

NEXT|GENERATION
VOICES

NEXT
GENERATION
GOES TO THE
BALLOT BOX

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2013

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Task Force

Dr. Bernadette L Dean

Principal, St. Joseph's College for Women

Mr. Peter Jacob

Executive Director, National Commission for Justice and Peace

The Hon. Dr. Hina Jilani

Director, AGHS Legal Aid Cell

Mr. Shakeel Qadir Khan

Secretary, Planning & Development, Balochistan

Ms. Shazia Khawar

Director, Civil Society, British Council

The Hon. Dr. Maleeha Lodhi

Special Advisor, International Affairs & Global Projects (and Former Ambassador), Independent Media Corporation (Pvt) Limited

Ms. Rukhsana Rashid

Development Consultant

Mr. Saquib H. Shirazi

Chief Executive Officer, Atlas Honda Ltd

Mr. Fasi Zaka

Columnist, and TV and radio anchor

Ms. Simona Gallota

Rule of Law and Peace-Building Advisor
Delegation of the European Union to Pakistan

Research Director

David Steven

Senior Fellow and Associate Director, Center on International Cooperation, New York University;
Nonresident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Marlies de Groot

Assistant Research Director, River Path Associates

Research Team

AC Nielsen

Dr. Durr-e-Nayab

Chief of Research, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics

Professor Rasul Bakhsh Rais

Professor, Political Science, Lahore University of Management Sciences

Huma Yusuf

Columnist and investigative journalist

Matt Kent

Jane Frewer

River Path Associates

The British Council Team

Peter Upton

Country Director

Faiza Inayat

Team Lead, Next Generation Research Project

Sadia Rahman

Head of Programmes, Civil Society

Usman Wazir

Project Officer

Asif Muneer

Project Officer

Sharmeen Peshimam

Design and Graphics Manager

Shaheryar Zaidi

Marketing and Communications Manager

Khurram Saeed

Web Development Manager

Arsalan Rabbani

Head of Digital Marketing

Photography credits

Umar Farooq

THE VOICE OF JINNAH



In the course of our research we asked young Pakistanis who their heroes were, and overwhelmingly they cited Jinnah as a source of inspiration. This message to the Next Generation from the Quaid-i-Azam is imagined by Professor Sharif al Mujahid who uses his extensive understanding of the founder of Pakistan to envisage the words Jinnah would today use to address the young people of this country. Professor Mujahid is a HEC Distinguished National Professor and the recipient of the Sitara-i-Imtiaz (2006). He is a leading historian, author and a recognised expert on Jinnah with multiple books on the independence movement and Jinnah including 'In Quest of Jinnah' (2007) and 'The Jinnah Anthology' (2010).

My young friends, you well know how much I had loved you and how much I served you for long decades. You had reposed your confidence in me, you had responded unreservedly to my call and played out a pivotal role in the heroic struggle and achievement of Pakistan. Indeed, your idealism, your aspirations, your dedication, your activism and your sacrifices are writ large on every page of the inspiring saga of that struggle. You had also played a clinching role in winning the desperate battle of Pakistan for sheer survival in her formative years.

With Faith, Unity, Discipline as your guiding motto, and profound confidence in yourself and the nation's destiny, you were, thank God, able to weather many a deadly storm successfully and help build Pakistan on sure and solid foundations over the decades.

My young friends, Pakistan is again at a critical moment today – at the crossroad between hope and despair. Fortuitously though, the young people today comprise over half of the country's population. True: starved of opportunity and plagued by pessimism, you feel bottled up and frustrated and trapped in a world where only the rich and well-connected thrive. Yet, remember, the choice to make or mark the future is in your hands. A historic opportunity awaits you to turn the demographic disaster of over population and lower growth into a demographic "miracle".

To earn this economic dividend you have to work for change. Remember, my young friends, change is the law of life and the core solution to you multitudinous problems. No nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take its women along with the men. There are two powers in the world; one is the sword and the other is the pen. There is a third power stronger than both, that of the women. You have to seize this historic opportunity with both hands and bring in women out of their Char Dewari and pull them into the workforce so that they become less dependent, more productive, more empowered, and contribute substantially and significantly to the demographic dividend.

Despite the troubles of today, remember, democracy is the only route to progress, prosperity advancement and modernity. Hence, to strengthen democracy, the youth should take part in politics and in upholding the civic rights of the people. Young people should get to the polling booth in the coming elections and these votes alone will decide whether Pakistan's future is going to be bright or dismal.

Finally, my young friends, remember, Pakistan's future is in your hands and you should rise to the occasion to make Pakistan a country, which you had helped to create, worth living and dying for. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve.

Picture Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Quaid-E-Azam_Muhammad_Ali_Jinnah,_Founder_of_Pakistan.jpg

MESSAGES to the NEXT GENERATION

The Next Generation Goes to the Ballot Box report addresses issues that are central to the 2013 elections in Pakistan. However, it is a strictly non-partisan report.

We invited representatives of all major parties to address the youth of Pakistan in this report, reaffirming their commitment to addressing the needs of the next generation and including them in the democratic process. In order to avoid any perception of bias, we have listed these messages in alphabetical order.

We also recognise the contribution made to Pakistan's young people by those parties that – due to time constraints – were not able to provide a preface for this report.



Syed Munawar Hasan
Amir,
Jamaat e Islami Pakistan

Youth is a major part of Pakistani population and our valued asset. Pakistani youth is undeniably enthusiastic and energetic. It is dire need of the hour to utilize the potential of these young men and women towards progression and development of the country.

The dilemma is that our youth is purposeless and in search of a direction. We aspire to indulge this influential segment of the society in a meaningful effort by initiating pro-youth schemes to achieve national objectives.

As a matter of policy, we will give premier importance to issues like unemployment and scarce academic opportunities. We will take initiatives to create employment while providing assistance to youth by encouraging entrepreneurship through facilitation of interest free loans. We will promote Islamic culture and traditions amongst them to get familiar with core values of Islam and discover a purpose of life.



Altaf Hussain
Founder and Leader,
Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), London

In a world where even many developed countries are struggling to fund programs to look after their fast aging population, Pakistan is blessed with a vibrant young population. The paramount question now we have to answer as Pakistanis is how to harness this enormous force that this new generation is creating.

Growing up in Karachi as a middle class youth, I myself experienced all those difficulties and challenges that our youth have to go through on almost daily basis in their lives. What I found most disturbing as a youth myself was the utter lack of recognition of the talent and potential of our youth in the eyes of our country's policymakers and political leaders. This was the principal reason, besides a few other prominent ones, that led me to establish a student party, the APMSO, (All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organisation) that eventually led to the creation of the MQM.

I want the youth of Pakistan to first develop a self-belief, a firm conviction in their own abilities. By giving two youngest ever mayors to Karachi, the biggest city in Pakistan, as well as having hundreds of young men and women elected as parliamentarians, the MQM has already proven to everyone that youth could be effective leaders.

I would implore the youth in Pakistan to become active participants in Pakistan's politics. Now that they form a majority of voters in Pakistan, the youth no longer have to rely on same old guards to bring a positive change; they can vote themselves in power. Both present and future are now on their side; they just need to realize their potential and political power.



Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif
President,
Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML N)

We all know that an estimated 103 million Pakistanis or about 63% of the population are under the age of 25 years. The harsh reality is that the few privileged become victims of the brain drain while the rest due to endemic poverty are easy preys to waywardness and terrorism. Being the progressive and forward-looking political party with the best professionals around, craving to deliver in every field, PMLN earnestly wants the youth, both boys and girls, to participate in the political process and become partners in nation-building.

Young people are a major subset of the electorate and their voices matter. In order for them to become productive members of society, the ideas, energies, and voices of young women and men are vital for the development of society. In order to address issues concerning today's youth, including health, education, environment, employment, human rights, equity and social justice, as well as peace and resolution of violent conflicts, youth voices must be heard by decision makers and that can be possible only when youth is a partner.

As far as critics of democratic process are concerned, I would only say that democracy hasn't failed in Pakistan, at all. Democracy is our future and the guarantee for our survival and progress. People need democracy so that economic policies are not set to serve vested interests but ensure development of the country. It is also only through democracy that we can engage the world and earn respect in the comity of nations.



Chaudhury Shujaat Hussain
President,
Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML Q)

For every generation there is a defining moment when they take control of their destiny in their own hands, for Pakistan's youth that moment is now. With approximately 50% of registered voters under the age of 35, the 2013 elections are the vehicle through which Pakistan's youth can, and should make themselves heard. The time has come for our youth to partake in steering Pakistan towards a future we all dream of.

As a political party, the Pakistan Muslim League is cognizant of the fact that Pakistan's youth are the backbone of the nation. Without an educated, skilled, and motivated youth with opportunities for employment and advancement, Pakistan cannot prosper. The PML's policies and programs reflect our principles for providing education, skill enhancement, health, social security and development opportunities for all.

The Pakistan Muslim League believes the driving force for our country's progress are the people, and specifically the youth of Pakistan.



Senator Jehangir Bader
Secretary General,
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

Benazir Bhutto's life and lifelong struggle gave a message to youth that dictatorial forces, no matter how mighty and brutal they are, will have to be defeated by the collective and legitimate power of masses. Forces of democracy ought not to bow-down before the might of dictatorship; dictators are destined to be defeated and will, ultimately, find their place in the dust-bin of history with everlasting condemnation and humiliating anonymity.



Imran Khan
Chairman,
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

Democracy does not just happen; it has to be brought about by individuals, groups and social actors who fight for it. Those who can bring about freedom where it is absent and justice where it is denied are chiefly young people. PTI's strength has always been the youth. I only need the youth of Pakistan to bring change, not big names or big politicians. Without any doubt, the credit of the party's popularity and success should be given to enthusiastic and passionate youngsters who are struggling day and night for PTI's ideology and their dreams to come true.

For these dreams to come true, the support of youth and their representation in policy making is essential. The passion and enthusiasm of youth gives us a hope that the future of the country rests in hands of youth. One of the most interesting things to watch from now until the conclusion of the next general elections is how the youth factor — which is PTI's strength — will play out against elite-network politics.

OVERVIEW

The first Next Generation report, which was published in 2009, brought Pakistan's young people to the centre of the debate about its future.

It received extensive coverage by the media in Pakistan and internationally, and has influenced the work of governments, political parties, academics, think tanks, civil society and journalists, while being read widely by opinion formers from the next generation itself.

This is the first report in a new series called Next Generation Voices, which will offer new evidence on how young people – defined as between 18 and 29 years of age – are shaping Pakistan.

The research will listen carefully to the opinions and beliefs of young people and use this to provide fresh insights into the opportunities of a young country, and the perils of failing to respond to the needs and aspirations of the young.

This report is based on a nationally representative survey of young people, an open source consultation, academic background papers, and a review of published data and evidence. It focuses primarily on young people within the context of the 2013 election. A full methodology can be found at the back of this report.

The report provides an insight into how well young people feel they have fared since the country last went to the polls. We explore what issues are most important to young people and how this will drive their voting behaviour:

This report will also explore in more detail how the next generation itself can make the political, economic and social conditions of Pakistan better for themselves – and the country as a whole.

In a second report, which will be published later in 2013, we will delve more deeply into the identity and aspirations of the next generation, and how young people are being shaped by the turbulence of the times they have grown up in.

We thank all those who have contributed to this research but – above all – the young people who have shared with us their hopes and fears.

KEY FINDINGS

It is time for leaders to speak directly to the next generation, bring them to the polls, and convince young people they can provide them with the opportunity and security they need to build a better future for Pakistan.

1. Young people are losing confidence in the democratic system. Leaders of all political persuasions have a duty to convince the youth that they remain committed to 'undiluted democracy' for Pakistan.

2. Young voters could have a pivotal influence on the election. There are 25 million registered next generation voters, many of whom will go the polls for the first time. Around 60% of young people plan to vote, while another 10% say they could still be persuaded to turn out on election day. Political parties must therefore fight hard to win over the next generation voter.

3. Four groups of young voters are pivotal. Urban middle class and rural lower class voters come from opposite ends of the socioeconomic spectrum, but both groups need to be inspired to play a full political role. Conservative young men, meanwhile, yearn for someone who meets their aspirations while expressing core values. Any party that can bring more housewives to vote is certain to prosper at the polls.

4. Young women face very high levels of exclusion. Women are much less educated than men and many of them spend most of their time at home. They are less politically engaged and fewer than half of them currently expect to vote, even though nearly three quarters are registered to vote. Some may be registered without knowing due to Pakistan's new computerised electoral roll.

5. A small set of issues will influence the way young people vote. They are most likely to judge leaders on their policies for tackling inflation, creating employment, improving education and healthcare, and ending poverty. Corruption, terrorism, energy and water are also important to some groups of voters.

6. Rising prices are the biggest concern for young people. When asked to identify Pakistan's greatest challenge, inflation is the dominant issue. The next generation has been shaped by its experience of increasingly expensive food, energy and other commodities. An overwhelming majority report pressure on the living standards of themselves and their families.

