ALTERNATIVE

YOUTH

POLICY
IN PAKISTAN

Ali Salman

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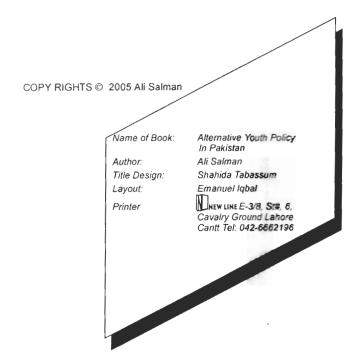
Bargad

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To my Ami Ji

List of Acronyms

Alternate Youth Policy	AYP
Civil Society Organizations	CSOs
Draft National Youth Policy	DNYP
Higher Education Commission	HEC
International Council on National Youth Policy	ICNYP
Millennium Development Goals	MDGs
Ministry of Youth Affairs	MoYA
National Commission for Human Development	NCHD
United Nations Development Programme	UNDP
National Reconstruction Bureau	NRB
National Youth Action Plan	NYAP
National Youth Commission	NYC
National Youth Policy	NYP
Non-Governmental Organization	NGO
Norwegian Agency for Development	NORAD
Pakistan Youth Policy	PYP
Youth Affairs Division	YAD
Small and Medium Enterprise Development Authority	SMEDA
Social Policy Development Center	SPDC
South Asia Partnership	SAP
Task Force for Youth	TFY
Young Parliamentarians Forum	YPF
Youth Action Plan	YAP

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Bargad Note

Public interest leaders are increasingly recognizing the need to integrate youth with national policy aims. However, successive youth polices in Pakistan have been distant and feeble triumphs to really invoke the potential of youth. Substantially, we have yet to define youth and its particular needs; as against the practice of understanding youth as a secondary actor in employment, education and so on. The policy making as a process, on the other hand, is a bureaucratic exercise generated by the regimes' political rhetoric that keeps youth away from its closed-door operations. There is limited discussion while drafting a youth policy. Moreover, such policies are announced without budgetary allocations.

There is a renewed emphasis upon youth in Pakistan, currently; also, in the wake of a global effort to transform erstwhile conflict-prone societies. The book in hand is a serious effort to analyse Pakistani youth with special references of youth policies prepared by all democratic or non-democratic governments till to date. It articulates youth issues; reviews past policies and builds an understanding to translate existing knowledge into a national youth policy.

The book concentrates on four areas of change: understanding youth situation in Pakistan, articulating concepts of youth development, reviewing national youth policies of the past, and presenting an alternative youth policy of Pakistan.

Our organization, Bargad, has dedicated itself to youth concerns and is determined to succor youth as much as possible in their quest to find a respectable niche in the socio-economic façade. We are publishing this book with the hope that young girls and boys will not only know what the successive governments did for youngsters who are above 40% of the total population but can also influence on the future youth policies. This publication is the first step and Bargad will wait for the 2nd step from Pakistani youngsters.

We also hope that this book will prove an important work in Pakistan to

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better understand youth issues, to enhance policy and analytical capacity, and to improve quality of the youth related policies. One may, at some point, contest the contents and opinions of the book, but I am positive that it would inspire more substance on youth policy related issues.

I am thankful to Ali Salman who gave us permission to publish this study. My thanks are also due to Mr. Farrukh Moriani, UN Advisor for Corporate Governance for writing the foreword of this book; to Mr. William D. Angel, Secretary General, International Council on National Youth Policy (ICNYP) for sending a statement of appreciation; to Muhammad Tahseen, Executive Director, South Asia Partnership (SAP) Pakistan for his encouraging words.

To conclude, I am convinced that without help of Aamir Riaz and Iqbal Haider Butt the manuscript could not have been shaped into the present book. They whetted, edited and produced the book within severe time constraints and deserve my sincerest salutation.

Sabiha Shaheen

DIRECTOR

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Foreword

Pakistan's socio-economic development is a function of the quality of its human resources. While this may hold true for other nations at a similar stage of development, for a country as large as ours that has a demographic profile that clearly points to human capital as its most advantageous asset, this becomes more a home truth than a cliché. Throughout its history, Pakistani governments, be they politically or military led, have laid claims to fostering an enabling environment for building on this potential strength; yet, the evidence in the form of indicators and statistics belie such claims, with the Human Development Index reflecting poor outcomes in social development. While some may pointcorrectlytowards the impressive economic growth rates that Pakistan has witnessed, especially in the past five years, this growth has been kept pace with by high incidence of poverty, which continues to deepen the problems of inequitable distribution of economic benefits and erode the economic potential of this large nation. What is even more intriguing is that with while more than 70% of the population is below the age of 35, only 22% are economically active; and despite this, Pakistan can boast of impressive macroeconomic statistics. There is thus clearly an opportunity for turning the nation's enormous potential into profits for individual entrepreneurs and socio-economic dividends for society at large. This can best be done. by focusing on the Bottom of the Pyramid constituents: people willing and able to contribute economically with their skills, but not getting enough opportunities or choices.

At the risk of sounding rhetorical, it has to be stated that the path to equitable socio-economic development lies in effectively mobilizing and unleashing the potential of the youth. This unleashing is required not just on the economic front but in all aspects of societal functioning. Needless to say, while this requires a complex interweaving of diverse actions by several stakeholders, one would hasten to add that as a first step, there is a need to create policy space for youth issues. Despite governmental tendencies to claim otherwise, policy debate on youth issues is surprisingly low key and often has peripheral undertones. And this in a country with a very high proportion of its population falling in the youth category. Creation of this public space for youth issues would have to go beyond the present ceremonial-- even patronizing-- nature of governmental attention towards addressing issues related to youth empowerment. One would imagine that at a minimum, this proposed

move towards empowerment would have to be preceded by processes of enrichment, engagement and enablement, not only by the government but also by other stakeholders; on most of these fronts, there are few positive signs.

In traversing through a labyrinth of issues and opportunities, this book makes an earnest attempt at providing both a mirror to the status quo and at the same time contextualizing the vast agenda that lies before stakeholders who actually do endeavor to place youth issues firmly on the policy table. Ranging from the conceptual framework for youth policy to the many socio-economic and governance imperatives that envelop the debate and which would in the event, determine the success or failure of a youth policy, the author Ali Salman spans a fair portion of the breadth of challenges that face the youth. There are several important proposals framed and presented and one found the glimpse of experience from other countries a useful idea. In addition, the book raises the challenge posed by what one would term as the implement-ability of policies; in a country where public policy rarely meets the light of the day, this is a crucial aspect for consideration. Likewise, the discussion on policy perspectives provides an interesting insight into stakeholder indifference towards youth issues. However, one believes that there needed perhaps to be a deeper analysis of the incentive structure required for reversing the current inertia and for taking the agenda forward; given that there is a general tendency amongst many to treat the youth with either kid gloves (patronizing attitudes often culminating in the belief that holding sports events resolves youth issues) or with totalitarian beliefs (apolitical youth serve the nation better), what incentives can and should a youth policy provide to move the nation away from such tendencies? Similarly, as has been highlighted in the book, the role of civil society in promotion of youth issues has been modest at best, which again belies the facts and reflects poorly on targeting of issues.

One also felt that the author could have focused more on the potential role of the private sector in contributing to youth issues, given that they are not only their present and future consumers, but also because the relationship between the youth and the private sector is often more symbiotic than the relationship between youth and the government or youth and the civil society. If you don't believe that, than you are missing an important link. Indeed, this symbioses and the reluctance to accept that the pervasive nature of the State has declined to an extent, creating new power structures to be contend with--represents a striking feature of how easy it is for a prognosis to go awry, simply because one has a finger on the wrong pulse. The process of enrichment (primarily via education), engagement

(through multiple modes and platforms) and enablement (in the form of creation of adequate policy and institutional frameworks) that one referred to as being precursors for empowerment, should place as much significance to the private sector as it does on the governments or the civil society.

These points aside, one found the ideas, views and analysis in the book an amalgam of sincerity to a cause, passion for the outcomes and an energy for consummating a vision. In many ways, these are precisely the elements that a youth policy should contain.

Congratulations to Mr. Salman for this engaging effort at providing a voice to youth issues in public policy. One only hopes that everyone's listening.

Farrukh Moriani
UN Advisor for Corporate Governance
July 20, 2005

Statements of Appreciation

I am pleased to write a statement of appreciation to Ali Salman who wrote this major study on Alternative Youth Policy in Pakistan..

It is a wonderful book which covers many aspects of the question of a national youth policy in Pakistan. He provides in this book a prologue on the situation of youth in Pakistan and then he focuses on the main question of youth development.

He concludes with a record of policy perspectives on national youth policy in Pakistan in 1993, 2002 and 2004, and with a statement on the roles ahead.

It is a book well worth reading on the roles of youth in the present and future national development of Pakistan.

William D. Angel
Secretary General
International Council on National Youth
Policy (ICNYP)

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It is needed an effort worth praising that an alternative youth policy encompassing various important areas related with young men and women in Pakistan has been developed by the Bargad. The civil society perspective on youth issues and their meaningful involvement has been adequately addressed by Ali Salman in the policy document, an area which has been badly neglected. I am positive that the policy document will be useful in developing a comprehensive understanding of the youth situation in Pakistan and also developing possible ways to address issue confronted by the young people. I think this document will serve as an important building block to come up with a comprehensive youth policy.

I congratulate Ali Salman and his colleagues for doing a wonderful job in putting together Pakistan civil society perspective for youth policy in Pakistan.

Mohammad Tahseen
Executive Director
South Asia Partnership (SAP) Pakistan

Introduction and Acknowledgements

This book presents several insights and ideas about youth policy process and also suggests an alternative paradigm for Pakistan. It unfolds the debate on youth policy and information processes which have gone into the process of policy formulation. It also offers several recommendations for youth development and youth empowerment, by creating nexus of youth and the society at large.

The book consists of four parts. Its first part is a 'prologue' which starts with the rationale of focusing on youth segments (*Why Youth*). Then, it offers a broad analysis of youth situation in Pakistan *(Youth Situation in Pakistan)* and develops a collective youth profile *(Youth Profile)*.

The book's second part discusses several areas of youth development *(Youth Empowerment)*. It also offers several mechanisms for youth development at social, private and state level. This part develops a set of youth development indicators and provides a broad qualitative review *(Youth Development)*.

Third part of the book delineates on policy perspectives. It reviews last three drafts of national youth policies of Pakistan (1993, 2002 and 2005) and undertakes a comparative account of Indian and South African youth policies. It also suggests insights into the reasons of policy failures in Pakistan and develops a gap index.

Forth and final part of the handbook is a long essay, which thoroughly reviews current paradigms on youth policies and develops an alternative paradigm. The handbook remains short of suggesting an alternative draft of a youth policy but provides necessary tools and understandings to develop one.

Whom does this book address? I have written it especially for students and scholars of youth policy, regardless of their age and gender. It provides them a tool to analyze the policies and programmes being prepared for them and help them in making informed choices. Thus it can be used in training programmes for youth as a toolkit, provided copyrights are respected.

My interest in youth is relatively old, spanning more than fourteen years. I owe my gratitude to a long list of friends and colleagues on various occasions during this time. I had the pleasure of addressing several seminars and conferences, some in Pakistan and a few outside the country. Indeed the most engaging occasion was during the last quarter of 2004, when I was invited by the Ministry of Youth Affairs to participate in consultative meetings to formulate youth policy of Pakistan. I have used every occasion to reflect on what youth think and how can a policy become meaningful and useful forthem. As celebrated Chief Executive of General Electric, Jack Welch wrote: 'every meeting is an interview'; for me every discussion was an insight.

As this book goes into print, I also look back with pride to my alma matter, Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands, its teachers, its environment, and its students. My academic training in public policy analysis was carried out by the world's leading experts on the subject. My experience at Planning Commission has been critical in developing my thoughts on the need of 'planning for implementation'.

Civil Junction, an Islamabad-based cafe and communicative hub of development practitioners, and its vibrant 'speaker' Arshad Bhatti has played an important role in stimulating me to write this handbook both by appreciating some ideas and by *not* acknowledging some of them. My old time friend, guide and philosopher Mujtaba, who has considered the development of a 'Magnus opus' on youth extremely important, always encouraged and nuanced my thought process on the subject.

Bargad, and its Executive Director Sabiha Shaheen, have been very supportive: both logistically, as they managed to print this book, and also intellectually, for their meetings provided vibrant forum of debate and discussion on youth issues. My friend Iqbal Haider Butt has posed many stimulating questions and also helped me in editing and proof reading.

On a more personal level, I have received continuous support from my parents, brother, sisters and, certainly, my better half Shagufta, in two ways: directly, in the form of appreciation and encouragement, and indirectly, in the form of giving me enough space - physically, financially and socially - to afford the luxury of thinking and writing. I would especially mention my brother, Wali, whose presence and active role in our family business kept me free enough to follow intellectual paths.

PART I

Prologue

Why Youth

Age discriminatory thinking is an integral part of our social structure. It can be positive, negative or neutral for different age cohorts. In our typical South Asian culture, this is positive for the elderly (50 years and beyond), often exhibited, for example, by giving priority to the elderly in different social settings such as prayer line up in mosques, seating priority in public transport etc. For middle age (30 years to 50 years) it is neutral, which means they do not enjoy any special rights or privileges. For children (0 to 15 years), it is largely positive and is often exhibited by way of affection and kindness from the elders.

For youth (15-24 years), however, age discrimination often becomes negative. This is exhibited, for example, by a general admonishment of youth by parents, teachers, and imams each in their respective contexts. This admonishment at state level takes the form of a perpetual ban on students unions. In legal parlance, youth are commonly associated with very negative terms such as adolescent criminals, youth offenders etc. In the press, almost every news heading carrying the word 'youth' has a socially destructive fact to report. In the job market too, youth is often interpreted as lack of experience whereas more positive interpretations such as vibrancy and creativity also exist. This implies that youth is the only age cohort in the population, which actually receives negative age discrimination.

In a largely religiously tuned society, it is important to look at the religious perspective on youth as well. Quran, main source of divine guidance for Muslims, explicitly mentions youth at probably only one place.
We can conclude on this account that the Quranic perception about youth is positive, as this verse alluded to the knowledge and character of youth under discussion.

Sociologically, every age cohort has a specific role in the society, but every age cohort does not become focus of social discussions and state policies. It is only youth, and to an extent children too, who become focus of policy discussions. Other age cohorts such as middle aged and the elderly do not have any specific policies or even a discursive framework. It is accepted as a norm, because these age cohorts have relatively stable and predictable life style. Even children have not received as broad

to 29 years - constitutes a very substantial 25% of total population or around 35 million heads. From gender view, male youth slightly outnumber female youth by a difference of two percent. This predominance of youth in the demographic profile is unique to the 'developing' world, as the 'developed' world actually looks for youth to add vigour to their social profile due to halted and even negative population growth rate, increased longevity, and escalating costs on the elderly, pensioners and retired citizens. Youth, therefore, offer a great opportunity in terms of human resource, as wel as a surmounting threat to social harmony in terms of economically unproductive and socially disruptive members of the society.

If budgets are reliable indicators of state priorities, youth community stands at the abysmal low. Although youth issues are addressed by social sector spending in the areas of education and health, there are no significant outlays for youth community at large. Youth Affairs Division in the federal government, representative of youth in the state structure, has been receiving Rs. 1.1 million per annum as a matter of routine for last few years now. This amounts to tokenism and means that the state does not have enough funds or desirable understanding of the importance of youth in general. To our satisfaction, federal budget allocated twenty million rupees to youth affairs division in FY 2005-06.

We understand that the state has started spending finally on social sector development and in particular on education, which is probably the single most important need of youth. Consider the fact that higher education budget has been increased by an enormous 900%. Similarly, spending on other social sectors has also increased. Logical question that follows is: if all basic needs of youth are being addressed by specific ministries and associated budgets and similarly in the civil society organizations as well, what else youth demand? Perhaps introduction is not the right place to answer this question; as, in a way, the whole book revolves around the same question.

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Youth Situation in Pakistan*

Youth Scenario: Constraints of Realism

One of the most important realizations is that youth are microcosm of Pakistan. It is validated both by qualitative reviews and numerical research such as one conducted by Population Council of Pakistan. The opportunities of employment, patterns of work, gender parities, ratio of primary enrolment, access to clean drinking water and basic health facilities etc. in the young cohort are very much same as the overall population. There are hardly any striking variations across different age cohorts. Hence over-emphasis on youth as a separate age cohort is not empirically validated. However, their significance is more of a social nature, as their overall profile aptly reflects the immediate future of a nation.

Youth are future of a country. This often heard, often quoted, often misused statement can, at best, be described as a natural, biological or demographic fact. Certainly older generation cannot be future of a nation, and neither can children become immediate future. Hence it is only the youth of age, say, 15-24, who are future of a nation. But, again this statement has no action dynamics. Regardless of any efforts, youth would inevitably become the future. Once the leader of Malaysian Youth Council, Saif Abdullah remarked that youth are our future: hence they are told to wait and wait; until the future arrives. The irony of his statement reflects well the actual state of affairs.

Youth Problem: A general statement

At this point, it should be noted that the question: 'what is the problem of youth' is a highly absurd question. The alternative question is: which youth are we talking about? Each socio-economic class of youth would have separate set of problems. A student having got admission in a good professional college would talk about problems of unemployment, because it is going to confront her very soon. But a student-youth, who fails, would only complaint about the injustice of the overall system.

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*This brief was prepared on the request of The Pan Asian Youth Summit Secretariat under the umbrella of United Nations. It summarizes the key problems affecting youth in our country/region; highlights concrete measures that the government and/or various organizations are taking locally to address them, and reflects on the role of the youth (current and future) in solving these problems.

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Again, as I said earlier, this is the typical microcosmic behavior. We are mainly interest-driven and not principle-driven nation. Therefore our questions about youth problems would only speak of our own interests and not of the principle.

Youth as cultural notion in Pakistan

Pakistan's dominant cultural notion about youth is of an immature personality, emotionally volatile, and generally unreliable. However, parents' attitude towards participation of youth in decision making is ambivalent. They, especially the male youth, are listened in their choice of field of education and work. However in case of marriage decisions, even male youth have to often obey parents' will. It is, nevertheless, generally perceived undesirable to sit in the company of elders. This approach is rather top-down instead of bottom-up. Religion has played its role as well, wherein a youth is obliged to obey parents. Though religion allows difference and even dissent, it is not practiced widely.

Honor-killing is still practiced in rural and tribal areas of country, which means parents can kill their sons and daughters if they marry without consent. Generally daughters are victims of this horrible tradition. Very lately, though, a bill has been tabled in the Parliament of Pakistan, but it has already divided the benches of the opposition and treasury apart. Implementation comes later, but even promulgation of this bill seems a daunting challenge. In all of such cases, youth are the victims of this tribal tradition.

If newspapers of a typical day are scanned in search of the word 'youth', it would be often found in statements about socially unacceptable, illegal and immoral events. Mostly the stories about murder, suicides, street fighting, campus violence and now very frequently terrorism, would portray the prototype youth. Youth with achievements in the field of education or career is a rare commodity in presently reported news items.

Youth Organizations

According to Social Policy Development Center (SPDC) - Karachi, there are around 56,000 registered NGOs working across Pakistan, though for Ministry of Youth Affairs, total number of active organizations is 102. However, as National Representative Survey on Adolescents and Youth by Population Council reveals, their role in community development is limited mostly to urban areas, and have little scope in large scale socio-economic uplift of Pakistan.

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Youth organizations are generally self-funded and take interest in community services. Most are doing it with volunteer drive, and though not sustained, provide useful avenues of social work. Very few are doing advocacy work for youth. A popular form of youth organization is youth or student wing of mainstream political and religio-political parties. This trend has been recently followed by NGOs too. As there is legal ban on student political unions in educational institutions through out the country, these youth organizations mostly take up to streets and some times resort to violent means.

