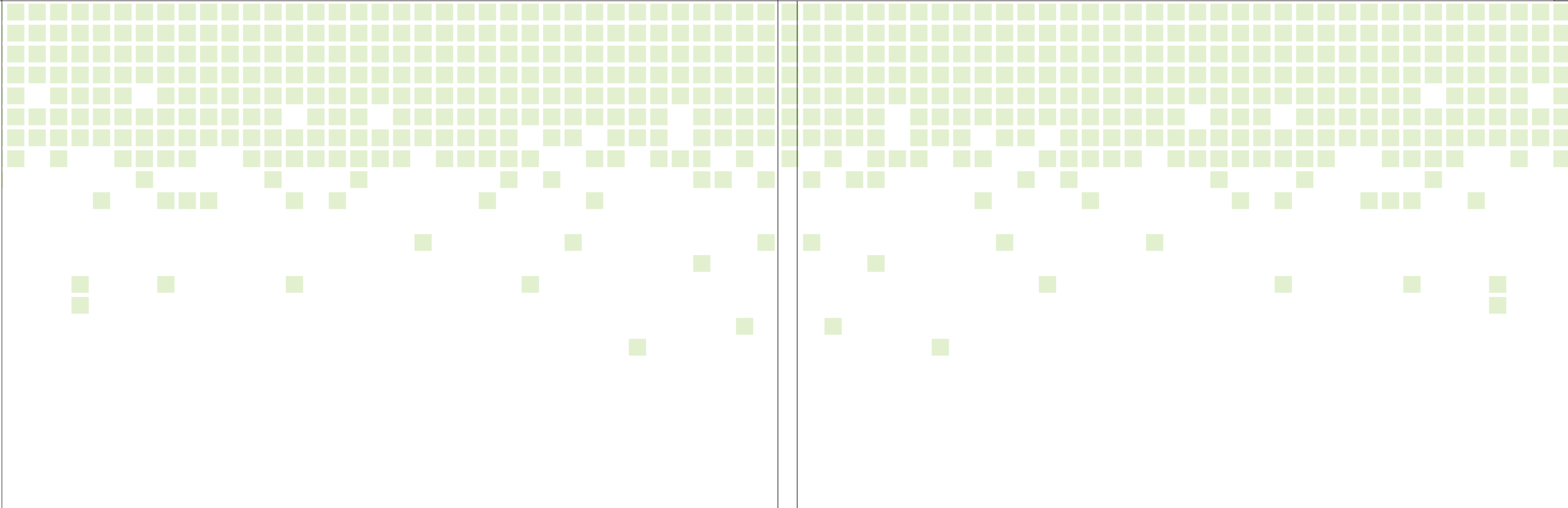


# Pakistan : *The Next Generation*





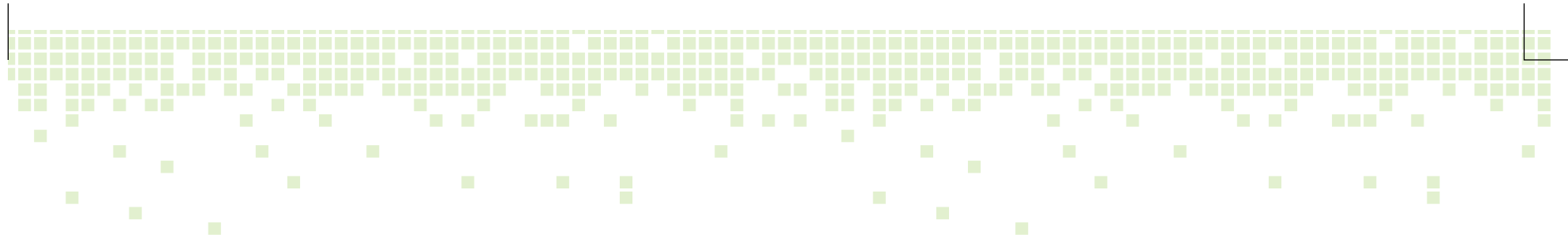
### DISCLAIMER

The British Council Pakistan funded the creation of this report as part of its Active Citizens programme. The views expressed in it are those of the researchers, Pakistani youth and focus group members who participated in writing it. The British Council does not necessarily agree with or endorse the views expressed within it.



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**Pakistan :**  
***The Next Generation***  
**November 2009**

# Contents

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Foreword</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Overview</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Key findings</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b>	
<b>Peril and Promise</b>	
Pakistan's future in an uncertain age	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b>	
<b>Portrait of a Generation</b>	
Beliefs, attitudes and aspirations	<b>10</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
<b>Dividend or Disaster</b>	
Understanding the policy challenge	<b>19</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
<b>Making a Difference</b>	
Transforming the lives of the Next Generation	<b>28</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b>	
<b>The Greatest Generation?</b>	
Tapping the potential of the young	<b>36</b>
<b>Annex One</b>	
Next Generation Contributors	<b>45</b>
<b>Annex Two</b>	
Methodology	<b>52</b>
<b>Footnotes</b>	<b>54</b>

The youth must not forget who they are and who they are a part of. They must keep the cultural heritage alive in their hearts..... Don't forget your identity if you do, the world will forget you..... hey, it rhymes!!  
*Furqan*

# Acknowledgements

The following research was commissioned for the Next Generation report:

- *Survey Report for the Next Generation Project*, Tehseena Rafi and Silal Shafqat, Nielsen, Pakistan
- *Changing Factors: Political & Democratic Activism of Youth in Pakistan*, Iqbal Haider Butt, Senior Partner, Development Pool, Lahore, Pakistan; and Sabiha Shaheen, Executive Director, BARGAD
- *Youth Employment and Economic Growth in Pakistan*, Dr Rehana Siddiqui, Chief of Research, PIDE, Islamabad, Pakistan
- *Understanding demographic opportunities & threats for young people in Pakistan: the economic, social & political impact of youth participation and /or exclusion*, Arshad Bhatti, Director, Connective Action – Informing Policy, Reforming Practice; and Kaveri Harris, Researcher, Options UK and Research Fellow, University of Sussex
- *The Next Generation Report – The Policy Environment*, Sabina Ahmad and Kulsum Babri, Value Resources

We would like to thank the following Task Force members: Moeed Pirzada, broadcast journalist H; Ashfaq Ahmad, Secretary of Youth Affairs (2008), Govt. of Pakistan; Abrar ul Haq, Chairman, Sahara for Life Trust; Mohsin Nathani, Country Head, Barclays Bank; Ahmad J. Durrani, Vice Chancellor LUMS; Dr.Rehana Siddique, Chief Researcher, PIDE; Sabiha Shaheen, Executive Director, BARGAD; Arshad Bhatti, Director, Connective Action, Dr. Tariq Rehman, Quaid-e-Azam University, Dr. Pervaiz.

The following provided valuable advice on shape, content and recommendations for the

Next Generation Report: Dr. Bernadette Dean, Principal, Kinnaird College, Lahore; Asad Jappa, Director International Linkages, University of Gujrat, Pakistan Country Director University of Central Lancashire; Prof. Dr. Malik Hussain Mubbashar, Vice Chancellor / Chief Executive, University of Health Sciences, Lahore, Pakistan; Ameena Saiyid, Managing Director, Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan; Dr. Qurat ul Ain Bakhtiari, Founding Director, Institute of Development Studies & Practices, Quetta, Pakistan; Shireen Naqvi, Director, School of Leadership, Karachi; Bilal Ahmad Rana, Project Coordinator, Youth Parliament of Pakistan: Dr Samina Amin Qadir, Head of English Programme, Fatima Jinnah Women University.

Over twelve hundred members of the Next Generation provided us with detailed and insightful written contributions to the report through the open source consultation process or in workshops. They are acknowledged in Appendix One.

This project was developed and implemented by the following team from the British Council: Sue Beaumont, David Martin, Mark Stephens, Shazia Khawar, Fasi Zaka, Salman Cheema, Fatima Farooq, Nasir Kazmi, Sadia Rahman, Nasir Nazir, Obaid Khan, Alamzeb Khan, Amna Ashraf, Mariam Khan, Asif Muneer, Khurram Saeed, Ahmad Ali and Sarwat Azeem

David Steven from the Center for International Cooperation at New York University was policy advisor to the project, with research and editorial assistance from Victoria Collis, Jane Frewer, Michael Harvey, Matthew Kent and Mark Weston.

Images are contributed by Fayyaz Ahmad and students of Kinnaird College.

One of the major challenges which the next generation of Pakistan needs to know is to have answers to the questions, and enough knowledge about the political/economic condition of the country  
*Rabia*

i

# Foreword

Inspirational. Influential. A change maker. A leader.

Words almost never applied to a fresh-faced twenty-something. The same youth who makes up half of Pakistan's population and who stands to inherit the country tomorrow. A country that today has urgent internal and external challenges; with resources that have been underutilized; where the present is uncertain and the future unclear.

This report is unique, in that it comes directly from those who hold the power to determine Pakistan's future: the youth. They just don't have the authority to exercise that power... yet.

This report is a landmark put together by the youth of the country, gifted researchers and eminent Pakistanis with funding by the British Council after months of painstaking research and data-collection.

It is because of this effort that I am honoured to pen this foreword, and also because I can see this report igniting a much needed debate on what can be done to invest in the youth so they aren't left short-changed.

It forecasts Pakistan's prospects over the next twenty years and identifies the country's most pressing long-term challenges: population explosion and untapped demographic potential, resource scarcity, social turmoil, distressing gender inequality and the country's growing isolation in the international community.

The next generation wants to change that to

help a nation that is tired of poverty and hunger, of disappointment and hardship. The report shows how eager and willing are young people – whether from the teeming cities or rural outskirts – to take on the responsibility of deciding their own future.

When we look at the next generation who are to take our place we would be well advised to realise as a nation that our power lies in their empowerment.

**Abrar-ul-Haq**

"The journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step." Pakistanis need to keep this adage in mind and no matter how trying the circumstances, we need to keep believing that we can pull through.  
*WAQAS ABID*

ii

# Overview

Pakistan: The Next Generation aims to spark debate on how the country can transform itself to harness the potential of its young people.

The project, led by a Task Force of eminent public figures, marks the most comprehensive investigation ever into the attitudes and needs of Pakistan's youth.

We have thoroughly reviewed existing research and supplemented this with new studies from some of Pakistan's leading academic institutions.

We commissioned a representative opinion poll of Pakistan's young people, exploring how the next generation thinks, feels and reacts.

Perhaps most importantly of all, we have interviewed large numbers of young people and given them a chance to tell their stories. What do they want from the future? What obstacles do they face? And how can they help build a stronger Pakistan?

In Spring 2009, we launched an interim report to provoke further discussion, inviting ideas, input and critique from opinion formers, policymakers, and future leaders. Almost 1,500 people responded, helping us complete this landmark exploration of the most important long term challenge facing Pakistan.

Today, the country sits at a crossroads. For too long, leaders have failed to grapple with deep-seated threats to our future, though

there are welcome signs of a new willingness to invest in the next generation. The international community has also failed Pakistan, pursuing a myopic and narrow-minded agenda that has not delivered any tangible improvement in the security of ordinary people. Indeed, it has had the opposite impact.

Our report argues that it is time for a fresh start. We all need to unite behind a new mission to meet the needs of the next generation. Never again will Pakistan have such a high proportion of young adults in its population. They offer us a substantial dividend, which we cannot afford to leave on the table.

The most hopeful message emerging from our report is the strength of the voices of the next generation itself. With the country at a perilous point in its history, many young leaders are determined to play their part in building a brighter future.

“Sixty-two years back there was a nation in search of a land,” one young person told us. “At present, there is a piece of land in search of a nation.”

The next generation is emerging as a powerful force for change. Only by harnessing its energy can a new Pakistan be born – one able to overcome the challenges the future will bring.

Let the girls be provided equal opportunity to study. what is this? some kind of colossal joke that we are muslims by religion and we can't impart education to our female youth? other thing, include daily news paper reading in their syllabus. and teach them to really read between the lines, not skim thru the newspapers  
*Saamiya Musani*

iii

# Key findings

## Peril and Promise

- Pakistan is a young and increasingly urban society. Half its citizens are under twenty; two thirds have yet to reach their thirtieth birthday.
- The population has trebled in less than fifty years. It will grow by around 85 million in twenty years (roughly the equivalent of five cities the size of Karachi).
- Birth rates remain high by regional standards, especially in rural areas. Pakistan's demographic transition (from high to low mortality and fertility) has stalled.
- The economy must grow by 6% a year to meet the needs of its growing population. 36 million new jobs are needed in just ten years. At present, Pakistan ranks 101 out of 133 countries on the Global Competitiveness Index.
- By 2030, Pakistan will be more urban than rural, creating huge demand for infrastructure. Energy use could quadruple; water will be an increasingly scarce resource.
- Pakistanis are losing confidence in the future. Only 15% believe the country is heading in the right direction. 72% feel economically worse off than a year ago. Only one in ten expect an improvement in the near future.

## Portrait of a Generation

- Young people are passionate believers in education, but many have had no opportunity to gain essential skills. Only half of Pakistan's children go to primary school, a quarter to secondary school,

and just 5% receive any higher education.

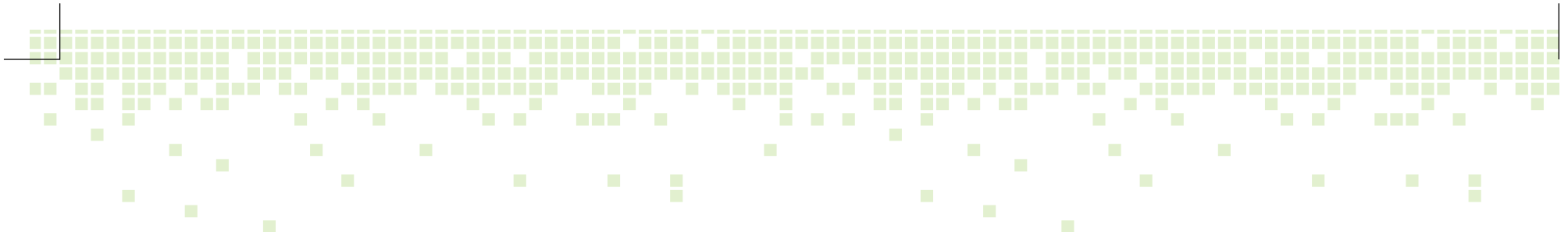
- In our survey of the next generation (18-29 year olds) a quarter of respondents are illiterate. Half believe they do not have the skills for the modern labour market. Even those with good qualifications are struggling to find decent employment, and are struggling against discrimination and corruption.
- Disillusion with democracy is pronounced. Only around 10% have a great deal of confidence in national or local government, the courts, or the police. Only 39% voted in the last election; while half are not even on the voters' list.
- The next generation loves Pakistan, despite the country's failings. It is also civic minded, with nearly half believing education's primary purpose is to learn to be a good citizen or to gain a broad understanding of the world.
- Many young leaders are no longer prepared to wait for others to act. They are actively seeking opportunities to build a stronger, more peaceful and prosperous society, and to develop a new relationship with the rest of the world.

## Collecting the Dividend

- In 1980, Pakistan passed a milestone: the proportion of adults to children and old people reached its lowest level. Ever since, demographic conditions have become steadily more favourable – a trend that will continue to mid-century.
- A huge generation of young people is

I think word 'CHALLENGE' is not the right expression of the current and future scenario, it is a 'WAR' our next generation have to face.  
*Mirza Zahid ul Hassan*

iv



now entering the workforce. If there are no jobs and services for them, Pakistan faces a demographic disaster. If they are engaged in the economy, politics and society, Pakistan could collect a one-off boost to its growth and development.

- This demographic dividend first became available in the 1990s. The window of opportunity will close around 2045, by which time the society will be ageing rapidly. During this period, therefore, investment in the next generation will have a huge impact on Pakistan's long term prospects.
- Leaders need to make the next generation their number one priority, dramatically increasing investment in young people, helping them reach their economic potential, supporting young families, and engaging the youth as active citizens and future leaders.
- A long term vision for the next generation should form the basis of a new contract with young people, setting out what they can expect from Pakistan and what the country expects them to deliver in return.

0% Corruption, Equal justice  
for all, Equal rights for all,  
Equal opportunities for all,  
after all , we all are humans!  
Please respect humans!  
*Nadeem Anjum*

V





# Peril and Promise

Pakistan's future in an uncertain age



CHAPTER

# 1



# Peril and Promise

Pakistan's future in an uncertain age

Pakistan has spent much of the twenty-first century in turmoil.

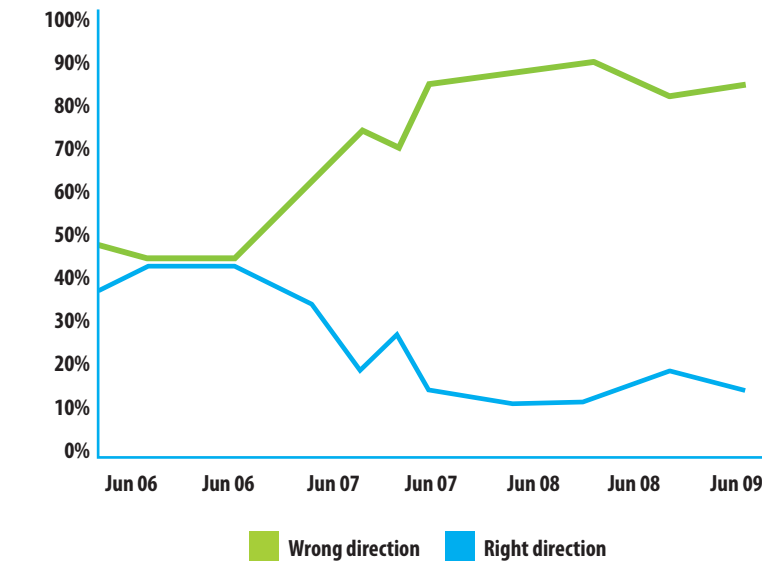
The country sits on a geopolitical fault line, bordering China, India, Afghanistan and Iran – all countries that play a pivotal role in the modern world.