7. Young people are starved of opportunities. Just one in ten young people are in stable employment, while over a third are either still students, working for themselves or working as day labourers. Half of the next generation is not working – mostly women who classify themselves as 'homemakers'. As a result, a lot of young talent is going to waste.

8. Insecurity hits young people hard. When asked which events have influenced them most, young people talk about the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, the recent devastating earthquake and floods, and a host of other violent episodes. Nearly a quarter of all young people have been directly affected by violence or have been witness to a serious violent event.

9. Pakistan's politics adds to this turbulence. Young people have very low levels of confidence in the institutions – government, parliament, political parties – most responsible for setting the country's direction. In contrast, the justice system and the media have higher approval ratings, as does Pakistan's armed forces.

10. Young people are now deeply pessimistic. In our last report, we warned of high levels of pessimism among young people. Since then the situation has got worse. Very few young people believe Pakistan is heading in the right direction. The young fear for their own future as well as for that of their country.

11. The next generation has growing social and cultural influence. Young people are an economic force, but they will have a broader impact on Pakistan. The country is becoming more urban, family sizes are shrinking, and the role of women is changing. Young people are also naturally driven to experimentation and questioning authority. The result will be a very different Pakistan.

12. Across Pakistan, the generation speaks with one voice. There are important geographical differences in youth opinion, in particular between the more and less developed parts of the country. But differences should not be overplayed – young people express broadly similar views on many issues, wherever they live in Pakistan.

13. This is a deeply conservative generation. Three quarters of women describe themselves as religious or conservative and nearly two thirds of men, dwarfing the numbers of moderates and liberals. Young people have a craving for greater stability and this has influenced their political opinions. Even in urban areas, only a third of young people say they are moderate or liberal.

14. Young urbanites have a strong generational identity. In towns and cities, young people are more likely to believe they are different from their parents, although this has not yet translated into political pressure. Only a quarter of urban youth are interested in politics and only a third are excited to vote at the election.

15. A next generation middle class is emerging in Pakistan. Young people from the middle class are especially important drivers of change. There are now nearly 12 million young people in this class in Pakistan – young people who are more educated than their parents, marry later, live in better housing, earn incomes that have raised them above subsistence, and are connected by the media to each other and the rest of the world.

16. Pakistan is transforming. In the first fifty years of its existence, the country struggled to feed, clothe, and educate very large numbers of children. But now the demographic tide has turned, as large numbers of young people enter their prime productive years. For better or for worse, they will affect Pakistan.

17. It currently enjoys massive demographic opportunities. When a country has large numbers of young people, it enjoys a historic opportunity. If its youth are educated and healthy, and if they can find employment opportunities, then living standards are likely to be transformed within a generation.

18. But demography is not destiny. The costs of failing to harness the energies of youth are high. If young people are starved of opportunities, they can wreak havoc on any society, turning a demographic dividend into a demographic disaster. Sadly, Pakistan has progressed further down the wrong path since the first Next Generation report.

19. Pakistan risks growing old before it gets rich. The demographic window will not be open for much longer. By mid-century, the proportion of workers in the population will be falling and the country will be ageing fast, making it harder to care for growing numbers of the elderly. Pakistan could be one of the first countries ever to grow old before it has grown rich.

The youth of Pakistan have a pessimistic outlook today, but it is important to remember their fervour for the country is unbridled and passionate. A substantial majority of the youth still believe that they will have a role in changing the country for the better, and policy makers need to address their needs to accrue the benefits of their patriotism.

one

THE
TURNING
TIDE

The TURNING TIDE

Why young people will transform Pakistan

We cannot see what the future holds, but we do know that – for better or for worse – Pakistan is undergoing a transformation that will have far-reaching consequences for the country, the region, and the world.

And by far the most important drivers of this change are Pakistan's next generation, the young people who now carry the country's future in their hands.

A country comes of age

In 1947, there were approximately 35 million people living in what is now Pakistan.¹ Today the population is five times larger. Such rapid growth is tough on any country, as its parents cope with feeding, clothing, and educating very large numbers of children.

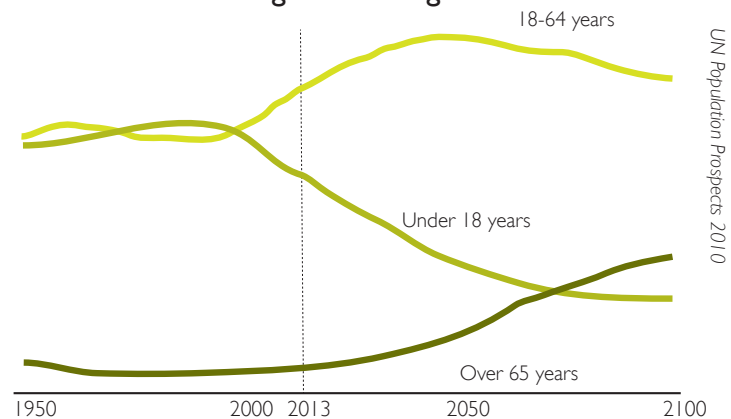
In 1990, nearly half of Pakistanis were under the age of 18, or one adult to every child. In China, in contrast, there were around two adults to every child,

while America had three adults to each child. It was much easier for these countries to provide their children with a good start in life, while also having the time and resources left over to build a strong society and economy.

But, if Pakistan was a nation of children for the first fifty years of its existence, in the 21st century it is growing up fast.

Twenty years ago, the demographic tide turned. The proportion of children in the population began to fall, while the proportion of young adults began to rise.

Watching Pakistan Age



In theory, at least, this makes everything easier.

Think of how hard it is for a large family when their children are young, and how much easier it is twenty years later, as they begin to find jobs and contribute to their family's prosperity and well-being.

And then imagine that happening to a whole country. Take China or South Korea as an example. When *their* demographic tide turned (in the mid-1970s for China and ten years

“Demography is not destiny. The demographic dividend doesn't come for free, it needs to be earned.”

earlier for South Korea), the stage was set for a new age of prosperity.

With large numbers of young people pouring into the workforce, they began to emerge as economic powerhouses.

Roughly twenty years later, their 'miracle' years began, transforming the role they play in the global economy. Pakistan now stands on the same threshold. The direction it takes over the next twenty years will determine its fate for a century or more.

Dividend or disaster

Four years ago, we published the first *Next Generation* report, which explored the influence, lives, and opinions of young people aged 18-29 years of age.

It brought to the attention of policymakers the historic opportunity that Pakistan now enjoys.²

In the report, we explained why conditions in Pakistan were ripe for a major economic breakthrough, with the window for collecting a *demographic dividend* open until the middle of the century.

But demography is not destiny. The demographic dividend doesn't come for free, it needs to be earned.

A country must educate its children and make sure they are healthy; find them jobs as they get older; provide them with opportunities to save; and offer young people ways of expressing their desire for social and political change.

The costs of failure are high, as a potential dividend turns into a demographic disaster. If young people are starved of opportunities, their frustration can wreak havoc on any society, creating the potential for high levels of crime, conflict and social unrest.³

In a demographic disaster:

- Growing numbers of young people struggle to find decent work.
- Competition for jobs, land, resources, and political patronage fuels conflict between religious, ethnic, or ideological groups.
- High levels of insecurity make it increasingly difficult for businesses to make long-term investment decisions.

- Authority figures and institutions become discredited, weakening a society's ability to build a brighter future.⁴

Growing old

Moreover, once the window of demographic opportunity closes, it does so forever.

In January 2013, China shocked the world by announcing that, after decades of increases, the number of its workers has now started to fall.⁵ According to the country's head statistician, Ma Jiantang:

In 2012, we saw a drop in the population of people of working age for the first time ever, so we need to pay serious attention to this.

China is now ageing so fast that it will be an older country than the United States before the end of the current decade, while its population will be in decline after 2025.⁶ The demographic tide will no longer be running in China's favour, with its old people predicted to double in numbers in just 25 years. Its challenge is to continue to build prosperity even as its old-age burden grows.

“Pakistan could be the first country to grow old *before* it has even begun to become rich”

Pakistan has not completed a census since 1998, making it hard to make firm predictions about its future, but it is thought that:

- Pakistan's population will peak in about fifty years' time at around 285 million, 61% higher than today.
- All future population growth will be confined to towns and cities, with the urban population in the majority by 2040.⁷
- In fifty years, nearly half of Pakistanis will be older than forty, making it as old a country as the United States.
- The demographic window will start to close around mid-century, as the proportion of workers in the population starts to fall.
- Today, only 8 million Pakistanis are over the age of 65. In fifty years, that will have risen to over 40 million and it will keep climbing steeply for the rest of the century.

These figures put into proportion what Pakistan needs to achieve over coming decades. Although its birth rates are still quite high, especially among the rural

poor, they have fallen considerably and the era of explosive population growth has now begun to draw to a close.

Soon the country will be ageing fast and it needs to be ready to deal with growing numbers of old people. By the time a baby born today grows old, Pakistanis aged over 65 will outnumber those aged under 18.⁸

This brings home how catastrophic it will be if Pakistan fails to collect its demographic dividend. Along with Bangladesh and Nepal, it still has low human development but is already well-advanced in its demographic transition.⁹

These three countries now compete for an unwelcome prize: to be the first places in the world that grow old before they have even begun to become rich.

An age of hope and insecurity

Whether the next generation makes Pakistan richer or poorer, stronger or weaker, it is certain to have a significant impact on the country's attitudes and culture.

Partly this is a question of numbers. Large generations of young people tend to gain a distinct identity simply because there are so many of them in society.

Education also plays a role. Although Pakistan's education system has many failings, young people today are better educated than their parents. In half of all Pakistani households, the most educated person is now below the age of 30, providing many young people with a platform to question or challenge their elders.¹⁰

The demographic transition also brings broader changes:

- Families become smaller, allowing parents (many of whom are themselves young people) to invest more in fewer children.
- More people live in cities, where kinship ties tend to be looser and where they are exposed to new ideas and different lifestyles.
- The role of women changes, as girls receive more education, and mothers care for fewer children and have more time for other activities.
- Rising wealth leads to the growth of a middle class, initially in urban

“It’s typical in the twenties to seem very unstable in your life, it’s the norm”

areas, that has a distinctively youthful character (see *The Next Generation Middle Class* on the next page of this report).

Then there is the influence of Pakistan’s fast growing media, the Internet and mobile phone, which have made this a globalised generation. Young people are much more aware of how their lives compare to those in other countries. They also know that they are living in a society that is of great interest to the rest of the world, as events such as the assassination of Benazir Bhutto gained widespread attention from the international media.

Finally, there is an important – and overlooked – psychological dimension. Recent research has radically changed the way we think about young people and how they develop. Scientists once believed that the brain was fully developed by the end of adolescence. They now believe that the brain is still changing fast during the twenties, allowing young people steadily to exert greater control over their emotions and improving their ability to plan for the future.¹¹

According to Jeffrey Jensen Arnett, a professor who studies the psychology of young adults:

*It’s very typical in the twenties not to know what you’re going to do and to change your mind and seem very unstable in your life. It’s the norm.*¹²

Members of the next generation sometimes feel stranded between adolescence and adulthood. Professor Arnett argues that this is a period of opportunity, but also one in which young people are most likely to be questioning their identity and to be experiencing profound feelings of insecurity.¹³

The Next Generation challenge

Demography offers only a partial window into the future.

We know that Pakistan’s population will continue to grow, but not as fast as it did in the 20th century. We know that it will be young adults, and not children, that exert a dominant influence over coming decades. Growing numbers of old people will inevitably need support as the population continues to age.

These trends are fixed, barring a truly catastrophic conflict or an unthinkable natural disaster. But there is much we don’t know about what the future holds. The demographic dividend will only be collected in full in a peaceful society, with improving institutions, and a robust economy. Much will therefore depend on the ability of Pakistan’s policymakers to release the potential of the country’s most valuable resource: the young.

In the first Next Generation report, we argued that:

*Leaders need to make the next generation their number one priority, dramatically increasing investment in young people, helping them reach their potential, supporting young families, and engaging the youth as active citizens and future leaders*¹⁴

But members of the next generation will also play a decisive role in determining Pakistan’s future, whether or not their elders are prepared to act.

So what does the next generation think about Pakistan and its future, about their own lives and their potential, and about the political priorities of a country on the verge of an election?

And how have their opinions changed in the years since we talked to them?

The Next Generation Middle Class

One of the most important global trends of recent decades is the explosive growth of a global middle class, with Homi Kharas,¹⁵ from the Brookings Institution, estimating that there could be more than 2 billion Asians living in middle class households within ten years.

The global middle class may not yet have attained a Western standard of living, but it is formed of families who have escaped subsistence, gaining the money and time to pursue a more varied and rewarding lifestyle.

Historically, middle classes have played an important role in building robust institutions, advancing civil rights, and in reducing levels of corruption. They also contribute to the development of strong business sectors and tend to save for the future, creating a pool of capital for domestic investment.

They also tend to place a high value on education for their children, which they see as a vital investment in the future and essential to maintaining their middle class status.

The Task Force wanted to understand the role the middle class is playing in Pakistan today,

and what proportion of the next generation are from the middle class. We therefore asked Dr Durr-e-Nayab, Chief of Research at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, to provide some new estimates for us.