Ministry of Youth Affairs

Ministry of Youth Affairs in Pakistan is not a separate body, but it works as a department within the Ministry of Minorities, Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth Affairs. Only now, we have a separate Minister of State at least for Culture and Youth Affair, who has an activist background as well. The very amalgamation of youth with 'minorities' reflects stereotyping of government's perception about youth, and more importantly their marginalization as a community. It is never mentioned in the mainstream agenda of government. Ministry is largely concerned and mandated with organizing of youth camps, youth exchange program and sometimes seminars. Hence at least this Ministry has no say as far status of key youth development indicators are concerned. The annual public spending for Youth Affairs Division has been consistently and abysmally low around Rs. 1.1 Million. Though this should not reflect the total sum of public spending on youth, as the government does spend considerably in increasing proportion on sectors directly related with youth, such as education and health. However, latest federal allocation for youth affair division was increased to twenty million rupees.

One major activity organized by the government for youth recently was holding of a National Youth Convention in July 2005. Youth comprised nominees of Districts Nazims/ Administrators from across the country. President of Pakistan inaugurated the forum and students deliberated on a range of issues including role of youth in national development, terrorism and extremism, and religious tolerance. Activities under Ministry of Youth Affairs include celebration of International Youth Day, Youth Exchange programmes, and See Pakistan Youth Camps.

According to official figures in last few years, 194 Pakistani youth have participated in national level exchange programmes, 219 youth have visited other countries, and 25 youth have visited Pakistan from outside, mostly China. It is evident from these numbers that the span of total activities Ministry of Youth Affairs is negligible, to say the least.

Youth: Donor agencies

As noted earlier, most of donor agencies do not have explicit youth related programs or projects. Their areas of lending or funding include: primary enrolment, basic health care and reproductive health care, micro-finance but they do not focus on youth as they do, say, in the case of women or even children. Some notable donor agencies working directly for youth include Action Aid, Heinrich Boll Foundation, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung and British Council. Besides provision of services, these donor agencies have also worked on social and political education of youth and advocacy programs. These programs have mixed reactions from youth community. Programs for provision of basic services are appreciated, but advocacy programs spreading certain 'western' values are discouraged, and sometimes, resented.

General References

1. Adolescents and Youth in Pakistan 2001-02; a National Representative Survey by Population Council of Pakistan.
2. Non-profit sector in Pakistan: Government Policy and Future Issues: Dr. Aisha Ghaus-Pasha and Muhammad Iqbal; Social and Policy Development Center.
3. Interviews with senior officials of Ministry of Youth Affairs and documents presented by them.

Mapping Youth Problems

Following table summarizes key youth problems, including those related with Millennium Development Goals, government initiatives, role of organizations and that of youth. These problems have been tabulated to generate a debate on the possibility of acceptance of 'youth development indicators'. Care has been taken to focus on the youth, aged: 15-24, but where it was not possible due to lack of data, it is assumed that youth are microcosm of Pakistan (reference: Population Council Report on Youth and Adolescents in Pakistan 2003).

Basic Facts: Total Number of Youth aged 15-24 in Pakistan: 25 million

PROBLEM	INITIATIVE: GOVERNMENT	INITIATIVE: NGOs	YOUTH ROLE
Economic: Unemployment: Total number of un-employed: 3.72 million. Total work force: 41.32 million, Total population: 145 million; Total number of educated unemployed youth: 33,000; Total number of suicides due to economic condition in last 12 months: 670	-Public Sector Programme of worth US $ 3.5 billion to create 1 million jobs in 2004-05 -SME Bank, Khushali Bank, and PPAF provided micro credit to 526,734 people since 2003 -SMEDA's Tameer program for youth entrepreneurship.	-Micro-credit schemes, Income generation activities by PRSP, AKRSP etc. -Poverty Alleviation schemes	-To get vocational training, skills-based education. -To explore new areas of entrepreneurship and create employment for themselves and others. -To help their community members in getting prepared for jobs
Primary Enrolment: Male: 80%, Female: 47% 9 million i.e. 36% of young people 15-24 old never attended the school.	-Free Education at least in Punjab and NWFP till secondary school (10th grade) -Increased allocation in budget.	-Taking charge of government schools and provide better quality education. Example: Care Foundation -Establishment of independent	-To utilize available resources either through the government on NGOs. -To bring their out-of-school neighbours, friends and

		schools for education of poor and deserving. Example. Citizens Foundation.	relatives into school. -To join any 'sponsor a child' programme -To provide free coaching and tuition for at least one deserving student every year.
Health: Only one-third has access to Basic Health Units; clean drinking water and other civic amenities	-Large scale spending on promotional campaigns regarding population control and HIV/AIDS.	- At national level, engagement of NGO sector in health sector is historical and widespread. Examples: Edhi Foundation. Shaukat Khanum Trust etc. -Establishment of dispensaries and clinics at grass root level.	-Young doctors have the foremost duty to serve at least for one year in villages.
Higher Education: -Access to quality higher education, faculty and research facilities	-Strengthening of Higher Education Commission -Foreign Faculty Hiring -Prestigious scholarships for scientists and faculty	-Interest of Aga Khan Foundation in higher education reforms. Example: Boston Group	-Young scientists, both in hard core and social sciences, should make good use of available opportunities eg HEC. - Young academicians and students should promote parallel sources of learning and research.
Intra-violence and extremism -Involvement of youth in sectarian violence or Intra Faith violence	-Banning of sectarian religious parties and now gatherings -Passage of Anti-	- Seminars and walks. -Development and Dissemination of Literature	-Engage proactively with the community mosques and 'take-over' imam positions.

	terrorism act		-Intra-faith dialogue and peace processions.
-Involvement of youth in terrorist activities	.		
Political Empowerment -Apathy of voters -Cost of running for an election	-Reduction of voters' minimum age from 21 to 18 - minimum educational qualification of graduation for parliamentarians -Decentralization and Devolution	-PILDAT: arranged an internship program for students at parliament standing committees -CRCP: working for consumers rights: instrumental in passage of freedom of information ordinance.	-Active participation in elections -Strengthen political parties and urge for internal democratization -Advocating and lobbying for youth issues. -Make sure your name and your friends name is registered in voting list -Make sure you vote and bring at least two voters to poll
Human Resource Planning: Youth are getting degrees without any idea of needs of the industry and economy at large.	Nothing	Nothing	-Before joining any degree programme, or any technical diploma, make a thorough survey by meeting people already in the same field to get an idea of the job prospects

PART II

Youth Development

Youth Empowerment: From Participation to Development*

Empowerment is a contested concept and escapes clear definition. Its purpose, however, is generally agreed i.e. empowerment is meant for social, political as well as psychological uplifting for powerless classes like women. minorities, poor, and. for our purpose, youth. Empowerment is sought by different methods: structural reforms, capacity building, participation, and historically, through democracy and revolution. Participation is a relatively modern method to ensure empowerment, which is applied in various programmes of the civil society and mostly backed by NGOs, but also encouraged by the governments. Participation can be viewed as a three dimensional process having economic, political and social components. Thus youth can be empowered through ensuring their participation in economic, political and social development of a country.

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The need of youth empowerment emanates from the lack of access to power or influence. This lack of power is not merely a political or economic problem; it is also a deep rooted individual problem. In a society like Pakistan. youth starts experiencing lack of empowerment at home when her parents would force decisions sometimes against her own choice. Religious indoctrination also leads to powerlessness, because in that, life is often seen as a pre-destined journey. Thus youth in Pakistan would struggle to seek empowerment at much more complex level than her contemporary in the West.

Empowerment has a historical precedent: emancipation. However, as radicalism swiftly gives way to reformation, emancipation is replaced with empowerment. Interestingly, empowerment "is not having the power to dominate others, but having the power to act with others to promote change". Thus the old concepts of class based struggle, in which one class seeks to dominate other, takes a back seat in the discourse of change. Empowerment may not imply socio-economic justice at macro-level; it is just about up gradation of the down trodden peoples.

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*This essay was written in response to the call, and subsequently a formal request, from the office of former Prime Minister of Pakistan Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali. In his address to nation on 13 March 2003, he announced that a youth force is being formed at district and tehsil levels and asked suggestions from selected NGOs on youth

Participation has been argued as one important strategy to seek empowerment, because empowerment is itself defined as *"a social action process that promotes participation of people, organizations, and communities in gaining control over their lives in their community and larger society."* (www.ftcc.fsu.edu/resreports/july99/index.html Italics added). Also, consider a definition of youth participation that can be defined as "a process through which youth influence and share *control* over initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them." (www.unescap.org, Italics added). Note the common thread between the definitions of empowerment and youth participation is *control*, whether complete or shared. Hence participation, control and empowerment are related concepts.

It should be made clear that participation is taken as a collective process. It involves people, partnerships, organizations and communities. It is of course built on individual contributions, but on the whole, is a social process. Thus an individual giving alms to a street beggar is not generally seen as participation in the poverty alleviation process. It can be an act of charity, but not a process of social development.

Participation occurs at varying degrees and a spectrum of participation is recognized at five levels, from "(a) non-participation, (b) passive involvement, (c) influence, (d) partnership and, to (e) self-mobilization" (www.escap.org). However this definition needs to be updated, in post 9/11 scenario. There is another very important mode of participation, which can be called "rejection", or simply negative participation. If participation is seen as a practical comment on development course, then organized crime like terrorism should also be seen as a mode of participation. In fact, terrorism is sometimes explained as a tool of powerless nations seeking power in world politics. Thus terrorism, ironically, becomes one method of empowerment.

Where youth signify enthusiasm, they also symbdize volatility of character and lack of knowledge and experience. Thus, youth participation may not always bring positive results. We are aware of at least one significant failure of incorporation of youth in social engineering. In the sixties, Cultural Revolution of China aimed at actually replacing old guard with youth in all spheres. This experiment met resistance and the second revolutionary plan was abruptly wrapped up within two decades. This shows that youth participation is a double-edged weapon.

Empowerment does take place through participation but the question arises: empowerment for what? Development discourse provides an

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answer, which is another key concept and needs some explanation. Development is taken both as an end and as a process. Empowerment as well as participation both aim at development. For our purpose, we consider three dimensions of development, thus taking it literally. We account for political, economic and social development.

Political development is now universally considered tantamount to universal suffrage and democracy, albeit democracy differs in form and spirit everywhere. In fact, democracy is historical form of participation of civil society in policy making processes, which is now an arena for NGOs. Therefore youth participation in political development is predicated upon youth role in democracy. This means their turn out ratios, their voting patterns, their participation in political parties and ratio of relatively young political leaders and parliamentarians in the political arena.

Economic development and youth participation should be considered in the paradigm of micro-enterprise development, a very vast field in its own right now. As it has been said earlier, youth are now bracketed in the marginalized segments of society, which traditionally included women, minorities, poor and children. Therefore the most developed channel of youth participation in economic development of themselves, their families and their countries is micro-enterprise, which is based on "extension of small loans to entrepreneurs too poor to qualify for traditional bank loans" (www.grameen-info.org). It is obvious from this definition that youth participation in economic development would depend upon the facilities provided by another agency such as government or some benevolent bank like Grameen.

Youth participation in social development would be measured in terms of their role as responsible citizens, their knowledge of rights, and their voluntarism. This is largely predicated upon the extent of trust on their potential. Parents, for example, especially in the Southern countries, would generally be reluctant to delegate their responsibilities to their children even long after adolescence. This protectionism would curb the freedom of youth, which is necessary to attain a minimum level of performance and show their potential.

Lastly, we take on youth themselves. Youth is a middle age between adolescence and adulthood. Different countries would define youth differently; for example, Pakistan defines youth age between 15 and 29; Sri Lanka defines them between 15 and 35, whereas for United Nations, and many Western countries, youth fall from 15 to 24. According to last census, this age bracket in Pakistan consists of about 25 million heads, which is one-fifth of total population. This is rather simplistic notion of

youth definition because in a diverse society such as ours, youth characteristics would vary from, let's say, province to province. They would also vary depending upon their socio-economic background and their schooling. Western societies, which have achieved a considerable level of parity, can now run more or less uniform youth development programmes, which in our case, would be tailored made to a complicated extent. So while churning out youth policies and youth development programmes, we should be cognizant of diversity of our youth culture.

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Linking Theory with Policy
Envisioning Prime Minister's Task Force on Youth

The concept of youth empowerment through participation is now materialized in the form of a proposal. The proposal is prepared in the backdrop of the understanding that a democratically elected government is now in place and is eager to take concrete steps for ensuring participation of youth in national development. This is possible only after planned, consistent and meaningful consultation with diverse youth groups, for which the government has taken the first step in the right direction. It is clear from the fact that the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, in his address to the Nation on 11th March 2003, announced that youth force is being formed at district and tehsil levels to ensure participation of youth in the development of the country. Subsequently, the Ministry of Information, Culture and Youth Affairs, has asked leading NGOs to submit their blue prints for the Youth Force at national, provincial, district and tehsil levels. The following proposal is prepared in response to the Prime Minister's directive dated 12th April 2003.

Purpose and Mission of Task Force

The purpose and the mission of a national campaign for participation of youth can be described as:

"To ensure active, positive and organized contribution by youth in economic, social and political development of the country through governmental and non-governmental institutions"

Policy Context of Youth Participation

At policy level, there are two contexts for youth participation. One is the National Youth Policy, which is ineffective, ideal, and formal and second one is the Legal Framework Order, which is effective, pragmatic, and

informal. While we do not endorse the *approach* of LFO, it has nevertheless facilitated two important achievements for youth participation in political development of the country. First is the setting of graduation as the minimum educational qualification for parliamentarians. This step alone has helped in replacement of many old political masters with the educated ones, who, in most cases are youth. Thus the current parliament can claim to have the largest proportion of youth in our history. The second milestone is the reduction of voter's age from 21 years to 18 years. This has allowed one of the densest segments of youth population, about 5 million heads, to participate in democratic transition, an important phase of national development.

Basic Characteristics of a Good Blue Print for Youth Participation

Given the plurality of youth culture and subcultures, any blue print for participation of youth in national development should be:

1. Democratic in its outlook appreciating the diversity within the youth culture;
2. Clear in its vision and mission for youth participation;
3. Knowledgeable with youth affairs, statistics, and youth policy and youth development issues;
4. Well-coordinated with the existing structures of youth participation at governmental and non-governmental levels; and
5. Flexible in its mechanics and structures.

Do's and Don'ts of Participative Mechanism for Youth

The participative mechanism should *not* be like:

1. a youth or students wings of a political party
2. an employment bureau for political parties
3. a medium for political patronage or commercial benefits

The participative mechanism should be:

1. democratic, plural and all-inclusive
2. led professionally with a motivation for national service
3. flexible in structure

Mechanics of Youth Participation and Institutional Focal Points

As envisaged in the mission statement, youth participation would be facilitated in all spheres of national life including economic, social and political development. We urge that before creating new institutions, all

relevant institutions must be asked by the Prime Minister's Secretariat to submit proposals for providing avenues of youth participation. The outline of institutional focal points is followed.

Youth participation cannot be promoted without conscious youth development, which should be considered as a component of human development. The establishment of National Commission for Human Development (NCHD) is an important milestone. We propose that National Commission for Human Development should be declared as the secretariat for any activities related with youth participation and youth development. It has an able leadership, appropriate infrastructure, and strong political backing.

Mere capacity building is not enough for youth development and avenues of solid economic progress must be provided. A related institution for youth participation especially in the economic sphere of life is Small and Medium Enterprise Development Authority (SMEDA), which is taking appreciable steps for economic empowerment for at least urban, educated and middle class youth. SMEDA can help identifying important focal points of youth participation in economic development of the country. SMEDA is the most obvious link of economic empowerment of youth as it works closely with the corporate sector. However for broad based youth participation, it must transcend from the urban/elite culture and harbour entrepreneurship across board.

Political participation of youth has been greatly facilitated by the graduation condition and voter's age reduction. The relevant institutions i.e. Parliament and Election Commission are well defined and elaborately structured. However the political parties and Election Commission can play an active role in increasing voter's turn out. Similarly young parliamentarians should play a leadership role by advocating development and legislative issues of public importance. Formulation of a cross-board Young Parliamentarians Forum is a step in the right direction.

There are two additional ambits of youth participation in national development: mosques and the universities. While physical presence of youth in both these institutions is increasing, as the number of the institutions itself, their impact as platforms of positive contribution of youth is debatable. Mosques are now recognized as propaganda weapons in the hand of political zealots in the garb of religious leaders. On the other hand, the universities have been associated with reproduction of old knowledge in the public sector and with commercialization in the private sector. Although they are critical institutions for youth participation, and

there are islands of virtue, we see little room in a large-scale reform in either case.

Youth participation cannot be left on the government's shoulders alone. The civil society institutions especially NGOs and media play critical role. The NGOs provide avenues of social welfare as well as activism wherein youth volunteer their time and energies according to their attitude. A local variety of NGOs is Community Based Organizations or CBOs, which are *Mohallah* based initiatives. Media is now one of the most flourishing businesses in Pakistan and most effective for information and promotion of any activity. This includes both print and electronic media, which can bridge across various institutional roles of youth participation through rapid information dissemination.

Youth participation is not always positive; it can be negative or worse. If the total picture of youth is taken into account then we shall note the burgeoning level of frustration among youth owing to poverty, social tensions or psychological problems. Indicators include involvement of youth in terrorism, number of suicides, and routine violence. It will be more challenging to engage with such youth rather then to'convert the converted'. Therefore while the government takes routine administrative measures, the new participatory mechanism should analyze the causes of frustration and should encourage a cross-sector dialogue among diverse youth groups themselves.

Youth Affairs Task Force in Prime Minister's Secretariat

Youth participation in development is often conditioned with formation of new structures. But if the participation of youth in all spheres of national development can be ensured through networking of some of existing structures, then why should the government think of establishing new ones? However we understand it is important to have some team, which can work directly under the supervision of the PM's Secretariat. Such a team would not only enjoy political mandate and political backing but also would become a reliable source of information and coordination with relevant organizations for the Prime Minister himself.

Therefore we propose that a Task Force for Youth should be immediately set up in the Prime Minister's Secretariat. The Prime Minister's Task Force on Youth, or whatever name could be given to it, shall ideally be led by a parliamentarian having track record or demonstrated commitment and potential of dealing with the youth affairs. He or she should be assisted by experts in youth policy, youth development and youth work belonging to both governmental and non-governmental sectors. The said Task Force

should be balanced on the basis of gender, region and religion.

The Task Force shall undertake:

1. Collection of Information about youth trends and youth participation related targets and problems in economic, social and political spheres of national life.
2. Dissemination of information on youth affairs, youth development, youth policy and youth problems through all media.
3. Seminars, Workshops, Lectures and Surveys for monitoring the progress on youth participation related targets.
4. Partnership with related governmental and non-governmental organizations and media.
5. Review and Evaluate youth participation related targets.

Replication at Provincial, District and Tehsil Levels

Once the model Task Force is in place at the Prime Minister's Secretariat, similar systems can be developed at the secretariats of all Chief Ministers, District and Tehsil Nazims etc. We understand that partner organizations like SMEDA or NCHD may not be functioning at district levels, but certainly they are all moving towards same direction. In order to have political continuity and policy consistency it is important to engage these institutions at all levels of administration.

Road Map for Youth Participation

Before we draw near to the conclusion, a quick review of proposed actions is now presented in the form of a Road Map. We expect that at least 12 months are required to arrive at first four steps before replication and rest can follow the course gradually.

1. Take Confidence Building Measures such as substantial increase in the budget of Ministry of Youth Affairs.
2. Identify partner organizations in governmental, non-governmental and media sectors.
3. Ask potential partner organizations to submit proposals of youth participation in economic, social and political spheres.
4. Establishment of Prime Minister's Task Force ideally led by a parliamentarian.
    a. Conduct meetings of Task Force with the partner organizations.
    b. Determine Youth Participation targets in each sphere of

national development.

    c.   Monitor and Evaluate youth participation targets.

5.   Replication of Prime Minister's Task Force at provincial, district and tehsil levels.

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Conclusion: From Tokenism to Trust

Democratic culture implies that the people and the government should mutually trust each other. In case of youth participation, the level of trust is abysmally low, as evident from decreasing turn out in elections and a general indifference towards state policies amongst youth; educated youth in particular. In some cases, indifference is replaced with active opposition to state policies, which is again a symbol of distrust. We believe that while consensus may not desirable or achievable, a working relationship between the government and the youth is a must for wide-scale youth participation.