Throughout history, the country has been buffeted by external forces and subject to interference from external actors. The relationship with India has long been fraught with difficulty. During the Cold War, Pakistan was drawn into the conflict between the Soviet Union and United States of America in Afghanistan.

Since 9/11, the country has found itself on the front line of the so-called 'War on Terror'. Over the past few years, a wave of attacks from extremists has spread fear among ordinary people, while weakening the state and isolating Pakistan from the global community.

At home, successive governments have failed to satisfy the aspirations of a rapidly growing population. Democracy was restored in February 2009 after nine years of military rule, but the new government has struggled in the face of interlocking economic, social and political threats.

Ordinary people are increasingly pessimistic, worried about both their own future and that of their country (figure 1). They are horrified by sickening violence directed at schools, universities and even mosques, with millions forced by fighting to flee their homes. High



Source: IRI Index: Pakistan Public Opinion Survey 2009

Figure 1 – Is Pakistan heading in the wrong or right direction?

food and fuel prices have caused poverty to soar, while a weak economy has blighted the prospects of all but the most privileged.

With confidence at rock bottom, decisive action is needed to place Pakistan back on a path towards a stable and prosperous future. Otherwise, the consequences will be frightening. Pakistan risks falling prey to a worsening cycle of poverty, polarisation and conflict, at a time when the population continues to increase rapidly and growing numbers of Pakistanis hunger for a better life.

The main challenge that the next generation of this country faces is self realization. We must realize what we are Pakistanis. We must come of the shell of ignorance and compete with the world.

Ahmed Abdullah

At this time of crisis, no country can afford to stick its head in the sand or to indulge in kneejerk reactions. Instead, the Next Generation project takes a step back from today's divisive disputes and offers a long view, focusing on what Pakistan needs to achieve over the next twenty years or more.

Our report explores the hopes and aspirations of the next generation – young people who offer great promise for Pakistan's future, but only if they are equipped to lead productive, engaged and fulfilling lives. At present, this generation is in grave peril. It is starved of education and opportunities, and vulnerable to manipulation by those who do not have its best interests at heart.

In preparing this report, therefore, we have come together to analyse, in a systematic and thorough fashion, the peril and promise of Pakistan's next generation, and present fresh ideas for reform. We argue that young people have the potential to act as a powerful engine for Pakistan's development. But we also describe the obstacles that block this generation's progress and detail the price we will all pay if these barriers are not removed.

The message is one of both urgency and hope. The next generation is in crisis. Without bold action, its prospects are bleak. But rapid change is possible given leadership and political will, partnership between government, civil society and the private sector, and a bold plan to change the lives of the young.

At the founding of the nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah told Pakistan's new citizens that "if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dream about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy."<sup>1</sup>

Unlocking the potential of the next generation is, we argue in this report, a challenge that now dwarfs all others. Pakistan will only succeed if it dedicates all of its efforts to a new generation to transform the country.

## A Young, Urban Planet

Pakistan's future cannot be decided in isolation; it is tied to the prospects of a crowded and fragile world. We therefore start from a global perspective, attempting to understand the challenges that will face a generation that is coming to maturity in an uncertain and unstable age.

Take some simple numbers. In 1960, the world was home to just three billion people. Since then, the global population has more than doubled and will have trebled by 2050, by which time it should have peaked, or at least be close to stabilisation. Shortly after 2010, the world's seven billionth baby will be born.<sup>2</sup>

Such rapid growth is driving an ineluctable

I believe that our demographic situation provides our young with an extraordinary opportunity to compete in whatever sphere they chose. We have an opportunity to turn our very large and very young people into a productive asset.  
*Muhammad Fahad Lakhani*

2

power shift from the developed to the developing world. Europe and North America's share of global population has shrunk considerably and will continue to do so. At the same time, their societies are ageing rapidly. Half their citizens are over the age of 40. In most developed countries, recent migrants make up a growing share of the labour force.

Rising powers, in contrast, are much younger. In a developing country, the average citizen is under 27 years of age. He or she is increasingly likely to live in a town or city. While the world's rural population is already at its peak, urban centres are growing explosively (see figure 2). By 2030, there will be around one and half billion more urban dwellers in developing countries. Half a dozen more 'megacities' will have passed the 10 million inhabitant mark. There will be a total of at least half a million new towns and cities.<sup>3</sup>

Sadly, this young, urban world is likely to remain highly unequal. Today, the richest 10% of the world's population own 85% of its wealth.<sup>4</sup> Even if developing economies expand at unprecedented speed, it will take decades, and perhaps centuries, for them to secure their fair share of global resources.

If economies stagnate, the situation will be much worse. Many young people will live frustrating and limited lives. In countries gripped by conflict, living standards will slip backwards as absolute levels of poverty grow.

A lack of resources, and associated

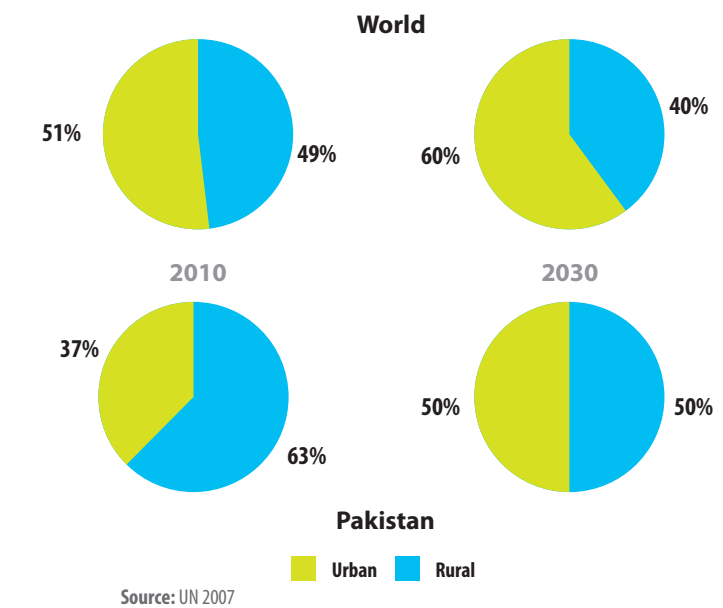


Figure 2 – The move to the cities

environmental degradation, represent a growing problem.

By 2030, global demand for food is expected to grow by 50% and for energy by 45%, as more people strive for a better standard of living.<sup>5</sup> Massive investment and innovation will be needed if this demand is to be met. Pressure on land and water resources will increase, driving conflict between and within countries. Resources will be the root cause of many of the world's wars.

At the same time, climate change will pose two simultaneous challenges. On the one hand, its consequences will hit developing countries hardest, disrupting agriculture, threatening water supplies, and increasing the number and severity of natural disasters.

To have a true leader to work for our beloved country Pakistan, and it should be a common man.  
*Frederick Joseph*

3

On the other hand, new policies will begin to bite as the world tries to make a rapid escape from the carbon age.

Scientists believe that global emissions should peak by 2020 at the latest, and decline rapidly every year after that. Even if rich countries make drastic cuts to their emissions (a big 'if' given their evasion and inaction on the issue), billions of young people face a future where 'the right to emit' is an increasingly scarce and precious resource.



Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad

# Turbulent Times

Look at the world today and we can see these pressures beginning to bite.

2009 was a disastrous year for the global economy. A financial crisis that began with irresponsible mortgage lending in the United States has unleashed an economic tsunami which is destroying wealth in both rich and poor countries. World leaders have dubbed the crisis "the greatest challenge to the world economy in modern times."<sup>6</sup> Their response has been to cut interest rates drastically and pump liquidity into the economy, with G20 governments spending an average of 2% of GDP on the crisis during 2009.<sup>7</sup>

After a decade of solid growth, the world's economy contracted in 2009, shrinking faster than at any time since the Second World War.<sup>8</sup> The IMF is predicting a slow recovery for 2010, but expects unemployment to remain high and sees new risks as governments attempt to phase out fiscal stimulus.

Much attention has been directed at the plight of those rich countries whose reckless borrowing practices caused the crisis in the first place. In the long run, however, the most serious consequences are likely to be felt by those developing countries that lack robust domestic markets.

Their currencies tend to be fragile and their access to international credit markets has

The major challenge is a lack of opportunities and a lack of organizational work streamlining the force of the youth in Pakistan. The urgent need is that the youth of Pakistan be focused on a particular project and how they can help to achieve it.  
*Wajahat Nasser*

been drastically curtailed. Export markets have collapsed and their industries have few buffers to see them through tough economic times. They face what The World Bank has described as "an emergency for development," a prolonged downturn that will curtail opportunities and increase vulnerabilities to other shocks.<sup>9</sup>

The economic crisis was preceded by a sudden and unexpected resource shock, with food and energy prices hitting unprecedented levels in the summer of 2008.<sup>10</sup>

The oil price spike was driven by a failure of production to keep pace with rising demand, especially from China and other fast-growing economies. The rise in food prices shadowed that of oil, as the price of fertilisers and transport leapt and biofuels competed for scarce land. Speculation and protectionism exacerbated shortages in both areas. The oil price peaked at \$147 per barrel in July 2008.

High energy prices helped trigger the recession in the United States that then spread to the rest of the world.<sup>11</sup> Food shortages, meanwhile, have had a disproportionate impact on the vulnerable, pushing tens of millions of people into poverty and triggering protests and riots across the developing world. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the number of ill-nourished people worldwide recently exceeded 1 billion for the first time since the 1970s.<sup>12</sup>

Water is another increasingly scarce resource.



Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad

In the twentieth century, the global population quadrupled, but extraction of freshwater grew by a factor of nine.<sup>13</sup> By 2030, 3.6 billion people will live in parts of the world that are suffering severe water stress.<sup>14</sup>

Rising demand for food will increase pressure on water supplies, especially as people eat more meat. Feeding a meat-eater requires an average of 5,400 litres of water a day, twice that needed for a vegetarian.<sup>15</sup>

Building infrastructure is a particular challenge in fast growing cities, whose citizens are likely to experience growing water – and energy – shortages.

The economic downturn has offered some breathing space on scarce resources, with commodity prices now lower. However, investment in increasing supply has also fallen. Renewed economic growth – especially at levels needed to cope with a growing global population – seems certain to lead to further resource crunches. Few believe that resource scarcity has gone away.<sup>16</sup>

Less chances and greater challenges, we don't get the required training and grooming.  
*Mubashar Iqbal Awan*



# Pakistan's Challenges

Pakistan's challenges mirror those of the rest of the world. While outsiders focus primarily on security problems (which are of course both urgent and important), global social, economic and environmental drivers remain the key determinants of the nation's prospects over the long term (see figure 3).

As the government noted in its own assessment of future prospects, "Pakistan's economy still faces pressures from [an] uncertain security environment, higher inflation driven by a spike in food prices, acute power shortages, a bewildering stock market, perceptible contraction in large-scale manufacturing and a slowdown in the services sector; lower than anticipated inflows and growing absolute financing requirements."<sup>17</sup>

After under-performing in the 1990s, the economy saw strong growth in the early twenty-first century, fuelled by the global asset price bubble and by money pumped into Pakistan as part of the 'War on Terror'. But there has been a severe slowdown of late, with GDP in 2009 expected to increase by only 2%.<sup>18</sup>

Growth is expected to pick up in 2010, but at a rate that is barely above population growth. Pakistan will remain heavily dependent on the performance of China and other rising economic stars, and on investment from the international community.

Public finances remain under strain. In October 2008, the government was forced to

85 million more Pakistanis by 2030 - equivalent to five cities the size of Karachi	60% of Pakistan's people live on less than \$2 a day
44% population increase in just twenty years - twice as fast as the world average	127 <sup>th</sup> Pakistan's ranking on the Global Gender Gap Index (out of 130 countries)
50% of Pakistan's people will be living in towns or cities by 2030	6.8 million Pakistani children not in primary school
36 million new jobs needed in the next 10 years	70% of Pakistani children will never attend secondary school - and only 5% will go to university

Sources: World Population Prospects 2008, World Urbanization Prospects 2007 UNDP Development Report 2009, World Economic Forum 2008, World Bank 2009, UNESCO 2009, Pakistan Ministry of Finance, 2009

Figure 3 – Pakistan's development challenge

accept a \$7.6 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) after a precipitous decline in its currency reserves and a collapse in confidence in its debt. The outstanding loan is now \$11.3 billion – over 6% of our GDP.

The IMF believes that public finances have now been stabilised, but points out that "Pakistan's economic program is subject to an unusual degree of uncertainty associated with security problems and the depth and duration of the global slowdown."<sup>19</sup> Ongoing external assistance will be needed if Pakistan is to stabilise its economy, boost growth and increase social spending to protect ordinary Pakistanis from the worst consequences of recession.<sup>20</sup>

Dealing with the energy & water crisis, Radicalization of society, Lack of Justice and Lawlessness in Society, Security, Law and Order, Uncertain Future, Unemployment and Quality of Life, Increased Polarization (between haves and have nots)  
Nabeel Khan

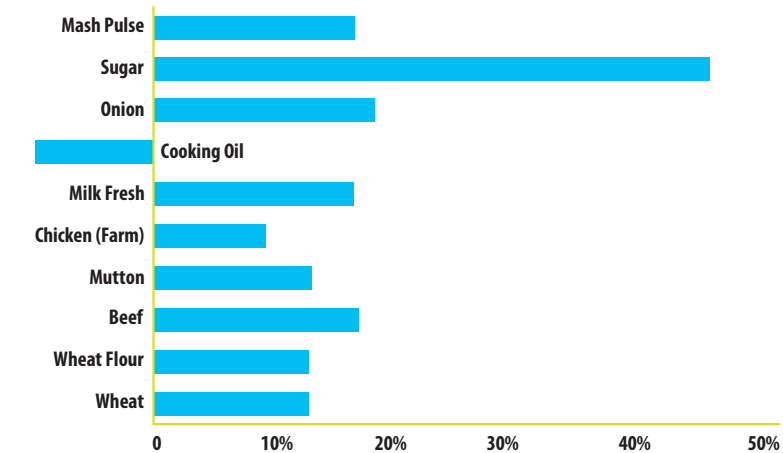
6

The 2008 resource crunch also hit Pakistan hard, with high food and energy prices pushing inflation up to 23% in 2009.<sup>21</sup> Energy shortages remain a feature of everyday life. Power demand in cities has eclipsed available supply, leading to power cuts and 'load shedding' that can last from eight to twelve hours a day.<sup>22</sup>

Blackouts are crippling industry and having a devastating impact on the lives of ordinary people. Without electricity, hospitals cannot function and water cannot be pumped. High food and fuel prices have made the necessities of life increasingly expensive (figure 4).<sup>23</sup> Around 7% of the population has fallen back into poverty due to the combined food, energy, and economic shocks.<sup>24</sup>

The energy crisis is destined to get worse. Pakistanis consume less than a quarter of the energy used by the average global citizen.<sup>25</sup> 40% of households have no electricity, while firewood, dung and crop residues account for over 80% of all household energy use.<sup>26</sup> Population growth is stretching infrastructure to the limit. By 2030, with annual economic growth above 6%, energy demand will be four times current levels.<sup>27</sup>

Water is an even greater problem, with Pakistan one of the world's most water-stressed countries.<sup>28</sup> The limits of water resources are quickly being reached, with aquifers depleted and available water deteriorating in quality. This makes farms less productive than their equivalents in India and is threatening the hydro stations that generate around a third of electrical power.<sup>29</sup>



Source – Pakistan Ministry of Finance 2009

Figure 4 – Price increases in essential commodities July 2008 – June 2009

As with energy, population growth and rising economic aspirations will exacerbate the problem. The World Bank warns that Pakistan will face 'outright water scarcity' over the coming years.<sup>30</sup>

Then there is climate change, perhaps the most serious long term problem Pakistan faces.

The country is already experiencing the impact of a changing climate. The period 1995-2006 saw eleven of the twelve warmest years since 1850, leading to frequent and severe droughts. Himalayan glaciers are retreating by between ten and fifteen metres a year. They could disappear in as little as forty years. The economy currently loses around \$4.5

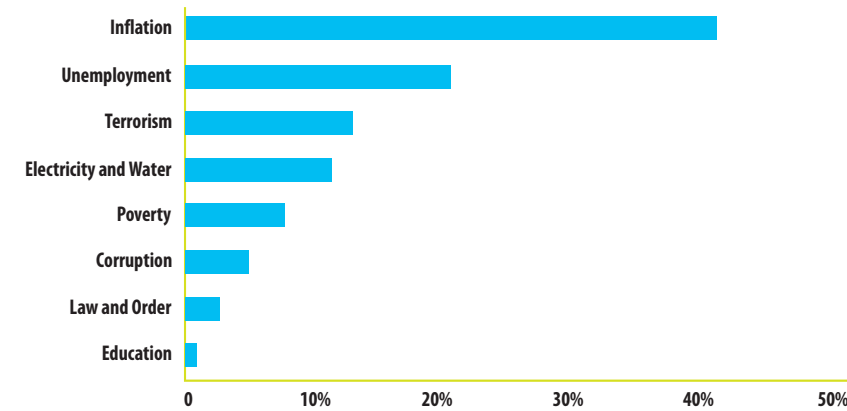
The Main challenge of Next generation that if faces it fighting for Pakistan's own identity its now the youth Pakistan who has to decide where they want to see them tomorrow  
Arpheel John

7

billion each year due to environmental factors.<sup>31</sup> In the future, climate change could knock as much as 5% off GDP.<sup>32</sup>

Taken together, these challenges are having a dramatic impact on national morale already hit hard by the security situation. 72% of Pakistanis say their personal economic situation has got worse in the past year. Only one in ten expect things to get better in the near future.<sup>33</sup>

Of course, ordinary people are worried about terrorism and the security situation, but their main worries are day-to-day survival. As figure 5 shows, inflation is seen as by far the country's greatest problem, with unemployment, access to electricity and water, and poverty also believed to be pressing issues.



