and offered to sell the 'powder' (heroin). When I declined his offer, he asked if I needed a *bacha* (boy) or a *bachi* (girl).

"They are right there... you can choose anyone you like," he implored. At some distance, I saw two teenage girls and a girl less than 10 years old standing in the shade of a house. They appeared to be talking among themselves.

I shooed the kid away. When Mamnoon finally came, I inquired about the prostitution business in the locality. "The people here are poor and illiterate," he explained. "There are too few employment opportunities and there are too many addicts. Some addicts beg and supply drugs to meet their expense. Others force their family members to get them money to buy drugs. There are some addicts who sell their bodies..." he pointed to a heroin addict who was lying on the sidewalk; face down, with his pants down. He was fast asleep, or it appeared so. Mamnoon told me that the young man belonged to a good family living in a posh locality but because his family did not let him use narcotics at home, he had left them and made this place his home. He was a university graduate.

Once the girls and women know that they can earn money by selling sexual favours, they make it a practice. There are pimps who, openly or in some disguise, make money by bringing in customers. Some of them do it openly, without any fear of law.

At a bus stand, a street boy we had recruited to show us around pointed out to a young woman who earned money by showing her breasts to anyone who paid her five rupees. She charges ten rupees for let anyone touch her body. Of course, drug dealing was part of her business.

Different rates apply to various male, female and eunuch prostitutes. In the local underworld jargon, a young boy is '*kancha*' and a teenager is '*anta*'.

That old hag over there will provide you a boy or a girl of any age you want. She is also a bootlegger and sells all sorts of narcotics, from hash to white powder.

We meet this man who claims that he is an employee of the Sindh government and is here only because he can get good quality heroin at a cheaper rate than in any other area in the city. He is married but not satisfied with his wife. He is a regular client of this woman who sits beside the door of a hut and smokes water-pipe ('*huqqa*' or '*shisha*').

There is also this man in the disguise of a fakir or holy man. He runs his real business from late in the evening until morning. He supplies liquor, drugs, women and boys for sex.

Local police is in cahoots with the drug mafia. I was told that the drug and sex trade runs under police protection. It is only occasionally that under the orders of 'higher-ups', under political pressure, a police 'raid' is arranged and some street boys and drug addicts are rounded up and presented in court. Media people are called in to photograph them and write down how successful the anti-vice raid had been. The addicts also can easily get their drug of choice for a price while they are in jail or police lock-up.

The incidence of drug addiction is on the rise among children. As part of the deal, drug pushers also subject children to sexual abuse. Once used to such practices, they indulge in sex among themselves, irrespective of age and gender. Living in groups, they have to abide by the rules as outlined by the group leader who is supposed to have the right to have sex with anyone in the group. Those who enjoy his favour are the lucky ones. Beating and torture are common to keep the dissenters in check. Sometimes murders have also been reported.

The dark business is expanding. More and more families are coming under the destructive influence of drugs. And moral fabric is being torn to pieces. Drug barons and their accomplices in the administration are the only ones to benefit. The non-governmental organization and social workers have admitted that they are helpless against the deluge of crime in Lyari, especially against the children.

5.12 Exposure of children to pornography at Internet cafes

Cyberspace is regarded as the so-called virtual world provided by the internet, the worldWide Web and other forms of computer networks and systems. Reference to cyberspace and activities in cyberspace as unreal or non-real virtual world, virtual reality or virtual crime belies the reality and impact of the human experience of cyberspace. Cyberspace may be regarded as an ephemeral space where ideas and information are transmitted and exchanged, even as it is built upon physically tangible materials. But it is also a very real locale or site of action and influence. This is especially so for children of all social classes, cultures and religions-who are the dominant users of the cyberspace. For the most part, the human experience of cyberspace is positive (education, sharing of ideas, formation of new friendships etc.) But it is also the case that the cyber-world reflects the same polarities of human behaviour, as the real world wherein children are vulnerable to becoming subjects of various forms of harm and exploitation. Harm caused through cyberspace-generated actions and ideas may be intentional or inadvertent. This harm is real in its immediate or potential actuality, either physical or psychological or both. It affects the child individually or collectively.⁴⁰ Pakistan may not be in the front rank of countries with a high degree of computer usage and internet connectivity, however according to official data, internet has spread to more than 1812 cities, towns and villages across Pakistan⁴¹, up from only 350, two years ago. The number of internet users in Pakistan has also risen sharply over the last two years. More than 100 internet Service Providers (ISPs) are providing services to million of users, and the number is steadily increasing. Along with great internet connectivity and benefits, however, has come the problem of online (child) pornography. The information available on the extent and nature of child pornography in South Asia including Pakistan is very limited. The growing availability of internet through the mushroom growth of internet cafes all over the country means, that increasingly children and adults have access to pornography on the internet. In Pakistan, the internet clubs are generally located in busy markets and shopping plazas.