The results are striking. Dr Nayab uses a multi-dimensional index to define class, based on data that is drawn from the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey that was conducted in 2010-11. According to her definition, middle class Pakistanis are likely to live in a house where at least one person has a college education and where the head of the household is in non-manual work; have incomes at least double the poverty line; own reasonably spacious houses and a range of consumer goods.¹⁶

Dr Nayab's research shows that the strict middle class now makes up 24% of Pakistan's population, from 19% in 2007-2008,¹⁷ with nearly 40% of urban dwellers falling into the middle class bracket. This makes the middle class a powerful economic, social and political force, especially in towns and cities.

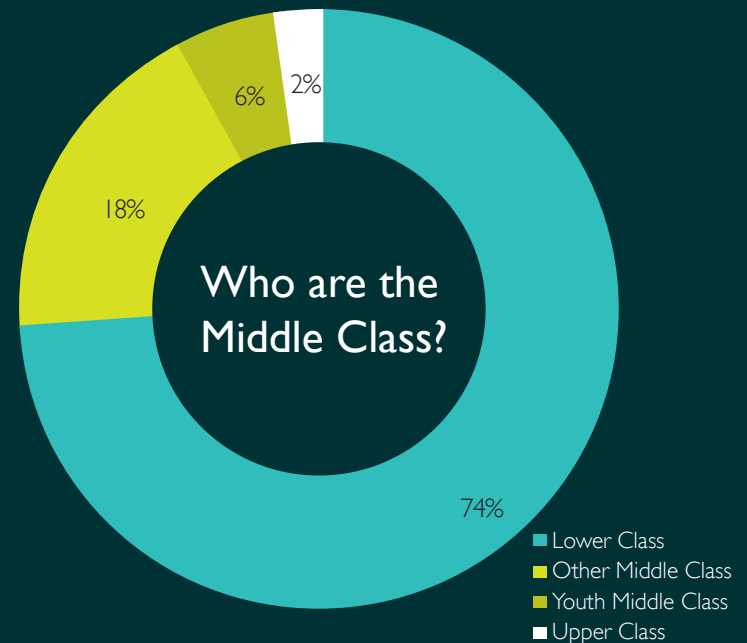
“Due to the age structure of the classes,” Dr Nayab notes, “The proportion of youth in the middle and upper classes is much larger than their respective shares in the class structure.” Almost a quarter of the Pakistan middle class are now members of the next generation.

The next generation middle class tends to be:

- From smaller, but youthful, families with fewer children but a higher proportion of people in their twenties.
- Highly educated – in 40% of middle class households, the most educated person is under thirty years of age.
- Egalitarian in education, with urban middle class women better educated than their male counterparts.

Worryingly, however, Dr Nayab’s research shows that membership of the middle class seems to be no guarantee of finding employment. Even after the age of 25 years, young people from the middle class are significantly less likely to be working than those from the lower classes, while many may stay in education simply because they don’t expect to find good jobs.

Using class and educational markers from our survey, we have explored the attitudes and opinions of a group that is roughly comparable to the middle class as defined by Dr Nayab.



There are clear signs of economic insecurity. 57% of young people from the middle class believe that their access to consumer goods is deteriorating and 76% that their access to fuel for their cars and motorcycles has got worse. In other words, many are worried that their middle class status is being eroded.

So the news on this class is both good and bad. On the one hand, this class is now large and growing, and has considerable potential to build a more prosperous Pakistan. On the other, however, these young people are starved of opportunities and worried about their future. The next generation middle class is certainly on the move. But – for now, at least, its destination is unknown.

two

A
GENERATION
ON A **KNIFE EDGE**

A GENERATION ON A KNIFE EDGE

Listening to the voices of Pakistan's young people

When we did our last survey, we provided the first portrait of Pakistan's next generation.

The picture was not an especially positive one. Young people felt they lacked the skills they needed to prosper in the modern world and, even the well-qualified were struggling to find decent work.

We also found high levels of disillusion with the political system, as young people lost faith in core institutions. They felt angry about corruption and the failure of their leaders to bring about positive change.

"This is a generation at a crossroads," we concluded. "Starved of opportunity, it feels bottled up and frustrated, trapped in a world where only the wealthy and 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."

"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 is convinced that nobody is listening."¹⁸

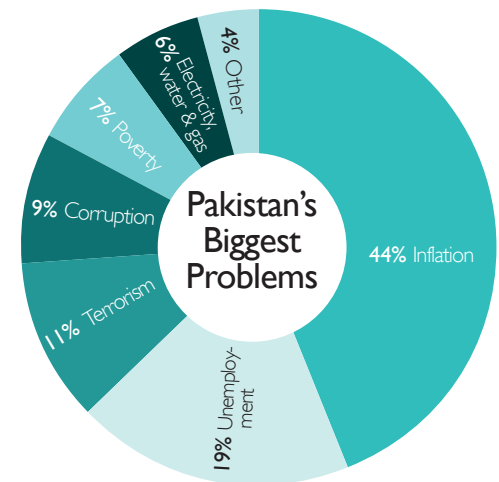
The Next Generation survey

So what has changed since our last survey?

To find out, AC Nielsen, one of the world's leading market research companies, was asked to complete a survey using a questionnaire designed by the research team.

Nielsen's fieldworkers talked to over five thousand young Pakistanis in December 2012 and January 2013, interviewing a nationally representative sample of men and women aged 18 and 29 years.

This survey allows us to report findings:



- At national level, with a very high level of confidence (a margin of error of less than 1.5%).
- For each of Pakistan's provinces, for men and women, and for urban and rural areas, with a good level of confidence (a margin of error of around 4%).

We also have data for Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), Gilgit-Baltistan, and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), although these results need to

be interpreted with a little more caution, due to a smaller population.

In addition, like all surveys in Pakistan, our results are not fully representative of those people who live in areas that are most prone to conflict, due to the need to guarantee the safety of our researchers and due to military restrictions in some cases.

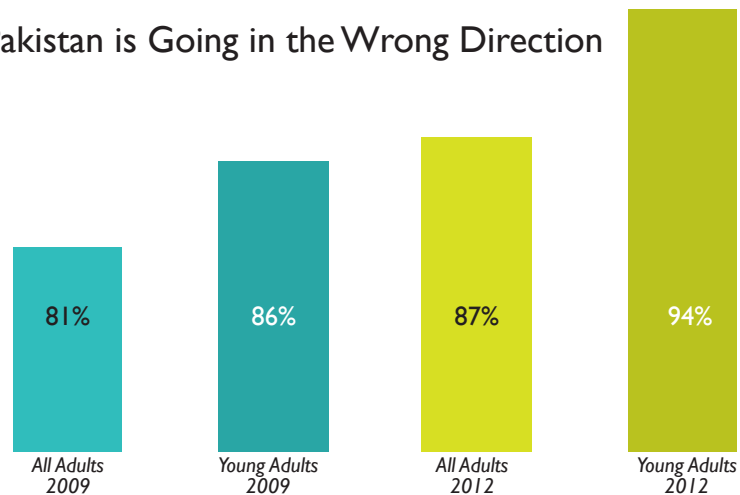
We therefore plan further qualitative research in 2013, which is designed to reach out both to the most disadvantaged communities and those young people who suffered most in terms of violence and conflict. This reflects our determination to ensure that all voices from the next generation are heard.

In this section, we focus on the national picture, while in the next chapter, we explore the different perspectives of men and women, and young people who live in different parts of Pakistan.

Hope in the future

Perhaps the most important questions in our survey are designed to explore whether or not Pakistan's next generation has confidence in the future.

Pakistan is Going in the Wrong Direction



All Adults Data – IRI Public Opinion Survey 2009:
The Nation 30 January 2013

We asked young people:

- Do you believe things in Pakistan are heading in the right direction? *and*
- Thinking about the next year, do you expect your personal economic situation will improve or worsen?

The answers to these questions do not make for happy reading.

Just 6% of the next generation believe that Pakistan is on the right track, while only one in five expect their economic situation to improve over the next year.

Moreover, we have compelling evidence to show that the next generation is becoming more pessimistic.

The IRI Survey of Public Opinion in Pakistan has been asking the general population whether they think the country is heading in the right direction since 2006.¹⁹

Their results show an equal split between optimists and pessimists until the spring of 2007, when General Pervez Musharraf suspended the Chief Justice, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry and Pakistan's lawyers took to the streets in protest.²⁰ This period also saw the siege of Lal Masjid (the Red Mosque).

Confidence in the future continued to plummet as the former President held

“Pessimism is fast becoming a defining trait of Pakistan’s next generation”

on to power, before recovering slightly as elections were announced. However, it again fell precipitously after the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, and has never really recovered.

Our survey shows that the next generation is:

- Less hopeful about the future than it was in our first survey, mainly because most of those who were undecided when asked four years' ago have lost confidence in Pakistan's future.
- Somewhat less likely than the population as a whole to believe that Pakistan is heading in the right direction.²¹

Pessimism – in other words – is fast becoming a defining trait of Pakistan's next generation.

It's the economy, economy, economy

Economic factors appear to be the most important driver in the next generation's rising pessimism.

This is unsurprising. Pakistan is still a poor country and many young people

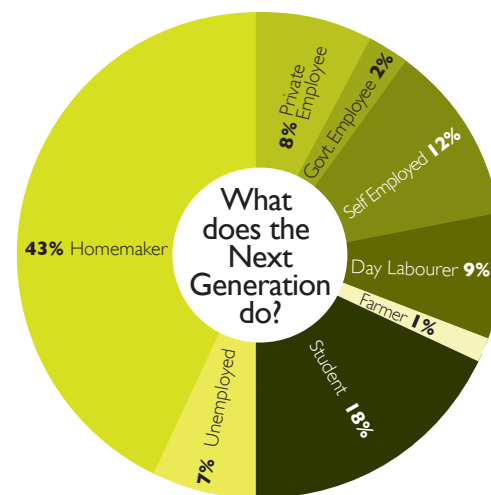
face a daily struggle to survive. They are also at a critical stage in their lives. If starved of opportunity over the next few years, many of them are unlikely to ever catch up.

Unfortunately, most young people feel that prosperity is sliding further from their grasp. Over two thirds of the next generation think they are now worse off than they were, with only 12% saying that their personal economic situation has improved.

Moreover, more young people expect the economic deterioration to continue than expect an improvement. They have, as yet, not been convinced that the economy is turning a corner:

Employment is clearly a pressing problem. According to our survey:

- Around a fifth of 18-29 year olds are still in full time education (a few students are also working).
- A third have some form of employment. However, most young people are in unstable employment, either working for themselves or for others as day labourers.
- Just one in ten have full-time, contracted jobs, with three quarters



in the private sector and one quarter working for the government.

- Half of the next generation is not working, with 7% unemployed and 43% classifying themselves as homemakers.

Such low rates of participation in the labour force are simply not compatible with Pakistan maximising its demographic opportunities.

Take China as a comparison. Chinese adults are around 40% more likely to be working than Pakistanis.²² This difference is largely accounted for by the fact that most young Chinese women work, while very few Pakistani women do.²³

The jobs crisis is hitting the next generation hard, with high levels of dissatisfaction with the availability of work. Over three quarters of young people say that there are few or no jobs available. Fewer than 10% believe the country offers them sufficient employment opportunities.

The next generation is also more pessimistic about the labour market than it was in our last survey, with over half saying that job opportunities for young people have got a lot worse in the past 12 months, compared to 30% in the earlier survey.

Even those who are in employment report long searches for work, with 36% spending more than six months looking for a job and a further 20% searching for more than two months.

The threat from rising prices

While 20% of the next generation believe that unemployment is the most important issue facing Pakistan, this is dwarfed by its dominant challenge: *rising prices*.

Almost half of those in the survey identify inflation – and the related issue of a lack of electricity, water, and gas – as the country's biggest problem. This is unsurprising given that Pakistan is stuck in what the State Bank describes as a persistent "low growth high-inflation environment."²⁴

Anyone in their late teens or twenties today has been shaped by the surge in prices that began in 2004 and intensified in 2008, when the inflation rate hit 25%.²⁵ For much of a decade now, inflation has hit living standards hard, with the greatest pressure on commodities that are essential to life. Food prices rose by 34% in 2008,²⁶ while demand for energy outstripped supply around 2006 and has been subject to ad hoc rationing ever since.²⁷ Water is also in short supply.²⁸

The resource crisis has global roots, with prices on world markets spiralling in recent years. Pakistan is especially vulnerable to these forces. It has little arable land to feed a burgeoning population and must import food to survive.²⁹

But still hunger is a fact of life for large numbers of families, with 58% not sure

they will be able to buy enough food in the coming weeks, and half of these suffering hunger on a regular basis.³⁰ The impact of this is dramatic. Two thirds of Pakistani children fail to get enough food to grow normally, with more than one in five severely stunted.³¹

Nor can anyone fail to be aware of the severity of energy scarcity in Pakistan. Few of the rural poor have any access to modern energy sources,³² while electricity loadshedding and gas shortages are an ever-present threat both to the economy and to quality of life.³³

Young people are highly attuned to these pressures. Many of them will not have been fed properly as children and, all but the very richest, will have suffered from energy scarcity.