Source – IRI Index: Pakistan Public Opinion Survey 2009

Figure 5 – What is the single most important issue facing Pakistan?

## The Promise of a Generation

Pakistan shows the strains of a country coping with rapid population growth. In 1960, the country had fewer than 50 million citizens. Today, there are around 180 million Pakistanis.<sup>34</sup> Any society faces an enormous task when it grows at such breakneck speed.

Without immediate action, the problems can only intensify. Pakistan's population is projected to exceed 260 million by 2030 and

335 million by 2050 (see figure 6). Depending on birth rates, there will be around 85 million more Pakistanis by 2030.

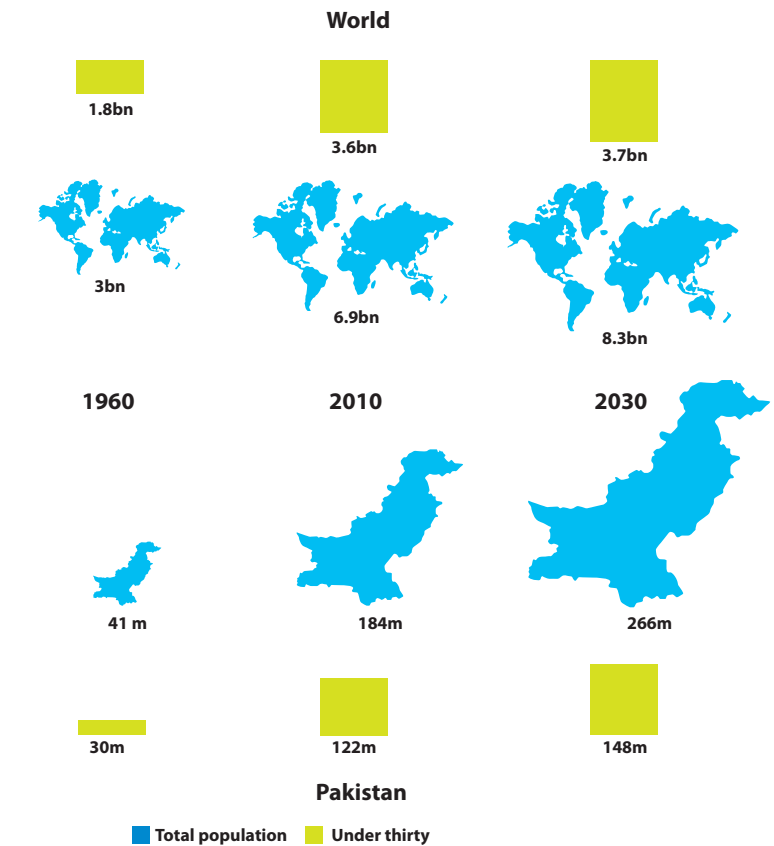
During this period, a wave of young people will sweep across the country. Half the population is currently under twenty years of age and 66% are under thirty. By 2030, the country will have more people living in towns and cities than in the countryside.<sup>35</sup>

Our problems are Politicians, education and the biggest of all that we really don't "OWN PAKISTAN" which we have to do from now on this is the only chance we have.  
Abrar ul Hassan

Social change will be rapid. Already, as we show in this report, attitudes are shifting with a new generation beginning to make its voice heard. The boost to economic development could be dramatic too. With so many young adults, Pakistan has a window during which it can achieve a massive surge in its development, creating wealth that can be reinvested for the future.

But this dividend can only be collected if the right policies are put in place today. How will a society that is already under strain feed, clothe, educate and provide healthcare to so many people? Who will build and pay for the infrastructure as cities expand at breakneck speed? And what about scarce fuel, electricity, water and food?

Much will depend on the next generation itself. So who are Pakistan's young people? What do they think and believe? And what do they want from its future? We turn to these issues in chapter two.



Source – UN 2008

Figure 6 – The youth surge

There are three main factors faced by our youth are: Education, Justice (equal opportunity) and Employment.  
Bilal Raza Khan



# Portrait of a Generation

Beliefs, attitudes and aspirations



CHAPTER

# 2

# Portrait of a Generation

Beliefs, attitudes and aspirations

Pakistan's next generation is living through a time of great transformation.

In part, this is a personal journey, but it also tells us a great deal about the future. At the age of eighteen, a young Pakistani is an adult, able to vote and expected to make a full contribution to society. Hopefully, he or she will have been supported through childhood and be prepared to respond to the challenge of being an adult.

By the age of thirty, a young man or woman should be established in their chosen career. Most will have also chosen to start a family, and will thus be responsible for the prospects of their children, making decisions about their upbringing - consequences of which will be felt for decades to come.

Without the right preparation, few young people will make a successful transition to adulthood. They need to be healthy enough to survive infancy and to be able to learn in school. They need an education that gives them the skills needed in the modern workplace, the confidence to interact with their peers, and the broader set of attributes that make for a rounded human being. They will benefit from a family life that provides security, companionship and love, while readying them for families of their own.

Preparation is futile without opportunity. With so many young people, a job market that can expand fast enough to provide people with rewarding employment is especially important. Jobs offer financial rewards, of course, but they also provide people with identity and self respect.



*Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad*

Moreover, they make it easier for young people to start their own families and to invest in their children's future.

The next generation also needs opportunities to express itself politically and to participate in building a cohesive society. Frustrate its ambitions or waste its energy, and you have a recipe for social failure and disruption.

A safe, peaceful environment is also vital, both for a family's security and to make economic development possible. The violence that has plagued Pakistan in recent times deters young people from attending school, going to work and socialising with their peers. It is a major impediment in achieving their goals.

The challenges of the next generation of Pakistan is that they have to compete with the developed countries and the scenario is changing rapidly  
*Muhammad Laeeq Ur Rehman*



Violence also denies the next generation the chance to make a broader contribution as citizens. Young people around the world are a major force for social change, driving political movements and working for the public good. For Pakistan's youth to make a similar impact, opportunities must be created for them to express their views and become involved in improving their communities. As well as a legal environment that allows them to associate with others and speak their minds, young activists need to be able to trust the country's security apparatus to protect their rights and their safety.

So does the next generation believe it is equipped to make the transition to adulthood? The Next Generation research explores the beliefs, attitudes and aspirations of young people from across Pakistan. It provides a snapshot of how the country's youth are faring and insights into how well prepared they are to seize the opportunities of the future.

## The Lives They Lead

We interviewed a representative sample of young Pakistanis between the ages of eighteen and twenty nine. They came from

cities, towns and the countryside, and were spread across the country's four provinces, as well as Azad Jammu and Kashmir. We also conducted focus groups, gaining a rich and detailed understanding of how the next generation thinks, feels and reacts.

Most of Pakistan's young people, our survey shows, are yet to take full control of their lives. Around one in ten consider themselves the head of their own household. The rest live with parents or an elder sibling, or in the case of married women, with their parents-in-law.

Families are quite large, with their elders continuing to have a major influence on their lives, even as they reach adulthood. Parents play a role in decisions over marriage, education and work, and their influence over their daughters is particularly strong.<sup>36</sup>

Young people generally marry in their twenties: men on average when they are 26 years of age, women when they are 22.<sup>37</sup> Almost three quarters of the men in our sample are unmarried, compared to less than half the women.

Couples start their own families quite soon after marriage, with women having most of their children in their twenties. Family size in Pakistan is falling – though at 3.7 children per woman, it is still higher than in many comparable countries. Despite the increase in their available time as a result of having fewer children, young women are still overwhelmingly likely to be housewives rather than being part of the workforce.

The next generation of Pakistan would be facing a major problem of freedom, education, one-ness and language.  
Raheel Ahmad

The fall in fertility is one of many cultural changes facing the next generation. Today's youth are also increasingly likely to live in towns and cities. Within 25 years, most of them will be based in urban areas.<sup>38</sup> They spend much of their free time watching television, surfing the internet or communicating with friends via their mobile phones.

Some worry that traditional values are being left behind. A young Karachi'ite complains, "Respect is gone, in school we wouldn't dare speak in front of our teacher, but now it's different. No one listens to the teacher." Another, from Narowal, says that people are "in the rat race of wanting more and more for themselves. Envy and greed has entered their lives."

For many, religion is an anchor in this sea of change. Three-quarters of our respondents identify themselves primarily as Muslims, compared to just 14% who define themselves primarily as a citizen of Pakistan.

While they are worried about religious extremism, they want to live in a society where religious values such as peace, justice and equality are promoted. As a young man in Multan argues, "every issue will be solved if we go back to the fundamentals of Islam."



Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad

## The Miseducation of a Generation

As they reach their late teens and early twenties, young people's woeful lack of preparation for adulthood is thrown into sharp relief.

The next generation has great faith in education. 92% believe that improving the quality of the educational system is an important issue, while women, in particular,

Will there be enough jobs for the next generation? With the current security threats, will we be able to attract foreign investment? Will they be able to go abroad for higher studies? Will they be able to enjoy safety in their own country?  
Afsa Babar

are concerned about whether or not their children will receive a good education.

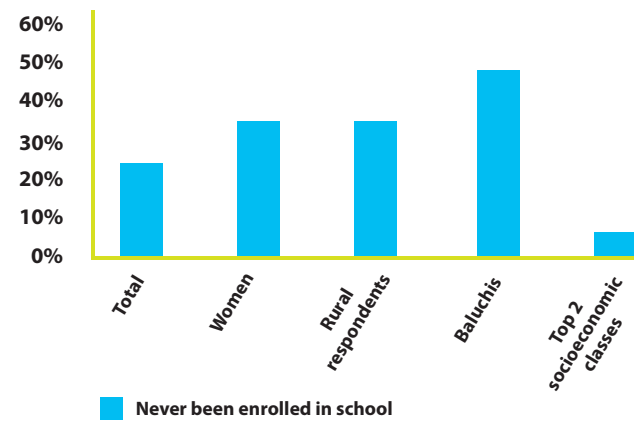
Currently, however, both access to education and the quality of schooling are mixed. Education enrolment rates have improved in recent decades, but many Pakistani children are denied any education at all. Only half go to primary school, a quarter to secondary school, and just 5% receive any higher education.<sup>39</sup> Poor children, those who live in the country, and girls suffer the worst exclusion, their opportunities choked off at the very beginning of their lives.

In our survey, a quarter of respondents are illiterate and have never attended an educational institution. For girls (wherever they live) and rural respondents (whatever their gender), this proportion rises to 36%. In Balochistan, nearly half the next generation has had no education at all (figure 7).

Cost is the main barrier keeping children out of school. Many children do not live near a government school, while even 'free' schooling requires parents to spend money on text books and uniforms. For girls, negative family attitudes to schooling are a major constraint.

One young woman from Narowal reports that "people feel that boys should study more than girls." According to a young man from Islamabad: "The girl once married will go to someone else's house. So people ask: 'why should we spend so much money on her as she will not remain in our house?' That is why they spend more money on their sons, so they can be well educated, get good jobs

Portrait of Generation



Source: Nielsen 2009

Figure 7 – Uneven access to schooling

and contribute in the house." Quality of education is an equally urgent problem. The next generation is especially critical of government schools, where large class sizes, poor facilities and unmotivated teachers provide inadequate preparation for the demands of adulthood.

"The teachers in government schools spend their time doing nothing," says one young man from Islamabad. "In the government sector," another adds, "the students are large in number and the staff is limited, so less attention is given to children. The duration of the period is 25 minutes and 15 minutes are consumed in taking attendance."

The next generation also worries that educational opportunities are not provided equally to all children. They feel that

Youth should also be made aware of social responsibility, so that they can help build and advance their own towns, villages and communities, rather than abandoning their environment- hence entrepreneurial skills will be an extreme guide in advancing their own communities.  
Tatheer Zehra

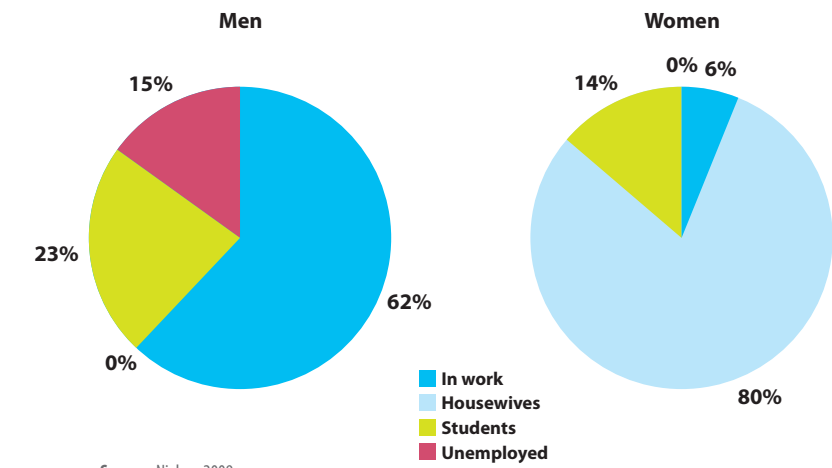
connections in high places are more important than talent and hard work.

"There is no education," complains a resident of Multan. "There is a culture of intercession and recommendations." A young man from Lahore agrees: "Here, a student struggles day and night but the son of a rich man by giving money gets more marks than him. This curse has become widespread in society."

## Missed Opportunities

Unsurprisingly, the next generation enters the labour market unsure that it has the tools it needs to thrive. Half of those interviewed in our survey believe their qualifications are below par, while only a quarter think they are sufficiently qualified for the job they want.

But even good qualifications may not be enough. Many have concluded there is little point in becoming educated if there are no jobs. In Narowal, reports one young man, "if you have an MA or an MBA you do not get a job. People are roaming around with degrees in their hands." A woman in Lahore tells a similar tale: "A hawker comes by and sells vegetables. He has done a BA. He says that there is no benefit of his study."



Source: Nielsen 2009

Figure 8 – Stay-at-home women

Official unemployment in Pakistan is not that high, at around 8%, but 70% of employment is in the informal sector and underemployment among young people is rife.<sup>40</sup>

In our survey, there is huge gender disparity at work (figure 8). Among men, a fifth of those who have left education describe themselves as unemployed. Many of the rest have marginal and unstable jobs. Only 22% have permanent full time jobs, while 36% are self-employed and 18% are daily wage earners. Among young women 80% identify themselves as housewives, with only 6% in work (the rest are students).

Hard work, Patriotism, Freedom of Speech  
Zia Jafri

Most young people have growing fears about their employment situation, believing that too few jobs are available and that prospects are getting worse. Almost half of those in work, moreover, took more than six months to find their jobs, while many find their working life disrupted by corruption and discrimination.

Bias against people based on gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and disability is common, while favouritism is also rife. "These days," one of the next generation complains, "whichever jobs you get are through recommendation."

Combine a weak labour market with high inflation and economic underperformance, and the outlook for many is bleak. One young man from Karachi sums up the problem: "The environment these days is very bad. There are no jobs. Everything is getting expensive. The poor man's life has become very difficult."

## Letting Us Down

This sense of injustice is not limited to education and the labour market. The next generation believes that most of Pakistan's institutions are riddled with corruption.

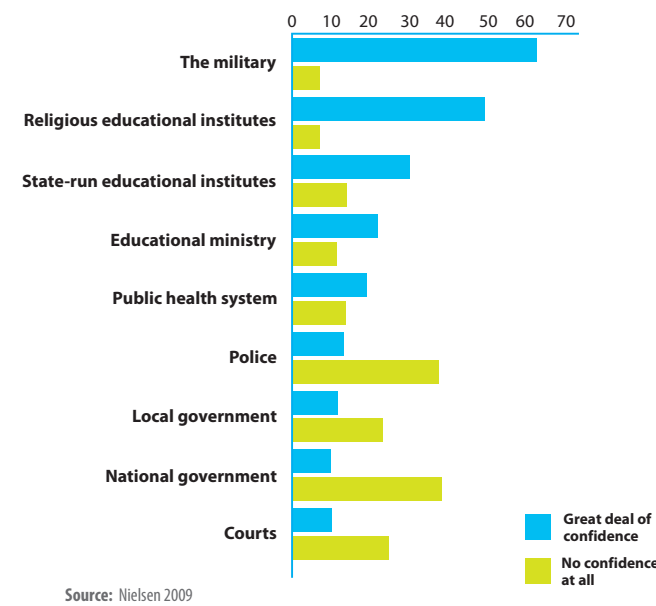


Figure 9 – How much confidence do you have in Pakistan's institutions?

Only 10% of survey respondents have high confidence in the national government, with most believing that the government is failing to deliver on all levels.

"In every department of the government there is bribery," says one. "Unless you know someone nothing is done." When asked what successive governments have given young people in recent years, a young citizen from Islamabad has a direct, but depressing, answer. "Unemployment, inflation and terrorism," he replies.