It is perceived that the frequent proclamation by leaders that 'youth are our future' has become a political rhetoric and policy of tokenism. The perception of 'tokenism' is based on the fact that the Youth Affairs Division of Federal Ministry of Information, Culture and Youth Affairs was sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1.1 Million (Eleven Lac rupees) for the fiscal year 2002-03. This figure was quoted by the Joint Secretary of Youth Affairs himself in his address at a national conference on National Youth Policy convened on 30th -31st March 2003. The first CBM would be a substantial increase in the budget of Youth Affairs department and an appropriate institutional arrangement to ensure smooth, transparent and efficient spending of the allocated budget. This CBM was finally taken in federal budget 2005-06 by increasing allocation to twenty million rupees.

The Prime Minister should himself speak on youth affairs with the youth representatives on regular basis. Unless he is *seen* taking interest in the youth affairs, no ministry can do anything worthwhile for youth participation. He should be supported by regular media appearances of youth minister and same should be the case in the provinces, districts and tehsils. The Prime Minister should not engage or disengage certain youth groups on whatever reasons, unless there is a principled disagreement. He may not like to see his own reputation in danger in the case of a free for all politicization of youth participation mechanism.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan may not have to even create a separate youth force, if the government announces a road map for a broad-based

participation of youth in national development on above lines. We have identified both the policy and institutional focal points, which can be further elaborated and exploited for the purpose of youth participation. If youth were convinced that the government is taking concrete steps for their education, health and employment, then the whole youth of the country would become the Prime Minister's real force without even being formally recognized as a task force. We believe that the able, candid and wise leadership of the Prime Minister would prefer the purpose to structure; and the spirit to the form.

It has been argued that youth empowerment is possible through youth participation in economic, social and political development of the country. This participation would not only diversify the development profile but would also help in unleashing the youth potential. The concepts in the regards have been explained and a working set of recommendations has been presented. It is hoped that this conference, by engaging in critical discourse over this important issue would help in fine-tuning of these ideas and would find this paper a relevant spring board for conclusive discussions.

Vision Statement for Youth Organizations

Visions emanate from problem, desired goals, and worldviews. As each youth group or organization would have different perception of problems, priorities and worldviews, the resulting vision would be unique for every youth organization and may be for every youth. Without posing any value-judgments on the quality of vision-statements, therefore, we would suggest that this we should discuss and recommend a meta-vision for youth organizations worldwide.

All vision and mission statements for youth should address following four-core-elements, which I have drawn in the form of circlesfor the sake of elaboration. There are certain 'outliers', which actually indicate the extreme points.

- ➤ Jawan Fard (Literally, Young Individual)
- ➤ Jawan Dost (Literally, Young Friend)
- ➤ Jawan Awaz (Literally, Young Voice)
- ➤ Jawan Fikr (Literally, Young Thought)

Jawan Fard: Does the vision address to the 'Fard', i.e. issues and challenges of an individual youth; her aspirations, her frustrations, her aims, her challenges etc. without encouraging selfishness, self-centeredness, and a careerist approach?

Jawan Dost: Does the vision points out the 'Dost' i.e. does it consider how youth can be organized for larger social interest without risking unnecessary politicization especially at student level?

Jawan Awaz: Does the vision create enough room for 'Awaz' i.e. does it dream an environment, where youth would have freedom of expression and action, without trespassing others' rights? Does it encourage youth to raise voice effectively over injustice without provoking public sentiments?

Jawan Fikr: Does the vision encourage 'Fikr' i.e. alternative, critical and fresh thinking among young educated minds without risking directionless ness?

The question of values

In most of youth-related visions, the question of values is given central

Four Circles model for meta-vision of youth development

Four overlapping circles diagram:
- I. Jawan Fard — *Individual*
- II. Jawan Dost — *Friends*
- III. Jawan Awaz — *Voice*
- IV. Jawan Fikr — *Thought*

Model for meta-vision of youth development is explained by the above 4 circles. Important features of this model are:

1. While each circle describe one key element of the meta vision, it is incomplete without other circles.

2. All four circles are overlapping and mutually constitute the meta vision.

3. These circles do not subscribe to any value-set; they are normal in nature.

4. If a youth vision contains these circles, it will be a complete vision, but we cannot comment on the quality of vision statement.

5. There are risks of negative outfalls, if a youth action goes beyond these circles.

6. The proportion of areas in the circles is symbolic in nature and can be altered.

7. *Jawan* is common element and stands for freshness, vibrant and dynamic.

8. Example 1: if an organization is working on micro-credit, then its emphasis might be on Jawan Fard, as it pertains to economic self-development, but is cater to social needs of the community (Dost); must be based on a new idea or a product (Fikr) and must encourage (Awaz. So it will select Circle-1 as its core area, but would come across other elements due to overlapping nature of the meta vision.

9. Example 2: If an organization is an advocacy group, then its core area is in Circle III, as it engages in social and political awareness, but it must also cater to other elements by creating new knowledge (Fikr), building networks (Dost), and focusing on the individual as change agent (Fard).

importance. I believe that imposition of any value-set on young minds is detrimental to their creativity and independent growth. It applies to both moral-religious and amoral-secular schools of thought. Certainly, there are some universal values, which are non-controversial and they should be employed in writing youth visions. My bet, for example, would be on tolerance and understanding. The real question then should be of an attitude, instead of values.

Approach and Attitude

The elements of the proposed framework for a vision are not mutually exclusive. They might be overlapping, and in fact supplementing each other. These elements not only outline an ideal vision statement but also describe an ideal youth attitude. It is, however, neither possible nor desirable that each youth organization would have all the four elements in its vision statement in any systematic proportions. Every youth organization would have a unique combination of these characteristics and would have a unique world-view. Despite the uniqueness of all these core characteristics, the common line remains freshness, vibrancy and ambition: different perceptions arising from the common word *Jawan* .

Youth and Globalization

My idea of globalization, inspired from my professor Jan Nederveen Pieterse, is its hybrid and plural character. Hence I am subscriber to the view that there are modernities instead of modernity, and there are communities, instead of community, and there are youth-cultures instead of youth-culture. This diversity can be tackled with the help of adopting the attitude of tolerance and improving understanding. Where tolerance can be taught, understanding has to be learnt.

Inspiration from a Nuclear Model

Taka Hashi, one of sixty survivors of Hiroshima A-Bombing alive today, made a moving presentation about the impacts of nuclear attack on the lives of people and infrastructure. He described that there were essentially three characteristics of A-Bomb: heat ways, blast and radiation. Heat waves produced a temperature between 3000 °C and 4000 °C; blasts caused a wind storm of around 400 miles per hour; and radiation continued to spread damage much after the blasts. There is a paradoxical analogy between these characteristics and what I am going to suggest as a set of inspiring principles for development as a conclusion. If it has really to change the world, today's development process' intensity and passion should have a Heat Wave's Effect; its outreach and speed should have a Blast Effect; and its sustainability must have a Radiation Effect.

Uniqueness of Generation

Every generation has some unique points at a given historical juncture. For example, the young generation of forties saw, experienced, and suffered the World War II and following that an unprecedented boom in the economy. The young generation of eighties saw culmination of the cold war and following that addition of many potential democracies on the world map. Similarly the young generation of twenty first century is experiencing the terrorism and security threats all over the world. At the same time, it is empowered with information and communication technology, which is creating new ways of interaction, cooperation leading to potential peace and mutual understanding.

The world I want to see

I am neither an optimist nor a pessimist. I am, in the words of poet-philosopher Allama Iqbal, a meliorist: a believer in that the world is expanding and it *can* be improved by human effort. From youth point of view, I want to see, as well as help creating, a world, which has a better understanding of youth culture, youth voice and youth development. A world, which does not demand from the youth, but rewards it, and which does not command youth but consults it. I envision a world with more accurate description of youth position and potential, and a world which can help unleash the capabilities of youth for a better tomorrow.

Working Proposals

National Volunteer Core

Youth participation in national development is a non-controversial issue however its forms and methods have been contested. Both the government and the civil society organizations have chalked out various programmes for this objective. Government programmes like Civil Defence Organization in the past and Volunteer Core of National Commission for Human Development in present have come to fore. Some governments have also political agenda behind such programmes to gather public support. Even political parties have their youth wing, to ensure youth participation in political processes. The civil society organizations have their own methods of youth participation. Some have developed special programmes for youth while some have permanent sub-systems for youth.

These programmes, though well-intentioned, have fallen short of instilling a spirit of volunteerism in the youth, and in the society at large. NGOs have limited capacity to deliver and despite their programming efficiency, their scope remains limited due to organizational and dispositional constraints. Governments, on the other hand, fail on the account of both expediency and political impartiality. In my view, a tendency in both NGOs and the governments towards building islands of reforms, at least in this case, have also led to isolated chambers of charity and goodwill. Some programme at a national scale must be initiated to engage youth with the spirit of volunteerism and make them aware of their potential role in reforms. This programme should engage the government, the private sector and the civil society organizations.

I propose that a new programme, may be called 'National Volunteer Core', should be initiated on the pattern and scale of National Cadet Core, commonly known as NCC. This programme, which would be launched in all public and private colleges of the country would not only help in unleashing youth potential but also would inform them about their roles in the social, economic and political reform. Thus NVC would become a national platform for youth participation in national development. Participation of government, NGOs and private sector is requisite for its success.

I further propose that this programme should be structured in two parts

consisting for 40 days during the two years of intermediate or higher secondary or A-levels education. Twenty days should be devoted for economy, whereas twenty days should be devoted to the society. For first part, students would be required to work in offices of a private sector company or in a field with farmers or in a factory, whatever may be convenient for the students. For the second part, they would be required to work with any community based organization in their own area. Thus this two-part programme would directly engage young generation of the country with the challenges of economic and social/political development. A work experience at this early stage would also help in deciding about their career options.

Just like NCC, NVC passed students would be awarded with 20 marks and a certificate by the relevante educational or government institution. This is important because our education system is still about marks, and any promotion linked with marks would be a good motivational tool for students. This programme should be administered by existing education ministry, but given its national importance, may have to be presented in the Parliament to get a national consensus on this idea. In fact, we propose that Parliament should formulate a committee to launch and monitor this programme throughout Pakistan.

Young Parliamentarians Forum

According to a news item, (Daily Jang 18th April) young parliamentarians belonging to different political parties have formed an alliance within parliament, which is named 'Young Parliamentarians Forum' (YPF). It was reported that 125 parliamentarians have joined this group and MNA Raza Hayat Siraj has been elected to convene the forum. In its maiden meeting, YPF vowed to work on issues critical to youth such as unemployment.

The thinking and action of young parliamentarians is worth-appreciation. It is perhaps first instance when parliamentarians have come together for non-political purpose. Importantly they have joined hands for specific target stakeholders. We have earlier suggested in our review of National Youth Policy that 'young members' should form a part of the parliament. With YPF in shape, our suggestion has been in part accepted.

The apparently large group of 125 members should organize its objectives around specific task forces. The central issue should remain that of youth as a community. From this as the point of departure, task forces on these areas are envisaged: National Youth Policy, Education, Health,

Unemployment, Marginalized youth groups (rural, madrissah educated etc.). Alliances and coalitions must be built with the civil society represented by media, donor agencies, NGOs etc.

As the National Youth Policy (NYP) is being formulated, the YPF should take charge of this policy as its flagship project. Comparative studies for NYP basing on similar practices of other developing and developed countries should be initiated. Purposive and meaningful dialogue should be organized throughout the country. The YPF should instruct the Ministry of Youth Affairs to provide a detailed account on the implementation status of previous NYPs to avoid reinvention of wheel.

One immediate goal, which the YPF should also undertake is enhancement of budgets of Youth Ministry at federal level, at least. Last year, the allocated budget for Youth Affairs Department was a paltry sum of Rs. 1.1 Million. Obviously, the Youth Affairs cannot purchase even stationery, so to say, in that sum. For more insight into the workings of the Youth Ministry, the YPF should also note that even a part of that budget lapses each year. Therefore efforts at increasing the budget should be matched with efforts in capacity building of the Youth Affairs Department.

There are large umbrella organizations working for the cause of youth. YPF should immediately call in their representatives to determine their exact performance. In our view, most of these organizations are based on political clouts and refer to some kind of monopoly over the youth. The Youth Ministry should only encourage issue-based alliances in future instead of political groupings.

It is hoped that Young Parliamentarians Forum would stay above political lines of division. The challenges confronted by the youth of Pakistan demand that all parties should rise above ideological and confrontational politics and lead the young generation towards a better Pakistan. The youth should be considered 'nucleus' of economy and 'juggler vain' of our society. This allegorical statement is important at least politically because so far the nation has stood united on the issues of 'nuclear bomb' and 'Kashmir.'

Students Union and Youth

Freedom of Association: 'every citizen shall have the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality]. Article 17 (1) of Constitution of Pakistan 1973.

'As long as you are students, concentrate your sole efforts on preparation and do not take part in practical politics.' (Founder of Pakistan, 1948)

' Students are my reliable workers. They have rendered unforgettable services in Pakistan Movement. They have changed the destiny of nation.' (Founder of Pakistan, 1946)

'I,_____ S/D/O_____, do hereby solemnly undertake.... that I shall not indulge myself in any political activities and such other activities which are prohibited under the college regulations.' (Undertaking signed by students at the time of admission in colleges in Pakistan.)

Naseeruddin was a history student at Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, until he was shot in a violent clash between two rival factions at the campus. He later succumbed to injuries at the hospital, rather he succumbed to the violent student culture. A leading English daily related this incident to absence of 'genuine students' unions due to which students are polarized on ethno-linguist lines. The editorial further suggested that students unions are necessary for channelizing students' potential in extra-curricular activities. In our view, both the event and its explanation are highly questionable. In following analysis, we shall try to elaborate our viewpoint.

It is evident that students' union fall under the 'Freedom of Association' from a strict legal and constitutional point of view. Besides constitution, certain political and social perspectives also provide room for students union. They are established to represent students' voices in educational institutions. They are formed to facilitate solidarity and unity amongst students. They also become harbouring grounds for political training of future politicians. Most of elected public officials or politicians of today would cite their active role in students' unions of their own times.

There are counter arguments as well. Though constitutional rights to form

associations are extended to all citizens of Pakistan including students, they are limited under special circumstances. The spirit of exception to a given right is also a common character of international documents of rights' documents such as Universal Human Rights Declaration, which, for example, provides liberty of freedom of faith or religion, but limits this right to maintaining the public order and public morality. So if certain extensions of right to make association such as to form students union are curtailed, it is understandable.

Theories are not countered by more theories alone; they are also countered, or enforced, by empirical evidences. If we look at the recent history of students' activism, in diverse environments of Lahore and Karachi, for example, we notice violence and bloodshed comes to fore. We remember many notorious characters such as Akram Gujjar, who were mostly killed in infamous police encounters, were actually breaded in on educational institutions such as University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore. Ever since the students unions were effectively banned, peace was restored at campuses. First indicator of normalization was timely completion of 4-years tenure of graduation.

In the early nineties, no public transport bus or wagon passing in the front of Government MAO College Lahore could afford to pass without paying a 'tax' of Rs. 2/ for wagon and Rs. 5/- for a bus to the union. This culture is a part of past now and peace is restored at the campus. Now the college produces some of the best students on account of academic performance and participation in national level co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. It has started several masters level programmes, initiated a co-education programme at graduation level for the first time in its history, and now hosts around 8400 students, exceeding any other college in Punjab.

Historically, there are incidences when students unions have played a positive role. Probably the decade of 1960s, with National Students Organization at the forefront, is still eulogized by many leaders. However, there was a peculiar external atmosphere in which democracy on campuses flourished; there was no democracy off-campuses. So perhaps the students and leaders alike made good use of the liberty available to them and used this freedom for leadership and organizational development.

The issues of representation, unity and solidarity, and ventilation of students' energies are not sidelined in any case. As we notice from the example of MAO College, peaceful atmosphere is more inductive for creative and constructive activities. Students do form associations to

present their problems to the administration nevertheless, they engage in political debates and academic debates after making debating societies and publishing college magazines. The only difference is now that these associations are not subject to any kind of outside political interventions. Moreover, as citizens of Pakistan, students are allowed to participate in political gatherings anywhere in their area or any public place. They are also free to cast votes in national and provincial elections. However their political activities are restricted on the campuses.

In debates on national identity and role of different segments of society in national development, we often quote Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. We have quoted him earlier and apparently his positions on the issue of students and politics are contradictory. However, he was a politician and a strategist at heart, and therefore often subjected his public positions to ground realities. Therefore, although he almost single-handedly carved out Pakistan, his political thinking should always be scrutinized carefully. Therefore, we tend to submit, that using his sayings to prove one argument may lead to problems, both intellectually and historically.

Historically, students unions and associations have often come on streets in agitational politics. However, despite their vigour, they have achieved, or lost, little on their own. They were often used by different political forces. It is said that students were 'harawal dasta' in Pakistan Movement, but we fail to notice any young leader in the mainstream politics bearing perhaps the exception of Raja Sahib Mehmoodabad. The Cultural Revolution of China in 1960s, Students' led protest movements of Paris in 1969, and again democratic yet violent resistance movement starting from a university in China in 1989 were historical movements run by the students, but they fall short of their targets by a great degree. In circumstances where they have delivered, they were actively led and coordinated by experienced leaders, such as Pakistan Movement of 1940s and Islamic revolution of Iran of 1979.

Students certainly face several problems like any other citizen of Pakistan. They can always protest on the quality of education, facilities of research, qualification of teachers etc. We are sure, and so should be the students themselves, that no force in this country would ever forbid students to express and present their problems in a peaceful way to the concerned authorities. We are also aware of the reality that peaceful negotiation is not one of the most effective methods to solve your collective problems in a state like Pakistan, yet we recommend that students are too precious to be used for this purpose.

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Rights are not given, they are acquired after struggle. If rights are presented to you in a plate without any effort, you could not appreciate their importance. Consider most recent example of Nobel Laurreate Shirin Ibadi from Iran, who has struggled for human rights and women rights in possibly a more conservative and high-handed state like Iran, was jailed for her opinions, but now gained international recognition and subsequently national 'immunity'. To the contrary, we have not seen students protesting to demand political rights in terms of students union. Therefore there must be an indigenous demand of students before this matter could be taken more seriously. Lifting the ban on students union is an idea whose time has *not* come.

GLOBAL COMPACT AND YOUTH[*]

Youth represents a cross section of society which is basically distinguished from other segments of the society on the basis of age. In Pakistan, the segment of population between the age of 15 and 29 is classified as youth. Internationally, this definition varies from culture to culture, but now most nations, including the United Nations define youth between the age bracket of 15 and 24. Age, however, is not the only distinguishing feature of youth community. The United Nations also defines youth as a period during which a person is being prepared and prepares himself/ herself to be an active and full, responsible member of the society.

Youth constitute one-fourth population of Pakistan nearing 35 million heads. This large segment of the populace faces some grave problems and most of them are linked to the economic activism of youth, known as unemployment and under employment in the policy parlance. It is at this stage, where the role of the private sector in a largely neo-liberal economic regime, comes into fore front.

On finer lines, the issues of unemployment, at least partially, are linked with the education and training. It is in line with the idea of 'preparation' of youth as explained earlier. Therefore, defining the framework of interaction between the youth and the Global Compact only in industrial and commercial terms would restrict the operational implications. If youth are not provided with the type of education and training which the industrial and agriculture sector of the country demands, then both would remain on the sidelines of synergetic action. However, in Pakistan, privatization of education has in fact exceeded the privatization of the industry and educational-industrial complex is now treated as the one with the highest rate of return i.e. about 45%. Therefore, the private sector again comes to forefront in our framework of youth and Global Compact.

It has been mentioned earlier that the United Nations define youth in terms

[*]Global Compact is a global initiative by the United Nations Organization engaging the private sector in its development and peace keeping missions. The key areas in this initiative are: human rights, labour standards and environment. Global Compact in Pakistan is seeking strategic partners in different arrays of life. The present write-up was prepared by Jawan Pakistan (JP), an internet-based youth organization with whom the author is attached. It presents a brief overview of youth situation in the country. United Nations system about youth, and finally a framework based on synchronization of links and de-links across policies, systems and challenges.

of a *period of preparation.* Preparation, in turn, depends on education and training. Therefore we should see this preparatory period as a large canvas in which youth, the private sector, and the United Nations act as stakeholders. These stakeholders interact to address the primary problem of economic activism for youth. These are the basic contours of the framework for action for the implementation of Global Compact agenda in Pakistan as far as the youth is concerned.