Our survey provides clear evidence of the pressure on their living standards. Only a small minority believe their family has better access to key commodities than at the time of the last election, with the situation especially bad for energy.

Nearly four in five young people report worsening access to fuel and electricity since 2008. It seems highly unlikely that

“While economic issues are paramount, there is a broader political malaise.”

the mood of the next generation will improve until the energy crisis can be brought to an end.

Giving democracy a chance?

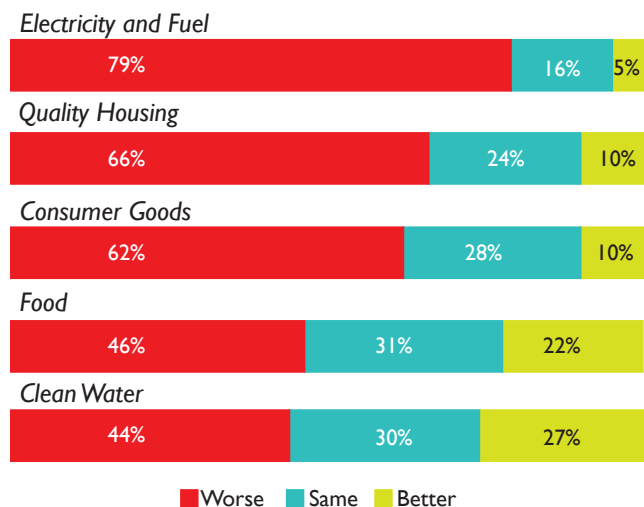
While economic issues are clearly important, our survey includes evidence of a broader political malaise.

Few believe the way the country is governed is improving, either at national, provincial or local levels. In contrast, over half of young people believe the justice system performs better today than it did five years ago.

When we last talked to young people, confidence in institutions such as parliament and political parties was weak. There has been no improvement since the last survey and there is now a marked gulf in trust between political and non-political institutions (see *Perceptions of Institutions* on the next page of this report).

This is reflected in a generally negative perception of the impact

Access to Resources



of democracy on Pakistan. Fewer than a quarter agree that democracy has benefited either themselves and their families, or Pakistan as a whole, while over half disagree (the rest are neutral).

This finding is broadly consistent with the experience of other countries that have experienced a democratic transition. In Eastern Europe, for example, there was very strong enthusiasm for democracy after the fall of the Berlin Wall, but two decades later,

the public in most countries was much more sceptical.³⁴

According to the Pew Research Center, the speed of political change is usually slower and more messy than voters would like.³⁵ It can also take time to translate into rising living standards, especially when governments face adverse global forces over which it has little control.

The patience of the next generation therefore becomes an important factor: Are they prepared

Perceptions of Institutions

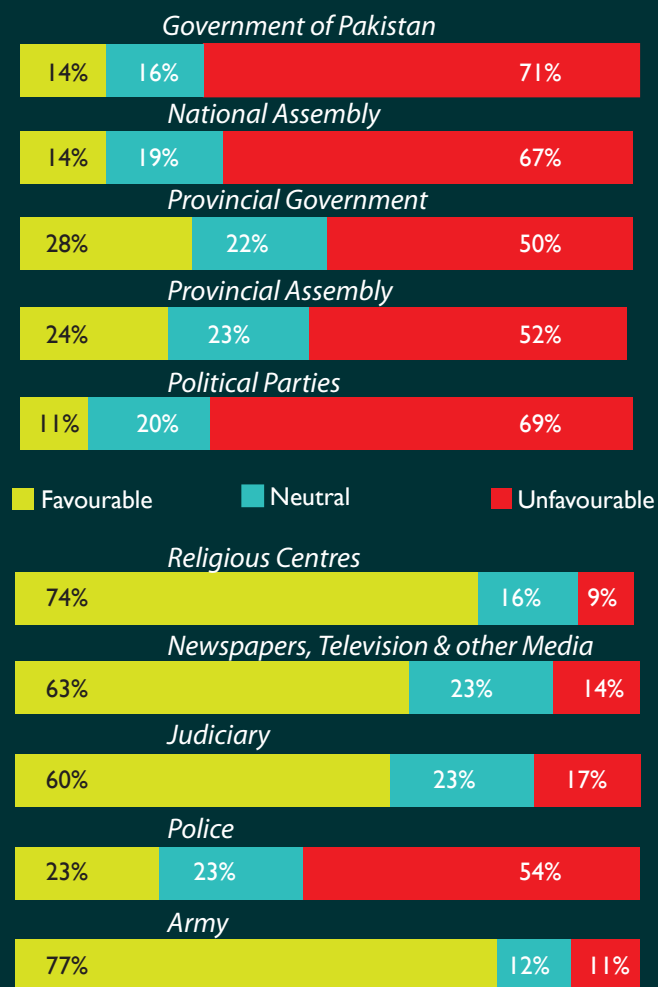
We asked the next generation how they felt about some of Pakistan's most important institutions.

Opinion on political institutions is highly unfavourable, and only slightly less so at provincial than national level. Confidence in the national government has increased somewhat since our last survey, but approval ratings remain low.

This crisis of leadership is not confined to Pakistan, of course. According to the Edelman Trust barometer, the political class tends to be less trusted than business, civil society, or the media in most countries in the world.³⁶

Within Pakistan, the next generation is suspicious, not just of federal and provincial governments, but also national and provincial assemblies, and – above all – political parties. Local elders (not shown in the graph) remain the only authority figures who are more broadly trusted.

Non-political institutions are viewed more favourably than political ones, with the exception of the police. The media, religious centres, judiciary, and army are all regarded favourably by more than half of Pakistan's young people.



The army continues to command widespread approval, although favourability ratings are lower in some parts of the country (Balochistan, AJK, and FATA). Some young people, of course, value the army primarily for its ability to provide protection for a democratic nation. Others still want it to take a more active political role.

to give time for change to happen? Can they afford to wait for the good times to arrive? How willing are they to continue to give democracy a chance?

An age of insecurity

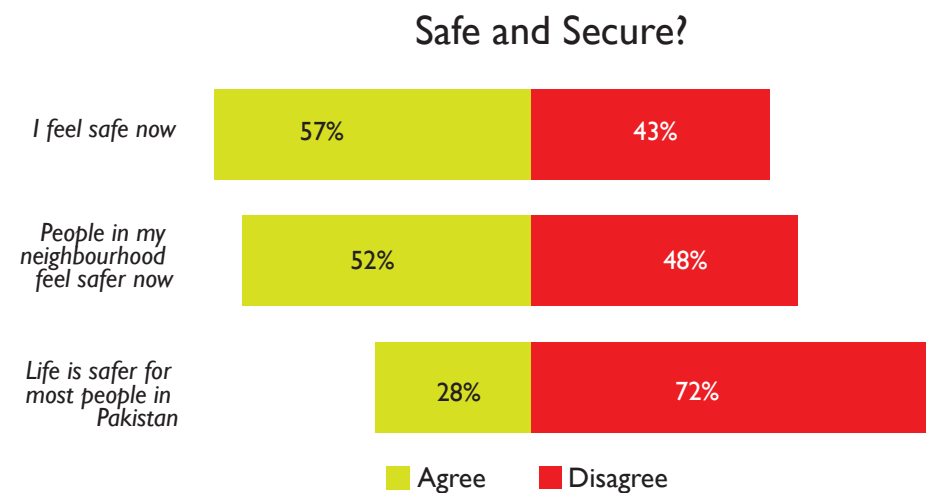
While globally, some believe that terrorism is Pakistan's *greatest* problem, relatively few members of the next generation share this view.

Their focus is squarely on core economic issues, and when they think about threats to the country's future, they are as likely to worry about corruption as they are about terror.

However, it is undeniable that the identity of this generation of young people has been heavily influenced by the instability that has gripped the country over the past decade.

In our survey, we asked young people to tell us about the most important events that have happened in their lifetimes.

Three stand out. The assassination of Benazir Bhutto tops the list. It is followed by the earthquakes of 2005, which killed over 87,000 people and left millions



homeless.³⁷ The third event is another natural disaster: the floods of 2010-11, which affected 5 million people.³⁸

Around a quarter of all young people spontaneously mention these as formative events in their lives. While no other single incident is mentioned by more than 5% of the next generation, the majority of other formative events are violent in nature. This is a generation that has repeatedly been tested by turbulence and stress.

Often, the feelings of insecurity strike close to home. Around a quarter of

those interviewed have personal experience of violence and conflict, or have a family member or friend who has been a victim.

A substantial number – around a third – say they feel less safe than at the last election, although slightly more feel their personal security has improved. The next generation is roughly split between those who think their communities are more or less secure than they were.

But when they look at Pakistan as a whole, there is a clear consensus that security is deteriorating. More than half

of young people think the country is less safe than it was in 2008, while only one in five agree that life is safer for most Pakistanis.

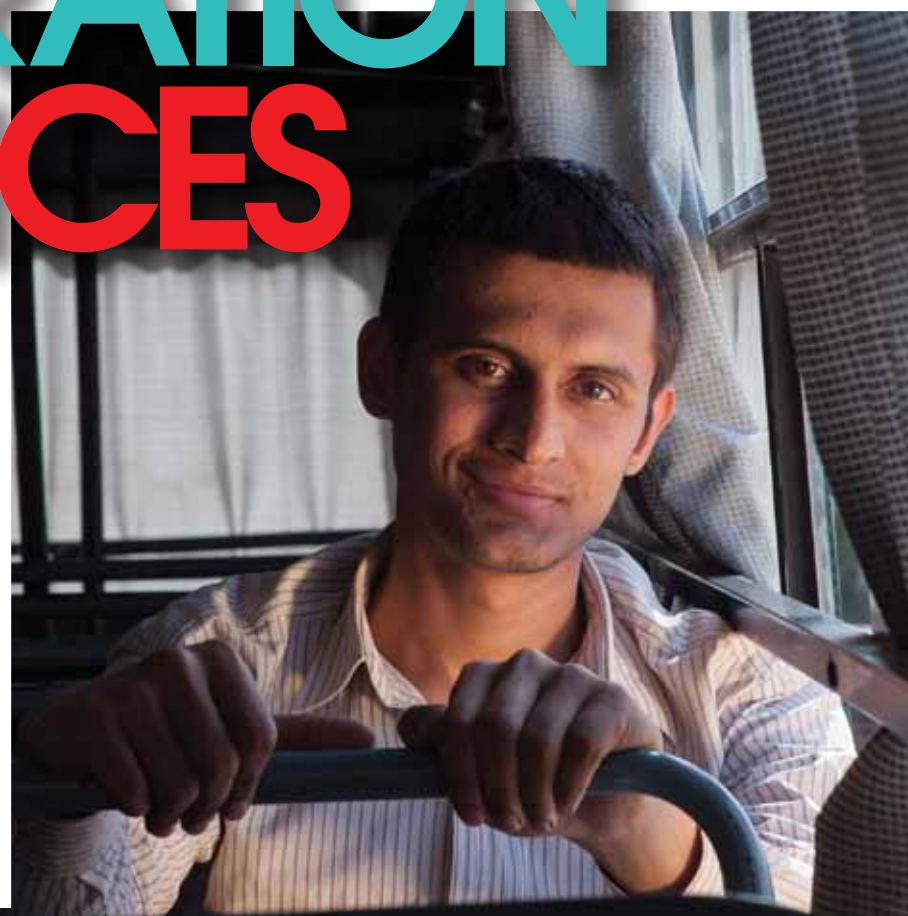
An interlocking crisis

In our last survey, we described Pakistan's young people as a generation in peril. Our new research shows that the danger is deepening.

As a result, Pakistan's next generation remains on a knife edge. It is far from too late to unleash its potential, but time is beginning to run out.



NEXT GENERATION VOICES





HOW IS THE NEXT GENERATION UNIQUE?

“I think young people are more energetic, educated and committed to make a positive image in the future prospects of the country”

Fahad Shaikh, 25 years old, Karachi

We asked the young people who participated in our open consultation to describe ways in which the next generation is different or unique.

Two words sum up the responses: technology and education.

Even in tribal regions, reports Sami Ullah, from FATA, “young people are using more advanced technologies than older ones. They have more access to globalisation through media and education.”

Young people believe they have the flexibility, the energy and the creativity to challenge the traditions of an older generation.

“We are more open minded than older generations and we think out of the box. Our old generation is restricted in its thinking,” says a Muhammad Usman, a student from Rawalpindi.

“Having grown up with more independence than earlier generations,” argues Rabia Waqar, “we balance individualism with family values.”

Young people have grown up in a time of turbulence and some believe this is what defines them. Many argue that they are more politically savvy and better equipped to drive change as a result.

But not all are so sure their generation has what it takes to make Pakistan a better place.

According to Fatima Irfan, a young woman from Sialkot, “the older generation lacked education but was literate. We are illiterate in spite of being educated.”

Syeda Khadija Murtaza believes the next generation is innovative mainly in its laziness, while an anonymous respondent describes his generation as too ‘dumb’ to do its own research or to seek its own truth in the Holy Scriptures.