IMPACT OF PORNOGRAPHY ON CHILDREN

IT IS NOW considered beyond doubt that pornography has far reaching impact on the immature minds of the children. A number of studies done mostly in west have shown with fairly persistent consistency that exposure to pornographic material stimulate attitude and behavioural problem leading to gravely negative consequences for individual and society, especially towards female. There is enhancing callousness towards women among the consumers of pornographic material, as women are perceived as mere objects of pleasure and desire for men. Effect of viewing pornographic material has far more damaging impact on children. Children mature at different rates and pass through various stages of cognitive development. Premature exposure to hard-core sexuality can hinder both their mental and moral development. Because when children experiences reality beyond their readiness they have no means of processing the material intellectually or emotionally. At that time they will bury the experience in their unconsciousness where it will lurk in the shadows haunting them for the rest of their lives. Research has shown that adrenal hormones epinephrine is released in response to exposure to violent or pornographic images. This locks the memory of the experience in the brain. That's why an individual remembers pornographic images or any violent incident, experienced even years after the actual incident took place. Chemicals released by nerve ending in response to pleasure like watching porn images reinforce the body's desire to repeat the process. Adolescents are especially vulnerable as they are just beginning to seek out information and they like to experiment. Constant exposure to pornographic images precipitates pervasive behaviour in adolescents like hyper sexualization and addiction.

According to clinical psychologists, viewer of pornographic material passes through four stages

1. Addiction--- The desire and need to keep coming back for pornographic images
2. Escalation--- Need for more explicit, rough and more deviant images
3. Desensitization material once viewed as shocking and taboo is seen as acceptable and commonplace
4. Acting out --- The tendency to perform the behaviour viewed, including exhibitionism, sadistically violent sex, rape or sex with minor children. In other words pornography is the gateway to perverted sex.

But some are also housed in semi-residential areas. A typical internet café is small, usually housing about 10-20 personal computers (PCs) along with a server and a counter for the manager who is usually the owner of the club. The doors of these clubs have coloured or tinted glasses. The interior of all clubs is similarly designed with small wooden or cardboard cabins covered from all sides containing one PC per cabin. Between the two rows of cabins is a narrow passage. A casual visitor will get no idea what the users are doing as nearly all the PCs face in the opposite direction and a user sits with his back to the wall. Many internet cafes have cabins with two chairs and a door, which can even be locked from inside. Internet clubs provide a PC with facilities for internet chatting, browsing, and audio and video clipping. They provide headphones at no extra cost. The users can bring their own CDs to watch songs or a movie, whatever the rating. A study conducted by Pakistan Pediatric Association and Save the Children Sweden, in three major cities of Pakistan came with highly worrying conclusions.⁴² Almost 50 percent children (out of 56 interviewed) admitted that they had visited a pornographic site but when asked whether they knew of a porno-site and over 80 percent named a number of such sites. Some of them do chatting as well but as most of them are not well versed with English language, they spend most of the time downloading pictures, while some watch porno movies. These children are from two different social strata. Young labourers, who work at small hotels and workshops, earn money, pool it and in the off hours come to see pictures and movies. The other group is from lower middle class; they know computer and have been brought by friends to see pictures. Some of them also have PC at home but they cannot see these sites in front of other family members. These students spend most of their pocket money in the internet and many also pool money or get it through other means. It is also feared that younger children going into such internet booths with older children are vulnerable to being sexually abused. Many children told the interviewers that they were interested in getting pictures of Indian or Hollywood stars in nude. They said that they watch these pictures just for fun and usually share their experiences with classmates and other friends. The owners informed that some children watch sex movies on CD-ROM, which they bring with them.

