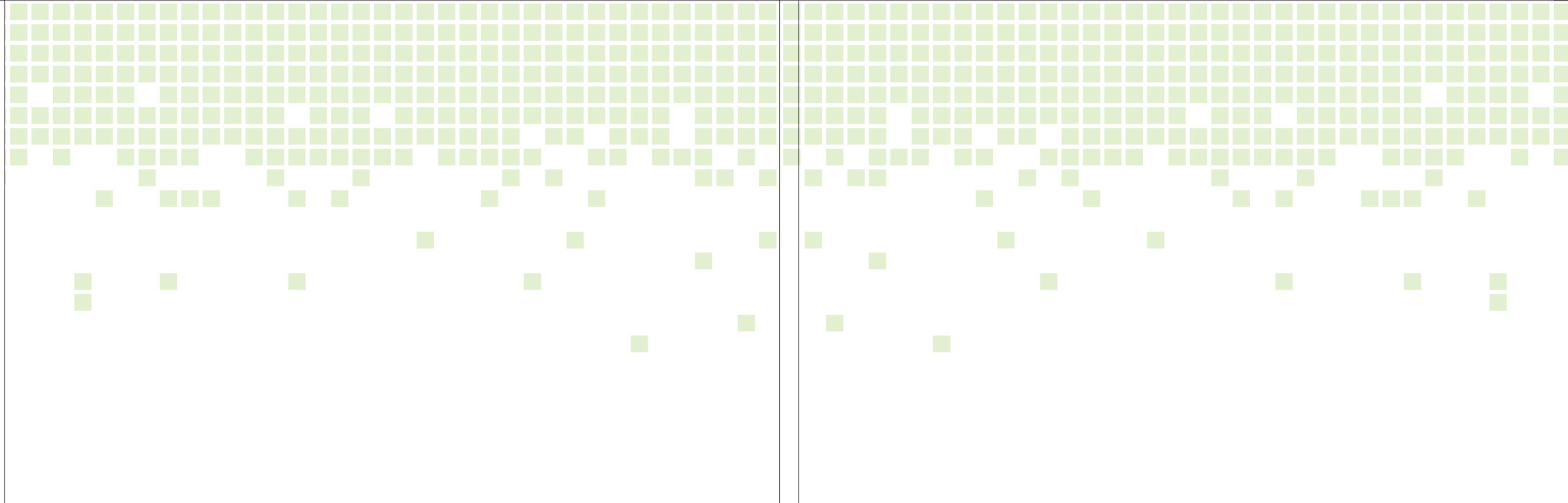


Pakistan : *The Next Generation*





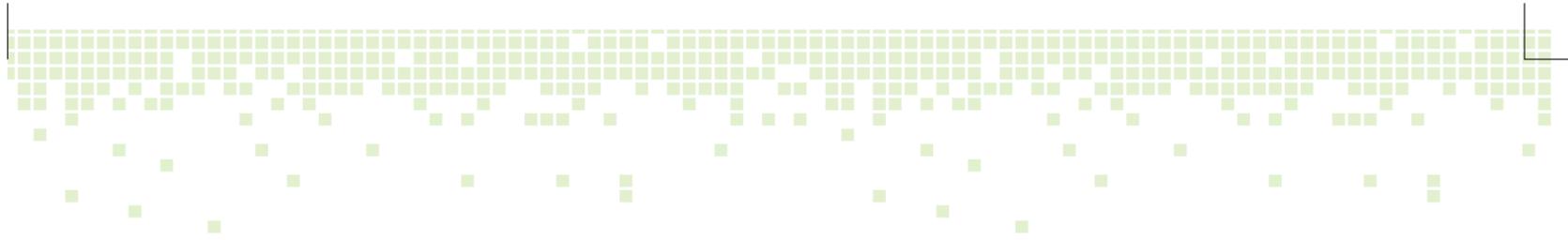
DISCLAIMER

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Pakistan :
The Next Generation
November 2009

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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..... Don't forget your identity if you do, the world will forget you..... hey, it rhymes!!
Furqan

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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.