Global Compact for youth would take on entirely different directions if a North-South perspective is drawn. As in case of Pakistan, youth in the South constitute a majority of the population whereas in North, the ratio of old people has increased tremendously owing to negative growth rate in population, better health conditions, increased longevity etc. Thus Global Compact for youth would have different connotations for the South and North. It might actually mean a completely different set of problems of youth in each hemisphere.

Diaspora has become a prominent feature of modern age and is at the core of several global deliberations. Like globalization itself, diaspora is multiple, cross cultural and open-ended. Almost one-third of the technical workforce in the United States for example consists of immigrants. In most countries of the Middle East, the number of immigrant workers is actually more than the nationals thus compelling, for example, the government of United Arab Emirates to start programmes like Emiratization.

Another dimension of immigration for work is offshore service centers following the footsteps of offshore manufacturing. For example take the fast growing trend of establishing call centers of multinationals in countries like India, which have highly educated middle class youth with good command on English. In fact this very trend has of late become a reason of concern for economic managers of advanced nations as employment opportunities are shifting from the North to South in such cases. Diaspora and demands of Global Compact are natural allies and it is obvious that youth is at the center stage of this alliance with reference to labour issues in particular.

Synchronization of conflicting priorities is a precondition for effective action. Therefore, now we attempt to synchronize conflicting priority areas mentioned in various relevant documents. First of all we take the Global Compact itself, which emphasizes on three key areas: human rights, labour standards, and environment. If these key areas are juxtaposed with the priority areas we mentioned i.e. employment, education and training, and diaspora, it can be argued that all the priority

areas mentioned in Global Compact actually amounts to awareness raising, whereas the priority areas mentioned in above proposition need some policy shifts and implicitly actions.

Within the system of United Nations, UNESCO runs a programme called Info Youth and it emphasizes on these priority areas: Youth Policy, make new technology work for young people, support the global fight against HIV/AIDS, train young people in the use of ICT, support and encourage new youth initiatives. Generally speaking, it is a common agenda for a government instead of the private sector, as common elsewhere in the UN policies and documents. Even though, the cross sectional point for Global Compact and Youth is primarily the area of making ICT (Information and Communication Technology) work for young people. In this regards, multi-billion industries like MicroSoft can be asked to further the education of ICT in poor countries. If it is contextualized with our proposed framework, ICT would logically fit into the 'preparatory session' or education and training.

We have arrived at a workable framework as far as Global Compact and Youth in Pakistan is concerned, wherein local as well as global considerations have been taken into account. Key priority areas in this framework are: employment, education and training, and diaspora, wherein we stress that the cross cutting theme in the ultimate analysis is employment, employment and employment. Education and training are 'preparation' for employment and diaspora primarily results from seeking new employment opportunities. Therefore we recommend that the main consideration for Global Compact in Pakistan should be research, networking and action plans for optimal utilization of socio-economic resources for the youth for establishing a culture of enlightenment, moderation, and welfare.

General References:

www.dawn.com
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PART III

Policy Perspectives

YOUTH POLICY 1993: IDENTIFYING A GAP INDEX

We understand that a tremendous amount of work has been done by various individuals and organizations, both in and outside the government, for youth policy, youth development and youth engagement at large. Here, the purpose is not to review the exhaustive literature or subsequent policies or their drafts. Instead, some gaps are identified, which can give an insight into the factors affecting success, or failure, of previous plans. Namely, these gaps are: knowledge gap, practice gap, scope gap, magnitude gap and perception gap. Though point of reference remains the National Youth Policy (NYP) Draft 1993, which is viewed as an exhaustive attempt on the subject, references are made to recent developments.

Knowledge Gap

If policies are not linked with real problems, or at best only skirt them, they become tools to preach wishful thinking. Perhaps the most obvious knowledge gap exists on the question of definition of youth itself, and more importantly on the rationale of various age groups. There is no secondary data available on the differences of trends amongst various age groups of youth. In the absence of such data, priorities and decisions remain ill informed.

Practice Gap

Practice gap in public policies in Pakistan has almost become a folk-lore. The NYP Draft 93 envisaged creation of a large plethora of structures and institutions. It was to be supported with the creation of a Youth Development Fund with a tune of Rs. 5 million. It proposed creation of delivery mechanisms, consultation systems, and monitoring agencies. None, however, was given a chance to be even born. If anything, in fact, reverse development has been the case, with the constant decrease in social sector spending at the backdrop. Therefore, the Youth Affairs Division, which in early nineties used to get a budget of Rs. 7-8 Million rupees, has been actually restricted to an annual budget of Rs. 1.1 Million for last few years. Subsequent impacts on projects and programs are self-explanatory.

Scope Gap

Youth policies, anywhere in the world, and so too in Pakistan, have tendency to thin out to all possible sectors, arenas and areas. The emphasis has been on campaigns instead of infrastructure development. Even solid research is not high on the agendas, if infrastructure development can be put aside for genuine cost considerations and bureaucratic conflicts. It is really hard to get the approval of any major project aimed at providing infrastructure for youth, since all such proposals would be resisted by relevant ministries. The competition is actually not for results but for getting more funds.

Magnitude Gap

Youth are often presented as a vanguard of social change, future of nation etc. etc. However history provides us some interesting insights into a few gigantic projects to evolve a youthful society in twentieth century. According to a study, history observed three major obsessions with a youth-full society namely: Hitler Youth in Germany, Cultural Revolution in China, and experiments of Pol Plot in Cambodia. All aimed at purification of social soul by displacing the old with the young, and all not only failed, but also proved counter-productive. However, these experiments offered an insight: to become socially meaningful (as compared with successful or failed), any social change process should be gigantic enough to include all possible segments of the 'target' of the given change.

Applied to our context, it translates like this. If emphasis is just made on creating and enlarging state machinery, then the issues get routinized and potentially shelved. To tackle with the complex issue of youth at the large scale social level, therefore, the machinery should be lean enough to elude any bureaucratic redundancies, and should be resourceful enough to reach out all possible stakeholders whether inside or outside the government. Take, for example, the old challenge of injecting voluntarism and community participation in the youth. A modern response has been offered by National Commission for Human Developmet (NCHD) aiming at creation of a volunteer task force of 100,000 trained volunteers. However this is a classic example of losing the capacity to act at the large scale social magnitude. Even if this force is created successfully, those 100,000 volunteers would make a little difference, not because of any faults in the programme, but due to their small number in the backdrop of 25-35 million youth and in fact 150 million people of Pakistan. Therefore any programme at this scale would, at best, end up at creation of new constituencies of influence.

Perception Gap

Perception gaps exist horizontally between policy formulators and policy subjects, vertically within policy formulators and stakeholders, and diagonally across the society (read: youth) and the state (read: YAD) at large. These perception gaps often lead to lack of ownership of a policy and thus reduce its ability to create impacts. Perceptions originate from worldviews and values. For example, some participants in the process of youth policy formulation would suggest inclusion of an imagined or actual ideology of Pakistan as the main frame of reference for youth development. Whereas, some would refer to a value-free social change aimed at expanding the horizons of youth minds. These perceptions gaps originate due to low priority attached to meaningful and all-inclusive consultations. Socially, lack of mutual trust and group-thinking also harbour perception gaps. Therefore, positions of power are often looked upon with envy instead of avenues of cooperation.

YOUTH POLICY 2002:
LACKING HISTORY, SOCIETY *AND* POLICY

It is appreciated that the federal government prepared a draft National Youth Policy (NYP) after consultations at provincial and federal levels. These consultative workshops were held in 2001-02 and were sponsored by Unicef, Pakistan. Subsequently this draft was sent to provincial governments from where it was forwarded to leading youth NGOs.

Pakistan's NYP's Draft is a brief document divided into five sections: Introduction, Definition of Youth, Aims and Objectives, Activities and Programmes, and Institutional Structures, all covered in 18 double spaced pages. This review would follow the same arrangement but would also present some of its own recommendations. The review is preceded with our perspective on youth, which has certain implications for the policy as well.

Broadly, NYP draft consists of views, perceptions and beliefs of government, society and related organizations with a minor work of statistics. Without a proper base of information, correct decisions cannot be taken and policy options cannot be developed. Unlike trade policy, for example, which is based on historical trends, international patterns, and country's own characteristics, youth policy is devoid of any such traits and thus appears as a collection of vague, though noble, wishes.

A Realistic Check

Generally it is said that youth are backbone of any society. Since our childhood we hear that we are the future of Pakistan and that we shall take lead in making positive and revolutionary changes. From the onset we stress that we do not share this view. For us this statement has only biological and historical significance. That is youth are really our future and older generation cannot be our future because generally old people die sooner than youth. So future does belong to youth but only in biological and historical sense.

We believe that youth has an important role to play but that is limited; because of capacity, lack of knowledge and expertise and their personal resources. It is also limited because nowhere in the world, any

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government has full fledged ministries for youth as a community. Certainly they are addressed by education and health ministries but they are not addressed as youth community. So it puts a limit on public spending on youth development directly. Historically speaking, youth had played active roles in social transformation though often without success. For example the cultural revolution of China aimed at bringing youth leadership at every sphere of the society was failed. Pakistan's movement was led by a multitude of leaders; none of them was youth by any standards. In short, youth can add fuel to fire but they do not set the fire for sure.

In this background, we want to sound rational, simple and pragmatic and we want that youth policy be developed on similar lines. It should refrain from attaching unrealistic and unrealizable visions with youth. Our own attachment with youth is not based on any emotional thinking neither it has any political disposition. We take youth as an issue, as a subject matter just like some other people take gender or population. Our thoughts on the subject follow this unique perspective.

Preface of Political Commitment

Political will is a critical element for implementation. Political commitment of the government with the NYP is not demonstrated in the draft. If the high ambitions are to be matched with actual commitments, or at least demonstration of such commitments, highest office in the government or the state should write a preface to the NYP. Similarly provincial youth policies should be preceded with such statements from respective highest offices.

Introduction: Adding Historical and Policy Contexts

Historical: This section must provide a historical, policy, and social context to NYP. In part social context is discussed but historical and policy perspectives are missing. By historical context we mean a brief review of similar initiatives in our own history. Every government has announced some programmes for youth with mixed results. For example the federal government during 1996-99 announced Champions of Reform Programme under ambit of Pakistan 2010 Programme. This network consisted of more than 5,000 volunteers and professionals, mostly young, in all provinces. Workshops and seminars were held and some projects were initiated as well. Without any political bias, this network should be studied because some proposals in the present draft point out to the same direction by mentioning the importance of wide scale consultation across board. So to avoid the pitfalls of reinventing the wheel, a historical context

should be included in the Introduction.

Policy: As far as the policy context is concerned, we must say that any policy, and especially Youth Policy cannot be formulated and implemented in isolation. Youth Policy in particular is multi-disciplinary in nature because of the complexities associated with youth development. For example, health related targets for the youth are already covered in national health programmes and education related targets are already mentioned in the Education Policy. So there is no need of simply repeating the same targets. In any case the youth ministry is never sanctioned with any substantial budget to work on all the ambitious targets mentioned in the present draft. This can still be relevant if the youth policy is defined in context of other policies namely, Health, Education, Labour and Manpower, Sports and Information and Culture. Adding policy context would make the draft of NYP more integrative and holistic rather than isolated.

Social: Youth are a marginalized social group like women and children. Where later two are acknowledged as such, little is done systematically about youth. In this social context, it must be realized that there are certain responsibilities of society towards youth. There are youth rights, in other words. They have right to have a family or family like atmosphere, right to education, and right to think and decide independently. They also have right to get right guidance at right time from right resources including their parents, friends, mosques and schools.

Review of Past Youth Policies

Present draft of NYP is neither first one nor the last one. It is largely based on the drafts of previous policies as it explains itself. However this draft does not indicate this historical link and does not comment on the implementation status of previous youth policies. The practice of review of past youth policies should be established in the Introduction on the pattern of Five year development plans by Planning Commission. It would also help in identification of loopholes and bottlenecks in the implementation process.

Meta Policy of NYP: Information, Analysis and Monitoring

In our view, NYP should not be promoted as another policy like trade policy, education policy etc. It should act as a watchdog for the interests of youth as a community at large and monitor that the desired and youth relevant objectives in other policies are being achieved. For instance

literacy targets or quality of higher education policy are inherently youth related targets. For this it must develop an "Information and Analysis Wing" in collaboration with local and international actors at government and non-governmental levels. Thus as far as the youth policy is concerned, its objective or meta policy should not be as a provider and even not as facilitator, but as a monitor.

Definition of Youth

The definition of youth as provided in the draft is superficial and deals with age factor only. It is incomplete without a complete description of sub groups of youth in our society for example labour, students, farmers, young professionals, unemployed, rural, urban etc. Further classification is also possible such as students at different systems like school and madrissahs. Without the knowledge of diversity of youth, the policy cannot claim to be inclusive, which is a must characteristic of any public policy. For instance the NYP of South Africa mentions the details of youth subgroups with ground information. We understand that the necessary information might already be present in some department's record in light of Population Census of 1998, but needs to be retrieved and classified according to the needs of NYP.

A very interesting anomaly about the definition of youth can be observed in the Rules of Business, 1973 on the website of Youth Affairs Division (www.pakistan.gov.pk/tourism-division/aboutdivision/rules-of-business.html). Its clauses number 47-49 exclude students from youth by restricting Youth Exchange Programmes, Youth Centers, and All Youth Organizations and Forums to non-student youth only. This anomaly should be reviewed carefully. Does it mean that the youth policy should also exclude students from youth at large? At first it should be questioned as to why the Rules of Business, which as compared to a policy, are more effectively followed, do not include students in the youth.

Aims and Objectives

In our view, ideology of Pakistan is a historically bound idea and should not be enforced as a rule of law. It should be acknowledged that a consensus on the meaning and objective of ideology of Pakistan does not exist amongst various subgroups of youth. Thus a Madrissah turned youth would have different, and often contradictory interpretation of objectives of Pakistan, than that of a university graduate. Thus ideology, when taken seriously, would only ignite differences and hamper development of an agreed framework. We also submit that a good policy is a value-free document, which does not mean it is value-less. Put in another way, a good

policy is an amoral document without being immoral. We recommend following clause should be added in the Aims and Objectives:

"To foster independent thinking, critical approach and intellectual development amongst youth to define and follow a creative, unique and alternative route of development for Pakistan."

Activities and Programmes

As already stated, the basic thrust of NYP should be to monitor youth-related targets in all other policies. For this following activities are envisaged:

1. Collection of Information about youth related targets in education, health, labour and manpower, sports, tourism, art and culture and media and entertainment policies and institutions.

2. Publications, through print and electronic media on youth development, youth policy and youth activism in and outside Pakistan.

3. Assessment of need of youth volunteers in NGOs and providing useful linkages.

4. Seminars, Workshops and Lectures for monitoring the progress on youth related targets.

5. Active links with related ministries, divisions and departments.

6. Youth Situation Surveys should be undertaken periodically to monitor the levels of education and health among youth.

7. Performance indicators in consultation with related ministries must be determined and publicized widely.

Institutional Structures

The structures mentioned in the draft can be helpful in achieving the desired goals but their maintenance is often impossible for a government. Soon after they are formed, one hears that they would be restructured etc. Their voluntary nature further reduces the prospects of a sustainable system. So we encourage that the government should curb its temptation to coordinate and control all the youth related initiatives at social level. It should not create large umbrella structures which are often used politically by one group or another. The government should restrict itself in giving a policy and later enabling, monitoring and evaluation.

In our view, the most important of all institutional structures would be the creation of an Information, Analysis and Monitoring Wing inside the

Youth Ministry. It would have its camp offices in the provincial youth ministries. Its main objective should be to conduct youth situation surveys on various issues and then feed the results to decision makers at government and non-governmental levels. The same wing should study the youth policy in other countries and apprise the concerned circles of the best practices in youth sector.

It is always useful and convenient to make changes in the existing structures instead of creating new ones. For example, we have legislative assemblies at provincial and federal levels and we have elected bodies at tehsil and district levels. Since the provincial and national assemblies already have a large number of reserved seats, a couple of reserved seats can be redirected for youth members. We understand here that there is a large number of young members in the assemblies but that does not mean that they are youth sensitive as well. Youth Members should be the ones having demonstrated commitment with the causes of youth community. These youth members should be charged with the mandate of overseeing the implementation of youth policy.

YOUTH POLICY 2005:
A PICTURE-LESS FRAME WAITING TO WORK*

After hectic consultative sessions organized through out the country, the government has finally managed to bring out a comprehensive draft of Pakistan Youth Policy 2005 (PYP). It is not for the first time that such a draft has been announced; however for the first time, it is declared that "it (PYP) is not linked with any past youth policy experience or learning". This premise immediately delinks the present attempt from the past, and hence develops a scenario in which failures of previous drafts are not considered and achievements are not appreciated.

Quite often, planning for youth, including the policies for youth faces the dilemma of aiming too high and standing nowhere. Unlike policies for other sectors, the youth policy making involves an idealistic state of mind, because youthfulness denotes idealism and exploration of unknown. Pakistan Youth Policy 2005 is no exception. On the other hand, situation on ground is that most of the objectives commonly associated with youth policies are already addressed by some other policy, without targeting any age group in particular. This leaves a very little solid and unique space for youth policies.

One of the contested issues in the discussion on youth policy is the age of youth. Section 2 of current draft defines youth age between 13 and 29, while reducing the lower age limit of youth from 15 years to 13 years. It may be noted that youth age is universally recognized between 15 and 24. The draft mentions that there are around 34.3 million youth in Pakistan in the age bracket of 15-29, whereas owing to a research error, the youth between the age of 13-15 years are not counted.

One of the major concerns is the lack of a clear position on youth, both as an individual and as a community. This draft does not mention it anywhere as its objective, which should be the starting point of any action plans. That is why although PYP suggests many new systems and networks; it fails to explain its perspective of youth. For example, a religious perspective would view youth as an age of volatility (read character), vigour (read Jihad), and lack of experience (read immaturity). It would imply a certain set of actions for youth. In contrast, a liberal view of youth

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* This draft was circulated among key stakeholders after final consultative session, Jan 2005.

would describe them as individuals who should be given freedom of choice in all respects. This perspective would demand a certain set of actions and policies. Whereas the current draft does not take any position on youth, which indeed has two meanings.

Firstly, no position is taken on youth, because it is considered undesirable at this stage. Secondary data about attitudes and trends of youth is scant, for example. In addition, though the consultative exercise has been undertaken, there are many social and economic segments, whose views are not taken into consideration due to logistic and political reasons. Therefore it is better to leave this question unanswered at this stage. A second explanation of taking no position on youth is troublesome: authors of the present draft do not have an understanding of the youth phenomenon in general. Or they want to underplay their own vision and let the circumstances and response make their job easier. In either case, PYP appears like a confused passenger on a junction, where many trains would come, while the passenger has least idea of his next destination.

In contrast, I have taken a very clear position on youth. I view them as microcosm of our society. This apparently simple looking statement has deep implications for actions and policies. For example, since I have defined youth as the microcosm of our society, I would not view them as some ideal generation, which can turn around things. I would not ascribe any utopian goals with them. I would not consider them as possible messiah.

Para 5 discusses the principles and values which are considered premise of the draft. A notable shift from NYP 2002 is deletion of the word 'ideology of Pakistan' or 'two nation theory', as well as Islam. Many values are mentioned as desired behavioural change in the youth, which are considered as universal assets of all civilizations irrespective of any religion. 'Pakistaniat' is mentioned as a desirable social and psychological thinking however it is ignored that how Pakistaniat-love for the present and concern for the future, can be instilled without first embracing the past.

In one of the consultative sessions on Pakistan Youth Policy, which we organized in Lahore, participants were unanimous on one point: the PYP does not give explicit importance to the morality and character building of youth. We do not have an answer either. However we know that morality cannot be installed through class room education, religious sermons and policies. Morality has to be inherited and then socially learned or unlearned. However, as a policy statement, the policy should have spelled out a perspective about morality in youth.