Pakistan Tele Communication Authority has framed a Code of Conduct for internet café owners. The code entails that children below 12 years should not be allowed at the cafes and the owners must keep a vigilant eye to ensure that children do not watch porno sites. The Authority has blocked more than 10,000 porno web sites. The authority has even issued public warnings to internet café owners, but the ground situation has changed very little. In 2003-4, the Working Group against child sexual abuse and exploitation conducted a number of seminars and consultative meetings with internet café owners, internet service providers, government representatives, parents, teachers, media and children to address the issue. All the stakeholders were of the opinion that pornography on the Net needs to be strictly controlled by the government and the internet service providers. Lately, the Ministry of Information Technology and Telecommunications has conceded defeat in its battle against pornographic material available on the internet.⁴³ The ministry has written to the provinces to implement their own laws to counter the menace, as the Federal Government could not do much by applying the technological safeguards against it. The working Group against Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation has also developed and disseminated Netsmart rules on safe Internet usage by children. Another related issue is the clandestine growth of mini-cinema houses in small and major towns of the country, frequented by both children and adults, to watch X-rated movies. These places are known for linkages with child sexual abuse and exploitation.

5.13 CSEC at Schools

The media disclosure of organized and mass scale sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of children at a secondary school in Peshawar sent shock waves across the length and breadth of Pakistan (*Daily Mashriq* Peshawar Sepembert.2003). The abuse had been reportedly going on for quite some time at the school and the sordid matter was brought into public attention only after a change of the school principal. According to the evidence collected by Mr. Azhar Ali Shah, an investigative journalist, the macabre practice made a start in that particular school some 25 years ago, when the head of the sex mafia (uncovered in the report), took charge as a teacher. The modus-operandi of the group was very simple. They would first physically and emotionally abuse boys and then force them to have sex with them (teachers). Once the boys were abused, they would be threatened and blackmailed and forced to enter commercial sex. Many a times, the boys would be heavily fined on false disciplinary grounds and thus forced to comply with the wishes of the group. They would supply boys for sex to customers in the nearby hotels and inns. Gradually a highly organized mafia, consisting of school teachers, hotel owners and pimps came into being to benefit from this lucrative business. The mafia had established contacts with influential people who would protect them, whenever a threat arose. They were so well connected that all attempts to transfer them from the school by the successive principals were foiled. After the media carried the story, the government ordered official inquiry into the whole matter. The culprits were suspended from service and investigated. A parliamentary committee, formed to probe the matter, found the allegations to be substantially correct and recommended that action be taken against the teachers and other culprits. The Committee also sought assistance from the provincial law department, which opined that a criminal case be registered on the basis of the evidence gathered. Subsequently, the provincial government initiated a police inquiry and later booked cases against the culprits. Local teachers associations tried to block the legal action against the teachers on the plea that registration of a criminal case would demoralize and demonize the teaching community in general. A concerned citizen at Peshawar High Court has also filed a petition. The case has not yet reached finality and is still pending in the court.

Although large scale and shocking, but this was probably not an isolated incident. The local newspapers and some earlier micro-studies reported CSA and CSEC in the schools of NWFP⁴⁴ and also in Islamabad. A common concern expressed after the incident was that schools are no longer safe places for children. Teachers whose role should be to protect children from abuse, at times themselves become abusers and exploiters due to poor supervision by the Education Department and the local communities. The Working Group on CSA/E, is closely pursuing the case with the local authorities.

Recommendations

The commercial sexual exploitation of children is a complex and hidden phenomenon in Pakistan requiring innovative and evidence based responses. It is clear from this study that there is an urgent need for a holistic and child-centered action. To be child-centered implies that a program fully respects all elements of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It would mean addressing the root causes of CSA/CSEC, including patriarchal power structures, the imbalanced power relations between adults and children, challenging the existing socio-cultural norms and practices and recognizing children as rights holders and social actors.