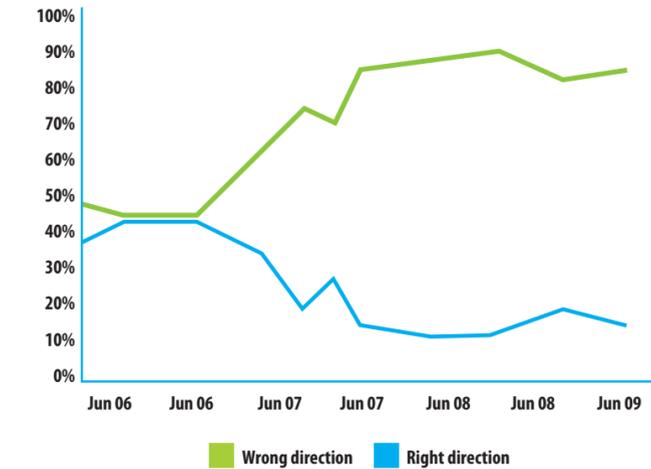
The country sits on a geopolitical fault line, bordering China, India, Afghanistan and Iran – all countries that play a pivotal role in the modern world.

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."¹

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.²

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.³

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.⁴ 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

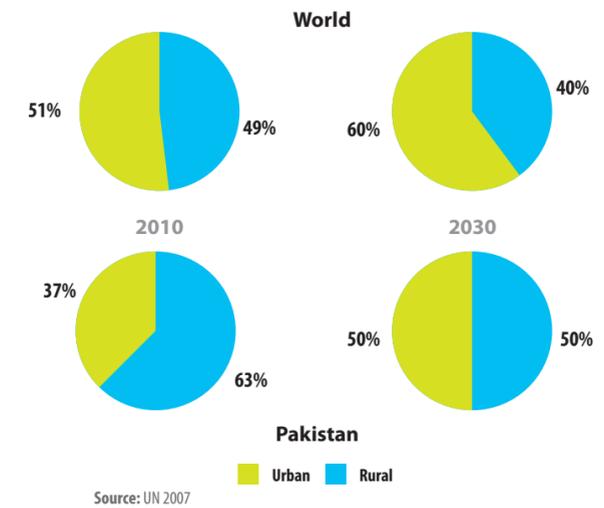


Figure 2 – The move to the cities

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.⁵ 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.

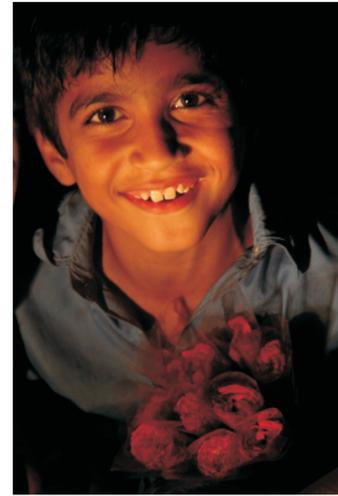
At the same time, climate change will pose two simultaneous challenges. On the one hand, its consequences will hit developing countries hardest, disrupting agriculture, threatening water supplies, and increasing the number and severity of natural disasters.

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."⁶ 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 2009.⁷

After a decade of solid growth, the world's economy contracted in 2009, shrinking faster than at any time since the Second World War.⁸ 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

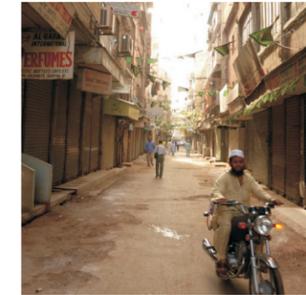
been drastically curtailed. Export markets have collapsed and their industries have few buffers to see them through tough economic times. They face what The World Bank has described as "an emergency for development," a prolonged downturn that will curtail opportunities and increase vulnerabilities to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

The economic crisis was preceded by a sudden and unexpected resource shock, with food and energy prices hitting unprecedented levels in the summer of 2008.¹⁰