Trust in the courts, police and local government is similarly depleted, while only

When talk about realization i think Next generation of Pakistan do realize there responsibility and the only problem prevail is there involvement most of the young people afraid to involve them self in politics and showing there responsibility is due to poor democratic culture in Pakistan they need to be involved so the only concrete step would there involvement

Arpheel John

15

the military is widely trusted (figure 9). Overall, just 4% of the next generation believes that corruption in Pakistan society is low.

Security is another serious problem. Young people are frightened to leave their homes because of terrorism and crime. "Suicide attacks and bomb blasts have become the fashion of the day," says a student from NWFP. Young women experience a different kind of violence, with many citing eve-teasing as a deterrent to their involvement in society.

Several focus group participants also report problems at universities, where student groups, taken over and corrupted by political parties, are often more interested in violent feuds than student affairs.

When young people brave the outside world, there are few outlets for them to express their opinions and energies. "When we go out we have no facilities but only tensions," says a young man from Islamabad.

Young people feel they have few platforms from where they can express themselves, while a failure to enforce basic civil liberties means that few young Pakistanis feel able to campaign for change. Disengagement from the political process is widespread. Just 2% are members of a political party, while only 39% voted in the last election and half are not even on the voters' list.

The political class is seen as selfish and corrupt: "Politicians are busy in their own fighting and no one even cares or bothers



Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad

about the public," says one young man from Narowal, while another criticises politicians

If we look around us the first thing we need to do is to build trust among ourselves and help each other in as much as possible. The other thing is to talk to make them realize that they are important to us and what ever they want to do or are doing we support that.

Sarmad Riaz

16



# Hopes and Fears

Despite their growing frustration, young people still love their country, with a majority believing it is the best country in the world to live.

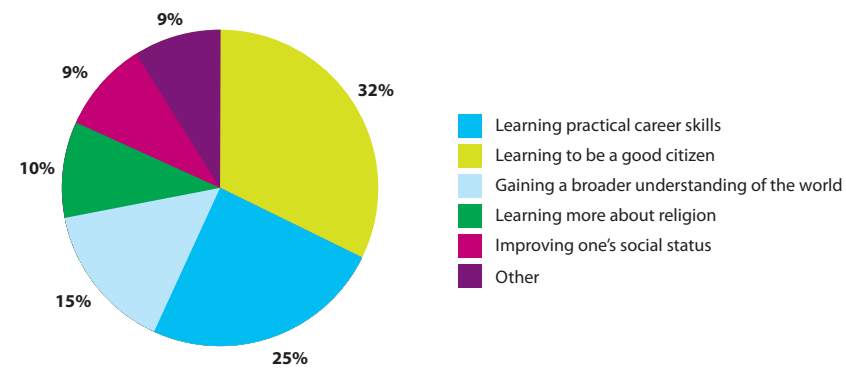
Most, however, believe Pakistan is heading in the wrong direction and only one in ten think it is doing well. They share the pessimism of their parents' generation, but are even more likely to feel their security is under threat.<sup>41</sup> This not only makes them fear for the future, it makes them angry and wounds their pride.

In the aftermath of the suicide bombing of the International Islamic University in Islamabad (IIUI), for example, a Facebook group was set up to mourn the victims, pray for the wounded, and protest the violence. "They didn't attack IIUI," the group proclaimed, "they attacked the Pakistani youth."<sup>42</sup>

Young people understand the damage that terrorist violence has caused to Pakistan's international reputation, but they want the world to understand that they are much more likely to be victims of violence than its perpetrators. "People consider us a terrorist nation," says one young man from Lahore. "Previously when a foreigner came we gave him gifts," adds another: "Now if he comes his gift is death due to bomb blasts."

A man from Karachi speaks for many: "The condition of Pakistan is like that of a person who has fallen in the eyes of the world."

At this time of crisis, there is some evidence that a generation gap is opening up between



Source: Nielsen 2009

Figure 10 – What is the most important reason to get an education?

the next generation and their elders. Religion is not an issue, with an overwhelming majority sharing their parents' religious beliefs. But a sizeable proportion of Pakistan's youth do not see eye-to-eye with their parents on social issues, while even more disagree with their parents on politics.

The gap in attitudes is wider in Pakistan's rapidly growing towns and cities, a sign of deeper changes that may well be on the way.<sup>43</sup>

This trend could be a positive development. Young Pakistanis are surprisingly civic-minded. More believe that education's primary purpose is to help them become a good citizen with a broad understanding of the world, than to simply teach practical

The next generation, fortunately or unfortunately, is groomed under an environment where the parents and elders teach them the ways of illegal overtaking. The potential can not be realized by scoring As in O and A Level examinations but the emphasis should be given for the active participation of the youth in the community and its activities.

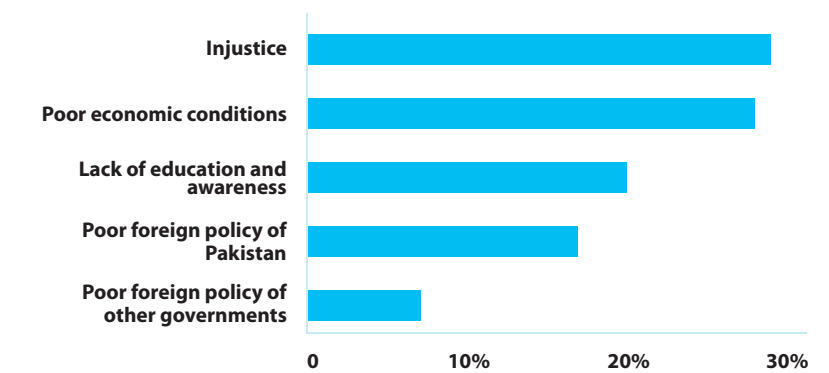
Majid Ali Khan Ghori

career skills (figure 10). An overwhelming majority, meanwhile, believe the next generation should actively participate in building a flourishing Pakistan. They yearn for a less individualistic society that puts aside ethnic differences and takes collective action to tackle problems.

But this generation is at a crossroads. Starved of opportunity, it feels bottled up and frustrated, trapped in a world where only the wealthy and the well-connected thrive. While few believe violence is justified, many understand its causes, believing that injustice and poor economic conditions are fuelling social unrest and terror (figure 11).

Many in the next generation do not believe Pakistan's leaders really want the country to change. And although they have ideas about the future, the next generation are convinced nobody is listening.

"Only the next generation can make a prosperous Pakistan," says one young person from NFWP. "We have seen and inherited too many from our elders: corruption, bribes, mismanagement and the rest."



Source: Nielsen 2009

Figure 11 – What are the main reasons for violence and terror in Pakistan?

Give a "fair" chance to "real" "people".  
Hira Hanif



# Dividend or Disaster

Understanding the policy challenge

CHAPTER

# 3



# Dividend or Disaster

## Understanding the policy challenge

The challenge posed to Pakistan's next generation is substantial and growing.

Over the next two decades, the country will have around 85 million more citizens.<sup>44</sup> Educating, feeding and caring for so many children will be a daunting task for a society that is struggling to satisfy the needs of today's much smaller population. Each year, moreover, growing numbers of young adults will be searching for productive and satisfying jobs.

The stakes are high. Pakistan could derive benefits from its young population that will endure into the next century. Or it could miss the opportunity, suffering damage that will take a century or more to repair.

In the next two chapters, we explore the actions that policy makers need to take to unlock the potential of the next generation. The first step is for them to understand the scale of both the problem and the potential opportunity. We thus present a broad overview of the next generation's key political, social and economic implications.

The picture is a complex one. Sheer numbers matter. Pakistan has never had so many young people and the size of the next generation will continue to grow over the coming decades. But the relative size of the next generation is also important. The population is steadily ageing. Through the first half of the twenty-first century, the proportion of workers in the population will increase. The conditions are right, therefore, for a major economic breakthrough, but this is where policy comes into play.



Courtesy: Kinnaird College Students

Demography is not destiny. Policymakers need to make the right policy choices today if Pakistan is to prosper tomorrow. That is why the next generation needs farsighted leaders, guided by evidence on how it can fulfil its potential.

Need solid Education  
with self motivation  
towards their own sense  
of shouldering  
responsibilities.  
Need actions not talk  
shows and Yo Yo cheers...  
Muhammad Zaki Hassan

# Collecting the Dividend

The size of the opportunity can best be understood if we look at the experience of other countries that have benefited from a dynamic, youthful population.

Economists have been studying the growing pains of 'young countries' since the 1990s, when East Asia experienced its economic 'miracle'. According to Harvard University's David Bloom, East Asia's boom countries collected a substantial 'demographic dividend' as its youthful generation reached maturity.

"The East Asian economies had huge numbers of new workers entering the labour market," Bloom argues. "It was a shot in the arm for economic growth. We calculate that as much as one-third of the growth in their boom years was the direct result of the favourable hand their age structure had dealt them."<sup>45</sup>

So what shapes the demographic dividend? The seed is better health. The twentieth century saw an extraordinary transformation in health standards. In 1900, people lived only a little longer than they had throughout human history. By the end of the century, however, global life expectancy had doubled to around 70 years of age.<sup>46</sup> The biggest change was for babies and young children. Parents found that many more of their children were living to become adults. As a result, the world's population began to shoot up.

But this was just the start of a fundamental 'demographic transition', as, in country after

country, family sizes started to drop. As soon as parents felt they had sufficient security to plan for the future, most wanted to invest more resources in fewer children. In time, therefore, national populations have tended to stabilise – but not before a huge 'baby boom' generation has been born.

Baby boomers are responsible for delivering the demographic dividend. When they are young, they place a great strain on the country's health and education systems, but as they reach adulthood, the workforce swells. With fewer children to care for, women are also more likely to work. The longer people expect to live, the more they are likely to save for old age, which in turn offers an economic boost. In smaller families, meanwhile, children are likely to receive a better education.

Part of the impact comes from changing attitudes. Youthful idealism and energy drive change. More prosperous societies invest more in the future, which in turn creates the conditions for future prosperity and growth. Citizens begin to believe in a better future, causing them to act in ways which make that future possible. They become less tolerant of unstable and ineffective political and social systems, and demand institutions capable of looking after their interests over the long term.

Being an agricultural country, we don't need any additional loans as is. Eliminate corruption in the Military & Governmental institutions across the country. Also eliminating the feudal mentality by making these land lords an example by taxing agricultural land owners.  
Arsalan Bobby Khan

# The Cost of Failure

The dividend doesn't come for free. It has to be earned. A country needs to educate its children and make sure they are healthy; find them jobs as they get older and provide them with opportunities to save; and offer them ways of expressing their desire for social and political change.

If these avenues are blocked, not only will an opportunity be missed, but young people's frustration can prove destructive. As David Bloom argued, "it's no good turning out educated people if they can't find work. Nothing is more likely to breed unrest than armies of under-employed young people." While prosperity must be built patiently over decades, conflict can destroy hard-fought development gains in months.

Countries who fail to collect their dividend thus risk a 'demographic disaster' (figure 12). The top ten countries in the Fund for Peace's Failed States Index all have proportions of young people that are higher than the average developing country.<sup>47</sup>

Henrik Urdal, from the International Peace Research Institute, highlights the risks run by young countries if they fail their young people.<sup>48</sup> Urdal has found that countries with large numbers of 15-24 year olds have substantially increased chances of experiencing conflict.

Education, on its own, does not necessarily help. Indeed, countries that expand their higher education systems may find themselves at greater risk of unrest if their graduates are unable to find work. Rapid

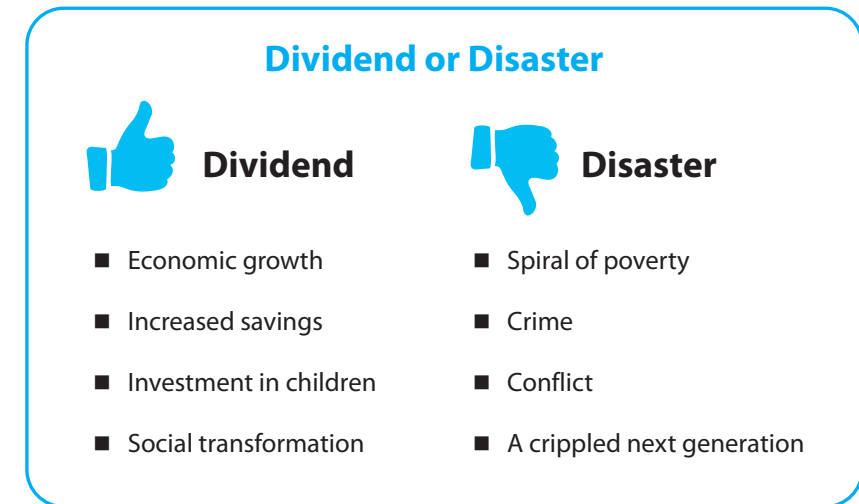


Figure 12 – The Demographic Dividend

urbanisation is another risk factor, while under-developed democracies are also more likely to be destabilised than autocracies or countries with strong democratic institutions.

So how is Pakistan positioned? Will our next generation deliver a demographic dividend? Or is a demographic disaster more likely?

A proper youth policy should be that should be concentrating on the youth only. As I said earlier, a equal and affordable education system, opportunities for sports and vocational education is a must.  
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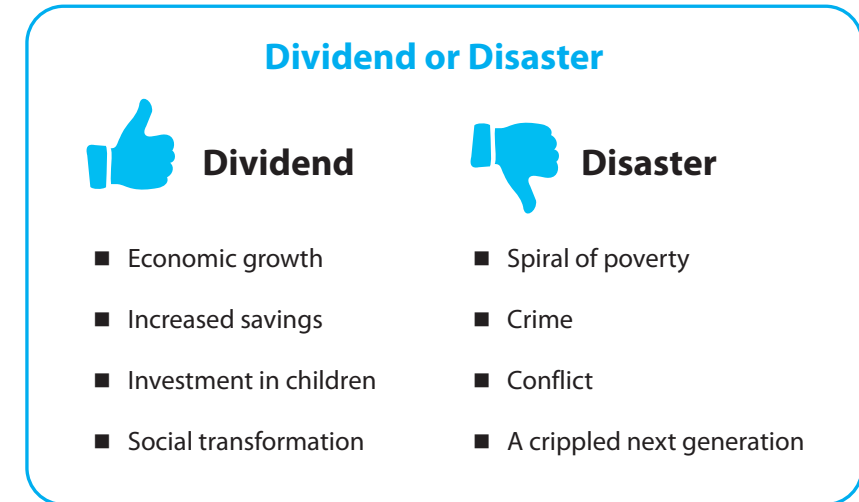


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# How is Pakistan Doing?

Pakistan is mid-way through its demographic transition.

In 1950, life expectancy was around 45 years of age, while one in seven babies would fail to survive the first year of their life. Today, life expectancy is around 63 years of age and infant mortality has halved, although it remains above average even for a low-income country.<sup>49</sup>

As expected, women are having fewer children. In 1950, each had an average of six to seven children. The fertility rate is now around 3.7 children per woman, but again this is relatively high when compared to other countries in South Asia, where the average is now well below 3.<sup>50</sup>

The demographic transition has stalled, in other words, and will not be completed until the birth rate falls far enough for the country's population to stabilise.

Pakistan passed a milestone in 1980. In that year, the proportion of adults in the population dropped to its lowest level. These adults were confronted with the task of caring for huge numbers of children (and a relatively small number of old people).<sup>51</sup>

Since then, the 'dependency ratio' has steadily declined and it will continue to do so until at least the middle of the century, at which time growing numbers of baby boomers will be hitting retirement. This, then, is the country's window of opportunity. According to Durr-e-Nayab, of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), the demographic dividend first became



Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad

available around 1990, but the window will close by 2045.<sup>52</sup>

Due to a lack of proper planning, she argues, nearly twenty years of the dividend have already been wasted. "Time is running out to put appropriate policies in place," she warns, "the absence of which may result in large-scale unemployment and immense pressure on health and education systems. In short, a socio-economic crisis may take place, making the demographic dividend more of a demographic threat."

The failure to collect the demographic dividend has many causes. Health standards are still too low, while access to healthcare is unevenly distributed, and particularly weak

Coming to think of it the government cannot do anything. What example are they and their corrupt motives serving the youth? When the corruption as quoted by transparency international has increased by over 200% in 2 years, what can we expect of them except plundering what is left of our nation.  
Syed Ali Shehryar

in Balochistan and North-West Frontier Province.<sup>53</sup> The country is not on track to meet its Millennium Development Goal pledges of reducing child mortality by two-thirds and maternal mortality by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015.<sup>54</sup>

Educational performance, meanwhile, is scandalously low. Less than 40% of young people are enrolled in school, compared to the South Asian average of 58%.<sup>55</sup>

UNESCO has forecast that by 2015, 3.7 million Pakistani children will be out-of-school, with enrolment rates among girls much lower than those among boys.<sup>56</sup> With only half of Pakistani children currently attending primary school, extraordinary steps will be needed if the country is to achieve its Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education by 2015.<sup>57</sup>

Even children in school are not getting any quality education. A survey in Punjab, for example, found that over two-thirds of grade 3 students were unable to either write a sentence in Urdu or perform simple maths.<sup>58</sup> Other studies have found a serious lack of facilities in schools, including textbooks, desks and blackboards.<sup>59</sup>

The implications are frightening in a world where growth industries demand steadily increasing skills. As Durr-e-Nayab argues, "A country like Pakistan that is yet to solve its primary schooling issues can at best have some patches of success but not expect to take full advantage of what the demographic dividend has to offer."<sup>60</sup>

The economic loss, we believe, is considerable. In research conducted for this

## Releasing the Dividend

Demographic challenges place Pakistan at a crossroads. Action taken today will have an impact for a generation or more. Conversely, the country will reap the consequences of failure for decades to come.