Talha Khurshid Siddiqui has his own perspective on the next generation's lack of direction.

“This generation is crying for change but don't even know what real change is,” he writes.



WHAT ROLE WILL YOUNG PEOPLE PLAY IN THE ELECTIONS?

“They will participate and vote actively in comparison to any elections in the past.”

Roshna Khan, 24 years old, Manshera

Many of the next generation members who participated in our consultation are clearly excited about the election.

These will be the first elections in which youth has been properly mobilised, one argues. “I see people especially my generation showing interest in elections like never before,” says Arslan Tahir Mian. “Youth are the key drivers of change in our society,” he continues.

“This is an election of youth,” says Waqas, a student from Sheikhpura.

He speaks for many young people, who “want change in Pakistan and we will actively participate in the forthcoming elections”, says Talha Mahmood, Karachi.

Others, however, are more ambivalent, struggling to find a political platform that appeals to them.

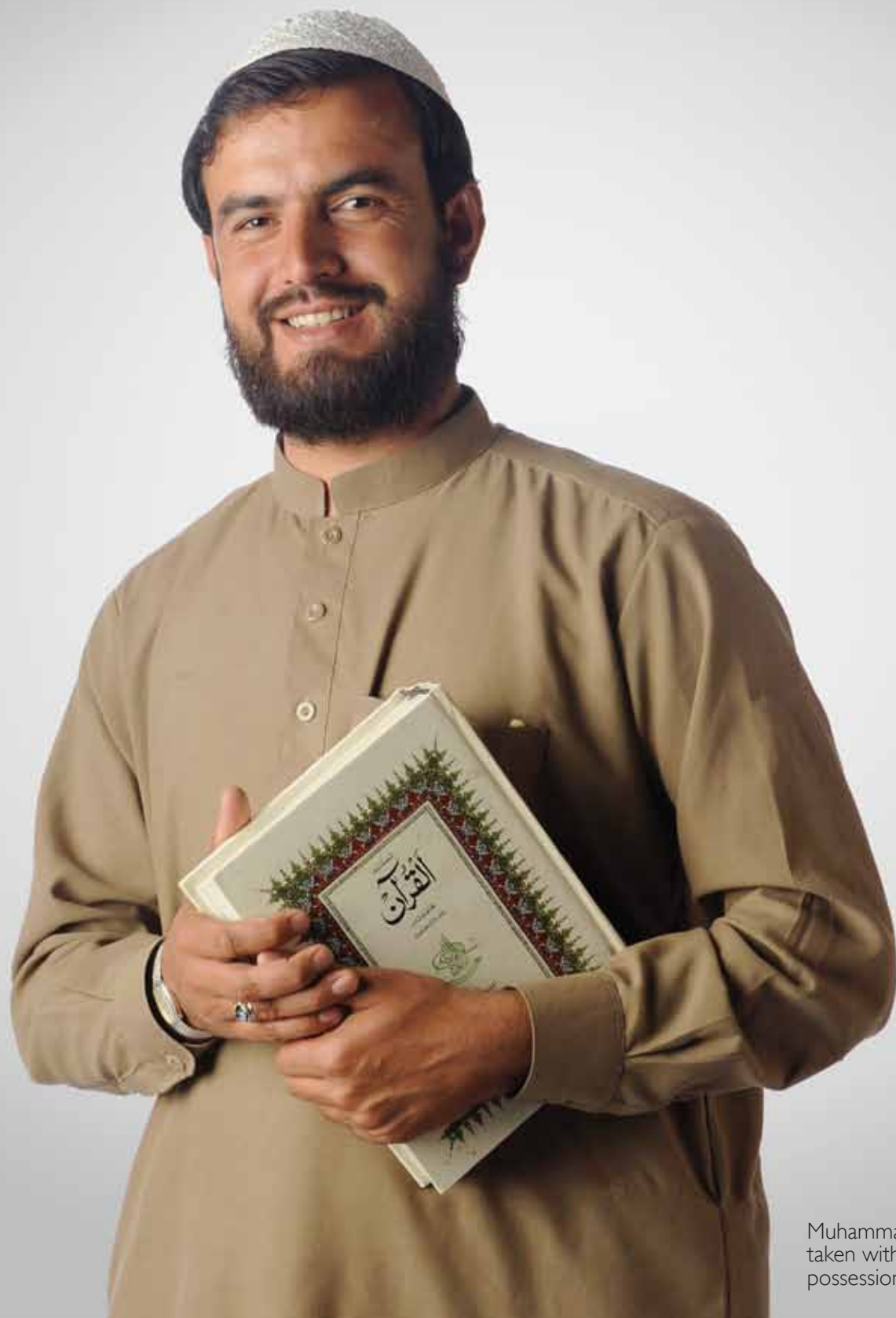
S Faizaan Ahab, self-employed and from Lahore, says “I am not excited. In fact, I am still confused as to which party I'm supporting.”

Some argue that this disaffection is pushing even highly educated young people away from politics. “It's a quick sand with crocodiles,” Hassan Yousafzai argues.

Muhammad Ashfaq, a professional from Karachi, agrees. He thinks “laptop and ipod users” are not in the mood to queue for hours to vote. The social media generation, in other words, may not engage with the election.

Some are disaffected by the whole process. Elections are just a “coronation ceremony of who's next in line to pillage the masses and beauty of Pakistan and the people and the world at large,” says one respondent, who wanted to remain anonymous.

But not everyone is so pessimistic – Umey Aymen, a student from Quetta, believes “The youth is more clued up and they understand that only their vote can bring the difference that they have been waiting for.”



Muhammad chose to have his portrait taken with the Koran, as his most valued possession.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE FOR DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN?

“Unless the attitude of politicians changes towards building Pakistan, only then it’s fruitful, otherwise it is not a democracy.”

Muhammad Bahadur, 26 years old, Pishin

Many members of the next generation believe passionately in the future of democracy in Pakistan.

“It’s great, we as a nation have learnt lessons,” writes Syed Ali Hussain Bokhai. “The worst form of democracy is far better than a dictatorship.”

“Democracy is the best revenge, I think,” says Muhammad Akif Mansha, a student from Karachi. “Only democracy will bring peace to Pakistan.”

But sentiment about democracy is mixed. Some believe the future for the democratic system is bright, especially if “broad-minded youth take part in politics” says Shayan Ahmad Khan, Peshawar, and as more people emerge who “speak for the rights” an anonymous respondent says.

However, others are more pessimistic. “Democracy in Pakistan has to be more than just elections,” argues Muhammad Zarrar Saeed,

while another points out democracy will always be precarious until Pakistan has stronger institutions.

Many argue that Pakistan does not have a proper democracy. It’s a “controlled democracy” says Jawaad Bin Mansoor, where the elites fool the people. Or it’s “a democracy which actually is simple dictatorship.” says Salman Waqar.

Some are disappointed in democracy’s failure to deliver. Military rule has its supporters. “Pakistan was developing and progressing well during the dictatorship. Now there is no electricity, no gas, no water and most important of all there is no law in this country.” says Waqas Razzaq, a male student from Rawalpindi.

Others prefer an Islamic system, believing it less vulnerable to corruption. “As a Muslim, I believe in Khalifa rule. Democracy is like giving your country and faith to America.” Muhammad Usama argues.



DO YOU THINK THE NEXT GENERATION CAN SHAPE PAKISTAN'S FUTURE?

“Yes – being a medical student, I can bring a change in the deteriorating health sector of Pakistan.”

Zunaira Abdul Ghaffar, 21 years old, Karachi

Yes – I am a mother and I think **yes I can** in bringing up my baby. *Arshia Faraz, Karachi*

Yes – I am currently an **engineering** student and with my knowledge and technical skill, I will try to do my best in the projects in Pakistan and bring it at par to the developed nations of the world. *Sharjeel Larik, Islamabad*

Yes – I'm the student of **international relations** and my aim is to change the foreign policy of Pakistan. *Zulfiqar Ali Haider, Peshawar*

Yes – by serving Pakistan through **army**. *Faizan Shakir, Karachi*

Yes – by becoming a successful **entrepreneur**. I'm already handling 3 of my own businesses. Being a girl it sure is a challenge. *Sarosh Ghous, Rawalpindi*

Yes – I can serve Pakistan as a **teacher** by enlightening the talented brains of young students. *Muhammad Afzal, Tank*

Yes – I can influence Pakistan's future, just give me one chance and make me a president. *Khalid Rahim, Peshawar*

No – because **corruption** is the main reason Pakistan is not able to meet the merit. *Ali, Islamabad*

No – we have made such a system that a good responsible man can't stand up for what he believes in, not even basic **human rights**. *Aneeq Ali Khan, Lahore*

No – because my potential was **destroyed** by this education in Pakistan. *Taimoor, TOPI*

No – because Pakistan's future is not in the hands of individuals, it is in the hands of our **mind set**, constraints, and our inability to progress. *Shehroze Ameen, Rawalpindi*

No – I can't because I am a **Baloch**. *Bebagar Baloch, Islamabad*

No – because there are no chances for people like me, as I am not from the **elite class**. It will be more than enough that I can influence my own future in this so-called democratic country. *Muhib Ullah Kakar, Islamabad*

No – because what Pakistan needs is a true leader not someone like me who sits at a computer and gives **opinions**. *Dr Minhaj Hassan, Islamabad*

three

THE
NEXT
GENERATION
ACROSS **PAKISTAN**

THE NEXT GENERATION ACROSS PAKISTAN

How opinions vary among young people

The next generation is – without doubt – a highly diverse group.

All its members have one thing in common: age. They are all 18 or older and have yet to reach their thirtieth birthday. But much divides them. Some are lower class, some are upper class, and some are middle class. There are men and women in a country that has a very deep gender divide.³⁹ And young people are spread across a country of great ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity.

Our survey, however, shows that the opinions and beliefs of the next generation are broadly consistent throughout Pakistan. Men and women, and urban and rural young people are equally pessimistic, for example.

It is only at a geographical level that we find a larger gap, with young people from Balochistan and Punjab more pessimistic, and those from Sindh and FATA less so. The differences are still

relatively small, however, and everywhere optimists are easily outnumbered by pessimists.

That said, there are some significant attitudinal divergences between groups. This chapter summarises some of the main trends, providing a deeper insight into what different members of the next generation think, and why.

The gender divide

There is, of course, a very marked divide in the lives that young men and women lead in Pakistan:

- Women are *much* less likely to be educated than men, with a third saying they have received no education at all, more than double the number of men.
- Women marry earlier. While only a third of young men are married by the age of thirty, 60% of women are.

- Women are overwhelmingly likely to describe themselves as homemakers. 86% of all women fall into this category (a third of this group are unmarried women who care for families at home).

Next generation women are half as likely to still be in full-time education as their male counterparts, while fewer than 4% of young women say they are working. While the Government of Pakistan estimates 22% of women above the age of 15 are employed, many of these are probably engaged in informal work and only on an occasional basis, especially in rural areas.⁴⁰ Our survey shows that the majority of young women consider themselves primarily to be homemakers.

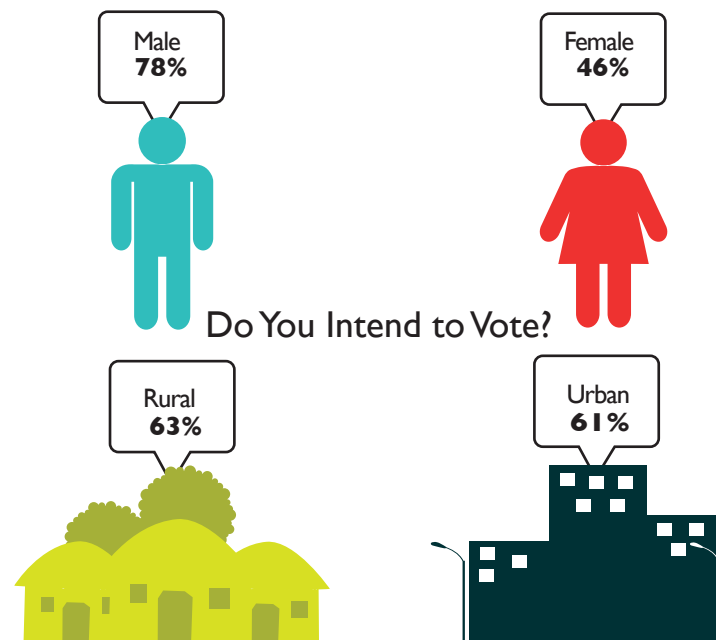
Women are unhappy about the limited job opportunities that are available to them, with more women than men

expressing an unfavourable opinion about the state of the labour market and with only 5% thinking there are enough jobs on offer.

They also pay close attention to the economic issues that hit closest to home. They are more sensitive than men to the impact of inflation, with half identifying this as the most important issue facing Pakistan, and are more concerned about poverty. Men, in contrast, tend to be somewhat more concerned about issues such as corruption.

Women have very different social networks from men. They are more likely to spend a lot of time with family members and *much* less likely to spend time with friends. Many feel they have little control of their lives, with nearly half of women who express an opinion saying important decisions are taken for them by others, compared to a third of men.