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.¹¹ 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.¹²

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.¹³ By 2030, 3.6 billion people will live in parts of the world that are suffering severe water stress.¹⁴

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.¹⁵

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.¹⁶

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."¹⁷

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%.¹⁸

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 th 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."¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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

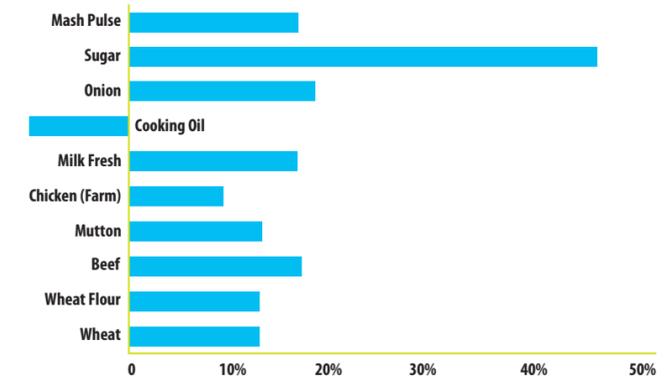
6

The 2008 resource crunch also hit Pakistan hard, with high food and energy prices pushing inflation up to 23% in 2009.²¹ 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.²²

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).²³ Around 7% of the population has fallen back into poverty due to the combined food, energy, and economic shocks.²⁴

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

Water is an even greater problem, with Pakistan one of the world's most water-stressed countries.²⁸ 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.²⁹



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.³⁰

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

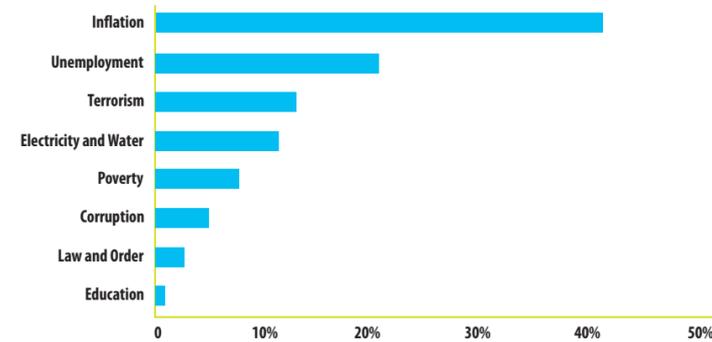
The Main challenge of Next generation that if faces it fighting for Pakistan's own identity its now the youth Pakistan who has to decide where they want to see them tomorrow
Arpheel John

7

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

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.³³

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.³⁴ 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.

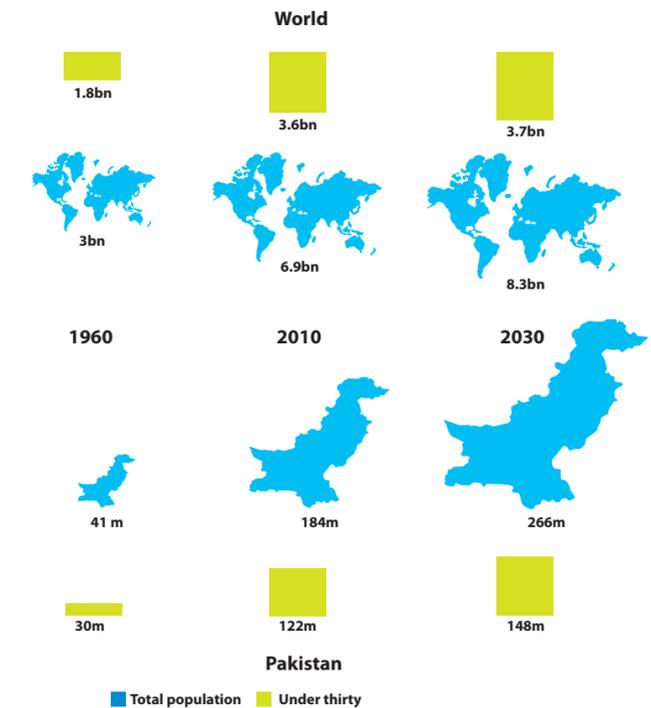
During this period, a wave of young people will sweep across the country. Half the population is currently under twenty years of age and 66% are under thirty. By 2030, the country will have more people living in towns and cities than in the countryside.³⁵

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.³⁶

Young people generally marry in their twenties: men on average when they are 26 years of age, women when they are 22.³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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.