An overriding priority must be to expand access to education. The experience of other countries shows that rapid progress is possible, given political will, adequate funding, and effective delivery.

In India, when the New Education Policy was introduced in 1986, half of all children did

Racism is a most common factor in our Country. If i belong from pakton a Punjabi will not support me in any condition . A Big problem  
Ahmed

not attend primary school. Less than a quarter of a century later, that figure has fallen below 15%.<sup>62</sup> Progress has been especially rapid since 2001, with 20 million extra school places provided. Education's gender gap has also narrowed considerably with almost as many girls as boys receiving at least basic schooling.<sup>63</sup>

If Pakistan could expand access to basic education at the same rate as India and other countries have done, at least 4 million more children would be in school by 2020.

The government is now committed to increasing expenditure on education to 7% of GDP by 2015, through its new National Education Policy (this is slightly higher than India's target of 6% GDP).<sup>64</sup> As the Ministry of Education struggles to spend its current funding allocation, however, this goal will not be met unless capacity for delivery improves dramatically.

At present, the educational system is failing at all levels. Tellingly, there are now over twelve thousand 'ghost schools' which provide no education at all. According to Zubeida Mustafa, "There are schools in the rural areas where teachers don't show up for months at a time or they outsource their job to people who know nothing, which drives away the children."<sup>65</sup> Everyone has direct or indirect experience of similar stories.

Educational reform, therefore, must be as much about delivering quality education as about improving the quantity of school places on offer. Research shows that

something as simple as having a teacher who lives in the village where he or she teaches has a significant impact on primary school enrolment.<sup>66</sup> Parents want to send their children to be educated by people they trust to do a good job. They want results that will have a significant impact on their child's future prospects.

Education creates demand for more education, as parents and students realise its growing value in an increasingly competitive world. For this reason, standards of provision need to be improved throughout the educational system, from primary to tertiary levels.

Investment in education should be part of a broader effort to put women and families at the heart of the political agenda. Pakistan ranks 127th out of 130 countries on the Global Gender Index and has fallen fifteen places down the index since 2006.<sup>67</sup> Only a third of adult women are literate, while just 14% of women participate in the labour force.

Not only is this a drag on the economy, it damages the prospects of future generations. Well-educated women, living secure and fulfilled lives, pass on their good fortune to their children. They are also likely to invest more time, energy and resources in a smaller family, thus helping the country stabilise its population. At present, in contrast, too many families are stuck in a self-reinforcing cycle of ill health, deficient education and poverty – a plight that is exacerbated by conflict and violence, corruption and feudalism, a lack of natural

Give them open ground and free wind to breath  
 Syed Waseem Raza

24

resources, and natural disaster.

To a certain extent, policies must be specifically tailored to the needs of women, asserting their human rights, protecting them from violence, providing them with access to health, education, and other services, and increasing their economic empowerment.

Even more important, however, is to ensure that all policies are designed to meet the needs of women and families as part of a sustained effort to increase investment in social and human capital.

The new focus on social protection is especially welcome. As the government has accepted, because the challenges facing disadvantaged families are so entrenched, "it is, therefore, important to address primary needs via social protection, while simultaneously focusing on the mechanisms that ensure the exit from absolute poverty is permanent for the majority of the vulnerable and a large proportion of the chronically poor."<sup>68</sup>

Investment in human capital will only pay dividends if there are simultaneous increases in the number and quality of employment opportunities for young people (figure 13). The government has set a target of expanding the labour market by a minimum of 6.3% per year over the next ten years – that's at least 36 million new jobs in just a decade.<sup>69</sup>

Change on this scale will not be delivered without radical reform. Pakistan ranks 101

### Capturing the dividend

- Expand and improve education
- Develop and implement policies for women and families
- Labour market reforms to promote fairness and stability

Figure 13 – Capturing the dividend

out of 133 countries on the latest Global Competitiveness Index, with investors most

Private sector should be assigned enhanced role in implementation of newly approved National Youth Policy so that maximum youngsters could benefit from this policy.  
 Muhammad Adyan

25



## Catching Up

As this chapter has shown, Pakistan is currently struggling to keep up with the challenges posed by a growing population. Urgent action is now needed to make up lost ground. This demands a new approach with four elements.

First, *policy makers need to start planning for the long term.*

The youth surge will last decades, not years, and solving its problems is not an overnight task. The country needs a long term vision that sets in place multi-year policy priorities to accommodate the needs of its rapidly growing population. In the current environment, security concerns naturally make it easier to think short rather than long term – a myopic perspective that, sadly, is enthusiastically endorsed by the international community. Only by articulating a farsighted vision can leaders help pull Pakistan through this turbulent period.

Second, *Pakistan must start to build momentum behind a national mission for change.*

The future will be bright only if Pakistani society is united in its commitment to reforms that will take a decade or more to yield results. Consensus needs to be built across political parties, allowing continuity

Youth of today is lacking direction and even if they do have it no one is taking chance to trust them. This attitude should be changed.  
*Baroosh Ahsan*

when governments change. Effective cooperation between the federal, provincial and district governments will be needed. Only by building a non-partisan movement can the needs of the next generation be truly met.

Third, *young people have a right to a level playing field.*

At present, discrimination and corruption hamper too many people's prospects. Legal changes to ensure gender and racial equality and to stamp out graft are part of the solution. Such measures should apply in schools, the workplace, government bodies and public services such as the health system and courts. Creating outlets where those who feel discriminated against can express their grievances and agitate for change, including encouraging effective civil society activism, is also important.

Finally, *young people themselves must be the driver for change.*

Every day, the spread of new technology is making it easier for people to communicate with each other, empowering the young and giving them new opportunities to champion social change. The next generation should be a primary engine for reform. By tapping its ideas, energy and enthusiasm, the country as a whole can make sure it is prepared for the growing challenges of the twenty-first century.



Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad

Government should provide the windows for the engagement of the youth in the decision making process. No decision about us, without us. Private/Civil Sector: Opportunities like Model Parliaments, Assemblies and role-playing.  
*Wajahat Nasser*



# Making a Difference

Transforming the lives of the Next Generation



CHAPTER  
**4**

# Making a Difference

Transforming the lives of the Next Generation

When it comes to Pakistan's next generation, one size does not fit all. Young people live diverse lives; their ambitions, needs and problems are far from uniform; and they have a multitude of assets to contribute to society.

We have therefore used our survey data to identify five key groups of young Pakistanis. These groups are not set in stone: others could have been identified. Nor is this intended to be comprehensive typology, covering all members of the next generation. Moreover, many people will belong to more than one group, while demands, problems and potential solutions overlap between groups. That said, we hope that by considering solutions through these different lenses, policies will be better targeted and tailored to young people's needs.

We therefore look at each group in turn, and ask what measures would make the most difference to their lives. What skills and preparation do they need? How can the opportunities they enjoy be expanded? And which changes to their environment will help them prosper?

We also focus on how young people can be enabled to participate in generating their own solutions. We know that if everything is left to the government, change will be very slow.

A renaissance must be driven from the grassroots – one that involves young people in shaping the country's future to achieve lasting, long term change.

## Frustrated Farmers

### Who they are

- Rural youth
- Uneducated, poor farmers
- Pessimistic but powerless
- Cut off from mainstream society, many turning to Islam

### What they need

- Education and security
- An agricultural revolution – training, infrastructure, land reform

"During the election everyone is gathered here, all are seen here. Afterwards, nobody is even seen here."

## Frustrated Farmers

We start with Pakistan's army of marginalised rural youth, who are massively disadvantaged and face huge obstacles in all aspects of their lives.

Members of this group can be found throughout Pakistan's countryside, and especially in the poorest provinces such as Balochistan and North-West Frontier Province. In some ways, they live an existence similar to that of their parents and grandparents, but in recent years they have been confronted by modernity, as television

They must do everything they are not doing currently and must not do anything of what they currently are doing!  
*Uzair Javed*



and radio have awakened them to the injustices they face and the possibilities of a different life.

These young people are largely uneducated, often illiterate, and work in low-paid agricultural jobs or are unemployed. They are frustrated with the government and thoroughly disenchanted by mainstream politics. As a young man told us, "politicians indulge in extravagance and enjoy themselves and do not bother about the public's grievances as they do not affect them." Many hope that a stricter application of Islamic law will bring Pakistan a brighter future.

On the whole, this group is surprisingly egalitarian. Its members believe society is unfair and that it discriminates against women, the young and the poor. They believe society's treatment of ethnic minorities is unjust. They are very pessimistic about Pakistan's current plight, but feel powerless to change things.

Pakistan's rural youth, however, have not given up hope. They are keen to generate solutions to their problems. Fortunately, global trends present them with a potential opportunity. As climate change, population growth and energy scarcity force up the price of food, farmers have the chance to capitalise. The country's potential as a food producer has already been recognised by foreign countries such as the United Arab Emirates, which have attempted to lease Pakistan's arable land to fulfil their future food requirements. If young people can be engaged in reinvigorating the countryside,



Courtesy: Fayyaz Ahmad

regions like Balochistan will thrive and their young people will live productive, dignified lives.

Such engagement should be started by listening to marginalised young rural dwellers' demands. Security is an important concern in NWFP and parts of Balochistan. In most rural areas, where many young people currently lack any form of education, nurturing the skills needed to develop modern agriculture is likely to be high on their list.

Further measures to bring farming into the twenty-first century might include improved irrigation and transport infrastructure, and possibly microfinance programmes to allow young would-be farmers to invest in seeds, fertiliser and land. Measures to reform the feudal land system, moreover, will both help

If u can...give us a good atmosphere to study n practice...give us world class education in pakistan or abroad....or kill us...  
Adil Ayub

young people gain fair reward for their efforts and allow them to create jobs for their peers.

Given the limitations of the central government in connecting with the provinces, promoting self-reliance in rural areas is key to the latter's progress.

## Urban Strivers

Young people in urban areas form the second of our groups. Many of them have recently moved to towns and cities from rural areas and are working hard to get on the ladder to prosperity.

Most of this group are men, though there are some women venturing out into the labour market. They are in a highly insecure position. For them, the future could go either way, towards rising prosperity or a lifetime of struggle and frustration. Much will depend on factors beyond their control, including the global economy, food and energy prices, and the national and regional security situation.

The urban strivers' main concern is employment. Already at working-age, they need rapid remedial action to ensure that they can move into long term, fruitful jobs. They are painfully aware that job creation is failing to keep pace with the growth of the working-age population – as one young man

"The environment these days is very bad. Above all there are no jobs. Everything is getting expensive. The poor man cannot exist now – his life has become very difficult"

### Urban Strivers

#### Who they are

- Young urban dwellers on the edge
- Facing an insecure future
- Desperate for jobs

#### What they need

- Vocational training
- Labour market reform
- Measures to fight corruption and discrimination
- Infrastructure improvements
- Jobs in public works projects

in Karachi said, "if there are forty jobs there are six hundred candidates." Nepotism and corruption, meanwhile, mean the playing field is far from level for the few jobs that do exist.

Job creation will rely on quite dramatic reforms to education and the labour market. Vocational training should be provided to those who do not feel their skills are suited to today's economy. Labour market reforms should encourage people to set up their own businesses and make life easier for them once they are up and running.

Addressing corruption and discrimination, for example, through more transparent government contracts and more effective enforcement of anti-corruption and anti-

Forums and promoting of student exchange so that an exchange of cultures can be witnessed and create a field for next generation "MADE IN PAKISTAN" market globally  
Syed Hussain Raza Moosavi



discrimination laws, will also help strengthen the business environment and assuage the frustrations of those young urbanites who believe that only the powerful are given a fair deal.

Business also requires robust infrastructure. Pakistan suffers greatly from electricity shortages, breakdowns in communication systems and other infrastructure problems. These are a serious impediment to business, and therefore to job creation. However, aid money could be used to rebuild infrastructure, with young urban strivers employed as the labour to put it in place. Public works projects are a common tool of governments whose countries are in bad economic straits – in the case of Pakistan, they could create a virtuous spiral where they employ large numbers of young urbanites and the fruits of their labour would benefit other jobseekers by strengthening the business environment.

## The Insecure Rich

More fortunate than the urban strivers are Pakistan's insecure rich. Well educated, wealthy, with their careers currently on the right track, this group forms the elite of society, from which its future leaders will be drawn.

### The Insecure Rich

#### Who they are

- Wealthy, well educated elites
- Future leaders
- Politically engaged
- Worried about the future

#### What they need

- Opportunities to lead
- Forums for debate
- Platforms for action
- Security

"We can't say that if we are going out of our homes in the morning we will come back safe and sound or not."

However, although they are in a better position than most of their peers, these privileged young Pakistanis are less confident than elites in more stable countries. Both men and women are extremely worried about political instability and security, and concerned about the state of democracy. They are fearful that if their country continues on its current path, their promising futures will be stifled.

More than any of our other groups, the insecure rich are politically engaged. They follow national and international political events and have the skills and knowledge needed to help rectify matters. They are likely to be the leaders who drive economic reform and social change, if they are given the chance.

Apart from sympathy and disrespect? Recognition, Respect and Tolerance!  
*Rabia Kiyani*

As with all our young people, however, these future leaders lack opportunities to trigger change. They are frustrated with and cut off from political machinations and do not feel completely in control of their careers. If the country's elder generations do not listen to them or involve them in planning and implementing reforms, their potential will be wasted. New opportunities for economic, social and political entrepreneurship therefore need to be created, unleashing the next generation of leaders and using them to harness and focus the energy of their peers.

Emerging entrepreneurs will need support through the global economic downturn, and financial support to explore opportunities in growth areas such as green technology and services. In the social sphere, they need to be at the forefront of regenerating civil society. And it is time to start promoting a new generation of political leaders, looking to them to generate interest and involvement in the political system among a wider Pakistani youth.

## Stay-at-home Women

Our fourth group consists of married women from all but the highest social classes. Most of these women are housewives with

### Stay-at-home Women

#### Who they are

- Married women from middle and lower socioeconomic classes
- Mothers
- Not in work, not well educated
- Not involved in society, but fearful for their children's future

#### What they need

- Reproductive health services
- Universal primary education
- Lifelong learning opportunities
- Participation in family and community decisions
- Gender work with men

"Narowal is a small town with petty minds. People do not allow girls to leave the house"

children. Few of them have received much of an education and few participate in work.

The next generation, expects a lot after reading the history of PAKISTAN. There should be young PRO, INTER and BASIC political groups and summits after every 6 months where the new era can share their knowledge and their words freely without the fear of getting silenced.  
*Rabia*

believe women have a role to play in public life, and efforts must be made to alter these perceptions. Negative family attitudes towards girls' schooling are the main reason why girls in our survey do not attend school, for example, with one man arguing that "there is no point women studying since they will not work."

Many women, meanwhile, complain how 'eve teasing' deters them from going outside and participating in the public sphere. Work with men has proven effective in other developing countries in reducing discrimination against women, and it has the potential to improve both men's and women's lives in Pakistan.



Courtesy : Kinnaird College Students

Pakistan could be prosperous unless and until there should be less islamicphobia and anti-fundamentalist activities.  
Sana

# Optimistic Patriots

Our final group is an anomaly compared to the others. It consists of the few Pakistanis who believe there is little wrong with the country. Fiercely patriotic, they see it as heading in the right direction and are adamant that it is the best place to live in the world (very few of them want to study abroad, moreover). They believe the country is unique and that solutions imposed from outside are not applicable or useful.

Questioned about the problems many others see as plaguing Pakistan, this group bristles – they believe foreigners, and much of the national media, have a bias against the country and that its image overseas as a home for terrorists and chaos is unjustified.

"We are not terrorists," said one young respondent to the open source survey, "but our enemies want to paint us as terrorists." Another claimed that "extremists are only 1% or even less of the total population of the country."

Many members of this group hail from the lower middle classes. They are small businessmen, shopkeepers and agricultural workers. Many are self-employed. Those in urban areas have been educated to primary or lower secondary level, while those in rural areas have had only the bare bones of an education at best.

These optimists (who tend to be towards the younger end of our target group) are much more likely than other groups to believe that things in Pakistan are improving. They have more faith in the government than others. They do not feel strongly that the current

## Optimistic Patriots

### Who they are

- Lower middle class
- Fiercely patriotic
- See Pakistan as victim
- Resentful of foreign interference

### What they need

- Investment in secondary and vocational education
- Participation in improving services

"Pakistanis are not terrorists, are not corrupt always, and are respectable and honourable people"

situation is denying them career opportunities, and do not see religious extremism or even Al Qaeda and the Taliban as serious problems.

The Patriots' optimism and pride in their country mark a rare note of positivity among those we spoke to. Pakistan would benefit from harnessing this spirit to help improve conditions among the wider society. These lower middle class groups are concerned about educational quality, and will have their convictions reinforced rather than weakened if the education system for their children improves and if vocational training for adults becomes more widespread.

In addition, involving them in improving

They must do hard work as quaid e azam mohammed ali jinnah did in his life. do what ever they can do for their beloved country and always say truth and always keep there mind united among themselves nd keep there country clean and green –  
Suleman Shafi Batla

## Making a Difference

education and other services in their communities is likely to bring benefits both in terms of enhanced service quality and strengthening their already strong sense of civic responsibility.