As a result, women tend to be less politically engaged and to be more reticent about expressing opinions on these issues to our researchers. Nearly twice as many women as men say they have no interest in politics at all,



with fewer than half of young women expecting to vote.

As we will argue in the final chapter of this report, this makes young women a potential game changer – if there is any party that can persuade more of them (or at least more of those who are registered) to make their voices heard on election day.

Between Urban and Rural

Due to the lack of a recent census, no-one really knows how many people live in Pakistan's towns and cities.

However, our best estimate suggests that the country's urban population is ten times larger than it was in 1947, and that it will double again over the next thirty years.⁴¹ Pakistan now has eight cities with a population of more

“Women are much less likely to spend their time with friends than men.”

than a million people, while Karachi became one of the world’s twenty largest cities in the early 1990s, and is likely to enter the top ten sometime in the next few years.

Urbanisation has a dramatic impact on any country. Towns and cities have younger, richer populations. Families are smaller and women more likely to be educated and to vote. Urban citizens are less tightly bound by tradition. Levels of innovation tend to be higher and the largest cities usually play a vital economic role.

These trends are reflected in the next generation research. In urban areas, young people are marrying later and are more educated, with more than a third now part of the middle class.⁴² Employment levels are roughly comparable in urban and rural areas, but a much greater proportion of rural workers are in insecure work.

Half of urban dwellers now believe that conflict between ethnic and religious groups is an extremely serious threat to Pakistan. However, it is important to underline that, although perceptions of insecurity seem to be more

pronounced in urban areas, the *reality* is quite different. Rural young people are more than twice as likely to have been directly affected by violence or to have witnessed a violent event (see *Conflict and Violence and the Next Generation* on page 34).

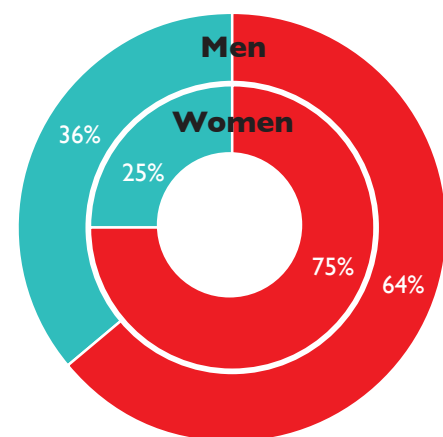
As expected, rural young people are more likely to describe themselves as religious or conservative than their urban counterpart. But this does not make towns and cities a bastion of secular sentiment. 63% of urban young people fall into the religious-conservative category.

Urbanites are likely to see themselves as different from their elders, with more than half believing the next generation is a unique one and nearly 70% expecting to have a better life than their parents. A distinct generational identity seems to be emerging in urban areas.

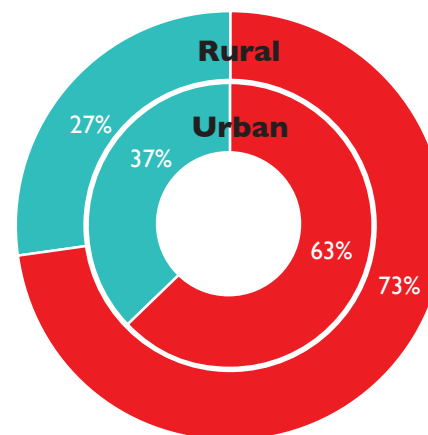
So are young urban Pakistanis likely to emerge as a powerful force for change?

At the moment, the answer would seem to be no, with only a quarter of urban young people saying they are interested in politics. But that could

How Conservative are the Next Generation?



■ Religious/Conservative ■ Moderate/Liberal



change quickly. History has shown that new political movements emerge suddenly, despite high levels of apathy and political disengagement.

The urban youth – especially those from the middle class – are highly influenced by whether they believe they can change Pakistan for the better. Anyone who can give them hope will unleash a powerful political force.

A Tour of Pakistan

Our survey provides a wealth of data on Pakistan's geographical diversity – so much so that it is hard to cover it all in a short report.

We have therefore provided presentations of the data for each province and area, and have published them online at www.nextgeneration.com.pk. Readers who are interested in reviewing the data for Balochistan, say, are invited to visit this address.

In this section, we therefore summarise some of the main trends for each province, and for FATA, AJK, and Gilgit-Baltistan.

Important demographic differences emerge at a geographical level. Take two indicators: likelihood of marriage and proportion of young people who have not received any education. The country can be broken down into three broad groups:

- In Balochistan and FATA, young people are likely to have married early and more than 40% have no education.
- In AJK and Gilgit-Baltistan, a majority of the next generation are unmarried, and fewer than 15% are uneducated.
- Punjab, Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa sit in between these groups for these indicators.

Young people from all parts of Pakistan are pessimistic about their economic prospects and about the country's future direction. Unemployment is ranked as the second most important issue facing Pakistan in all provinces.

More young people from Sindh, however, are likely to believe their economic situation has improved since the last election, although a majority still thinks it has worsened. They are also

more positive than the national average about the availability of jobs.

Punjab's youth are most disappointed in their economic progress, with 74% seeing a deterioration in their prospects and 81% believing there are few or no jobs available. However, they tend to be somewhat more positive about politics at a provincial level than other provinces.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa stands out as the province where young people are around twice as likely than other provinces to feel that they personally, their community, and Pakistan have benefited from democracy. In Balochistan, however, we find deep pessimism about the ability of politicians to deliver – this is the only province where people are less positive about provincial than national politics.

In general, FATA, AJK, and Gilgit-Baltistan tend to be somewhat more positive than the four provinces across the next generation survey as a whole. In FATA, we see:

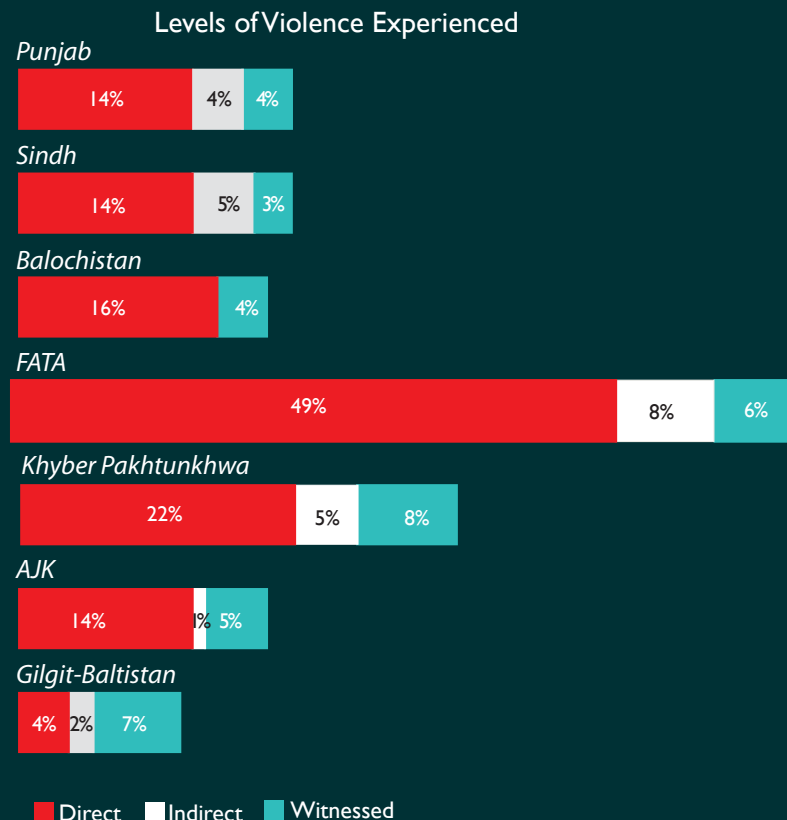
- Relatively low levels of education, connection to the media, and likelihood of voting, with the latter 20% below the average for Pakistan.

Conflict and Violence and the Next Generation

In recent years, Pakistan has been gripped by series of conflicts that have had an enormous impact on ordinary people. These problems are complex, widespread, and serious when compared to other countries. In the Global Peace Index, Pakistan ranks 149th of 158 countries and other indices provide similar evidence of its comparable lack of stability.⁴³

Levels of violence are high. According to the World Development Report 2011, Pakistan suffered more than 11,000 battle-related deaths between 2000 and 2008.⁴⁴ Since then, there has been no let-up in the violence, with an average of approximately 1,000 terrorist incidents each year.⁴⁵ This led to the deaths of 9,865 civilians, 2,957 members of the security forces, and 18,831 terrorists and insurgents.⁴⁶

Other forms of violence are also extremely serious. Nearly 80,000 people are reported to have died from natural disasters between 2000 and 2009. Pakistan's murder rate is six times higher than China's.⁴⁷ While statistics are



notoriously hard to gather; women in Pakistan suffer unacceptable levels of domestic abuse, with one study estimating that more than 70% of women suffer some form of abuse.⁴⁸

Our study confirms that violence and conflict are ever-present in young people's lives and have had a profound impact on the evolution of the next generation. Nearly a quarter of all young people have been affected by violence, with 15% a victim themselves, 4% having had a family member hurt or injured, and 4% having been witness to a serious violent event.

Levels of violence in some parts of the country are even higher, with 62% of young people in FATA saying they have been affected and 35% in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In Balochistan, 80% of young people who are affected by conflict, have been a direct victim. Gilgit-Baltistan stands out as most peaceful, with young people approximately half as likely to have been affected as in the rest of the country.

Men are twice as likely to have been affected by violence than females, although levels of domestic and sexual violence are likely to be significantly underreported in a survey of this type, especially in cases where interviewers were not able to talk to women on their own.

According to young people, the most important cause of conflict in urban areas is political rivalry, a worrying finding in the run up

to an election and in its aftermath when new political realities are reflected on the ground. Land disputes and religious extremism are the other leading causes of violence, with honour disputes, ethnic conflict, domestic violence, and inheritance disputes in the next rank.

In rural areas, land disputes are the leading cause of conflict, followed by political rivalry. Domestic violence, honour disputes, inheritance issues, and ethnic conflict are important, second-rank factors.

Young people from Sindh are most likely to believe that conflict is now so serious that it threatens Pakistan's existence, followed by those from FATA, who still have a somewhat greater faith that conflict between ethnic and religious groups can be brought under control.

Women are much more pessimistic than men about Pakistan's ability to resolve conflict, as are young people who live in urban areas. Overall 21% of the next generation regard ethnic and religious conflict as so deep-seated it now threatens Pakistan's future, while a further 24% believe it is a serious threat to peace, but one that can still be solved.

One in ten young Pakistanis expects an upsurge in violence during the elections, with a third not sure whether violence will get worse or not. Fears of election-related violence are generally stronger in urban than rural areas.

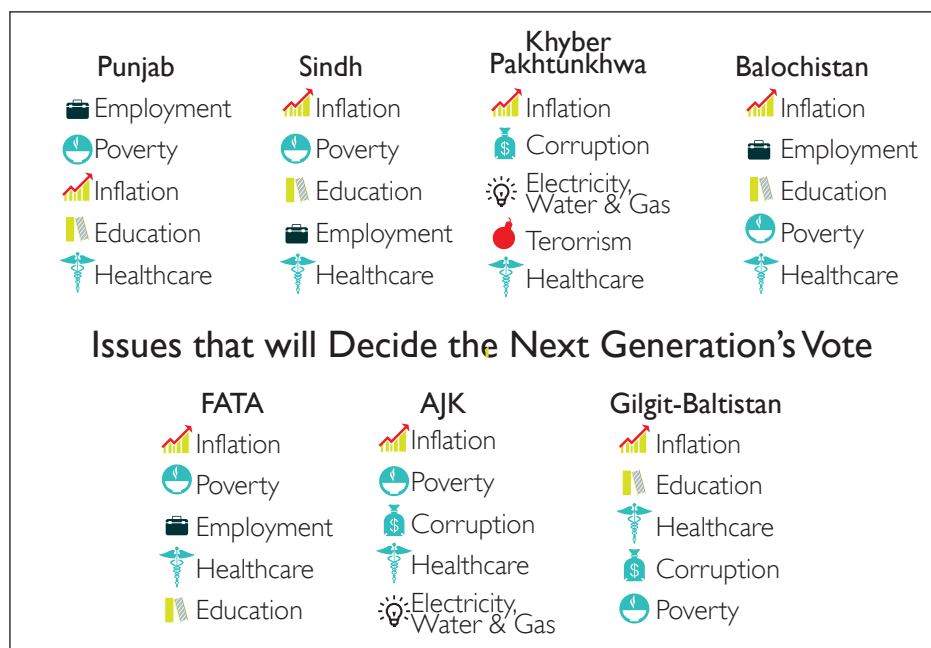
- High levels of enthusiasm for democracy, and much greater scepticism about both the army and the justice system than in the rest of Pakistan.

- Strong concerns that people of their religious and ethnic identity are not being treated fairly in Pakistan.

Some caution is needed in interpreting FATA's results, however. A much higher proportion of young people there answer 'don't know' to survey questions than in the rest of Pakistan. Our results are also likely to have some bias towards more peaceful areas, due to the inaccessibility of the least secure parts of the province to researchers.