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PYP 2005, in its para 3.2.2. states that it will encourage in young people active, good citizenship by instilling Pakistaniat, promoting democratic engagement and broadening perspectives through political education. Although the objective is desirable, means are not clearly mentioned. As far as the role of the political education is concerned, we have serious reservations. Look at the experiment of 'instilling' Islamiat and Pakistaniat through compulsory subjects till graduation since 1979. How far it has helped in achieving then desired goals of the policy? And have material facts changed since then?

Para 14 of PYP 2005 states that 'there are few opportunities for young people to engage in politically constructive way either in national politics or at local level, neither can they create democratic organizations for themselves'. In our view, this statement does not depict the true picture, as youth, just like all other Pakistanis, do have better opportunities for political participation now in the wake of reduction in the minimum age to vote and also the local government system. We ask, who stops youth from going into political parties of forming their own, as longas off course, they are not using educational institutions for this goal.

In its major goal about democratization of the society, the policy does not offer any logical corresponding objective. Although the students union issue is controversial, but for majority of youth, politics and democracy have larger meanings than students' union. There are currently 1.1 million students enrolled at higher education level in public sector universities, where the issue of students union raises its head. Whereas the total youth, even in the category of 15-24 years is 29 million. It means that even if students unions are banned, there should be enough political space for youth.

Political training of educated youth is a prerequisite for a transformed, forward looking and responsible political leadership at national, provincial, and district levels. PYP 2005 should have acknowledged the role, which political parties play, or do not play, in the political development of youth. It even fails to mention some of the facts, which could have been quoted in the favour of present system. For example, present Parliament hosts the greatest ever number, and proportion, of relatively young members both at national and provincial levels.

Section 4 of the policy elaborates Youth Action Plan, which is added to emphasize the importance of implementation. Although it is prepared in an idealistic state of mind, there are many programmes which we think

should NOT be the responsibility of Ministry of Youth Affairs. For example, PYP should not aim, as it does, at starting a separate youth channel. The government, including PTV, does not have suitable machinery and people to do this job. It is known that Geo TV has set on itself the task of starting many new channels for youth. Similarly, the kind of research work envisaged in PYP should be conducted in the already existing public sector universities, because universities are better poised for research than government departments.

The idea of National Youth Sports Festival/Olympics is interesting and futile. Obviously, there is hardly a sport which is not played by youth, therefore sports is generically youth. There are already many initiatives undertaken by different organizations in the state as well as the private sector to organize sports activity at all levels. The idea of involving poor youth is noble though very abstract and lackluster. The ministry can in fact do well by restraining itself to the representation of the poor youth in mainstream sports by using its state and political muscle.

The plan to start Youth Enterprise Development Scheme is the re-birth of Youth Investment Promotion Societies established under the youth policy of 1993. Since then there have been a rise in micro credit schemes under various umbrella organizations. Again, the Ministry can do well by ensuring equitable representation of youth. The idea of Youth Development Fund was taken from the 1993 policy, which is fine. However, the Ministry should undertake a rational and historical review of the use or the misuse of both Youth Investment Promotion Societies and Youth Development Fund earlier launched. Both of these examples also suggest that the claim of the draft of not beingattached to any past policy is not factually correct.

PYP 2005 envisages establishment of a National Youth Development Commission probably on the lines of National Commission for Human Developmet. Its mentioned objectives are not really unique as all these tasks fall under the purview of the Ministry of Youth Affairs. We endorse an earlier idea of establishing a National Institute of Youth Studies, which can indeed be useful in improving our understanding about youth.

PYP 2005 undertakes some missions, which cannot be reasonably associated with the Ministry of Youth Affairs given its current and potential infrastructure. For example, unemployment and under-employment is a major concern for youth. However, since it is clear that the state cannot guarantee nor arrange employment for all; even this goal becomes utopian and untenable for a policy discourse.

It is obvious that the private sector also does not have the capacity to provide employment to all. This creates a space of micro-enterprise, which is addressed by the government, NGOs and other agencies as well. However, even micro-enterprise management is not a specialization of Youth Affairs Ministry, as there are exclusive banks formed by the government for the same purpose. Certainly, no NGO or the Youth Affairs Ministry can compete with those specialized banks. This suggests that unless division of labour is done systematically and carefully, duplication of efforts, inter-ministerial mis-coordination, and overlapping of jobs is likely to result.

The vision of PYP 2005 is not only too ambitious but also very vague. In fact, apart from the word 'young', it does not say anything special about the youth. This vision is applicable to everybody in Pakistan and is not a youth-specific vision statement. It would be interesting to do this exercise of replacing the word of 'young' with anything else. The statement of PYP is: "A future for all young Pakistanis which is free from any type of discrimination in promoting a democratic, enlightened and prosperous Islamic Republic of Pakistan, where young women and men can enjoy a full, abundant, free and safe life enabling them to become active participants in all those activities which fulfill their potential, hopes, dreams and ambitions leading to full integration in economic, social, cultural and spiritual life of society." Now if the word 'young' is replaced with say 'women' or 'children', or even 'old' the vision statement remains intact.

PYP attempts at creating an ambitious network amongst governmental departments, the private sector, the academia and NGOs. This network implies that a lot of state input would go into the coordination tasks, which is essentially an administrative function of maintaining databases and arranging meetings. This leaves little room for original input of the state, which should come in the areas of rule of law, justice, and equal opportunities. If everybody is doing his job properly, one wonders why coordination? If this is true, then the state should start from its home by just focusing on doing what it should do and then improving it.

PYP 2005 presents some ideas on finances and resources to be generated for youth policy. To update, let us first realize that the present sequence of formulation and consultation of youth policy beginning in September 2004 and ending in April 2005, was funded by the NORAD, Norwegian Agency for Development. All of us should be grateful to NORAD for their generous support instead of politicization by mentioning donors influence

etc. The government did not add any matching funds to supplement this grant. It has not so far mentioned any specific addition in the youth affairs budget, which is at historic low at Rs. 1.1 Million per year. So the first test of government seriousness would be the budget of 2005-06. We will have to hold our comments till that.

The draft is indeed a comprehensive one having covered all conceivable youth issues exhaustively. It is still like a framework of the policy, however, as analysis of youth issues and challenges are usually circumvented. Therefore it is better to consider this framework as a frame without any picture inside. The frame is indeed beautiful, sellable and illuminating. The assumption is since we do not know what the picture is; we better first build a frame, and will then cut the picture to fit into the frame. It reminds me of the preface of Local Bodies Ordinance, which provided a legal basis for present local government system. It stated that what follows (in the ordinance) is merely a structure; philosophy would be announced later! The good part is that the makers of the youth policy frame do acknowledge this fact that they do not know the picture, and will look forward to the response of youth, potential elements of the missing picture.

Stop Press

Roles Ahead

Ever since last consultative exercise on Pakistan Youth Policy was organized on 29th January 2005, the draft, barring some further amendments, has not moved beyond the bureaucratic stronghold. It seems that all the consultative exercise has ended futile. As advocates of youth policy, does our role finish at this point? One can argue that being advocates, without any formal responsibility or authority, we cannot be held accountable for the lack of seriousness in other quarters. I would suggest that we still have multiple roles to play. This brief stop-press kind of article explains these multiple roles.

Currently, the draft needs clearance from the bureaucracy. It will be then moved to the federal cabinet, which will debate on the draft and if no major changes are sought by the cabinet, the draft shall be sent to the Prime Minister's secretariat for his approval. It may be mentioned here that an earlier draft of youth policy has been rejected by the federal cabinet in October 2002. Therefore, there remains some considerable time before

we could actually witness formal launching of the policy. Implementation, off course, is totally something else.

We propose a new coalition, a new campaign to gear the policy from the draft into launching pad and eventually take off. For this, we need to identify three objectives:

1) To ensure that youth policy is launched within a reasonable timeframe
2) To promote youth policy through media
3) To select projects from the youth policy and start work on them

For achieving the first objective, extensive lobbying efforts are required with the government officials, parliamentarians and other policy makers such as technocrats etc. This means some one-to-one meetings are required with the key stakeholders instead of usual public seminars. Meetings are more useful in getting desirable results, as speeches in the public seminars usually become a tool of self-fulfilling prophecy.

Second objective needs networking with the media agencies, both print and electronic. This means that media should be briefed professionally about the latest developments with regards to launching of the youth policy. Media can also be encouraged to prepare and broad/telecast special programmes engaging key stakeholders. This will not only create desirable pressure on the government but inform general youth about the prospects and promises of youth policy.

Third and perhaps the most important objective is a step towards implementation. It is suggested because most of the ideas mentioned in the 'action plan' of the draft youth policy are suggested by various NGOs and youth activists. Therefore, they can pick and chose any project and launch it accordingly. There are many projects on which work is already going on independent and irrespective of the youth policy. For such projects, the concerned NGOs and institutions can identify some linkages and alignments. For example, draft of the youth policy suggests that there should be a separate youth channel. On the other hand, GEO Television Network has already planned one. This means, that GEO TV can actually claim that it is already some part of the youth policy. Such institutions can rightly claim leadership for upholding and materializing the youth cause.

Failures of Implementation

'If we fail to plan, then we plan to fail'

Policies fail on a number of accounts. A conventional explanation of failures enlists lack of political will, political inconsistency, lack of resources, and insincere leadership. This is all easily understandable and 'easy-to-sell'. However implication of this explanation is that problem is set at such a gigantic scale that it becomes impossible to even address it. Solution is skirted, flirted and evaded and 'can't help it' thinking plagues. After all, who on earth can ensure political consistency, because intervention has become a norm? Who can provide sincere leadership, because corruption is so rampant? These are gigantic, depressive, and in fact oppressive questions. We need to anchor our understanding at the level of problem, about which we could do something ourselves. We need a new set of questions. We need to understand something, which is not so obvious, yet so real, immediate and imminent that we can't see it.

Policies can also fail in the presence of complete political support; fantastic resource back ups, and most importantly can also fail even through the hands of relatively sincere leadership. There are occasions, when we do not fail policies rather policies fail us. We will cite a couple of examples from our modern history and argue why those policies failed to take off despite the presence of all supportive factors considered necessary for a successful policy. We will then argue how we can draw analogies of these experiments with Pakistan Youth Policy 2005.

One of the recent ambitious policies has been the higher education reforms being actively persuaded by Dr. Ata-ur-Rehman. It is commonly known that there was a group of overseas Pakistanis (largely North American), called Boston Group, who played a key role in developing recommendations for the much-needed overhauling of higher education sector of Pakistan. These Pakistanis were patriotic, devoted, highly educated, mostly of middle-upper class origin. The recipient agency i.e. Higher Education Commission was being led by a world-known Pakistani, who enjoyed strong political support from the presidency, and who never faced lack of resources to implement his noble dreams. Now without casting an iota of doubt over the sincerity of either the Boston Group or that of Dr. Ata-ur-Rehman, we observe that none of the reform policies launched by the HEC has received support from any of the public

sector universities of Pakistan.

Reasons being cited now are also known. One of the most consistent arguments forwarded by the universities is that current policy reforms have been top-down and appropriate consultation has not been done with all the stakeholders. Now again, personally, I might find a big problem in this argument, but the fact is that here we are: failing in spite of noble visions, political support, rich resources, and sincere leadership. Besides wide ranging consultation, another common complaint has been that all these reforms do not take into account the actual, present, and real state of affairs in terms of capacity of university teachers. Their complaint can be described like this: if you add a bell to the cycle of a farmer, then it will be appreciated and utilized properly, because the farmer is well aware of use of the cycle. However if you give him a tractor in place of the cycle, then he would not appreciate the real value of the tractor, and that 'advancement' might prove counter-productive for him.

Now we arrive, apparently, at a set of very serious flaws in the policy-making process itself: lack of consultation and lack of a reality sense. Coming back to the question of Pakistan Youth Policy, we can notice that some factors are quite common with the HEC reforms agenda. In fact, PYP lags behind on the issue of resources. But other factors like political support, sincere leadership, and presence of 'Boston Group' in the shape of 'Civil Junction' are very much the same. The catch lies in the issues of consultation and appropriate evaluation of youth reality instead of youth potential.

We suggest, therefore, that PYP should raise a new set of questions: Have all stakeholders in the youth process been appropriately consulted? Have various segments of youth population been consulted? If so, what are the findings of these consultations? Have we conducted youth empirical surveys to do a reality accounting, instead of 'potential counting'? Are we aware of what youth think and practices as citizens of Pakistan? What are their visions?

Second classic case of policy implementation is Pakistan 2010 Programme. I can provide a first hand account of this programme, as I was appointed as Personal Staff Officer to the Chief Coordinator of the Programme, Ahsan Iqbal. Again, the usual success factors of a policy were present: political support, appropriate resources, and sincere-in fact-charismatic leadership. However, this programme failed to take roots in any section of the government or the society despite having a large social component as well. It developed a unique network of about 5,000 citizens,

mostly educated and professionals, entitled fantastically as the 'Champions of Reform' to act as informal advisors to the state planning, through Planning Commission, headquarter of 2010 Programme. However, now perhaps none of the chapters that we established exists in any district of the country. None of the 5,000 celebrated citizens now champion any reform.

I will argue my case from two perspectives: policy contents and bureaucratic support. The lesson we learnt from 2010 experience that it takes us too far into future (now we are closer but recall the years 1998-99), and the resulting vision skirts emergencies. An analogy with PYP process would be befitting here. We are all aware of the violence that creeps through out our campuses despite a stern ban on students union. Only the other day, a student was murdered in Murrey College, Sialkot in student clashes. Another story appeared which informed that students in Charsadda blocked the road in retaliation to a transport fare increase. The local police booked them and rest we can imagine. I argue that these are emergency issues in youth phenomenon. The Ministry of Youth Affairs must deal them with equal sense of emergency; as no other ministry could possibly intervene in such matters. We must not wait till 2010 to save students from these bloody clashes.

Another important reason of failure of ambitious policies is the lack of bureaucratic support. This is sometimes planned, and sometimes it is dispositional. In the case of 2010 Programme, the associated bureaucracy at the Planning Commission should share the responsibility of failure, to a fairly large extent. I remember there were key officials, who took pains to resist implementation process. Certainly there were good number of sincere and able officers too, but the resistance group often outsmarted them. For example, it took the Minister a year and a half, out of the two years he got, to find the right kind of programme manager necessary to run an ambitious programme such as 2010. Seventy five percent of his time was spent in looking for the right kind of team leader at implementation cadre.

Pakistan Youth Policy process can face similar problems from the bureaucracy. Therefore it is imperative that every possible care should be taken while selecting the team responsible for implementation of the policy. Moral of the story: look out for right companions before embarking upon an ambitious journey.

We started this essay with the proverb: if we fail to plan, we plan to fail. In

light of above discussion about policy failures, corollary of this law would be: 'There are occasions, when we do not fail policies, yet policies fail us'. We have enlisted lack of consultation, reality check, prompt response in case of emergencies, and lack of bureaucratic support as main factors leading to policy failure, when 'all else' looks good. We believe that all these problems portray a 'can-do' scenario instead of 'can't help' scenario. We can arrange appropriate consultations, we can organize reality check surveys, we can respond promptly to emergencies, and the good news is, we can find the right kind of officers within existing system. The only requirement is to look into oneself instead of outside: this applies to both persons and systems.

Comparative Account[*]

India:

The Indian National Youth Policy is divided into the following 11 sections:

1. Preamble
2. Rationale
3. The definition of youth
4. Objectives of the National Youth Policy
5. Thrust areas of the policy
6. Privileges of youth
7. Responsibilities of youth
8. Key sectors of youth concern
9. Priority target groups
10. Implementation mechanism
11. Review.

The Preamble mentions a link to the earlier NYP of 1988 and emphasizes tailoring the policy to meet the demands of a more technological world. "Youth Empowerment" and inter-departmental coordination have also been pressed upon by the policy. The Rationale describes the requirements of the policy, accentuating collaboration between the Central and the State Governments, and the participation of youth in decision making bodies. The next section defines the age bracket of youth in India as 13 to 35 years and subdivides it into two sub-groups: 13 to 19 years and 20 to 35 years, the former being the bigger part of the pie. The population of youth in the 13-19 category was 380 millions in 1997 and would soar up to 510 millions by 2016 constituting 40% of the total population.

The objectives of the Indian NYP are cited as: awareness about and

[*] Written by Ahmed Anwer and cited here with thanks, this article compares the Draft National Youth Policy (DNYP) of Pakistan and the corresponding policies of two different countries: India and South Africa. By comparison and juxtaposition of DNYP of Pakistan with those of the aforementioned countries, we would not only learn valuable lessons, but also, we'd be able to make certain amendments to our own policy which better suit our needs. As we progress through this comparative account, a harsh reality would dawn on us: the NYP of Pakistan has not received the attention, both in formulation and promulgation, which those of other nations have received.

adherence to Indian secular principles; commitment to patriotism, national development, non-violence and social justice; emphasis on community service, history and heritage; educational, vocational and physical training; health related issues; instilling in youth the spirit of volunteerism, world peace, global economic order, youth leadership, and preservation of nature.

The Thrust Areas of the Policy includes youth empowerment which further enunciates participation of the youth in decision making, higher educational levels and commensurate job opportunities for the youth, youth health, leadership qualities for the youth and finally, social equality. The policy flays gender discrimination and social apartheid. It also suggests the establishment of an information and research network. Under the privileges of youth falls education, employment, shelter, social defense from exploitation, participation in decision making, allocation of adequate funds, and access to sporting facilities. The Responsibilities of Youth mentions some hackneyed points that are taken for granted in our society.

Towards the end the chapter "Key Sectors of Youth Concern" comes, which is very detailed and exhaustive. It's subdivided into eight chapters that cover the major part of the policy. The policy reiterates the importance of a proper education and a proportionate employment. Health and family welfare is also heavily debated upon. In addition to that the threat of HIV/AIDS is identified wherever possible. The significance of sports and recreation is also highlighted. Protection of the environment and preservation of arts & culture also gets its say. A section on Science and Technology that explains the importance of ICT, modern sciences and research-based studies complements the policy. Afterwards, the different sects within youth are prioritized accordingly. The paper concludes on a layout plan citing the implementation mechanism and promising review after 5 years.

South Africa:

The National Youth Commission (NYC), established in 1996 by the then President Nelson Mandela, came up with South Africa's first ever National Youth Policy in 1997 after extensive consultations from apex to grass-root level youth representatives. There are five key sectors stipulated by the NYP in order of priority, which are:

1. Monitoring
2. Research and Policy Development
3. Advocacy

4. Capacity Building

5. Coordination and Facilitation

The National Youth Commission, South Africa's supreme youth body, monitors youth development programmes and services. It (NYC) overlooks the functioning of Central, Provincial and Local Government departments in addition to those of the private youth sector working for the youth. The policy highlights the lack of research material with regard to NYP formulation. The pros of research into youth-related matters e.g. youth health, education, employment, etc are that it not only acts as a performance indicator of different governmental policies but also helps in the development of target and sector specific policies. The need for collaboration with non-domestic youth networks (e.g. United Nations, the Commonwealth Youth Programme and Organization of African Unity) is also stressed. The NYC, as cited by the NYP, would advocate relevant programmes, services, and facilities on behalf of the youth. Participation of youth in decision-making has been accentuated as well. Weak points such as those of limited capacity to effectively plan and execute youth related projects and the dearth of a proper network form a major concern. Lastly, the policy signifies the importance of coordination of youth-related projects.

The NYC has devised a National Youth Action Plan which would serve as the implementation strategy for the NYP. The plan explains the directions, priorities and strategy areas of the policy and the importance of cooperation between the different departments of Government.

Role of State: Dos and Don'ts

I have argued elsewhere that Ministry of Youth Affairs should not adopt a problem based approach as all major problems of the youth are being addressed by comparatively larger, richer, and influencer state structures. Reasons given were both conceptual and practical. Conceptually, if all ministries are addressing some kind of problems, and if youth are not perceived as another problem, then youth should not have a separate ministry. Practically, NYP should not address these problems such as unemployment, illiteracy, drug abuse etc. due to possibility of bureaucratic conflicts. However, there could be certain problems associated with the youth, which are not being addressed by any state structure. These problems are real, modern, and do provide enough reasons for having a separate and distinct state system for youth. We will attempt to map these 'unique' problems, without analyzing the problem-areas themselves.