# Bringing It Together

“What we have in this country is no merit, no justice, no [provision of] basic needs,” one young man from NFWP told us. “What is the youth to do when even simple electricity cannot be provided?”

This quote sums up the frustration felt by most young people (with our Optimistic Patriots a notable exception) – a frustration that one describes as a ‘monster’ corroding the soul of the generation.

“The future generation will be confronting more challenges than any generation before them,” writes a young medical student. “Economic, social and political scenarios are going to worsen and the country is going to plunge deeper into turmoil. Corruption, joblessness and war have discouraged the youth almost to a point of no return.”

“The biggest challenge is not going to be external but one within the Pakistani youth,”



Courtesy: Kinnaird College Students

they continue. “They will need to realise their responsibility to their country and be honest in making right decisions to improve the country they inhabit. Perseverance and sincerity will be the hardest principles they will need to grasp and hold on to.”

From all sections of society, young people are eager to be part of building a stronger Pakistan. They want to be involved in identifying and implementing policies that will help them fulfil their potential, and bring wider benefit to the country they love.

So how do we harness their energy? We turn to this question in the final chapter of the Next Generation report.

The youth are the leaders of tomorrow, what they dream today will become the reality for Pakistan tomorrow, so it is important that they dream and work to provide a better Pakistan for the next generations. They can work by reaffirming the goals and the ideologies with which Pakistan was formed.  
*Wajahat Nassar*





# The Greatest Generation?

Tapping the potential of the young

Any country that thrives does so by harnessing the energy of its young. This is especially true when the population is growing as fast as Pakistan's. Leaders cannot simply try and make reform happen for young people – the next generation itself must drive the changes that will bring great benefits to the whole nation.

Our report therefore concludes by asking what the next generation itself believes must be done to enable it to realise its potential. Who should take responsibility for developing, designing and implementing new policies and approaches? And how can young people themselves help create a better future for Pakistan?

To answer these questions, we ran an open consultation with young people from across the country. The aim was not to duplicate the Nielsen research, which surveyed in a systematic way the views of a nationally representative sample. Instead, we wanted to open up a channel through which young leaders could contribute their policy ideas and suggestions directly to the Next Generation research.

The response was extraordinary. We received a flood of written submissions – over twelve hundred in all – most of which showed great quality, detail and insight. Contributions came primarily from young professionals (people working in medicine, engineering, law, IT, accountancy, banking and similar jobs) and from students.

In total, nearly 200,000 words were submitted (or 800 pages of text) – providing



Figure 14 – Word cloud from the Next Generation consultation (based on 1212 responses).

a unique picture of the ideas and aspirations of the next generation (see figure 14).

If the ppl of this generation would quit drugs and smoking, our next generation would automatically become more involved in creating a more prosperous Pakistan?  
Samreen

# Can Government Lead?

When respondents were asked to propose concrete steps to release the next generation's potential, they clustered around three policy areas.

In *education*, there is strong support for investment in infrastructure and the development of a modern, standardised curriculum.

To improve *employment opportunities*, respondents want to see a move towards a more entrepreneurial, meritocratic economic system, with aggressive action taken to counter nepotism.

And third, concerted efforts are needed to address *resource scarcity*, with investment in alternative energy, better management of natural resources, and a programme to bring agricultural productivity up to standard.

Young people are, however, highly sceptical that governments can deliver their promises to the next generation. Education is overwhelmingly seen as the most important priority, but the failure of successive reforms is seen as reflecting deep divides in society.

Elites buy a high quality education for their children, while those from lower income families are left unprepared in an increasingly competitive world. Leaders simply pay lip service to the need for education for all. "Education policy has always been a challenge for every generation of Pakistan since independence," wrote one respondent. "Today the challenge is still there. We have not provided a standard and comprehensive education system. The



Courtesy : British Council, Lahore Office

curriculum should reflect the needs of the modern era, moral and ethical values."

Young Pakistanis feel similarly frustrated when they discuss the government's economic policies, or its attempts to tackle food, energy, water and other resource shortages. Successive governments have failed to respond effectively to these challenges, and it is hard to see why this one (or the next) should be any different.

"The next generation of Pakistan has its dreams and ambitions hijacked by ugly political reality," one student told us, listing rampant terrorism, ongoing suicide attacks, military conflict, external interference from the West, and deficits in basic human rights among the litany of challenges plaguing a

This goal can only be achieved by giving participation to the youth in the affairs of their own homeland. The country has to move from personalized decision-making to more broad-based set-ups. Once the youth would have stakes and a share of responsibility in a thriving Pakistan, they would put in their best in this regard.  
Amer Rizwan

younger generation who are not even secure in their own homes.

"With soaring inflation and failed political and economic systems, government remains in the state of denial," she concludes, "In these conditions its very difficult for the youth of Pakistan to be the change which they want to see tomorrow."

## Let Down by the World

There is also considerable anger at the role the international community has played in Pakistan. "The war on terror and the corresponding instability in the country has gone a long way to isolate the Pakistani youth from the rest of the world," notes one respondent. "Stop treating us like an uncivilised bunch of hooligans who don't know anything," writes another.

Young people feel they are stereotyped by the rest of the world; identified either as terrorists, or corrupt, or both. Western governments are criticised for having focused too heavily on security, rather than considering broader development issues.

Respondents feel they have also failed to

recognise their own responsibility for destabilising Pakistan. Some believe it is time to end foreign interference. "We should fight foreign (US, British, and other) dominance in Pakistan," writes an accountancy student, "and fight implementation of their wills in Pakistan."

In spite of these sentiments, there is also an immense hunger for greater international links, with young people desperate to build relationships with other countries, and to access educational opportunities abroad. In the words of one respondent, the international community should enlist a new generation in "cultural programs to promote Pakistani culture and build a better image in the world."

Many others share this desire to be part of rebuilding their country's image abroad. Foreigners, they argue – and especially the British and Americans – should revisit their prejudices, and explore the much more complex realities of life in Pakistan.

Other respondents focus on the idea that international exposure will have a highly beneficial impact on young people themselves, expanding horizons, broadening understanding of the modern world, and allowing young Pakistanis to learn from their peers. "Any such programs will promote interactions and exchanges between other cultures of the world, thus encouraging open dialogue and positive exchange of ideas, thinking and perception with other youth across the world."

Mainly by combating poverty. Because when a family is facing hunger it doesn't matter which kind of marketing technique we are using they don't care about it.  
Beenish Wasay

There is also the potential for building global networks that will help the next generation meet its potential.

“Our youth policymakers and youth organizations need to be provided with more opportunities to learn from youth-related activities in the developed world,” writes a PhD student. “More interactions with youth movements will enhance the quality of youth advocacy in Pakistan.”

## Rebuilding Trust

Investment in the next generation needs to start from the earliest years, with the provision of health, education, security and other vital services. These should be seen as the basic human rights of a young citizen.

The government then needs to regain the trust of its young people, through more effective interaction with them in their various roles – as students in secondary and higher education; workers; parents of their own children; and citizens on whose approval the legitimacy of the state ultimately rests.

As leaders in all countries are discovering, we live in an increasingly less deferential age.

Unless leaders reach out actively to young people and the groups that represent them, they will find it more and more difficult to maintain the public confidence that is required if they are to govern.

The direction of accountability must therefore run from elected official to the active citizens of the next generation.

“The youth has to start on one platform,” argues a journalist, “the same platform so they know which direction to take... The youth should be encouraged to move into politics. We need young blood there. And very importantly, they should be more vocal, instead of passive about the problems faced by any sector of the society.”

“Government should provide windows for the engagement of youth in the decision-making process,” another young Pakistani writes, “No decision about us, without us.”

Young people should be empowered through active participation in policy making. Government should make clear commitments to the next generation, and then transparently report on their success or failure in meeting them.

Business and civil society are seen as having an important role in improving standards of governance, while countering corruption and nepotism. They also have the ability to directly create opportunity for young people.

The private sector can provide opportunities for entrepreneurship, while acting as a showcase for a meritocratic society. Civil

This is a very special platform for me to get my voice heard because i always wanted to be a part of British Council. And now i believe i am.  
*Alinah*

society, meanwhile, should act in a coordinated way to promote basic rights for all.

A similar change of mentality is needed from the international community. International engagement needs to be more long term and strategic, building confidence among young people that donors are intent on helping the country realise its future potential, and that funds will be invested in ways that make a tangible difference to the lives of ordinary people.

Better working partnerships are needed so that aid can be monitored and its effectiveness demonstrated. Again, an important question is whether the international community is prepared to be held accountable for achieving durable results.

## The New Activism

Many young people believe that the next generation can no longer afford to wait for others to show leadership. Instead, it must seize the opportunity to act.

“The next generation needs to put their differences aside and think about their country,” writes a student. “We need to



Courtesy: British Council, Lahore Office

accept that we were born here, we live here and we will die on this land... We need to follow our religion, our values, our culture and erase all differences.”

There are clear signs that some young leaders are already prepared to seize the initiative. The Lawyers' Movement demonstrates the potential for what academic and author Rasul Baksh Rais has hailed a new type of social movement; “not being driven as much by the old-fashioned, deal-making power elites, as by strong popular sentiment among the Pakistan youth inside and outside the country.”<sup>71</sup>

The Lawyers' Movement showed the growing power of technology to connect

The govt and the youth are two pillars of the nation they should move side by side for the prosperous Pakistan.  
Pakistan zindabad  
*Mehreen Malik*



young people and allow them to organise. Social media (blogs, Facebook, Twitter, etc), email and, especially, the mobile phone have all created brand new opportunities for fresh types of activism and political engagement.

The earthquake in 2005, and reactions to the refugee crises that resulted from conflict in Swat and other areas, have also shown the next generation's willingness to raise funds and deliver services to their fellow citizens at times of crisis.

Young people are willing to volunteer in large numbers when they see a cause they believe in. By doing so, they help expand civil society, and demonstrate the importance of a 'third space' that is not solely reliant on funding from government or international donors.

From the next generation, we are beginning to see the birth of a new type of civil society organisation, dedicated to the virtues of self-help, personal responsibility, and direct action. Zimmedar Shehri (Responsible Citizens) – some of whose members made valuable contributions to the Next Generation research – offers an example of what is possible:

"We wish to nurture in every one of our countrymen a community spirit," the group explains, "whether this be through working shoulder to shoulder with him in clearing up refuse from his marketplace; whether this be convincing the neighbourhood imam to stock books in his masjid for the young to read; whether this be by collecting a handful of food from an affluent house with which to

fill the palms of the hungry down the street."<sup>72</sup>

The group, and others like it, demonstrate the power and responsibility that young people have to create their own destiny. "The next generation is our only hope of creating a more prosperous Pakistan," a student concludes.

"The generation should be free of the conventional beliefs and practices that keep Pakistan from rising above the problems facing it. It will have to create its own sphere of beliefs and practices that would not only benefit our country, but would make it an example to be recorded in history."

## Commitment to a Generation

In creating this report, we have come on a long journey. Along the way, we have confronted head-on the massive challenges facing Pakistan's young people. We have been honest about the extent of current failure to invest in the next generation. And we have explored in great detail the harsh reality that is life for many young Pakistanis.

Our findings can be summed up in ten propositions.

A complete new policy is needed for all the youths especially 14, 15 years old because of the increased terrorist activities. A youngster should be shown a direction, a career path, a goal, for this career advisory services are required.  
Shoaib Jadoon

*Pakistan needs a long term vision for the next generation.*

Times of crisis drive short term thinking, but we urgently need to switch the focus from the symptoms of Pakistan's problems, to root causes. That means setting goals that will transform the next generation's prospects by 2030, while building support for an ambitious, but realistic, programme to implement them.

*These goals should be the number one priority of senior leaders.*

Success will be impossible without personal commitment from the President, Prime Minister and cabinet. The heads of all major opposition parties and leaders from the private sector, civil society, the media, and academia must also pledge themselves to this agenda.

*Delivery should be integrated across all policy issues.*

Pakistan has some good education, youth, and employment policies, but implementation is generally disappointing. The next step is to put young people at the heart of every government policy, building a national mission for a new Pakistan.

*The first priority is to invest in young people.*

Without quality education for all, the next generation will never reach its potential. Rapid progress towards universal education is possible, especially given recent budget commitments; but Pakistan needs a high-



Courtesy: British Council, Lahore Office

level, non-partisan task force to create and guide a credible plan for delivery.

*The second priority is to release the economic potential of the young.*

Pakistan needs 36 million jobs in the next decade. It must equip young people with the skills demanded by the global economy, and help many more young women find employment opportunities. Good jobs must be the primary objective of all economic reforms, while new approaches are needed to tackle scarcity in energy, water, food and other resources.

*The third priority is to create policies that help young families.*

Youth is just a sick and pissed off right now and they don't want to be here anymore due to our political set up and they are fed up regarding current drama (so called war of civilizations) only democratic way can be helpful in secular ways.  
Syed Waseem Raza

Many next generation members are already raising their own children, often with few resources and in a dangerous and unstable environment. By engaging with young people as parents, we can turn them into advocates for peace and security, for better education and health, and for the rights of the young mothers who will have the greatest influence on the future of Pakistan.

*The fourth priority is to help young people become active citizens.*

Next generation challenges can only be solved with the enthusiastic involvement of young people themselves. New opportunities for participation are needed at all levels of society, with a fresh generation of leaders put in positions of authority as soon as they demonstrate their worth. There is fresh energy in the grassroots – it is time to tap it.

*The international community must live up to its responsibilities.*

Over the past decade, its obsession with security has done nothing to make Pakistan a safer place. Now is the time for the world to invest in Pakistan's future, supporting the government and wider society as it delivers the next generation programme. International actors should also seize the opportunity work with young people – helping rebuild the relationship between Pakistan and the world.

*Delivery to the next generation must be based on robust evidence.*



Courtesy: Kinnaird College Students

The government, civil society, business and international organisations should work together to create and share authoritative analysis on the needs of the next generation, building on the start we have made in this report. They should also be accountable for results. Why not prepare an annual report, accounting for the impact and effectiveness of investment in the next generation?

All this should form the basis of a contract with the next generation, setting out what young people can expect from their society and what their country expects them to deliver in return. So far, the next generation has been failed by its leaders. It deserves a solemn and binding commitment that this will now change.

Children, or the next generation is the future of this country, today's children would be tomorrow's Prime Minister, President, Doctor or a Teacher, and these designation would lead to a good society, good environment and a good Pakistan.  
Raheel Ahmed

## Manifesto for a Generation

We end our report on a note of hope and optimism. The next generation is at a crossroads, faced by obstacles that some commentators describe as insuperable.

Our experience, however, is that most young people have not yet given up hope. They believe the next generation can pull Pakistan through this time of crisis, and that lasting change is still within reach.

In several of our workshops, we asked participants to work together to create a manifesto for their generation, summarising the goals they believed young Pakistanis should set themselves and their peers in the pursuit of positive change for their country.

We received many inspiring examples, and believe there is no better way we could conclude our report than with one devised by a group in Lahore, that really caught the eye:

**Zero tolerance towards corruption.**

**Thou shall judge your fellow human beings based on nothing but his/her merit.**

**Teach Pakistan, server Pakistan. I pledge to spend at least 4 hours per month for 5 years teaching in community service.**

**I shall read at least one book a year that is in direct conflict with my belief.**

**I will not discriminate.**

**I pledge to accept all my mistakes instead of justifying them.**

**I will not be a second-class citizen in my own country and not compromise Pakistan and its sovereignty while doing so.**

If we get these things I am very hopeful that we can prove how Amazing we can be! ...  
--- I am hopeful! ---  
Sabeen Inam

## Annex One

# Next Generation Contributors

**We are very grateful to the following members of the Next Generation who took the time to make written contributions to this report.**

Aadia; Aadil Khan; Aamir Aslam; Aamir Khan Balouch; Aamir; Aamir; Abbas Ali; Abbas Ali; Abcd; Abdullah Shakil; Abdullah Shakil; Abdul Aziz Soomro; Abdul Aziz; Abdul Basir; Abdul Faheem; Abdul Qayyum Khan; Abdul Rehman; Abdul Shakoor Soomro; Abdul Sittar Anwar; Abdull Haseeb; Abdullah Omer; Abdullah Shahwani; Abeeda Haroon; Abeer Saeed; Abid Khan; Abida Mushtaq; Abrar Ul Hassan; Ahsan; Abu Ammar; Adam Zia; Adeel Akhtar; Adeel Shahzad; Adil Ayub; Adil Karim; Adil Razzaq Taj; Adil; Adnan Shafiq; Adnan Shakir; Adnan; Aejaz Ali; Aeman Nadeem; Afaq; Afrinah Ahmed; Afsa Babar; Afshan; Aftab Ahmad; Aftab Usman; Afzaal Akhtar; Ahmad Abbas; Ahmad Ali Gul; Ahmad Kamal; Ahmad Khan; Ahmad Shaheen; Ahmad; Ahmar Qasim Qazi; Ahmed Abdullah; Ahmed Bin Tariq; Ahmed Faraz; Ahmed Hammad; Ahmed Hassan; Ahmed Khayyam; Ahmed Mujtaba; Ahmed Mujtaba; Ahmed Raza; Ahmed Zubair; Ahmed; Ahmed; Ahmed; Ahraz; Ahsan Arshad; Ahsan Rafiq; Ahsan Yousaf Chaudhary; Ahsan; Aimal Angar; Aiman Salam; Aisha Manzoor; Aiza Parwaiz Ghouri; Akbar Haroon; Akber Memon; Akber Shakil; Akram; Aleena; Ali Abbas Kiani; Ali Affan Usmani; Ali Ahmad; Ali Ahmed; Ali Asghar Wakil; Ali Faizan Khan; Ali Falak; Ali Hussain; Aina; Ali Mehboob Alam; Ali Nawaz; Ali Raza Panjwani; Ali Salah; Alina Rana; Alinah; Alvina Noah; Amal Huma; Amar Lal; Amara Javed; Amber Naveed; Amber Osman; Ambreen Ansari; Amer Mahmood; Amer Rizwan; Amir Bilal; Amir Rashid; Amir Raza; Amir; Amir; Amjad Ahmad; Amjad Ali Shah;