6.1 Research

- There is a lack of reliable quantitative and qualitative data on the commercial sexual exploitation of children, particularly girls, in Pakistan. More in-depth research is needed on various manifestations of CSEC in all parts of the country. The research should particularly focus on data gathering regarding, profiles of perpetrators of CSA and CSEC, including trafficking and pornography. The results should be used for advocacy, lobbying and for designing child protection programmes, in the framework of National Plan of Action against CSA/E.
- High quality research on gender relations, masculinities and sexuality is lacking. It will help in understanding the taboos and barriers to be addressed, and facilitate the development of gender sensitive and culturally appropriate psychosocial support mechanisms and structures.
- The NCCWD and the Working Group against CSA/E should collect, analyze and disseminate data (including this report) regarding the situation of children caught in various forms of commercial sexual exploitation in Pakistan.
- Strict ethical guidelines must be followed while conducting research on CSA/CSEC, involving children. The researchers should interview and consult the child victims in such ways as not to compound their trauma.

6.2 Prevention & protection

- Educate the community so it can recognize children who may be at risk for sexual exploitation; recognize exploiters and their tricks, and be aware of the strategies and actions for intervention.
- The capabilities of community members in prevention activities need to be strengthened through conduct of CSA/CSEC awareness campaigns, monitoring of CSEC situation, detecting and reporting the abuses. Communities should be involved in the reintegration process of the victims from the beginning. This may avoid stigmatization and may facilitate reintegration of the victim.
- Awareness and education on life skills (negotiation skills, assertion skills, etc.), sex education and gender roles will help in the prevention of abuse and exploitation and the development of protective behavior in children. While integrating personal health and protection, gender and issues around CSA should be included into the formal school curriculum.

- Sensitize children and adolescents on issues around CSA and CSEC, while at the same time making headway with the integration of child rights into the school curriculum. Children's clubs and child-centered media may be important tools for sensitizing children. Peer support programs and peer-to-peer drama may be interesting methods to strengthen child participation and ownership of children.
- Implement education programmes for at risk children so they can recognize potential sexual exploitation and be aware of appropriate ways to protect themselves. Life-skills training packages for non-formal school settings may be developed, to strengthen children's ability to protect themselves from abusive behavior and to promote their interpersonal communication skills, critical thinking, confidence and self-esteem. It will lead to heightening of their awareness and lessen their risks of becoming victims of commercial sex.
- The Media in its multiple forms should educate the public to eliminate the stereotypes surrounding sexually exploited children and youth. It should inform the public about the plight and needs of children, particularly those caught in commercial sexual exploitation.
- A major observation from the study was that if the goal is to eliminate the sexual exploitation of children involved in commercial sex, then society must work towards decreasing demand for sexually exploited youth.

6.3 Service provision

- It is critical to develop the capacity of service providers to address the issue of CSEC in a manner, which protects the rights of children. Provide training to all professionals — such as doctors, counselors and police — including how to recognize signs of sexual exploitation and how to sensitively intervene. Caregivers need to have appropriate knowledge and skills on what support they can offer and when to refer or seek outside help.
- Use the experience of children and youth who have suffered sexual exploitation when developing intervention programmes.
- Organizational efforts to respond to CSA/CSEC need to be more systematic, integrated and program based. The latter requires the formulation of standard operating procedures (SOPs) and coordinated plans of action toward effective management and implementation of CSEC-related programmes.
- Ensure accessible information about resources on where sexually exploited children and youth and their families can find assistance and support.
- There is a need to increase the number of shelters/safe homes for child victims of/ and vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation, as well as improve existing shelters/safe homes. Examples are day/night-time shelters or drop-in centers for street children, where they can take a bath, have rest, receive or be referred to psychosocial and legal support services and receive training on child rights and life skills. Other forms are safe homes for child victims of sexual exploitation and trafficking, where children receive protection, education, counseling, and livelihood training to optimize their chances of reintegration.
- Develop and strengthen intervention programmes focussed not only on child-victims but also on the family, such as family reuniting and reconciliation programs and family counselling.
- There is need for a good referral system between hospitals, police and shelter homes for children

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List of Abbreviations

CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSA	Child Sexual Abuse
CSE	Child Sexual Exploitation
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
EI	ECPAT International
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IEC	Information, Education, Communication
MSM	Men who have sex with men
NCCR	NGOs Coalition on Child Rights
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NCCWD	National Commission for Child Welfare and development
NPA against CSA/E	National Plan of Action against Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PPA	Pakistan Pediatric Association
SCS	Save the Children Sweden
WG against CSA/E	Working Group against Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation

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