AJK and Gilgit-Baltistan emerge as the parts of Pakistan where young people are most optimistic about the future. They also tend to be more positive about institutions and have greater levels of political engagement.

Twice as many young people interested in politics than in the rest of Pakistan are in these areas, while more than 90% of young people plan to vote, compared to 60% of likely voters in Pakistan as a whole.



A generation with one voice

Despite the differences discussed in this chapter, it is clear that the next generation largely speaks with one voice.

Women are much more isolated and politically disengaged than men, but they form perhaps the most important pool of undecided voters.

In urban areas, a youthful middle class is emerging, but it is often conservative in its attitudes and unsettled by a sense of

both economic and physical insecurity. It may prove a forceful lobby for change in the future, but at the moment, it is yet to cohere as a political force.

Geographically, there are differences between more or less developed parts of Pakistan, but these should not be overplayed.

As the diagram on this page shows, all across Pakistan the same issues will motivate the next generation to vote at the polls: inflation, employment, education, poverty, and healthcare.

Corruption, terrorism, and energy and water are also 'top five' issues in some parts of the country.

So will parties succeed in connecting with young voters on the challenges they care most about? Will they persuade a generation that is deeply pessimistic that they can deliver a brighter future? And how influential will the next generation be when it goes to the polls?

We attempt to answer these questions in the next, and concluding, chapter of this report.

four

**NEXT
GENERATION**
AT THE
BALLOT BOX

NEXT GENERATION at the **BALLOT BOX**

How young people shape Pakistan's politics

This should be a golden age for Pakistan.

After decades of extremely fast population growth, the demographic tide has turned. Pakistan has youth on its side, giving it increased capacity for economic growth.

But this potential is far from being realised. When we first drew attention to the next generation four years ago, we set out four criteria that would show Pakistan faced a demographic disaster. New research presented in this report demonstrates that risk in each of these areas continues to grow.

First, growing numbers of young people are competing for very few employment opportunities. The next generation is starved of work.

Second, competition for land, resources, jobs and political patronage is growing. In our survey, the next generation describes these factors as the greatest threat to the country's security.

Third, incentives to invest in Pakistan's future are low, while risks are high, with

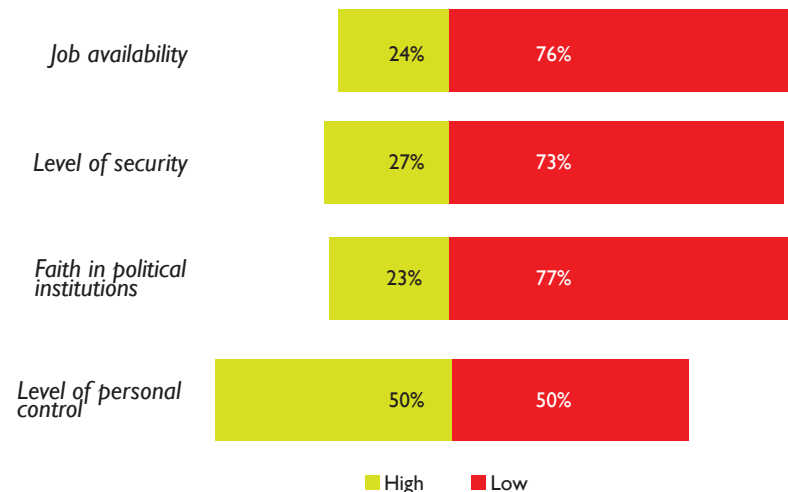
the country scoring poorly on these factors when compared to global competitors.⁴⁹ As a result, business is too weak to capitalise on the opportunity the next generation provides.

Finally, faith in authority figures and institutions has collapsed and young people have lost confidence in the future. The next generation no longer has faith in the people who lead Pakistan.

The evidence is unequivocal. Far from collecting its demographic dividend, Pakistan continues to advance further down the road to demographic disaster. The next generation is increasingly gripped by a profound feeling of helplessness and young people do not feel in control of their own destinies.

Until young people become more optimistic, there is little chance this generation's potential will be fulfilled.

Heading for Demographic Disaster?



“Until young people become more optimistic, there is little chance this generation’s potential will be fulfilled.”

Responding to the young

We are also deeply concerned by the lack of an effective response to the crisis affecting the next generation.

In our last report, we urged Pakistan’s leaders to make young people their number one priority. Since then, some have made efforts to reach out to the next generation. Commentators have argued that this could be Pakistan’s first ‘youth election.’

But the young need more than words. We are yet to see the investment that the next generation so desperately needs. Pakistan is gripped by an education emergency, with consequences even more long-lasting than an earthquake or flood.

Too few of the young have the skills they need to thrive in a global marketplace, even though they must compete against highly educated workforces elsewhere in the region.

Nor have young people been systematically engaged as active citizens and future leaders, despite sporadic efforts to bring a new generation to the forefront of political and economic life.

However, many young Pakistanis are now heavily influenced by the media (see *Next Generation Media* on the next page), with a growing minority connected to social networks. Mobile phones give almost half of young people new power to communicate with each other – and members of this group are more likely to be politically aware.

The next generation still has the potential to play an important role in any election for three main reasons.

- First time voters are disproportionately young.
- Young voters also tend to be both aspirational and idealistic, placing demands on politicians to deliver change.
- Finally, some political parties may struggle to connect with a new generation of voters, providing an opportunity for breakthrough to those who find fresh ways to mobilise the youth vote.

So what role will Pakistan’s next generation play in the 2013 election? And how can we expect them to continue to exert political influence in the years to come?

Youth turnout

In order to understand the influence of Pakistan’s next generation of voters, we asked Professor Rasul Bakhsh Rais, from the Lahore University of Management Sciences, to study the issue.

His findings are striking. In the run up to the 2013 election, he estimates that there are more than 25 million registered voters between the ages of 18 and 29 years. This is slightly more than 30% of the electorate.⁵⁰

Moreover, our survey shows that 55% of the next generation will be voting for the first time. That’s a pool of over 13 million new votes for political parties to compete for.

Only 40% of young people are certain to vote, however, while 18% say they definitely won’t vote. That leaves 41% who may not vote, with around half of that group leaning towards voting, and the other half currently less inclined to vote.

Over 11% of young voters believe they are not registered to vote. According to the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), Pakistan has now adopted “a newer method of generating computerized electoral rolls, which are

Next Generation Media

The past decade has seen a media revolution in Pakistan, a boom that has coincided with the growing influence of the country's next generation.

Our survey shows that today's young people break down into three broad categories in terms of media access and consumption:

- A minority are *active members of the online generation*, with one in five having access to a computer at home, one in ten having used the Internet in the past week, 7% have recently used Facebook and 2% have used Twitter. This group is predominantly urban and disproportionately male – with 10% of urban men having been online recently.
- A second minority can be found at the other end of the spectrum and is *largely disconnected from the modern media*. A quarter of the next generation does not have a television at home, while 22% has neither radio nor television. Women from rural areas form the majority of this group. 36% of rural women have no radio or television in their homes.
- The majority of the next generation are *media consumers*. This group watches

television on a regular basis, with music videos and news and current affairs most popular with men, and TV serials and dramas dominant for women. Radio commands only a modest market share, with 15% listening in the last week, and is less important than print. 35% of the next generation have recently read either a newspaper or a book.

The next generation has a generally positive view of the media, with only 11% having an unfavourable impression. A majority also believes that the influence of television channels and newspapers has improved since the last election (in contrast, many more young people think that access to the Internet has worsened during the last electoral cycle).

There is some anxiety about the influence of the media, however. Nearly three quarters of those who express an opinion say that young people have too much exposure to foreign films, music, and ideas. Young people from urban areas are most worried about foreign influence.

To deepen our understanding of the influence of the media, we split the sample into three groups: those who have access to cable TV (40%), those

who only have terrestrial TV (35%), and those who do not have a TV at home (25%).

Cable watchers are less conservative than terrestrial viewers, and those without TV are more conservative than both. The latter group, however, is slightly more optimistic about Pakistan's future direction, while terrestrial viewers are most likely to say they are going to vote.

We also explored the influence of mobile phones, focusing on the 48% of young people who have their own phone. Many more men than women own mobiles, with three quarters of men having their own phone compared to just a quarter of women. There are smaller differences between urban and rural, and across classes. Even in the lowest socioeconomic group, 39% of young people have phones.

While mobile ownership doesn't seem to have a sizeable impact on political opinions, next generation mobile owners are more interested in politics, more likely to vote, and more likely to believe they can change Pakistan.

While this largely reflects the gender divide in phone ownership, mobiles are certainly a powerful tool for those wishing to rally young people and amplify their political power.

According to Huma Yusuf, the journalist and analyst who explored media trends for the Task

Force, young people have begun to explore the potential that new forms of media offer them for political expression.

"It is now essential that the media industry acknowledges the desire among Pakistani youth to participate in public debate and have their issues and concerns highlighted through the media," she writes.

"It would be nothing less than tragic if a majority of young Pakistan were left off-air, off-line and therefore out of the national conversation about their future."⁵¹

based on modern biometric systems and are easier to verify.”⁵² Although the Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) agree with the accuracy of the new electoral rolls, they estimate 20.27 million eligible adults may still be unregistered.⁵³ However, of those registered, less than 14 million people have used the SMS verification system to confirm their registration.⁵⁴

As a result:

- Some voters who believe they are registered may not be included on the electoral roll.
- Some voters who believe they are not registered are included on the electoral roll.

This creates a transformational opportunity for any party that succeeds in motivating young voters to go to the polls. A ten percentage point increase in youth turnout would translate into an additional 2.5 million votes on election day. It could also be enough to swing the vote of large numbers of marginal constituencies.

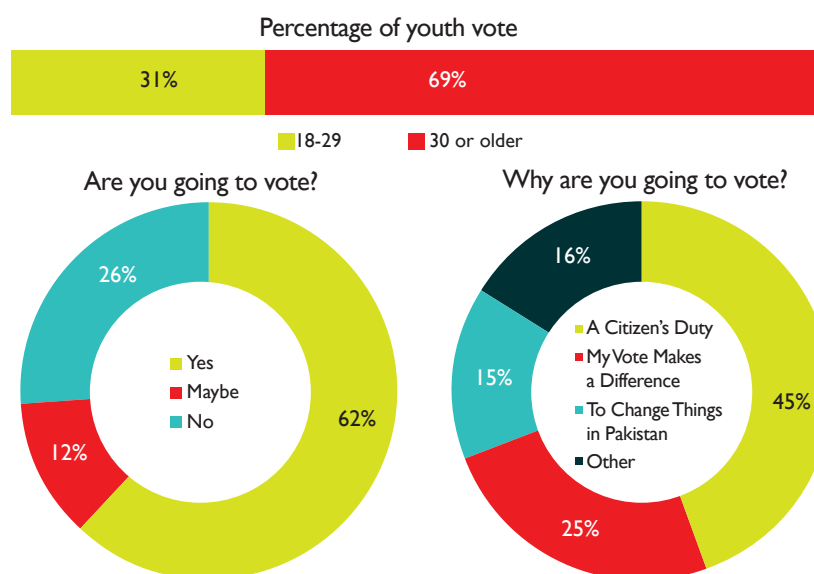
At present, however, next generation voters are extremely sceptical about what parties are telling them. Only 11% express a favourable opinion of parties,

making them less popular than government or parliament, at either federal or provincial levels.

The next generation does not believe that parties have put enough effort into communicating with young people in general, or – even more so – with ‘people like me’.

So how can parties best reach out to the next generation voter?

Next Generation Voting Intentions



Defending democracy

In the Charter of Democracy, Pakistan's two largest political parties made a commitment to:

Undiluted democracy and universally recognised fundamental rights, the rights of vibrant opposition, internal party democracy, ideological/political tolerance... the empowerment of

*the people at the grassroots level, the emancipation of our people from poverty, ignorance, want and disease, (and) the uplift of women and minorities.*⁵⁵

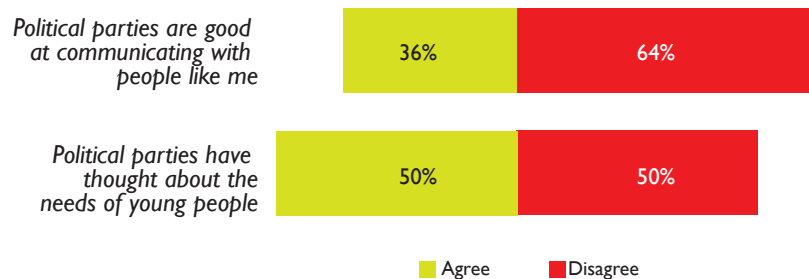
Whether they are in power at federal or provincial levels, or fulfilling the vital role played by the opposition, the first duty of political parties is to address worryingly high levels of scepticism among young people about the merits of the democratic system.

When we ask young people what they believe the best political system for Pakistan is:

- 29% choose democracy, with similar levels of enthusiasm in urban and rural areas, and men slightly less enthusiastic than women.
- 32% choose military rule, with it being most popular in Balochistan, Gilgit-Baltistan, and Sindh.
- 38% choose Islamic Shariah, with this option more popular in rural than urban areas, and in Punjab and AJK.