Amjad Hussain; Amjad Hussain; Amjad Rasheed; Amjad Zafar Ali; Ammad Khan; Ammad Qayyum; Ammar Hassan; Ammar Saleem; Ammara; Asif Mumtaz; Amna Asad; Amna Durrani; Amna; Amna; Anam; Ayesha; Anas Waheed Khan; Anas; Aneel Iqbal Amdani; Anjum; Annas Shaikh; Ansab Waseem; Anum Atique; Anum Iqbal; Anwar; Anwer Khan; Aqeel Javed; Aquarius; Arbab Tanveer Ahmed Kasi; Arbish Khan; Arif; Armughan Hameed; Aroosha Qamar; Arpheel John; Arsalan Bobby Khan; Arshad Bqa Rashdi; Arslan Ahmad; Arslan Arshed; Arslan Tahir Mian; Asad Ali Warraich; Asad Zia; Asadullah Shaikh; Asif Elahi Mangat; Asif Iqbal Bhatti; Asif Iqbal; Asif; Asim Iqbal; Asim Malik; Asim; Asma Ambreen; Asma Farhad; Assad Sheraz; Ataush Shafi; Ateeq Ur Rehman; Ather Tahir; Atif Rana; Atif Waheed; Atif; Atif; Atta Ur Rehman Qureshi; Attiq Ur Rehman; Aurangzeb Farid Butt; Aurangzeb Maqsood; Awais Javed; Awais Malik; Awais; Ayaz Khan; Ayesha Hassan; Ayesha Khan; Ayesha Malik; Ayesha Noor; Ayesha Umar; Ayesha; Ayesha; Ayesha; Azad; Azam Ishaque; Azaz Ahmad; Azeem; Azhar Iqbal; Azzam Saddique; B.M Rana; Badar Yousaf; Bairum Ali; Bakht Biland Amed Khan; Bakhtawer; Barkat; Baroosh Ahsan; Bassam; Beenish Javed; Beenish Wasay; Beenish Zia; Behroz Altaf Baloch; Bilal Ahmad; Bilal Ahmed Khan; Bilal Karim Mughal; Bilal Raza Khan; Bilal; Bilal; Bisma Khan; Bryan; Burraq Ghani; Bushra Zaheer; Bushra Zulfiqar; Collin Mark Joesph; Danish Hussain Memon; Danish Hussain Memon;

The change has to  
come from within  
*Syed Muhammad Hasan*



Danish Khalil; Danish Muhammad Saleem; Danish Mujadid; Danish; Daniyal Akhtar; Darya Khan Pahore; Dawar Ayyaz; Dawar Hameed; Delila; Dr Haris Hamid; Dr Irfan Ahmed; Dr Mehreen Fatima; Dr S Sajjad Haider; Dr.Sumaira Mansoor Alam; Easar Ala M; Ehsan; Eisha Mohsin; Ejaz Hussain; Ejaz Ur Rehman; Emaan A; Emmad Akhtar; Engr. Muhammad Nasir Khan; Essmaeel Ali; Eva Syed; F. M. Bilal; Fahad Arshad; Fahad Shah; Fahadbinnaqeeb; Fahmida Fariq; Faisal Aziz; Faisal Hassan Afridi; Faisal Pervez; Faisal Rasool; Faisal; Faiz Ali; Faiz Kakar; Faiza Attique; Faiza Haroon Faiza Riaz; Faiza Riaz; Faiza; Faiza; Faiza; Faizan Akram; Faizan Ali; Faizan Javed; Faizan Karim; Faizan Suhail Minhas; Fakhar Hussain; Falak Afroze; Faraz Ahmad Khan; Faraz Ahmad Khan; Faraz Faheem; Faraz Ghani Siddiqui; Faraz Shafiq; Fareeha Himayat; Farhan Bin Khalid; Farhan Khan; Farhan Sharif; Farhan; Saamiya Musani; Farheen Wajahat; Farnaz; Fatima; Farooq; Farrukh Akhtar; Farrukh Ali Khan; Farrukh Nadeem; Farrukh Zaman Kiani; Farzana Saeed; Fatima Ali; Fatima Arif; Fatima Saeed; Fatima Sajjad; Fatimah Siddiq; Fawad Ali; Fawad Hirani; Fawad Mulk; Fawad Mulk; Faysal Idrees Malik; Fayyaz Ahmad; Fayyaz Madni; Fazal; Fazeel Qamar; Fizza Muazzam; Fizza Mughal; Fouzan; Fouzia Nawaz; Frederick Joseph; Furqan; G Ganesh Kumar; Ghalib Nawaz; Ghazal Khan; Ghazanfar Abbas Awan; Ghazanfer Sadiq; Ghulam Abbas; Ghulam Akber; Ghulam Mustafa Patel; Ghulam Sarwar; Googleboy; Guhu; Gulrayz Ahmed; H Help Seeker; H M Asghar Khan; Habiba; Hafiz Muhammad Imran Iqbal; Haider; Hamad Khan; Hamayoon Khan; Hammad Farooq Khan; Hammad Raza;

Hammad Tanvir Hammad; Hamza Bin Ikram; Hamza Nawaz Khan; Hamza Shams; Hamza Tahir; Hamza; Hania Iqbal; Haroon Habib Khalqui; Harris Muzammil Ansari; Hasan Kara; Haseeb Javed; Haseeb Javeed; Hashim Maudoodi; Hashmat Jamal Khan; Hassan Abbas; Hassan Ali Siddiqi; Hassan Fayyaz; Hassan Jahanzaib; Hassan Javed Malik; Hassan Korrani; Hassan Mahmood; Hera Hashmi; Hiba Ikram; Hina Bashir; Hina Osman; Hina Usmani; Hina Yahya; Hira Hanif; Hira Riaz; Homera Mughees; Hooria Imam Khan; Huda Batool; Huda Syed; Huma Khan; Ridx Rox; Huma Taha; Huma; Humair; Humayun Iqbal; Hummayun Ahmad; Hurria Hussein; Husna Asim; Hussain; Ibtisam Asad; Ibtisam Ilahi; Iftikhar Ahmad; Iftikhar Ahmed; Ikhlaq Ahmed Qureshi; Ilsa Abdul Razzak; Imran Ali; Imran Hafeez Panhwar; Imran Khan Zarkoon; Imran Khan; Imran Khan; Imran; Inayat; Ingrid Bashir; Iram; Irfan Ahmed; Irfan Ali; Irfan Khan; Irfan Tariq; Irshad Ahmad; Irum; Ishaq Bukhari; Ismat Gul Khattak; Izza Shahis; Jahanzeb; Jan Mohammed; Jansher Bloch; Jarrar Kazim Ali; Javaria Khalid; Javaria Khalid; Javeria Munawar; Jawad; Jawed Iqbal Ghouri; Jehanzeb Akhtar; Jhonny Deep; Jude Clement Dsouza; Junaid Ahmed; Junaid Ahmer; Junaid Pasha; Kamal Nawaz Advocate; Kamni Siraj; Kamran Khan; Kamran Khan; Kamran; Kanza Fahim; Kanzul Fatima Arif; Karim Alam; Kashif Ali; Kashif Irshad; Kashif Jameel; Kashif Raza; Kashif Waheed; Kashif; Kashif; Kashif; Kauser Iqbal; Khadija; Khadim Hussain; Khalid Kayani; Khalid Zaman; Khawaja Inam Ul Haq; Khawaja Muneeb Ahmad; Khawaja Zia Ud Din; Khawar Ali; Khizar; Khizer Shafi Batla; Khoobi Aurangzeb; Khurram Abbas Haryani;

Please built the minds of individual to remove terrorism and extremism...  
Sohail

Khurram Hamid; Khurram Naseem; Khurram Saeed; Khushbakht Ejaz; Khwaja Naem Saeed; Kinza; Kiran Jamshaid; Kiran Makhani; Kjnjkkn; Komal Khan; Kumail Raza; Laila; Lucky; M Adil Siddiqui; M Ali Abdullah; M Saqlain; M Shehryar Raza; M Tahir; M Tahir; M. Ali Kemal; M. Shahjahan Bhatti; M.Ahsan Haider; M.Rizwan Afzal; Maaz Bin Qasim; Maaz Rana; Maaz Rauf; Muhammad Haseeb Khan; Madeeha; Madiha Baig; Madiha Haroon; Madiha Malik; Muhammad Irfan; Maha Chaudhry; Maham Najam; Mahrukh; Mahwish; Maida Khan; Maira; Majid Ali Khan Ghori; Majid Bhatti; Majid Masih; Majid Naseer; Majid Ur Rehman; Malik Aamer Sohail; Malik Babur Javed; Malik Junaid Mohammad Khan; Malik Mehmood; Malik Zameer Ahmed; Mamoon Khan; Manaal Memon; Mansha Pasha; Mansoor Shafiq; Maqsood Ahmed Soomro; Maria Khan; Maria Mashkoo; Maria Muzammil; Maria; Mariam Ilyas; Mariam Shoaib; Mariam; Mariam; Mariyam Khan Baloch; Maroof Ahmad; Maryam Yousaf; Maryam; Maryam; Maseehullah; Masham Khalid; Mateen Tahir Chuhan; Maya; Mazhar Usman; Mehak; Mehboob Ul Haq Siddiqui; Saad Mansoor; Mehmood Riaz Ahmad; Mehrab; Mehria; Mehru Basit; Saddam; Mehru Shoaib; Mehvish Irfan; Mehvish Khalid; Mercedes; Meti; Mian Abid Ali; Mian Khaqan Shah; Milik Yasir; Mina Mariam; Minhil; Mehreen Malik; Minna Liang; Mirbahar Deen Muhammad; Mirza Asim Ghani; Mirza Muhammad Ali Baig; Mirza Zahid Ul Hassan; Misbah Shahzadi; Misbah Ur Rehman; Misha Mansoor; Miss Gill; Moazzam Bilal; Moazzam; Mobeen Ahmed; Mobeen Iqbal; Modusser Tufail; Mohammad Ahsan Farooqi; Mohammad Ashfaq;

Mohammad Azam Khan; Mohammad Bilal Arif; Mohammad Hashim Jilani; Mohammad Ishtiaq; Mohammad Jamaluddin Thaheem; Mohammad Kazim; Mohammad Ovais; Mohammad Ovais; Mohammad Raza; Mohammad Soheib Awan; Mohammad Tahir; Mohammad Yaqoob; Mohammad Yasir; Mohammd Sufyan Janjua; Mohsin Ali; Mohsin Naseer; Mohsin Nasrullah; Mohsin Waheed; Mohsin; Moiz Ahmad; Mr. A.D.Tahir; MS Ali; Ms. Amina Zafar, Ms. Zaira Ahmad, Ms. Zahra Asgher, Ms. Hina Chaudhry and Ms. Moneeza Abbas, Lahore College for Women; Zainab Saeed, Shazre Sarfraz, Rabia Haseeb, Mahwish Hussain, and Beenish Naeem, Kinnaird College; Murtaza Khwaja, Shoaib Ahmed, and Usama Mehmood, Responsible Citizens; Amjad Bashir, Qasim Farasat, Raja Shoaib, Muhammad Ahmad, Komal Patras, Sohail Arshad, Dr. Mohsin Kamal, Tahira Hafeez, Irfan Ahmad and Abdul Jabbar Siddiqui, Youth Parliament of Pakistan; Dr. Bernadette Dean, Vice Chancellor, Kinnaird College; Mr Asad Tahir, CEO, Anwar Janat Foundation; Naeem Baig, Ministry of Youth Affairs; Ms Sadia A. Mehmood, United Nations Population Fund; Ms Rabia Muzaffar, Ministry of Affairs; Ms Sabina Ahmad, Value Resources; Mr Ijaz Khaliq, Human Resource Development Network; Ms Fauzia Tariq, Voluntary Services Overseas; Ms Nazoora Ali, World Population Foundation; Ms Rabia Manzoor Khan, ROZAN Youth Help Line; Khaliq Nawaz, Usman Shahid, and Zahra Mumtaz, Quaid-i-Azam University; Nofil Farooq and Muhammad Ayaz Shafqat, Youth Parliament of Pakistan; Hira Sagheer, Samreen Asghar, Shumaila Afzal, Muntaha Habb, Anam Niazi and Zainub Younus, Fatima

The British Council is doing a tremendous job by giving us a chance on putting forward our views about our beloved nation and our motherland which means more than anything to us.  
Kamran Khan



of Affairs; Ms Sabina Ahmad, Value Resources; Mr Ijaz Khaliq, Human Resource Development Network; Ms Fauzia Tariq, Voluntary Services Overseas; Ms Nazoora Ali, World Population Foundation; Ms Rabia Manzoor Khan, ROZAN Youth Help Line; Khaliq Nawaz, Usman Shahid, and Zahra Mumtaz, Quaid-i-Azam University; Nofil Farooq and Muhammad Ayaz Shafqat, Youth Parliament of Pakistan; Hira Sagheer, Samreen Asghar, Shumaila Afzal, Muntaha Hibb, Anam Niazi and Zainub Younus, Fatima Jinnah Women University; Noormah Jamal, Umair Ahmad, Faizan Khan, Usman A. Jilani, Abeer Amir Kiani, Masooma Zubairi and Manzul Fatima, Beaconhouse School System; Shabhz, Ali Shabhar, Aliya Naseer, Muhammad Saad Mian, and Ali Shabbar, STEP; Rabeea Mazhar, International Islamic University; Rubina Mazhar, Muslim Aid. Muahmmad Sajjada Shamim Ahmed; Mubashar Iqbal Awan; Mubashir Vohra; Mudassar Laiq Qureshi; Mufaz; Mughis Ur Rehman; Muhamamd Asif Ejaz; Muhammad Aamir; Muhammad Abbas; Muhammad Abbas; Muhammad Adnan Hanif; Muhammad Adnan Hanif; Muhammad Adyan; Muhammad Ahmed; Muhammad Aizaz Shaheen; Muhammad Ajmal; Muhammad Akhtar Shaheen Rind; Muhammad Ali Abbas; Muhammad Ali Khan; Muhammad Ali; Muhammad Ammar Yasir; Muhammad Ali; Muhammad Ammar Yasir; Muhammad Annus; Muhammad Anwar Hashmi; Muhammad Arslan Sarwar Tatar; Muhammad Ashraf Malik; Muhammad Asif Ahmed; Muhammad Asif Nadeem Bhutta; Muhammad Asim; Muhammad Aslam; Muhammad Ataullah Khan; Muhammad Atique; Muhammad Awais Nadeem;

Muhammad Azeem Khan; Muhammad Babar; Muhammad Bilal Khan; Muhammad Bilal Shahid; Muhammad Bilal; Muhammad Daniual Rashid; Muhammad Ehtesham Ul Haq; Muhammad Fahad Lakhani; Muhammad Faisal; Muhammad Faizan Khan; Muhammad Faizan Wajahat; Muhammad Faraz Aslam; Muhammad Farhan Naeem Sheikh; Muhammad Fazeel; Muhammad Ghufuran; Muhammad Hafeez; Muhammad Hamid; Muhammad Hammad Jamil; Muhammad Haris Nazir; Muhammad Hashim Khan; Muhammad Hasnain Ali; Muhammad Hassan; Muhammad Humayoon; Muhammad Ilyas; Muhammad Ilyas; Muhammad Imran Khan; Muhammad Imran; Muhammad Irfan; Muhammad Ishfaq; Muhammad Ismail Memon; Muhammad Jaffar Malik; Muhammad Jawad Bhatti; Muhammad Jawwad Baig; Muhammad Junaid; Muhammad Kamran Lodhi; Muhammad Khan Karim; Muhammad Laeeq Ur Rehman; Muhammad Mahmood Ali Siddiqui; Muhammad Mahmood Aslam; Muhammad Mansoor Khan; Muhammad Mansoor Shaukat; Muhammad Mehdi; Muhammad Muneeb Saeed; Muhammad Muneeb; Muhammad Nasarullah Toor; Muhammad Rafay Moeen; Muhammad Ramzan Mallah; Muhammad Rehan Hashmi; Muhammad Rehan Raza.; Muhammad Rizwan; Muhammad Saad; Muhammad Safdar; Muhammad Saifullah; Muhammad Saleem; Muhammad Samad Khan; Muhammad Shabeer; Muhammad Shafiq; Muhammad Shahzar Ilahi; Muhammad Shershah; Muhammad Tahir Iqbal; Muhammad Talal; Muhammad Talha; Muhammad Umair Azhar; Muhammad Umair Shabbir; Muhammad Usama Masood;

I think the next generation wants to be involved but we are mostly controlled by the elders and the Taboos of the society. Frankly, here it seems what you say does not matter but who and how old you are matters a lot. The elders need to trust the next generation more.  
Junaid Ahmed