We are all aware of the hazards of 'capital flight' in economic development. This generally happens when a developing economy has produced enough capital of its own after pursuing progressive, liberal, and pro-industrial policies. The capitalists, however, instead of reinvesting the capital into the domestic economy, start extracting it in search of better profits and higher margins...capital flight takes place, and drains whatever good the local economy has produced. A similar phenomenon happens in the arena of human development, when trained human resources, in search for better life styles and higher remunerations, start leaving the country...brain drain takes place.

Probably one of the most obvious indicators of the perpetual brain drain in which Pakistan has drifted over decades is the lack of economic expertise. For at least twenty years, our economic managers have been called back home, to run the economy. In fact, this has gone to an extent that even for our political leadership too, we have become dependent on overseas Pakistanis. The purpose here is not to comment on either the expertise or the commitment of our overseas brethren; but just to highlight the extreme lack of human capital readily available on the soil at any given time. Brain drain, more than anything else, is a unique youth process, and must be analyzed in youth context broadly.

In past, the role of the state in overall youth development has been undermined and must be spelled out clearly in the policy document.

Following three key areas are suggested as options of strategic intervention for the state. It is my intention to suggest strategies with least input and maximum output, and without burdening the national exchequer with avoidable costs. It is also proposed that the role of the state should distinctly look different from that of NGOs meaning thereby the state should intervene in those areas which NGOs cannot possibly embark upon.

Crisis Management Cell:

This Cell would deal with the issue of 'violence on campuses' as and where it arises. It will keep track of any violent incidents involving students' organizations mainly through national press. Depending upon the intensity of the incident, it will liaise with the relevant local bodies' member, member parliament, or the concerned minister. It will arrange a meeting with all the rival factions and would try to pacify the situation by taking a friendly, rather than an administrative, function and role. This Cell, or group, would be established in all the provincial youth divisions, while federal government, youth affairs division would be functionally responsible for a coordinated effort.

National Volunteer Core:

As the idea of volunteerism is getting more reception, there have been a score of efforts, both at individual as well as social levels, to train young people for volunteerism. However the NGO approach would typically select a district, as a 'pilot' project, then select some dozens young students, arrange training for them and then attaching them with various projects, and some times even in their own project. In comparison, the state approach would be all inclusive. I suggest that YAD should immediately contact Ministry of Education to recommend making a kind of volunteer service mandatory for all students at inter mediate levels. As suggested elsewhere, this association can be rewarded, in the form of additional 20 marks for each successful student and a certificate.

Unemployment Allowance for Master Degree Holders:

National Assembly was told a week or so ago that there are 33,000 jobless graduates in Pakistan. I think it is the duty of the state to encourage the private sector for creation of more vacancies. However in its absence, an unemployment allowance for at least those young people, who have done their Masters should be distributed. It makes roughly a recurring cost of 1.5 Billion rupees per year, with 4,000/- as monthly allowance for the unemployed and educated young masters. It will have large social and political effects.

Epilogue

Alternate Youth Policy-An Open Society Paradigm

Youth have remained in the foresight of social dreams for ever. They have been described as the 'future', 'back-bone', and 'vanguard'. Therefore societies have remained concerned about their moralities, character-building and motivation. Similar thoughts have prevailed in the development of national youth policies of at least developing countries all around, which is relatively a modern phenomenon. More often than not, this has resulted into command-and-control structures for youth established both by the state and the society. We offer a possible revision of this paradigm and invite to look into the youth process, as a reality itself, though within the larger framework of the society. Under this new paradigm, concept like description is a preferred mode than prescription, self-development is important than an imaginary national development, and capabilities-approach replaces physical infrastructures.

-1-
Previous Policies and Approaches

Theoretical accounts can be better communicated if assumptions and delimitations are explicitly stated. Our first assumption is that youth are microcosm of the society. This assumption is deduced *after* studying the empirical research conducted recently about the attitudes of young and adolescents in Pakistan. This, once accepted, also becomes a delimitation.We imply, therefore, that youth cannot be, say, politically activated in the backdrop of falling voters turn out ratio. Similarly they cannot be economically vibrant in a system, which does not offer equitable opportunities of growth. Likely, they cannot protect their rights, where gross violation of human rights is a norm.

Secondly, within the state framework, the Youth Affairs Division, charged with carrying National Youth Policy (NYP), is probably the most handicapped structure in terms of financial and human resources. Therefore charging this division with any unrealistic agendas implies lack of seriousness and lack of knowledge. Even if its resources are increased, say, ten-folds, it would have no role in achievement of tangible, yet lofty, goals usually described in the NYP. We assume, hence, that this situation, in the backdrop of hesitation to increase public-sector funding, would remain the same for some years to come. In terms of pure economics, NYP would not get a price tag even closer to any comparable project either

within the state or in the civil society organizations.

There is a universal problem with the concept of NYP. Unlike, say, education policy or health policy or trade policy, where comparable and extensive data is readily available, it is rarely found in the case of youth. For example, there is only one considerable study of Pakistani youth in recent years, referred earlier, conducted by the Population Council. The consensus does take into account the age breakdown, but there is no analytical study of youth trends and attitudes. This is also not the case with other vulnerable groups of the society, such as women, children and special people, each of whom not only lends itself to comprehensive analysis but also has systemic support. Therefore youth does occupy a unique position as far as policy analysis is concerned.

Our point of reference is the draft of National Youth Policy of Pakistan, circulated in 2002, which is a classic example of the conventional thinking on youth. We have analyzed elsewhere as to why this, and its predecessors policies could not take off, or could not even start. Here, we are analyzing the underlying meanings, implied actions, and suggesting alternatives. The draft states that: "the (national youth) policy aims at *turning* the young people into good citizen *imbibed* with Islamic values, *committed* to the ideology of Pakistan and prepared to *devote* their energies for the progress and prosperity of the *nation, community, family and themselves*." (Italics added)

It can be noted that, unlike conventional critiques of the NYP, 'Islamic values' and 'ideology of Pakistan' are not italicized. We argue that even if these words are replaced with conventional antonyms, namely 'secular values' and 'liberalism' basic problem remains the same. Only the sides are changed, the playing ground remains the same. What was earlier in the hand of 'conservatives', 'Islamists', and 'nationalist' comes in the hands of 'modernists', 'secularists' and 'liberals'. The subject matter, youth, remains secondary. Even the command and control mechanisms remain the same. Change occurs only in the driving seat: the steering comes to the left!

The italicized words indicate state approach about desired social behaviour in youth. Primary problems with this approach are (1) it dictates and does not ask; (2) it commands and does not consult and (3) it demands but does not reward. Also, the nation is preferred to community, community is preferred to family, and family is preferred to the self, or youth themselves. Whereas the exact reverse should happen. The policy does not aim at self-development, which is the first, and by far the most vital ingredient in the process. If the first brick is not fitted well, the wall can fall anytime!

A historic tendency in NYPs world wide is reference to youth as future. Implication of this reference is postponement. According to the Malaysian youth leader, Saif Abdullah, 'it is often said that youth are our future. Thus they are requested to wait, and wait, and wait, until the future arrives.' This postponement means indifference to our present, where, in fact, it is the present, which shapes future. Thus if youth are no good in their present, they will be worse off in future.

A fairly conventional approach, in terms of mechanics of NYPs, is problem-centric, whereas it is recognized that as such, youth are not the problem. Under this approach, discussion starts with enlisting basic problems confronting the youth. If, under this mindset, you consult a typical gathering of youth, a list of problems is vomited: illiteracy, unemployment, corruption, poor health, lack of good films, and this goes all around. Problem with this approach is not that it is unrealistic: problem is that it does not allow you to develop a singular youth policy. Instead, NYP becomes a summary of other policies addressing the same problems, with much lesser scope, and meager resources. This approach effectively questions the very need of having a NYP at first place. If all problems have associated policies, and if youth are not a problem, then why to have a separate youth policy?

A somewhat similar approach is sectoral approach, which actually offers solutions to the problems. A typical discussion under this approach would encourage dividing the youth in sectors: education, employment, health, arts and culture etc. On the state level, we see that each sector is addressed with a system, known as a ministry or a division. It is also the case in the draft NYP, which envisions activities for youth under all of these sectors. There is only one sector, however, mentioned in draft which deserves inclusion in the unique portfolio of Ministry of Youth Affairs i.e. participation. On social level, we see this happening in the form of various programmes and projects run by the NGOs. Again, there is nothing wrong with all these systems and sub-systems; however this sectoral approach effectively questions the very existence of a separate Youth Affairs Division or Ministry at first place. If all sectors do have systems, and if youth is not another sector, then why do we need a separate organizational structure for youth?

An improved version of sectoral approach is cross sectoral approach sometimes referred to as inter-sectoral and integrated. Under this approach, youth are viewed to be present in every sector, say education, health, economy, and as part of almost every problem, say, illiteracy,

unemployment etc. Resulting policies, therefore, would suggest an inter-sectoral or inter-ministerial body to oversee youth interests in every sector. Though this is an improved version, in practice it leads to bureaucratic and dispositional conflicts, as subjective systems, independent in their own right, repel any tendencies to coordinate. Therefore coordinating mechanisms are referred to as 'one who does not do anything...coordinates'. Pakistan Youth Policy 2005 is an example of improved version. It has got rid of ideological biases but now faces a conceptual gridlock due to the systems it created.

We now turn our attention to the possible delivery mechanisms, which YAD has at least envisaged, as the train of NYP never really stopped at the implementation station. It has envisaged starting actual projects, building physical infrastructures, disbursement of credits etc. All of which met with gross failure because they were a micro version of similar projects, which other ministries and institutions were mandated to undertake, and the resources made available for YAD were dramatically meager too. So there was a lot of 'tokenism' without significant impact in any single area of reform.

-2-
Alternative Youth Policy

Having come that far, we now hang in the air for a while. We have unlearned certain ideas, approaches and in fact, the policy itself. Now we offer an alternative paradigm: not only about the approach, but also about the main features of the alternate youth policy (AYP), and the role of Youth Affairs Division, and in fact, that of the civil society organizations under the new and an open paradigm. We offer a new playing ground and a new engine under this belief that 'open society' paradigms, though not perfect, are able to learn from mistakes and remain in a permanency of improvement. The parameters of the alternate paradigm are (1) it should offer a unique, workable, and understandable youth analysis leading to the alternate youth policy; (2) it should suggest specific actions required to implement alternate policy both by the state and the civil society organizations and (3) it should establish certain special areas of thoughts and knowledge.

Key features of the alternate youth policy should be: enablement, understanding, youth culture, youth voice, youth development, self-development and capabilities. A working statement to incorporate the vision of the AYP could be: *'To enable a sustainable process of understanding of youth culture, youth voice, and youth development leading to their self-development and unleashing their capabilities to*

create a Better Pakistan.' Analysis of these terms is followed.

Enabling implies not only doing itself but also encouraging others to do it and providing a supportive environment to do the same. Thus Youth Affairs Division (YAD) would be required to initiate the process of youth understanding itself, which to a very little extent is addressed by programmes like See Pakistan, under which youth from various parts of the country are brought together. However, where it does provide a platform of mutual understanding, the activity does not go beyond ritual exchange of noble wishes. It should also encourage the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to promote local tourism and youth exchange programmes at domestic and district level.

Understanding youth phenomenon is the key to the AYP paradigm. It gives room to a more emphasis on accurate description and diagnosis of youth problems, instead of prescription. Problem with the prescription approach, which PYP 2005 envisages, is not that it is not required: instead, YAD is not likely to have enough resources to do what it claims to achieve in foreseeable future, and youth community itself is not ready to listen to the YAD expectations given the overall level of distrust over the state machinery. If we follow the descriptive approach, then not only present amount of resources can be effective, but also youth cooperation can be sought on better terms.

AYP suggests that YAD should rather be contended with and concentrate on playing the role of a catalytic agent. It will work with all other ministries and institutions to lobby and safeguard youth interests. This role should not be of a coordinating nature, rather should be of a partnership nature. By this shift, MoYA might actually remain small in terms of its own infrastructure, but it shall have a voice in each relevant institution and ministry. To practice this shift, youth windows will be created in key institutions: National Commission for Human Development, SMEDA, PTV, Islamic Ideology Council, Higher Education Commission and National Reconstruction Bureau.

As per the delivery mechanism of its plans and projects, AYP suggests adoption of public-private partnership. The key principle should be: the MoYA should only commit itself in providing for capital infrastructures such as land, building, and equipment. The cost of running that project should be borne either by the local community or the private sector. If he project does not get support from either the community or the private sector, it should be reconsidered, and if needed, scrapped. Lack of sponsorship should be taken as an indicator of lack of social need.

Youth Culture is a wide term. These words spring to mind: youth community, youth cooperation, informal and formal institutions affecting the character of youth (family, religion, and schools), traditions and values, work settings, language, dress, recreation, eating habits etc. Questions such as these become important: how youth respond to religious instructions, why youth prefer jeans to shalwar qameez, what glues students to the internet, how peer pressure replaces parents desires etc. etc. These descriptive questions lead to a better understanding of youth culture.

Understanding youth voice is also integral to the youth process. Youth voice takes various forms: creative expression, street agitation, 'chopal' or 'thara' politics, students unions etc. Instead of suggesting youth about what and how they should raise their voice, the AYP asks: what kind of creative expression is most popular amongst youth; why they do or do not take part in voting; what satisfaction do they get by bringing down public infrastructure in street agitation.

Youth development is a corollary of human development at large. It can be translated into practice by establishing some key 'youth development indicators' and ultimately by constructing a youth development index. This index serves to both the YAD and CSOs in the sense that it establishes a yardstick against which attainment of desirable degrees of human development within the youth can be compared. Indicators also gauge performance against targets, and thus provide an insight into the practicality of the targets.

A unique feature of AYP is that it encourages introspection, and internal reform, within the youth themselves. It does by linking the understanding of youth culture, youth voice and youth development with self-development. It does not claim that after starting the process of understanding, the state or the society would be able to immediately harvest the results. Instead, it leads to self-development of youth, which is prior to any roles, which they *might* play later. As suggested earlier, this effectively turns the NYP 2002 and PYP 2005 on its head, which argued that national development comes first and self-development comes last.

Self-development creates, hones, and unleashes capabilities. Capabilities stand as a lasting reference to the work of Amartya Sen, who defined capabilities not in terms of what a person has, but rather what he can do, and secondly, what is the utility of anything which a person has. Therefore potential is given priority to possession and utility is given more

importance than consumption. For AYP, capabilities of youth are given priority over the infrastructures, such as 'national youth council', 'national youth foundation' etc.

-3-

Practical Policy Options

There can be at least three possible approaches to define an agenda for youth engagement, participation and development. One approach is to indicate major problems, which youth confront today, and suggest various systems to address these problems.

However, this approach is not workable as there are full fledged ministries and division already attending to all these problems, and since youth are not just another problem, MoYA would find it difficult to cater to any problem without risking bureaucratic, and political, conflicts.

Under the same approach, if we could identify those problem-areas, which are *not* addressed by any of the ministry or division, then the MoYA would have a unique and strong case to argue for better funding and infrastructure. Examples of these problems are: lack of any forum for youth voice, almost absence of any empirical research about youth, identification of youth development indicators, and lack of recognition of contributors to the youth cause etc. Resulting solutions are: Pakistan Youth Conference, Research and Development Cell in MoYA, and commissioning research on Youth Development Indicators, and Youth Awards.

Another approach is to view MoYA as a catalyst, working with all other ministries and institutions to lobby and safeguard youth interests. This role would not be of a coordinating nature, it will be of partnership nature. Thus the horizon of MoYA would be much broader than the first instance. It will need linkages in the form of focal points.

Third possible approach is 'putting youth first'. Under this approach, MoYA should act as youth mentors for existing youth organizations, sports clubs and youth community centers. Instead of establishing new physical infrastructures, MoYA should identify social partners, and assist, coach and befriend them. First step is to conduct a social mapping exercise to enlist the existing centers of youth gathering and exchange.

Almost all the ministries and public sector projects are youth blind. This policy problem can be addressed by creating youth windows in each

ministry, division and other institutions of national importance, which, in turn, will need more appointments. Some of the key institutions, where these windows can be established are: National Commission for Human Development, SMEDA, PTV, Islamic Ideology Council, Higher Education Commission and National Reconstruction Bureau.

Given the daunting challenges and scarce resources, MoYA should make intelligent economic choices by taking a particular theme for one year instead of a broad declaration of year of youth. These themes for first three years could be, for example, social harmony, entrepreneurship, and healthy life style.

Delivery mechanism should be based on public-private partnership. The government should strictly avoid any efforts of buildings physical infrastructure at first place. If youth clubs or youth community centers have to be established, then it should be carried on with the financial support of the private sector. For example, public recreational grounds or swimming pools for youth can be sponsored by multinationals such as Pepsi or Nestle. If government has to invest in such infrastructures, it should restrain to capital expenses only and all recurring expenses must be borne by the private sector. If a project does not get the support of any organization, it should be reconsidered in terms of its social need.

MoYA should play a lead role in creating a positive image of living in Pakistan through media in collaboration with media houses including PTV. It should work with them by providing success stories of role model youth (male and female), and organizations like CSOs and CBOs and actual life stories of youth workers and community workers to inspire youth.

MoYA should publicize a set of core values for youth through these programmes. Examples of these functional values are: accountability, excellence, courtesy, honesty, moderation, team play, and discipline. It should also announce 'youth awards' for outstanding youth: in the field of youth development itself and in other socio-cultural arenas.

There is general distrust on the intention of the government leadership in public. This can be preempted by announcement of some confidence building measures for youth at large. The MoYA should lead by example. It can announce that the federal budget reserved for the youth has been enhanced even before the budget of 2005 is presented as a mid-term surprise for youth. This budget should be utilized towards capacity building of MoYA by, say, adding a couple of young officers from the

private sector on contractual basis and providing them with requisite infrastructure. This should be done as a home work before national level exercise is initiated. Another important task is to get the report of Population Council translated in Urdu and distribute it at a wide scale.

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Better Pakistan

'What is a Better Pakistan', for which capabilities of youth should be utilized, can never be agreed upon. It remains a political question for sure. We believe, on the other hand, that AYP should remain apolitical. As we have suggested earlier, the issue for AYP is not whether the steering is on the left or on the right, the primary issue for AYP is youth themselves. Apolitical nature of AYP can find an analogy with Pakistan's nuclear programme. Whether we agree with the 'utility' of this programme or not, we can all agree that (1) it is a success story and (2) since its inception, this has largely remained free from political interferences, though Pakistan has been 'see-sawing' in remarkably opposite and distant directions. It has remained so at least for the life time of a complete generation. Can't we imagine the same for the youth?

The apolitical nature of AYP does not bar youth from taking parts in politics. It only bars the potential exploiters of youth vulnerabilities. They can be found in abundance in literally all segments of the society and the state. It might imply that a ban on political activities on the campus has to continue, and even the youth wings of political parties should at least be restrained, if not abolished. If we care about the youth as our 'future', we should be ready to forgo the kind of imaginary support, which we all seek from youth in our collective ambitions.

AYP sets itself beyond conventional norms of the state and politics. It does not lend youth to be the tool of any command structure. It does not get inspired by any transient political slogans, though it is affected by same for sure. It envisions cohesive youth communities, and not a united youth community. It seeks internalized reform of youth and not just an imposed manifesto. It views youth as our present too, instead of postponing youth till an imagined future. Lastly, exemplifying an open society paradigm, it also sets in itself, the mechanism of improvement and dynamism, as it is always linked with the understanding of youth processes, which are organic in nature.