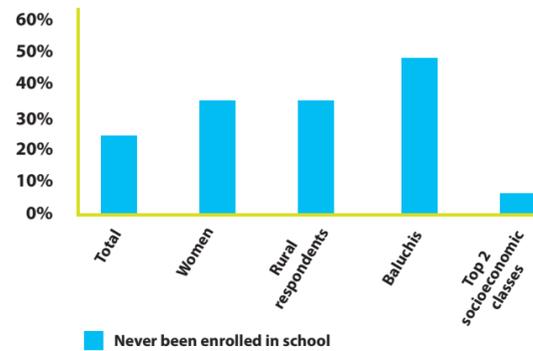
Currently, however, both access to education and the quality of schooling are mixed. Education enrolment rates have improved in recent decades, but many Pakistani children are denied any education at all. Only half go to primary school, a quarter to secondary school, and just 5% receive any higher education.³⁹ 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

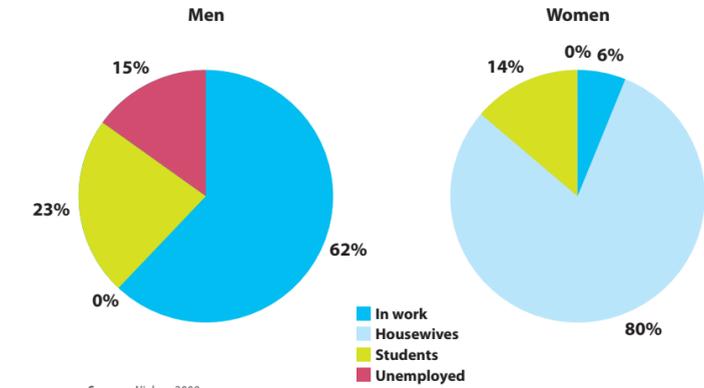
connections in high places are more important than talent and hard work.

"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.⁴⁰

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.

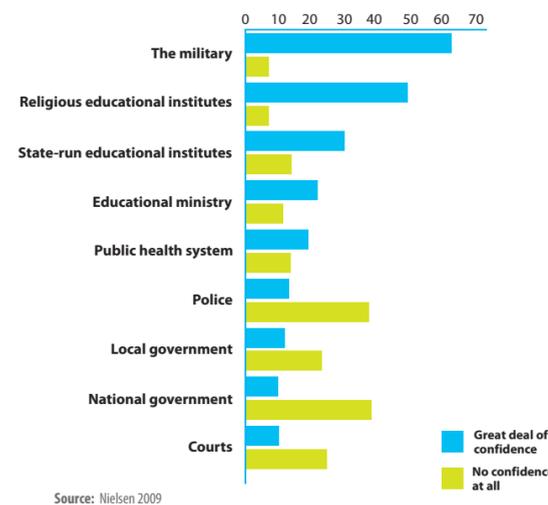


Figure 9 – How much confidence do you have in Pakistan's institutions?