48

Muhammad Usman Ansari; Muhammad Usman Butt; Muhammad Usman; Muhammad Usman; Muhammad Waleed Khan; Muhammad Waqas; Muhammad Yahya Rokhani; Muhammad Yaser Khan; Muhammad Yasir Chughtai; Muhammad Younas; Muhammad Yousuf Dalia; Muhammad Yusuf; Muhammad Zafir Zia; Muhammad Zaki Hassan; Muhammad Zakir; Muhammad Zia Ul Haq; Muhammad Zohaib Hafeez; Muhammad Zohaib Javed; Muhammad Zubair; Muhammed Abdul Rahim; Muhammd Tahir; Mujeeb; Mujtaba Memon; Mulazim Ali Khokhar; Munazza; Muneer; Murtaza Khurshid; Murtaza; Musa Durrani; Musa; Musirah Farrukh; Mustafa Ahmed; Mustafa Kamal; Mustafa Tariq Ghani; Mustansar Khalid Saeed; Muzamil Ahmad; Muzammal Khalid; Muzammil Sherani; Mysty; Nabeel Asad Chaudry; Nabeel Khan; Nabi Bux Samo; Nadeem Ahmad Malik; Nadeem Ahmad Saleemi; Nadeem Anjum; Nadeem; Nadia Hussain; Naeem Sarwer; Naeem; Nafees; Naila Tabasuum; Naima Bintaey Shahab; Naima Tariq; Najeeb Ullah; Namini; Areeba Gadar; Naqib Ullah Khan; Naseem Achakzai; Nasir A Khan; Nasir Ali; Nasir; Nasreen Fatima; Nasrullah Shah; Nassir Nazir; Nauman Ahmed; Nauman Ali; Nauman Farooq; Naveed Ahmad Khan; Naveed Ahmed Badar; Naveed Ahmed; Naveed Ahmed; Naveed Ali; Naveed Ali; Naveed Khuhro; Naveed Shakur; Naveed William; Naveed Zafar; Nawaz Nizar; Nawaz Siddiq; Nayha Raza; Naziha Ali; Nazish Naveed; Neha Khan; Nimra Ahmad; Nisar; Nizar Ahmad; No Name; Noman Ahmed; Noman; Noor Ahsan; Noor Latif Khan; Noor; Nasir; Noorul.Ain Ahmad; Nouman Akbar; Nudrat

Amin; Obaid Ahmad Usmani; Omair; Omer Abdue Rehman Khan; Omer Ansari; Osaid Ahamd; Osama Riaz Minhas; Osama; Paras Maurice; Qaidar Khan; Qaiser Zaman; Qamer Uddin; Qasim Sheikh; Qazi Fazli Azeem; Qudsia; Qurat Ul Ain Asif; Quratulain Paracha; Quratulain; Rabeea Ahmed; Rabia Azam; Rabia Kiyani; Rabia Shahid; Rabia; Rabia; Rabia; Rabia; Rabia; Rafay Sadiq; Raheel Ahmed; Raheel Ahmed; Rai; Raja Sajid Hussain; Ramla Mustafa; Rana Omer; Rana Tahir; Rana Tahir; Rana Yasir; Rao Umer Ali Khan; Rao Zahid; Rashid Ahmed; Rashid Hasan; Rashid Mehmood Khan; Rashid Sardar; Rashid; Raja Behram Ali; Rayaana Iqbal; Rehan Zaidi, Rehman Afzal Khan; Rehman Habib; Rehman Ilyas; Riaz Karim Khan; Rida Abaid; Rizwan Akhlaq; Rizwan Maqsood; Rizwan Riaz; Rizwan Shakir; Rizwan; Rizwan; Rmasha Ghaffar; Rubina; Ruwa Rehman; S. Areej Mehdi; S. M. Abbas Kazmi; S.M Haris Burney; S.M Omair; Saad Ashraf; Saad Bin Mehmood; Saad Jan; Saad Naeem; Saad Saleem Malik; Saad Saleem Umer; Saad Salman; Saad; Saad; Saad; Saba Jokhio; Saba Rasheed; Sababa Khalid; Sabah A Siddiqui; Sabah Saeed; Sabeen Inam; Sabeen; Sabertooth; Sabiha Faiz; Sadaf Azeem Idarak; Sadaf; Saddam Hussain; Sadia Hafeez; Sadia Nasim; Sadia Siddiqui; Sadiq Chagani; Safdar Ali Khan; Safi; Sahar Karim; Saifuddin; Saifullah Raza; Saima Aslam; Saima Ghaus Qureshi; Saima Jabbar; Saima Rashid; Sajeel Qayum Mirza; Sajjad Ahmad Jan; Sajjad Ali; Saleem A Siddiqui; Saleha Baloch; Saleha Baloch; Saleha Shahid; Salma Iqbal; Salma Khaton; Salma Rahman; Salman Ahmad Awan; Salman Ahmad; Salman B; Salman B; Salman Fazal; Salman Latif; Salman Zahid; Sama

"I believe in change, because evolution is the ultimate survivor of mankind"  
Jarrar Kazim Ali

49

Tanveer; Saman Javed; Sameen; Sameer Aqib; Samia Arif; Samia Fatima Naqvi; Samiurrehman; Samreen Shahbaz; Samreen; Samsoor; Sana Aslam; Sana Azhar; Sana Haq; Sana Shah; Sana Shams; Sana Ullah; Sana; Sana; Sana; Saneeta Massey; Saqib Nawaz; Saqib Riaz; Saqib Tariq; Sara Abu Tahir; Sardar Bacha; Sardar Ishtiaq Ahmed Khan; Sardar Ishtiaq Ahmed Khan; Sardar Yaser; Sarmad Aftab Lashari; Sarmad Khan Khattak; Sarmad Riaz; Sarwat Abbas; Sarwat; Sazeen Baloch; Scar Scariot; Sehrish; Shabihulhassan; Shadha Zawawi; Shafqat Mahmood Khan; Shagufta; Shah Gul; Shah Nawaz; Shah; Shahana Bano; Shahbaz Abbas; Shaheen Koaser; Shahid Ghafoor; Shahid Imran; Shahid Khaskheli; Shahid Rehan; Shahid; Shahida; Shahmeer; Shahnawaz; Shahroze Asif; Shahwaccar; Suhail; Shahzad Hassan; Shahzeb Irshad; Shakeel Ahmad; Shakeel Ahmed Raza; Shakeel Ahmed; Shakeel Ahmed; Shakeel; Shakil; Shakir Hussain; Shakir; Shanzay; Shanze'; Sharaf Qaisar; Sharan Ahmed; Shariq Mushir; Shaukat; Yasir Mirza; Shawez Banuri; Shazeb Ullah Khan; Shazia Azmat; Shazia; Sheeraz; Sheheryar Iqbal; Shehzadi Rabail; Sheraz; Shermeen; Shireen Khalani; Shoaib Farrukh; Shoaib Jadoon; Shoaib Khan; Shoaib Raza; Shumaila; Sidra Sheikh; Sidra Umar; Sidra Umar; Sidra Umar; Sidra; Sikandar Hayyat; Simab Chohan; Siraj; Sitwat Farooq; Soban Ahmed; Sofia; Soha Muneer; Sohaib Saleem; Sohail Khan; Sohail; Sonika Dhingra; Sorath Shah; Sufian Gul; Suhail Choudhry; Suhail; Suleman Sheikh; Suleyman Shafi Batla; Sulman Zahid; Sultan Yousaf; Sumera Hasan; Summiyah Malik; Sundus; Swaleha Malik; Sybil Daniel; Syed Aabid Hussain; Syed Aalso Abbas; Syed Ahmad Abbas Zaidi; Syed Ali

Jafri; Syed Ali Murad; Syed Ali Shehryar; Syed Ammar Gillani; Syed Ather Hasnain Rizvi; Syed Azfer Iqbal; Syed Bilal Hussain; Syed Danish Iqbal; Syed Faiq Mehmood; Syed Farhan Fazal; Syed Farrukh Shah; Syed Hassan Talal; Syed Hassan Zulfiqar; Syed Hussain Raza Moosavi; Syed Kamran Ali; Syed Kashif Khurshid; Syed M. Aaqib Javaid; Syed Muhammad Ali; Syed Muhammad Baqar; Syed Muhammad Hasan; Syed Saad.M.Ali; Syed Saghir Hussain; Syed Shabihulhassan Bokhari; Syed Shahzaib Ahmed; Syed Shariq Munir; Syed Sharjeel Hasan; Syed Shayan Sultan; Syed Tahir Hussain; Syed Tariq Husaain Hatmi; Syed Waqar Ahmed; Syed Waseem Raza; Syed Zeeshan Shahid; Syed Zohaib Asad Sherazi; Syeda Saima Shabir; T Tahir; Tabassum Huda; Tabinda Afzal; Tabish Ali; Tamim; Tafheem Ul Haq; Taha; Tahir Iqbal; Tahir; Tahir; Tahir; Tahira Khan; Taimoor Malik; Taimoor; Taimorr Khan; Talha Akhter; Tallal; Tanveer Hussain Tanveer Zia; Tanveer Zia; Taha; Tarique Mehmood; Tatheer Zehra; Tauseef Ahmed; Tauseef; Tauseef; Tayyaba Sarmad; Tehreem Fatima; Toobah Ali; Touqir Abbas; Touseef; Tahir Mahmood; Triumph; Tughral Turab Ali; Tyrone Tellis; U Uzair Javed; Ubaid Bashir; Ubaid Tariq; Ufaq Asif; Umair Ahmad Khawaja; Umair Ahmed Khan; Umair Ahmed; Umair Gill; Umair Matloob; Umair Nasir; Umair Shariq Farooqi; Umair Wali; Umaiz Imtiaz Butt; Umar Anjum; Umar Rizwan; Umer Ali; Umer Malik; Umer Saleem; Umer Younas Butt; Umer; Unjela Siddiqi; Usama Bin Najam; Usman Farooq; Usman Ghani Rathore; Usman Habib; Usman Hassan; Usman Nasem; Usman; Usman; Uzair Ijaz Khan; Uzair Khalid; Uzair Khan; Uzair; Uzma Siddiqui; Vikas Kapoor; Waheeb

When I was an intern at an organization I was told that the commitment interns show to their work is probably more than the employees show to theirs. We just need to give our 18-23 year students opportunities to work like NGOs, volunteering, social work and internships and sit back and watch them do wonders.

Maria Muzammil

50

Mehboob; Waheed; Wajahat Iqbal; Wajahat Nassar; Wajeaha; Waleed Malik; Wali Mohammad Baloch; Wali Muhammad Chandio; Wamiq Naeem; Waqar Ahmed; Waqar Ahmed; Waqar; Waqar; Waqas Abid; Waqas Ashraf; Waqas Bin Younus Awan; Waqas Hussain; Waqas Tubbsim; Waqas; Wara Iftikhar; Warda Rizvi; Warda; Warsha Jamnadas; Waseem Hussain Chaudhry; Waseem Rabbani; Wasif Mehmood; Wasim Malik; Wasim; Wasimullah; Wayne Pennefather;

**We would also like to thank the following who attended the workshops to discuss the draft report:**

Xari Jalil; Xaynab Auraqxai; Yaseen Munshi; Yasir Ameen; Yasir Faraz Abbasi; Yasir Mehmood; Yasir Mohmood Aslam; Yasir Riaz; Yasir Sohaib; Yasir Tahir Siddiqui; Yasmin Jawaid; Yastoor Khan; Yousaf Ali; Yumna Zahid; Zaheer Abbas; Zaheer Kazim; Zaheer Kazim; Zahid Ahmad Butt; Zahid Bin Khalil; Zahid Shahab Ahmed; Zahid; Zahid; Zahid; Zahid; Zahra Qadeer; Zaid Bin Mukhtar; Zain Ali; Zain Aman; Zain Khan; Zain; Zainab Shiraz; Zainab; Zakaria Hamid; Zaki Hyder Bihan; Zamar; Zareen Zubair; Zeeshan Dawood; Zeeshan Manzoor; Zeeshan Tariq; Zeeshan; Zehra Anwer; Zehra; Zeina; Zia Jafri; Zia Ullah Akhunzada; Zia; Zaeem Rizvi; Zillerehman Khan Niazi; Zoan Hassan; Zobia Samreen; Zofashan Basit; Zohaib Iqbal; Zohaib; Zoraiz; Zulfiqar Baig; Zulfiqar Pomi; Zulqi;

I feel that there should be a quota for qualified youth to sit in the parliament and also to observe the parliament sessions, as they need to know how policymaking is done... and how they can play their roles to change if something is not working.

Zahid Shahab Ahmed

51

## Annex Two

### Methodology

The Next Generation project was designed to create a landmark report that would be inclusive and owned by the youth of this country. It required a methodology as vibrant, flexible and diverse as the youth it aims to represent.

The inception of the report began with an independent committee established to explore the potential and prospects of the country's next generation. The Task Force devised the core plan of action and performed an advisory role in supervising the evolution of the report itself.

The Task Force is comprised of:

- Govt. of Pakistan, represented by Ashfaq Ahmad, Secretary of Youth Affairs
- Geo Television Network, represented by Moeed Pirzada, Head of International Desk
- Sahara for Life Trust, represented by Abrar ul Haq, Chairman
- Barclays Bank, represented by Mohsin Nathani, Country Head
- Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), represented by Ahmad J. Durrani, Vice Chancellor
- Pakistan Institute of Development and Economics (PIDE), represented by Dr.Rehana Siddique, Chief Researcher
- Sabiha Shaheen, Executive Director, (BARGAD)
- Connective Action, represented by Arshad Bhatti, Director
- British Council, represented by Sue Beaumont, Country Director; Nasir Kazmi, Director Islamabad; Shazia Khawar, Head of Programmes Islamabad

David Steven (Center for International Cooperation at New York University) acted as policy adviser to the Task Force.

After a thorough and exhaustive evaluation of existing research on geography, geopolitics and demographics, new and specially-tailored research was commissioned by the Task Force.

Iqbal Haider Butt, Senior Partner, Development Pool, and Sabiha Shaheen, Executive Director, BARGAD contributed Changing Factors: Political & Democratic Activism of Youth in Pakistan. Dr Rehana Siddiqui, Chief of Research, PIDE, wrote Youth Employment and Economic Growth in Pakistan for the report. Arshed Bhatti, Director, Connective Action and Kaveri Harris, Researcher, Options UK and Research Fellow, University of Sussex authored Understanding demographic opportunities & threats for young people in Pakistan: the economic, social & political impact of youth participation and /or exclusion while The Next Generation Report – The Policy Environment was by Sabina Ahmad and Farida Ahmad of Value Resources.

AC Nielsen were commissioned to conduct desk research, a qualitative study, and the Next Generation quantitative survey.

During the qualitative phase, 10 focus groups were conducted at 6 locations. Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi/Islamabad and Peshawar fall in Stratum I which is defined as having a population of 1 million or more. Narowal and Muzaffarabad fall in Stratum III which is

defined as having a population less than 100,000 persons.

Target respondents for the qualitative research were as follows: males and females, aged between 18-29, belonging to socioeconomic classes A, B and C.

The desk research and quantitative survey were used to develop the main quantitative survey tool, with the following sections: screener, socioeconomic classification, general outlook, education, health and environment, politics, employment, society, aspirations, demographics and media habits.

A nationally representative sample was recruited from the four provinces of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan, and from Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). The sample size was 1226.

In July 2009, a campaign for collecting opinions to form the basis for components of the recommendations for youth policy was launched with an initial appearance by UK Foreign Secretary David Milliband on a national radio show arranged by the British Council through Radio One FM91.

Simultaneously, an open poll consisting of five questions was launched on British Council's website. The poll was intended to elicit viewpoints from 18-29 year olds across the rural and urban expanse. By September 2009, 1212 Pakistani young people had responded.

Additional focus groups were conducted to achieve a deeper understanding of the

youth's potential response towards the accumulation of the report. On-site visits to a number of universities and other educational institutes were conducted for this purpose. Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology, Government College Lahore, Lahore College for Women, Azad Jammu and Kashmir University – Muzaffarabad campus, Karachi University, Sir Syed University Karachi, City University Peshawar were some of the institutions in this pool.

The interim report was made available to a panel of approximately 20 academics, civil society leaders and community enablers who shared feedback and suggestions. These suggestions were backed by endorsements from community stakeholders. A series of workshops and seminars was held in order to involve young leaders in developing findings.

The interim report was widely publicized through the electronic media in the form of discussions on television channels and radio stations. The campaign proved very helpful in creating widespread interest. We wish to thank TV One, Express News24, ATV and radio channels FM 91, FM 101 and FM 96 for this.

Before finalizing the report in its current form a meeting was held in October with the Ministry of Youth Affairs in order to come to a clear perspective on youth issues to include in the report.

This is the Question on which we have to think upon & response...

We have to take some steps in order to make our dream come true...  
*M. Rizwan Afzal*

52

It is vital that those who do not have; whether it is knowledge, wealth or a few kind words, whatever one can afford; be the giver, not the taker  
*Ramla Mustafa*

53

## Footnotes

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For the Rich youths:  
Internships in major  
organisations.  
For the Poor youths: Tell  
them to think about how  
they would do it. They  
know more about life than  
any of us.  
Zeina

54

I hope the word " Next  
Generation" does include  
all those youngsters who  
are living in small villiges  
that are far & far from  
cities.  
Nasir A Khan

55



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Survival of the generation is doubtful...right now actually the generation can survive but the question is how the nation will survive....we are still not a nation....  
*Warda Rizvi*

56

The youth must not forget who they are and what they are a part of. They must keep the cultural heritage alive in their hearts.... Dont forget your identity if you do, the world will forget you..... hey, it rhymes!!  
*Furqan*

57