In order to understand these responses, we asked a series of follow up questions in our survey, exploring which political system young people thought was best

Political Party Communication



placed to deliver growth, ensure access to water, electricity and gas, give people freedom and rights, promote fairness and tolerance, eradicate corruption, and uphold religious values and promote moral behaviour.

It should be remembered that a young person has:

- Direct and current experience of what democracy can and cannot deliver.
- Memories of the strengths and weaknesses of the period of military rule that began just after the youngest of them was born.

- No direct experience of a non-democratic system of Islamic government.

Young people have many negative views on democracy's ability to deliver. However, we find that they are most likely to favour it for economic growth, ensuring access to water, electricity and gas, and providing health and education.

As we have seen in this survey, these core economic issues are of paramount importance to the next generation.

In contrast, military rule is perceived to offer greater security – both internally and externally – with around half of young people believing it is best able to

“Honesty and freedom from corruption and strong ideas to change Pakistan – the qualities the next generation want from their leaders”

stand firm against Pakistan's foreign enemies and make the country itself safer.

Islamic Shariah, meanwhile, is favoured for its ability to advance moral and religious values. It is also thought to be the best system for giving people their rights and freedom, for promoting tolerance, and making the country a fairer one. It is seen as less likely to improve security.

The open source research provided further evidence that some young people have elevated views of what a non-democratic system of Islamic government might deliver. One respondent, for example, told us that he hoped for the establishment of an Islamic state that would not bear any resemblance to any current Muslim government, but would be:

A unique political system, built on a concept of citizenship regardless of ethnicity, gender or creed... (and) totally opposed to the oppression of any religious or ethnic grouping.

These findings present a clear challenge to political parties.

When talking to younger voters, they need to identify issues that are most

likely to determine how young people will vote – inflation, employment, education, health, poverty, energy, etc. – and make a compelling case that they can deliver progress through the democratic system.

Building a platform

Politicians are most likely to communicate effectively with young people if they:

- Make a concerted effort to identify and reach out to voters in their twenties.
- Convince them they can deliver an economic agenda that will transform young lives.
- Address the next generation's deep-seated feelings of insecurity.
- And connect on an emotional level by talking convincingly about values – and then abiding by them.

The need to speak directly to young people is important, given that the next generation is beginning to carve out a distinctive identity. Its most influential members feel they are quite different from their parents and – despite high levels of pessimism about the immediate

future – a substantial majority of the young still believe they will be able to change Pakistan. Parties need to tap into this idealism.

But they must also make a convincing case their policies will provide young people with enhanced economic opportunities – employment, above all – while also talking about education and other services that young people care deeply about. No party can appeal successfully to the young voter unless they have a credible economic agenda.

Economic messages are central, but they cannot be sent on their own. Security is clearly also important, with young people worried about both physical and economic security. The appeal of military rule reflects the yearning of young people for a greater sense of control.

And finally, leaders must talk convincingly about values to what is – on the whole – a highly conservative generation (70% of all young people fall into this category). Conservatives tend to be highly motivated by the need to reduce uncertainty, and the appeal of conservative values to young people is unsurprising, given that they are living in a volatile environment and passing

through a turbulent period in their own lives.

When asked what the most important qualities are that they look for in a leader, by far the most important characteristic is *honesty and freedom from corruption*, followed by *strong ideas to change Pakistan* in second place.

Practicality is not enough in other words. Young voters want to hear about morality, about fairness, and about tolerance. Most of all, maybe, they are looking for someone who can give them hope.

Targeting voters

Different messages appeal to different voters, of course. Analysis of the extensive data generated from our survey suggests that four groups offer especially attractive opportunities to political parties.

First – *the Connected Middle Class*, which comprises around 8% of the next generation.

These are privileged young people, from the upper middle class, who are strongly committed to democracy, but are increasingly less likely to think change is possible. They regard corruption as the

most important issue facing Pakistan, reflecting their belief the authority generation has taken the country seriously off track.

This group is much more likely to think it can meet its personal goals than the average, but they are increasingly looking for opportunities outside Pakistan. A quarter would now like to emigrate permanently, and another quarter want to live abroad for at least a short time.

Pakistan's leaders will find it hard to win the trust of the Connected Middle Class, but the potential benefits of doing so are huge. These young people are economic, social and cultural trendsetters and can use online social networks to shift opinion. If galvanised, they are highly likely to vote as a coherent bloc.

At the other end of the spectrum sits the *Marginalised Rural Labourer*. This group of young men from rural areas is in unstable employment and forms around 15% of the next generation.

Dissatisfied with their jobs and economic prospects, they are also likely to be worried about electricity, water and gas. Despite the conflict to which many of them are exposed, very few

regard terrorism as an especially important issue.

They are highly sceptical of democracy and its benefits, but over 80% say they are likely to vote. They don't see themselves as part of a distinct generation, but do have an independent streak, expecting to make their own decisions in everything but voting. Almost half say that they expect landlords will try and get their tenants to vote together as a group.

For parties who are strong in rural areas, these young voters form a vital part of their vote bank. However, it is worth asking how long marginalised labourers from rural areas can be taken for granted. Their patience is beginning to wear thin.

We expect a third group of next generation voters to play a critical role at the next election and to be a pivotal political force for some time to come.

We call this group the *Conservative Backbone* and they form another 15% of the next generation.

They are educated and highly aspirational, expecting to have better lives and jobs than their parents, and proud of having joined the (usually

urban) middle class. They have a distinct generational identity and expect to improve Pakistan, a country that 98% are proud of. They badly want to live the Pakistan dream.

These young men are conservative by nature, many deeply and increasingly so. As such they are sceptical of democracy and are highly likely to favour an Islamic system of government. Critically, they plan to vote, making them essential targets for any leader who wishes to rebuild confidence in Pakistan's future.

They value honesty above all else and subscribe to the guiding principles laid down by the Quaid Muhammad Ali Jinnah: unity, faith and discipline. Any one party that upholds these – and meets their economic aspirations – will gain powerful adherents from this group.

The final group is perhaps the most intriguing – *Char Divari Housewives* – who make up almost a third of the next generation.

These are women from the lower classes, although a few of them are on the fringes of the middle class. They are relatively disconnected from the outside world, apart from – for many of them – the window provided by day time television.

Politically disengaged, with low levels of information about the election, many of these young women currently have little intention of voting. Many believe they are not even registered – despite the estimate that over 70% of adult women are now on the electoral roll.⁵⁶

Given their relative isolation, television and the influence of other family members are the only possible routes for speaking to *Char Divari Housewives* and motivating more of them to come to the polls.

But the potential prize is a very large one. With so many additional women voters – and so many of them undecided – any political party that inspires the *Char Divari Housewives* is likely to find it has made a breakthrough when the election results are counted.

Time to deliver

Elections are only a small part of democracy – more important is the everyday operation of parliaments, the interplay between government and opposition, and the willingness and ability of those in power to serve their electorate, rather than exploit.

But still – elections matter.

At their best, they offer people a genuine choice between competing visions. They provide a mechanism for the peaceful transition of power and for new ideas to challenge old ones. And they give ordinary people a sense that they are in control – that their collective voice matters after all.

However, elections can also be exercises in futility and disappointment. When change is promised, but not delivered. When fairness is frustrated and a core freedom denied. When people raise their voices and come away convinced that no-one was listening.

We hope that this report has convinced you of the importance of Pakistan's next generation – a group of young people who will determine the path the country takes for much of the rest of this century.

In 2013, this generation goes to the ballot box with an election that will be held after a full democratic term has been concluded – providing a foundation on which another five years of democracy can be built.

There is still time for all political parties to make a concerted effort to reach out to young voters and bring them to the polls.

They must set out a transformative agenda, while connecting on an emotional level and speaking to young people who have lived lives of deep insecurity.

But that is only the beginning. After the election, those who form governments at national and provincial levels must ensure they fulfil their promises to the young.

This report has presented compelling evidence that – as things stands – Pakistan is on the road to a demographic disaster.

The dividend is still far from out of reach, however. It is not too late. But it is time to deliver. And to do so now.

METHODOLOGY

This research addressed the following question within the context of the 2013 Pakistan elections: How is the Next Generation shaping Pakistan?

The methodology included desk research, a nationally and provincially representative survey, an online open-source consultation and four commissioned papers.

Desk research, built on materials gathered for the first Next Generation report in 2009, was carried out. It included: (i) recent surveys of public opinion/behaviour in Pakistan (not limited to those focused on young people), and especially those with longitudinal data; (ii) studies of Pakistan's demography that have been published since 2009; (iii) studies of the emergence of a middle class and of other major social trends that have shaped, or will shape, Pakistan; and (iv) international studies that provided a comparative perspective.

A survey instrument was developed that included 110 closed and 8 open questions. It covered the following sections: (i)

socio-economic classification (14 questions); (ii) education and work (14 questions); (iii) political and voting behaviour (16 questions); (iv) priority issues/future of Pakistan (16 questions); (v) identity, trust and social capital (30 questions); and (vi) experience of violence and conflict (28 questions).

Where possible, standardised questions and scales were used to allow comparability with national and international studies. The survey was translated and conducted in both Urdu and Pashto. As the other local languages are primarily used in the vernacular, the translation for Sindhi, Balti and Brahwi was oral rather than written.

AC Nielsen was commissioned to conduct the field work amongst Pakistanis aged 18-29 years. 5,271 interviews were conducted, for a sample that is nationally representative at a 95% confidence level with a 1.35 margin of error.

Oversampling was used to reduce the margin of error for smaller sub-populations. A break-down of the sample and relevant margins of error are shown below.

	Total	Margin of Error	Rural	Margin of Error	Urban	Margin of Error	Male	Margin of Error	Female	Margin of Error
Punjab	1477	2.55	856	3.35	621	3.93	753	3.57	724	3.64
Sindh	897	3.27	343	5.29	554	4.16	447	4.64	450	4.62
Balochistan	767	3.54	503	4.37	264	6.03	384	5.00	383	5.61
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	768	3.54	576	4.08	192	7.07	383	5.01	385	4.99
FATA	597	4.03	549	4.18	48	14.15	300	5.66	297	5.69
AJK	384	5.00	320	5.48	64	12.25	193	7.05	191	7.05
Gilgit-Baltistan	381	5.01	333	5.37	48	14.15	191	7.09	190	7.11
Total	5,271	1.35	3480	1.66	1791	2.32	2651	1.90	2620	1.91

In some areas, security problems limited access for researchers. This was a problem in FATA, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

In addition to the quantitative survey, an online survey consisting of six open questions was launched. This survey had the aim of gaining qualitative insights into some of the broader queries, and providing a view in the youth's own words. It is not representative.

The following questions were asked: (i) what are some of the ways in which people of your age are unique or different when compared to older generations; (ii) do you think you can influence Pakistan's future; (iii) what are your views about the forthcoming elections; (iv) what role do you think young people will play in the forthcoming elections; (v) how do you feel about the future of democracy in Pakistan; and (vi) please describe in about 300 words what you would do for your generation if you were the leader of a political party.

A total of 833 responses were received from those aged 18 to 29. Of these, 68% were male and 32% were females. A majority, 64%, were still studying, 30% were working either in the corporate or in the social/developmental sector and 7% were self-employed.

Three papers were commissioned to provide in-depth analysis on the main focus topics of the report.

- Dr. Durr-e-Nayab – 'Burgeoning Youth and the Middle Class in Pakistan.'
- Professor Rasul Bakhsh Rais – 'Young Voter: Will He Make the Difference in 2013?'
- Huma Yusuf – 'Online but not on Air: Youth and the Media Landscape in Pakistan.'

Annex 2

NEXT GENERATION CONTRIBUTORS

We are very grateful to the following who took the time to participate in this research:

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Mushtaq; M.Bilal; M.Faizan Zahid; M.Hasnain Hirani; M.Ibrahim Khan; M.Jalal Khan; M.Rafay Farooq; M.Shahrukh Soofi; M.Umair Razzaq; Maazah Ali; Madeeha Aslam; Madeeha Dar; Madeeha Kanwal; Madeeha Nasrullah; Madeeha Shakeel; Madiha; Madiha Chughtai; Maha; Maham Sohail; Maher; Maherullah Kasi; Mahnoor Fatima; Mahrukh Pasha; Maida Khan; Maidah Arshad; Maimoona Altaf; Maimoona Altaf; Maimoona Imran; Malik Shahid Mehmood; Malika Akram; Mansoor Soomro; Maria Salman; Mariah Memon; Mariam Aftab; Marium Javaid Bajwa; Marium Shaikh; Maryam Ishaque; Maryam Javed; Mati Ur Rehman; Mavra Zehra; Mazhar Iqbal; Mehak Zehra; Mehjabeen; Mehmood; Mehreen Shah; Mehroz Khan; Mehwish; Meraj Suleman; Mian Raheel Kamal; Midhat Un Nisa; Mirza Daniyal Baig; Misbah Rehman Khan; Moazma; Mobashir A. 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