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

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

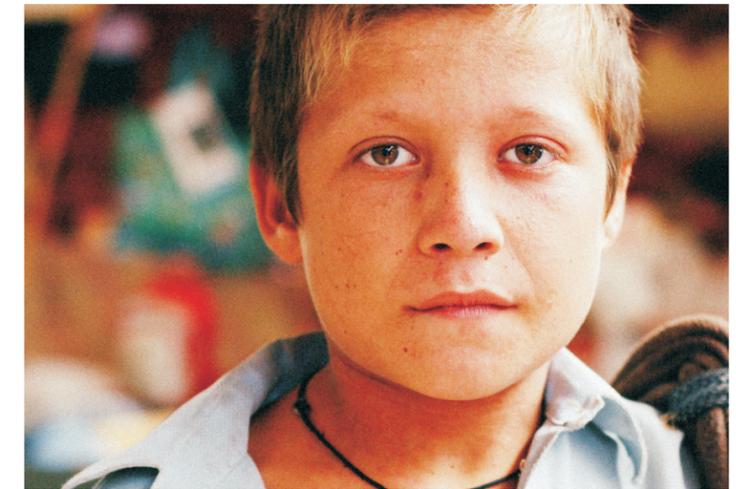
Security is another serious problem. Young people are frightened to leave their homes because of terrorism and crime. "Suicide attacks and bomb blasts have become the fashion of the day," says a student from NWFP. Young women experience a different kind of violence, with many citing eve-teasing as a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

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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.

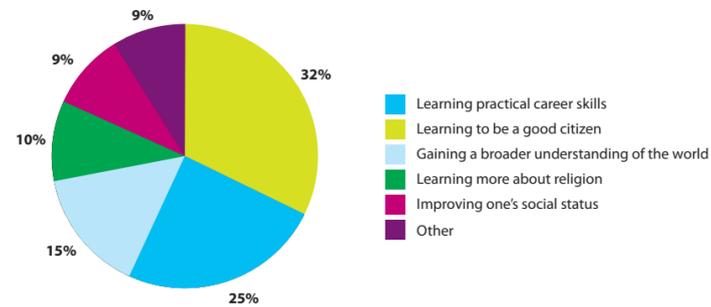
Most, however, believe Pakistan is heading in the wrong direction and only one in ten think it is doing well. They share the pessimism of their parents' generation, but are even more likely to feel their security is under threat.⁴¹ This not only makes them fear for the future, it makes them angry and 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."⁴²

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.⁴³

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.

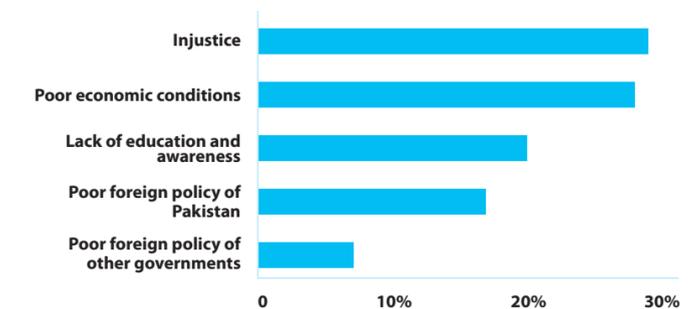
Majid Ali Khan Ghori

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.⁴⁴ 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."⁴⁵

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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

Henrik Urdal, from the International Peace Research Institute, highlights the risks run by young countries if they fail their young people.⁴⁸ 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

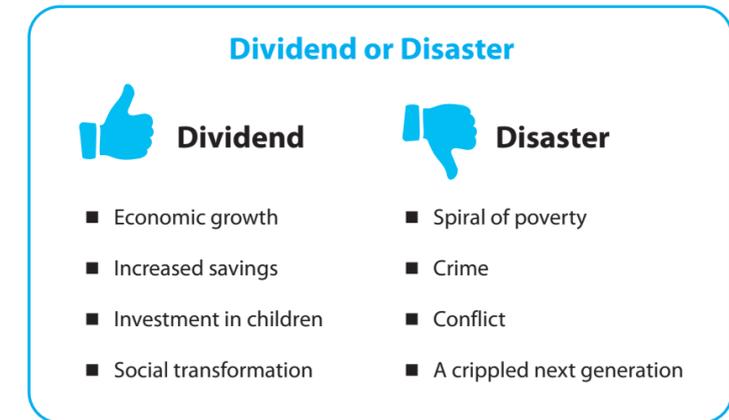


Figure 12 – The Demographic Dividend

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.
Aysha Khan