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PART V

Appendices

Annexure-I

United Nations Youth Profile: Pakistan

Total Population:	156,007,000
Youth Population	29,485,323
Youth Population (15-24) in %:	18.9%
Median Age (years):	19.0

Source: World Population Prospects (United Nations, New York, 1996)

Youth Focal Points

Governmental:

Senator Muhammad Ajmal, Federal Minister

Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani, Minister of State

Syed Jalil Abbas, Secretary

Ministry of Culture, Sports, Minorities, Tourism and Youth Affairs

D- Block. Pak Secretariat

Islamabad, Pakistan

Non-Governmental (NGOs):
All Pakistan Youth Federation (APYF)
Haleem Building 4
Mozang Road
Lahore, Pakistan
Tel: 92 42 873 264
Fax: 92 42 211 153

National Youth Council of Pakistan (NYCOP)
P.O. Box 15015
Karachi, Pakistan
Tel: 92 21 612 896

Statistics on Youth
Demographic Indicators:

Total Population 1995:	136,257,000
Projected Population 2030:	286,736,000
Youth Population (15-24) 1995:	18.9%
Projected Youth Population 2030:	19.0%
Male Population (15-24) 1995:	11,883,000
Female Population (15-24) 1995:	10,904,000
Median Age 1995 (years):	18.6
Urban Population (15-24) 1995:	n/a
Rural Population (15-24) 1995:	n/a

Educational Indicators:

Education Compulsory Age (years):	n/a
Illiterate Total (15+) 1995:	62.2% (Total:74.3%;

Urban:52.6%; Rural:83.2%~1981)

Illiterate Males (15+) 1995:	50% (Total:64.6%;

Urban:43.1%; Rural:73.9%; ~1981)

Illiterate Females (15+) 1995:	75.6% (Total:85.2%;

Urban:64.1%; Rural:93.4%~1981)

Gross Enrolment 1994:	
Secondary % of relevant age:	M:33; F:17 (1991)
Tertiary % of relevant age:	M:3.7; F:2 (1990)
Public Expenditure on Education:	
As % of Current Government Expenditures:	5.2% (1980)
Expenditure on 2nd Level:	19.1% (1989)
Expenditure on 3rd Level:	18.3% (1989)

Employment Indicators:

Economic activity (15-19) in %:	33.4% (1994)
Economic activity (20-24) in %:	47.8% (1994)
Annual growth rate (15-19) in %:	M:-1.2%; F:-0.4% (1994)
Annual growth rate (20-24) in %:	M:1.2%; F:0.5% (1994)
Youth and Labor Force in %:	24.1% (M:20.2%; F:3.9%) (1994)
Total Unemployment in %:	4.8% (1994)
Youth Unemployment (15-19) in %:	M:16.9%; F:4.9% (1994)
Youth Unemployment (20-14) in %:	M:13.6%; F:3.6%

Health Indicators:

Male Life Expectancy (years) 1995:	62
Female Life Expectancy (years) 1995:	64
Birth Rate 1995:	3.8

Infant Mortality Rate in %:   9.0
Average Annual Population Growth in %:2.5
Leading Causes of Death: n/a

Human Rights Instruments:

Of 15 major international legal instruments adopted by intergovernmental bodies of the United Nations system relating to the human rights of youth, the government of Pakistan has ratified or acceded to the following four: Medical Examination of Young Persons: Sea (ILO/1921); Night Work of Young Persons: Industry (ILO/1948); Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (UN/1949); Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (UN/1956).

National Youth Policy:

In 1989 a separate Ministry of Youth was set up and then subsequently merged into the Ministry of Sports, Culture, Tourism and Youth. The Department of Youth Affairs in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism coordinates the national youth policy of Pakistan in partnership with two national youth NGO platforms; the All-Pakistan Youth Federation (APYF) and the National Youth Council of Pakistan (NYCP). Those are the major non-governmental coordinating bodies.

National Youth and Student Coordinating Bodies:

In Pakistan, there exist two national youth NGO umbrella organizations. One is the All Pakistan Youth Federation (APYF). It was established in 1985 and has in all 547 youth NGOs as member organizations. Its structure consists of a youth cabinet, a youth parliament, an advisory council and a national youth assembly. Furthermore, there are six comparable structures on the local level. It seeks to channel the activities of its members, to provide them with information and to build up an infrastructure between the national youth organizations. The APYF aims to improve the social, cultural situation of the national youth, thus to promote youth employment, population planning and environmental conversation, to fight against drug abuse, HIV/AIDS and illiteracy, and finally to work for the protection of human rights especially regarding on children, youth and women. In this context the APYF plans to establish a Child Labour Rehabilitation Centre and a Women Resource Development Centre. Furthermore, APYF wants to organize financial support from governmental or non-governmental institutions for programmes and activities concerning youth and to take part in the formulation of national

youth policies. The last cluster of aims concerns the representation of the youth of Pakistan on the international level and the exchange of experience with international agencies. The APYF is affiliated to the World Assembly of Youth (WAY). Its activities include training camps for youth leaders, work camps and workshops concerning the topics mentioned above, the establishment of health care and education centres, campaigns concerning health, environment and humanitarian aid and the engagement in exchange programmes.

The second umbrella organization is called the National Youth Council of Pakistan (NYCOP). It was established as a regular organization in 1987 in the context of the return of the civilian government in Pakistan. Its members are organizations from the local or city level. The main purpose of the organization is to give young people the appropriate means to improve their perspectives and to shape their own life in a better way, through training and motivation. It aims to promote the unity of Pakistani youth and to enhance their participation in national development and international cooperation. Thus, the NYCOP is engaged in conferences, training seminars, campaigns, exchanges and the representation of youth in national, regional and world youth meetings. Currently, it is engaged in launching a campaign for It has relations to the National Department of Youth Affairs of the Government and is affiliated to the Asian Youth Council (AYC).

United Nations System Focal Points on Youth:

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
UNDP Resident Representative
P.O. Box 1051
Islamabad, Pakistan
Tel: 92 051 2279 165- 74
Fax: 92 051 2279 080 / 2279 083

Youth and Gender Focal Point
Rabia Khattak, Programme Officer UNDP
Email: rabia.khattak@undp.org.pk

UN Information Centre
P.O. Box 1107
Islamabad, Pakistan
Tel: 92 51 2270 610; 812 012; 2213 553
Fax: 92 51 2271 856
Cable: OMNIPRESS ISLAMABAD

United Nations System Projects on Youth:

The United Nations Information Center (UNIC) in Pakistan undertook a youth-related project in Islamabad, Pakistan. As part of the centre's outreach programme to the youth population, during 20-24 October, the UNIC Officer-in-Charge briefed groups of students on the aims and achievements of the United Nations during their visits to the Center. He also responded to questions by students on the working of the United Nations.

In addition, the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP), associated with the United Nations Office of Project Services (UNOPS), had undertaken a programme entitled "Integrated drug demand reduction project (PAK/651)", which lasted from August 1990 to December 1996. The project assisted the Government of Pakistan to develop its capacity to carry out innovative and more effective programmes of drug demand reduction in a variety of settings involving specified social and professional groups and institutions engaged in the country's development process. The project activities included: improving the competence of newly trained teachers; increasing the knowledge of drug abuse problems among drug workers; promoting greater public awareness of and action on the prevention of drug abusing behaviors; and determining the need for and interest in the development of a prototype workplace programme for the prevention and treatment of drug abuse among employees. The output of the project included training 2,000 secondary school teachers; developing of written treatment materials to support drug users and their families; and broadcasting public television programmes on drug abuse throughout Pakistan.

There are several other projects of the UN system which have components on youth in such sectors as agriculture, communications and information, culture, education, employment, environment, general development issues, health, human settlements and social development. Executing agencies include: FAO, UNCHS, ITU, UNESCO, ILO, UNOPS, IBRD and UN (DDSMS). An example of such a youth-related project was in the social development sector. UNDP allocated a total of US$2,456,647 for several projects in this sector, including one on "Technical Assistance for Institutional Development at the Grassroots level in Pakistan" (US$166,200) which included a youth component. Other youth-related projects in this sector concerned women in development (girls and young women) and disabled persons (disabled youth).

Sources:

Demographic Indicators: Demographic Yearbook 1995 (United Nations,

New York, 1997). World Population Prospects (United Nations, New York, 1996)

Education Indicators: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1996 Employment Indicators: Yearbook of Labour Statistics (ILO, Geneva, 1995); Yearbook of Labour Statistics (ILO, Geneva, 1996). When no recent data was available, Youth Movements of the World, United Kingdom; 1990 was used.

Health Indicators: World Health Statistics, (WHO, Geneva, 1995). World Development Indicators, (World Bank, Washington, DC, 1997). Statistical Charts and indicators on the Situation of Youth, UN, New York: 1992.

Human Rights Instruments: Charts of Ratification of International Instruments (ILO, UNESCO, UN, 1990)

National youth policy and Youth focal points: Data Base on Youth, Youth Unit, 1997.

Disclaimer: The United Nations Youth Programme makes every effort to provide country information based on the above sources. However, there may be mistakes due to the volume of data. Please send any comments and suggestions to youth@un.org. The information provided does not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations.

Annexure-II

Draft: Pakistan Youth Policy 2005

Section 1 Context Setting

1.1   Policy Perspective

1.2   Principles and values

Section 2 Situational Analysis

2.1   Youth in Pakistan
2.2   Youth problems and challenges

Section 3 Pakistan Youth Policy

3.1   Vision
3.2   Aims and Objectives

Section 4 Youth Action Plan

4.1   Short Term Plan: 2005 2006
4.2   Medium Term Plan: 2005 2008
4.3   Long Term Plan: 2005 2010

Section 5 - Implementation Strategy and Monitoring

5.1   The Strategy
5.2   Monitoring Mechanisms
5.3   Institutional Structures
5.4   Finances and Resources
5.5   Review Mechanisms

Pakistan Youth Policy 2005

Section 1 Context Setting

1.1 Policy Perspective

1   Pakistan Youth Policy conforms itself to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the ideals of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the enlightened and inclusive spirit of the Ideology of Pakistan, the Charter of the United Nations, the United Nations World Programme of Action for Youth, the Commonwealth Youth Charter, as well as international Conventions, Covenants, Agreements, Understandings the Government of Pakistan is signatory to.

2. The Policy is a framework for youth development across the country, therefore, it links itself to the national development planning, priorities and considerations articulated in the Ten Year Perspective Development Plan. It also establishes links with collective development efforts by the government and international community such as Millennium Development Goals and Pakistan Poverty Reductions Strategy.

3. Government of Pakistan believes that Pakistan's young social and economic capital is a demographic bonus and it must be managed through apt policy interventions. Else, it could become demographic stress. It recognizes and values young women and men as a key resource and national asset and places their needs and aspirations central to national development. It sets down the foundation and provides mechanism for youth participation in socio-economic development in order to help young people become agents of their own change, transformation and development.

4. The preparation of the Pakistan Youth Policy has followed an extensive process of consultation with various government agencies, provincial governments (including the Government of AJK and the members of the Northern Areas Council), the youth, their organisations and youth-serving agencies, civil society organizations, district and provincial governments. An initial draft of the policy, strategy and plan was put before a national consultation

workshop on 29th January 2005.

1.2 Principles and values

5. Pakistan Youth Policy is based on a set of fundamental universal, human principles and values that have influenced its design, approach and direction. The essence of Government's intent through this policy is to develop Pakistani youth instilled with *Pakistaniat* (love for the country, fellow citizens and respect for Pakistani citizenship); *rawadaari* (tolerance combined with mutual respect) demonstrated through enlightened moderation; vigour for honesty and hard work; rigour for excellence; informed and broader outlooks and healthy lifestyles.

6. The principles and values include:

- Redressing imbalances that have been caused, generated or created by advertent or inadvertent biases and divides based on gender, class, ethnicity, region and religion such as rich-poor, men-women and mainstream-marginalized, et al

- Enabling an environment for youth that ensures the continued, integrated lifelong development of young Pakistanis and their participation in national decision making and development, at all levels and by all means

- Youth driven, youth-focused and youth-centred programmes

- Mainstreaming youth issues to demonstrate that youth matters to the state, society, family and youth serving agencies

- Responsiveness to youth's needs, challenges, aspirations and privileges,

- Recognition that cultural, spiritual, religious, ethnic, social, economic and political diversity enriches youth development, and

- Transparency and accessibility regarding the government and non-government sector's youth serving agencies and youth organizations.

Section 2 Situational Analysis

2.1 Youth in Pakistan

7. Youth is defined as "Period of transformation from family dependent childhood to independent adulthood and integration in the society as a useful citizen." The Policy defines youth as all Pakistani males and females between the ages of 13 and 29. This age bracket is characterized by youthful energy, enthusiasm, ambition, creativity and promise; it is also influenced by uncertainty, fear and alienation. As young people in this bracket are exposed to multiple influences, they require a variety of social, economic and practical support.

8. According to Pakistan's population census of 1998, there were 34.3 million young persons between the ages of 15 to 29 years, as tabulated below. Assuming the constant growth rate and estimated population of about 152 million in 2004-05, the young women and men number over 52 million today.

Age cohort	Total No. of youth	Male	Female	Total %
15-19	13.2 million	6.8 million	6.4 million	10.40%
20-24	11.5 million	5.8 million	5.7 million	9.01%
25-29	9.6 million	5 million	4.6 million	7.50%
15-29	**34.3 million**	**17.6 million**	**16.7 million**	**26.91%**

9. Policy defines a 'youth organisation' as an entity set up and managed by individuals in the 13-29 age bracket. An outfit managed by adults or co-managed by youth and adults to provide services for the development, interest and welfare of young people will be called 'youth serving agency'.

2.2 Youth problems and challenges

10. The Government recognizes that Pakistani young people face **multiple challenges** that impede their participation in the life of society. Although many of these are challenges faced by most Pakistanis in general however they have particular impact on young people, and within young people these issues affect some young

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people more than the others. There are privileged young people in the country also who may be comparatively unaffected. In the context of the challenges mentioned below, the Government appreciates that particularly disadvantaged are young women, people with physical or mental disabilities, and young people from minorities, rural areas and low economic groups.

11. Young men and women in Pakistan face an intricate set of **economic challenges** such as unemployment, underemployment, rural-urban migration for work and low skill base. Poverty is a deciding factor in the lives of many young people's access to education, health and cultural development. Besides, poverty is also a key influencing factor in the growth of acquisitive crime and criminality.

12. Access to high quality **education** is extremely variable across Pakistan with many people having to rely on inadequate schooling, resulting in critically low levels of literacy in many areas of the country, particularly for young women who are socially disadvantaged to access education. Outside of the school and university education system there are inadequate support systems available to young people for vocational training, adult education and economic empowerment. The differences in educational access and attainment exacerbate the social divide between classes and the 'haves' and 'have-nots' in society causing strains on the social fabric of Pakistan.

13. Young people face particular difficulties in independently accessing mainstream **health** services and lack both the information and control of their circumstances such that they can make healthy lifestyle choices. There are inadequate mechanisms for awareness, information and services in relation to reproductive and sexual health (including HIV/AIDS), drug abuse, as well as emotional and mental health.

14. Young people (18 24) in Pakistan have the lowest electoral turn out in the country and this is clearly of concern in terms of **political** enfranchisement and **participation**. There are few opportunities for young people to engage in politically constructive way either in the national politics or at local level, neither can they create democratic organisations for themselves. There is no political education to enable young people to see politics in a wider context as reformative civic engagement.

15. Many young people **lack** a wider **perspective** of the range of social class, economic life, and regional difference present in Pakistan or outside. Diversity is seen as inimical divergence, and image of the 'other' is negatively constructed, based on difference of ethnicity, region, religion, race, language and gender. The lack of opportunities for wide exploration and experiencing of their world culminates to an insular and myopic view reinforcing negative stereotypes.

16. **Creativity and culture** are not valued in their own right, and very often they are subjected to social tabooing. It is therefore difficult for young people to have their creative self-expression valued and supported. Structurally there are also restrictions on public performance and lack of platforms for showing cultural work, as well as a narrow definition of accepted cultural expressions.

17. Overall formal **sports** activity remains the domain of the affluent in Pakistan and access to it is prohibitively expensive. There are few local sporting facilities at local or national level to enable young people to become sportspeople and to move up from local participation to national excellence. The controlling bodies, contrary to their mandate, have politicised the sports to an extent that their growth and expansion is paralysed from within. The local and traditional sports have been undervalued, much like the wider recreational experiences such as travel, play and 'adventure'.

Section 3 Pakistan Youth Policy

3.1 Vision

1. The vision of the Pakistan Youth Policy is to achieve a future for all young Pakistanis, which is free from any type of discrimination in promoting a democratic, enlightened and prosperous Islamic Republic of Pakistan, where young women and men can enjoy a full, abundant, free and safe life enabling them to become active participants in all those activities that fulfill their potential, hopes, dreams and ambitions leading to full integration in economic, social, cultural and spiritual life of society.

3.2 Aims and Objectives

2. While gender mainstreaming, social inclusion of the marginalised young persons and equitable access to resources and opportunities remain cross-connecting themes, Pakistan Youth Policy sets the

following ten aims along with ensuing objectives:

3.2.1 Identifying the barriers faced by young persons in Pakistan, which prevent them reaching their potential as social and economic capital

- Further researching the barriers faced by young persons in Pakistan, which prevent them reaching their potential as social and economic capital through comprehensive, gender-disaggregated, research, survey and social inquiry into their needs and challenges.
- Ensure that the mechanism designed to implement the youth policy in Pakistan has channels through which young people can become democratically and fully involved.
- Build the capacity of all sectors to involve young people in the delivery and monitoring of work with young people.

3.2.2 Encouraging in young people active, good citizenship by instilling *Pakistaniat*, promoting democratic engagement and broadening perspectives through political education, interaction, exchange, mobility and communication

- Create more opportunities for young people to organise and mobilise themselves in democratic ways for collective voice
- Working with the concerned agencies to develop a breadth of political education around rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
- Support existing and develop new opportunities and avenues for young people to volunteer their time and skills in constructive ways
- Raise awareness through media to increase the social value placed on such volunteerism.
- Use both formal education, new technologies, local and world wide volunteer opportunities, and the co-operation of international partners, to increase the range of opportunities for young Pakistanis to broaden their perspectives and understanding of both Pakistan and the world.
- Work with the transport authorities to create subsidised, safe, and supported travel for young people to enable them to become more mobile and communicate more easily across Pakistan

3.2.3 Ensuring economic opportunities and choices for young people through expanding employment, vocational training, credits and other support systems

- Expand employment opportunities for young people through targeted employment initiatives

- Establish credits systems designed to support youth entrepreneurship
- Establish accredited apprenticeship schemes to allow young people to gain recognised transferable work-based skills
- To work with concerned departments to develop legislation relating to equal opportunities in employment

3.2.4 Helping young people in improving their health, lifestyle and living conditions through awareness, sensitizations, counselling and increased access to health services

- Undertake public health promotion campaigns aimed at young people and young people's health issues through all the relevant communication and information channels
- Collaborate with the Ministry of Health, the private and NGO sector to align existing health services to better meet the needs of young people through targeted health delivery
- Collaborate with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health to co-ordinate a cross sector programmes of health education specifically targeted at reproductive health, sexual health and substance misuse.

3.2.5 To develop educational opportunities for those outside the education system in collaboration with the Ministry of Education

- Support programmes of informal education outside of school, which enables young people to access facilities to develop their basic skills
- To work with the Ministry of Education, the private sector and NGO's in developing a further education strategy to provide education in vocational areas for those outside or beyond school education
- To develop peer education programmes to enable better educated young people to volunteer to support the education of those with poorer access.
- Work with the Ministry of Education, schools and colleges to enable young people to become more engaged in structures that enable them to have a voice in their education

3.2.6 Increasing the sports and recreational facilities, opportunities and choices for young Pakistanis

- Ensure that at local level there are facilities accessible and available for young people to participate in sports
- Collaborate with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Sport to enable sports teachers and leaders to have a role in facilitating sports education to those young people outside of the formal

education system
- Facilitate a network of leagues / competitions for local sports which can bring together young people from the widest communities.
- Support the development of wider recreational activities for young people outside of competitive sports.

3.2.7 Providing platforms for cultural expression and participation by valuing creativity, arts and critical thinking, as well as supporting the development of audiences for their work

- Collaborate with the concerned departments and agencies working for Culture to provide and support platforms for young peoples' cultural expression both in terms of facilities and the support of cultural events
- Support local communities, NGO's and cultural organisations in working directly with young people around creativity and culture
- Ensure that the broadest range of cultural expressions are given valued status and access to resources
- Use high profile cultural events to broaden awareness of the importance and value of culture and to increase the social acceptability of performance
- Support the development of initiatives to increase the audience for cultural events.

3.2.8 Strengthening ability of youth organisations and families to deliver and monitor work with young people

- Mapping of youth organisations and assessment of their capacity building needs
- Providing financial assistance for key programmes of these organisations
- Establishing networks of youth organisations and agencies

3.2.9 Understanding the patterns and incidence of youth delinquency, crimes, anti-social behaviour including drug abuse as well as venality for violence and socially disruptive behaviour.

- Establishing mechanisms that profile young persons' anti-social behaviour
- Initiate affirmative action for the rehabilitation and social-reclamation for addicted and jailed young people
- Offering positive engagements and opportunities to keep young people from falling in the hands of anti-social elements

3.2.10 Integrating and improving the existing mechanisms and structures for youth development and support in the public and the private sector to increase informed responsiveness to youth issues and challenges

- To create mechanisms to undertake priority setting, monitoring and budgetary responsibility in order to effect the delivery of Action Plan
- Create a structure for delivering the youth policy, which utilises the oversight and economic power of Government in partnership with relevant national and regional partners, and the grass-roots development and delivery and the ongoing integration of young people.
- Devise practical action plans and a mechanism for proposals to be submitted against the set priorities
- Develop monitoring mechanisms to ensure that resources given for youth development towards proposals result in positive engagement of young people within the agreed aims of the proposal.
- Wherever possible to collaborate between Government ministries to ensure that new policies being developed are young people friendly and aim resources towards work with young people.

Section 4 Youth Action Plan

20. Youth Action Plan (YAP), as organic part of the Pakistan Youth Policy, is designed to help the Ministry of Youth Affairs in realizing the aims and objectives of the Policy, and translate them into action through an Implementation Strategy (the next section) comprising a variety of institutional and strategic means and mechanisms that hinge on cooperative public action and building synergies.

21. The Action Plan has three phases, and within each phase it attempts to offer some action to address each of the major aims of the policy; I) Short Term, which will complete in one year; II) Medium Term which spans 3 years, with a possibility of continuation; and, III) the Long Term phase which will cover a period of 5-7 years, starting in 2005.

4.1 Short Term Plan: 2005 - 2006

22. The Plan will undertake the following activities in the first, Short Term Phase.

4.1.1   Capacity building of the Ministry & provincial

Activity brief	Setting up of the Youth - Projects Management Unit (Y-PMU), as a specialist (pilot) sub-wing of the Ministry to aide in the Youth year preparation/ execution programs, plans and activities.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs
Duration	Phase 1: October 04 March 05 (completed); Phase 2: April 05 June 06; Phase 3: June 05-June 06 to develop capacity of the provinces
Progress Status	Phase 1 has been completed. Phase-2 and 3 will become operational as the Cabinet approves the Youth Policy and Plan of Action.

4.1.2 National (and Provincial) Youth Convention

Activity brief	Youth convention in March '05 to celebrate the Youth Year 2005 in the provinces (in March) and in Islamabad on 23rd March 2005.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs/ Provincial Governments
Duration	March 2005
Progress Status	Preparations are on target

4.1.3 Youth Year calendar of activities

Activity brief	Youth Year 2005 activities
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs, along with various Federal & Provincial Govt. agencies, departments including Govt of AJK, the NA's Council.
Duration	April December 2005. A youth year activity calendar will be released within a week of the policy approval containing details of the National Days' celebrations; speech, essay, debate contexts; theatre festivals, etc
Progress Status	Preparation are on target

4.1.4 Institutionalization of Implementation and Monitoring Mechanisms

Activity brief	**Setting up of Institutional Structures** (See Section 4 for details) Ministry will gradually help set up institutional structures as delineated in Section 4 for effective implementation of the policy. Structural changes in the private sector will be after the youth survey and their details will be developed in consultation with stakeholders.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs
Duration	April June 2005 (for government sector structures) June 2005- march 2006 (for private sector structures)
Progress Status	Outline of the initiative is in the policy document; implementation will be carried out in the wake of policy approval.

4.1.5 Pakistan Youth Survey 2005

Activity brief	**Youth Survey** aims analytical mapping of policies, practices, initiatives and challenges regarding youth development and participation. It will compile and collate Youth's situational analysis viz. Youth's socio-demographic profile in juxtaposition to opportunities, facilities (sports, cultural et al), social safety nets, avenues, means and incidence of youth development and participation; as well as mapping of vulnerabilities, hazards, risks and threats youth is exposed to; youth's aspirations, views, frustrations, disillusionments, and potential; along with a directory of the youth organizations & youth serving agencies
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs
Duration	Mid-March to mid-June 2005
Progress Status	Project concept is prepared; a potential donor will be approached as the policy & plan development exercise is complete by end February 2005.

4.1.6 Youth awareness for youth empowerment activities	
Activity brief	With a belief that **'Awareness Empowers'**, the Ministry will undertake integrated steps in the wake, and light of, Youth Survey (19.6 above): **i) Jawan Rahnuma** will be guiding booklet on youth opportunities in Pakistan. TV /radio will be urged to prepare programmes based on it. **ii) Youth Portal** will come straight out of the Youth Survey. It will have facility for online membership, and will be periodically updated (every 3 to 6 months depending on the nature/ type of information). **iii) Youth Counselling/ help line** will be set up in the light of impact of such ongoing initiatives in the private, business and voluntary, sector
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs with private partners through outsourcing
Duration	July December 2005
Progress Status	Project concept is ready, which will be presented before the priorities committee meeting soon. It will start in FY 05-06

4.1.7 Pakistan Youth Diversity Express 2005	
Activity brief	It will be elaborated version of Ministry's ongoing activity series titled 'See Pakistan'. This time it will include more diverse youth from across the country, particularly the marginalized youth (poor, out-of-school, rural, women, minorities, youth of far flung areas, religious schools, disabled youth**)**
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs in partnership with provincial governments, various youth organisations/ agencies & Youth Hostel Association.
Duration	MayOct 2005; 7 camps (4 provinces+ AJK+ NA + Islamabad)
Progress Status	Project concept is ready; preparation are on target

4.1.8 SAARC Youth Ministers Moot (SYMM)

Activity brief	SAARC Youth Ministers Moot, a groundbreaking initiative, will be convened by the Ministry (under GoP banner). The Moot will look at the common concerns of the SAARC countries regarding their dynamic and volatile youth, and will aim to agree on common initiatives such as regional youth exchanges, conventions, youth policy and action plan linkages, the possibility of SAARC Youth Development Fund; SAARC social inclusion of Youth, and creative/ talented youth joint ventures.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs & M/o Foreign Affairs; SAARC Secretariat
Duration	Between August November 2005
Progress Status	Preparation to start in May 2005

4.1.9 OIC Youth Conference (OYC)

Activity brief	Ministry will assess the impact, learning & failures of the Youth Years.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs and partners
Duration	January 2006
Progress Status	Preparations to start in November 2005

4.2 Medium Term Plan: 2005 - 2008

23. The following projects and plans comprise the medium term interventions of the Youth Action Plan.

4.1.10 National Youth Sports Festival/ Olympics

Activity brief	Sports competitions aiming to involve usually excluded youth (out of schools and poor) featuring selected sports, will begin from Tehsil level and go up to Provincial and then National level. The Ministry will offer cash prizes to the winning teams/ individuals. Other expenses to be borne by local governments and the competing teams.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports with relevant partners
Duration	May to December 2005 (different sports, in different localities will commence concurrently)
Progress Status	Ministry is prepared to do it.

4.1.11 Youth Year review

Activity brief	Sports competitions aiming to involve usually excluded youth (out of schools and poor) featuring selected sports, will begin from Tehsil level and go up to Provincial and then National level. The Ministry will offer cash prizes to the winning teams/ individuals. Other expenses to be borne by local governments and the competing teams.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports with relevant partners
Duration	May to December 2005 (different sports, in different localities will commence concurrently)
Progress Status	Ministry is prepared to do it.

4.2.1 Youth Empowerment Programmes	
Activity brief	The programme will comprise integrated set of initiatives aiming Youth economic empowerment and facilitation. Its first step will be Jawan Rahnuma. In the light of the Youth Survey, Ministry will prepare a two-pronged composite project to cope with Pakistani Youth's economic vulnerabilities on one hand and on the other to capitalize on the new opportunities inside Pakistan, in the South Asian region and the global arena from which talented, competitive, competent and advantaged Youth could benefit. Various components of the project include: **i) Youth Cultural Crafts Promotion** initiative to promote cultural and artistic crafts across Pakistan. A pilot study will be undertaken in late 2005, and the project will be launched in 2006-2008 **ii) Youth Enterprise Development Scheme** will promote, strengthen and support individual youth enterprises that bring forth innovation in any field (industrial, agriculture, creative) promising benefit to a group by generating employment/ engagement. The project will be developed with the help of SMEDA and other such agencies and executed with the help of provincial governments and the private business sector **iii) Youth Development Fund** will be replica of YEDS but for youth organisations, groups and interests, and will start concurrently **iv) Youth capacity building, vocational trg, & skill development** aiming to impart needed skills and vocational training through other agencies and private sector partners. This will draw on & feed into the above 2 schemes, to start in early 2006 and go into the long term plan **v) Young Professionals' Networks** will be an initiative to identify, setup and support various networks of diverse professionals comprising youth in industry, agriculture, enterprise, services, politics, teaching, development, civic activism, creativity (arts, music, theatre, dance), culture, politics et al.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs with a range of partners

Duration	2005-2008 (to continue after review etc)
Progress Status	Project concepts are ready; details PC1s to be prepared in the wake, and light of youth survey, and in partnerships with identified executing agencies/ departments.

4.2.2 Youth organizations, volunteerism and leadership programme

Activity brief	This programme will have several inter-linked components, such as; **i) National Youth Volunteer Scheme** under which organized and incentivised volunteerism will be initiated and promoted involving youth in educational institutions as well as out of school youth. **ii) Student Societies** will be set up in the educational institutions in partnership with M/o Education (and Education Departments), with clear student-interest in view & ensuring that these are not politicized. **iii) Pak-Youth Leadership Programme** to promote positive political interest and motivation in young people leading to deeper democracy, strengthening of the political leadership base of political parties and that of the organized civic activism to nurture and produce 'socially aware, politically active' agents of change in Pakistan society. **iv) Youth Cultural & Creative Forum** will offer platform to creative youth so that they could contribute to the cultural richness of Pakistan
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs with partners
Duration	2005-2008
Progress Status	Project concepts are ready; details PC1s to be prepared in the wake, and light of youth survey, and in partnerships with identified executing agencies/ departments.

4.2.3 Youth Support infrastructure programmes	
Activity brief	This programme will have two initiatives: **i) Youth Development & Support Centres,** which will be improvised version of the existing youth development centres. YDSC will be developed after examining the impact and success (or inadequacies) of the ongoing Centres. Improvised YDSC will offer composite learning, infotainment, skill development, counselling, advice & mentoring facilities on modern lines, in viable and sustainable manner. These will be youth managed entities, and community owned entities. **ii) Youth Village** will be set up as a regional head quarter of all youth related activities. Its location will be decided in consultation with all the stakeholders. It will have offices of the national youth serving agencies, youth organizations and will have the capacity to hold/ host youth conventions and rallies of mass magnitude and volume. It will attempt to cater to south Asia, if not Asia. Co-development of the Y-Village would be explored in partnership with neighbouring countries such as China, Iran and India.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth Affairs with partners
Duration	2005-2008
Progress Status	Project concepts are ready; details PC1s to be prepared in the wake, and light of youth survey.

4.3 Long Term Plan: 2005 - 2010

24. The following plans and programmes set the long-term perspective and targets of the Youth Action Plan.

4.1.10 National Youth Sports Festival/ Olympics	
Activity brief	As an ensured and inclusive platform for youth awareness, information, interaction, dialogue, mutual sharing of points of view, experiences and exposures, learning and teaching, the government will work on the setting up of Youth TV and radio
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth, M/o Information, M/o Education, private sector
Duration	2005-2010
Progress Status	Project concept is ready; details PC 1s to be prepared in the wake, and light of youth survey, and in partnerships with identified partners.

4.3.2 Social Inclusion of youth & mainstreaming of youth iss	
Activity brief	As a long-term initiative, the Government will undertake · interventions and steps aiming social inclusion of the marginalized and the missing (from the public eye) youth. Various policies and programmes in the public and the private sector will be examined and studied to identify factors that cause exclusion and spot gaps that need to be bridged for bridging the social, economic, political, lifestyle fissures and divergence among youth, their interests and groups. Similarly, youth blind policies and practices will also be informed of youth issues and perspectives. The priority target groups will be (religious, ethnic, linguistic, gender & status minorities) including youth in religious seminaries (Madrassa youth), women, overseas youth, young people with disabilities and special needs, drug addicts, youth in distress (jails etc), young single parents, et al. Establishment of **National Youth Development Commission** after the Youth Survey and with a mandate of **a)** mainstreaming youth development, participation, inclusion and empowerment, **b)** regulating the private and government youth sector organisations, and **c)** ensuring youth affirmative actions are in place to support the disadvantaged

	youth.
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth with variety of partners
Duration	2005-2010
Progress Status	Project concept is ready; detailed programme will be charted out in the light of youth survey.

4.3.3 Financing for the Youth Development

Activity brief	Ministry will prepare financing plan for youth development in Pakistan
Action by Whom	Ministry of Youth
Duration	2005-2010
Progress Status	June December 2005

Section 5 - Implementation Strategy and Monitoring

5.1 The Strategy

25. A holistic, composite and complimentary response to the needs, concerns, challenges and opportunities in the youth sector, as reflected in the Policy, warrants the concerted and collaborative efforts of various key Ministries, agencies and departments in the Government as well as development partners and actors in the private sector (civil society, national and international donors and NGOs).

26. While the policy aims to address the needs of young people's role in society holistically, it is built on the recognition that much work is already being done within a number of government ministries/ agencies/ departments to address these problems and the policy has therefore identified mechanisms to integrate these pieces of work instead of delivering such work afresh.

27. Ministry of Youth Affairs will primarily oversee the implementation of the Policy and Plan of Action. However, there are issues and initiative that Ministry cannot implement and execute single handedly. In those areas, the Ministry will devise collaborative mechanisms, cooperative instruments and complimentary means including and involving productive partnerships among all the relevant stakeholders in the Governmental and the non-Governmental sectors.

28. The Ministry will initiate and develop bilateral and multilateral linkages with other agencies in dealing with issues that fall in the ambit of the Federal Government. Similarly, the Ministry will work with provincial governments to help develop their capacity in planning, developing, implementing and monitoring youth development, awareness and empowerment initiatives in areas of overlap responsibility. A youth focal point will be developed in each of the Federal Government agencies and one each at provincial level. District Governments will also be urged to create Youth Focal persons in their set ups.

29. Policy recommends structural innovations to realize policy and plan of action in collaboration with all the stakeholders for pro-youth

synergies, collective impact and to institutionalise and strengthen public-private partnership in letter and spirit.

5.2 Monitoring Mechanisms

30. For transparent **monitoring** and seeking the valuable input of the eminent citizens of Pakistan, the Policy has envisaged the establishment of an independent, neutral and national body, **Youth Development and Monitoring Council** (details below).

5.3 Institutional Structures

31. The Policy recommends the following institutional structures for effective, efficient and participatory implementation (and monitoring) of the Policy and plan of action culminating into holistic Youth empowerment, participation and development in Pakistan:

5.3   National Youth Development and Monitoring Council

National Youth Development & Monitoring Council will be set up by the Prime Minister as highest advisory and oversight body on youth development in Pakistan. It will have gender, youth, minority and regional representation of eminent Pakistani from the private sector with demonstrated track record of pro-youth contributions to the national life. The Council will have 11 members, who from amongst themselves will elect the Chairperson of the Council, who will be for two years. Secretary, Youth Affairs will be ex officio member and Secretary of the Council. The Chairpersons of the Inter-agency Steering Committee on Youth will also be ex officio member of the Council. It could invite eminent persons of other areas as observers if it wished so. The Council will meet at least twice every year. It will pass the advice, oversight and monitoring mechanisms in its first meeting.

5.3.1   Inter-agency Steering Committee (IASC) on Youth

The IASC will include all the relevant Federal Government Ministries/ Divisions/ entities that interface and deal with Youth in their routine operations, along with a representative of provinces. Minister for Youth Affairs will be Convener of the Steering Committee, whereas Secretary Youth will be its Deputy Chair.

5.3.2   Provincial Steering Committee/s on Youth

The PSC/s on Youth will comprise all the entities working with youth in the province. The Chief Ministers will chair the PSC/s on Youth and all the

provincial departments dealing/ interfacing with youth will have its membership. It will meet at least twice a year. The secretary of the PSC/s will be member of the Inter-agency steering committee on youth.

5.3.3 District Youth Development Committees

District Youth Development Committees will be set up in every district through/ by the respective provincial governments. It will draw membership from local elected representatives, functionaries of the district government, Tehsil Nazim, and district level representatives of the Youth Organisations' and Youth Serving Agencies' Associations. District Nazim will Chair these committees, and the members will elect the Deputy Chair. The major tasks of these committees will be i) to identify major youth concerns, needs, challenges and opportunities at a district level; ii) to identify projects/ programmes that can be recommended for funding and support; iii) to promote collaboration and cooperation amongst youth organisations and youth serving agencies working in the district; iv) to plan, develop, and implement pro-youth projects with gender and social inclusion positive bias; and v) to collect, collate and compile data on youth in the district.

5.3.4 National Federation of Youth Organisations

NFYO will comprise elected members of all the youth organisations, agencies and networks in Pakistan. It will be a federal body having provincial, district and Tehsil tiers/ chapters.

5.3.5 International Donors' Network on Youth Development

On the lines of INGAD (Inter-agency network on gender and development), bilateral international donor community will be impressed upon to form this network, so that their funding plans and practices for youth development have integration at source and eventually save distributive impact on ground. The Network could also help disseminate good practices from their respective countries of origin, thus leading to possible international youth sharing and exchanges.

32. Through these institutional structures and arrangements, the Provincial and District Governments and the local level initiatives will be facilitated with guidance, resources, capacity building support and ideas. The Provinces will be encouraged to develop Provincial Youth Action Plans starting FY 2006-07.

5.4 Finances and Resources

33. The Government, through Pakistan Youth Policy, affirms its

commitment to the priority allocation of resources from the public sector, at all levels.

34. The Government will advocate to the international donors community, who have traditionally been generous in contributing to Pakistan's strategic development and well being, to make special allocations in this regard.

35. The government expects, and will urge, the private sector business, philanthropy, not-for-profit and individual donors to be active partners in investing in our collective asset and demographic bonus, the young Pakistanis and their future.

36. The Ministry will identify and generate resources in close collaboration with the Ministry of Finance, the Provincial Finance Departments and the Economic Affairs Division (for international assistance). It will also devise fund raising mechanisms from public-private alliances in collaboration with other partners in the government and the non-government sector, as part of its long-term plan.

5.5 Review Mechanisms

37. Pakistan Youth Policy is a pioneering step and is not linked to any past youth policy experience or learning. Its assumptions, however cautious, are informed by practitioners' and experts' feedback, citizens' perceptions, consultations and secondary data on youth.

38. Believing that the more a policy document is flexible to review and revision the longer it can live as relevant & living document, the Policy will be subject to consultative & participative reflection and review at the end of the Youth Year. The review will be informed by the results of the National Youth Survey 2005 and the Youth Year activities. Thereafter, the policy will be reviewed every three years to align itself with the fast changing world, region, circumstances and society.

Rights and Responsibilities of Youth

Irrespective of their socio-economic status, gender, geographic location, ethnicity, level of disability of any kind, social, religious, family or work place circumstances, all young citizens of Pakistan shall have the right to:

- Freedom of lawful expression;
- Protection from all forms of abuse, coercion, violence, exploitation, disgrace, degradation and discrimination;
- Access to all benefits of citizenship such as education (including opportunities for life-long learning), training, employment. housing, legal services, health care, and recreation;
- A secure future through policies and practices ensuring sustainable development, and
- Participation in policy formulation, decision-making, leadership and national development, at all levels of governance and government.

While benefiting from their rights, young Pakistanis are required to meet the following responsibilities:

- To promote *rawadaari*, peace, harmony and volunteerism for national progress and development;
- To uphold human dignity and respect for adults and fellow young people, sound family and community values (recognizing variations in family structures such as women headed households, single parents, old singles) and community well-being;
- To respect public property and the property of others, including the intellectual property;
- To espouse and stand for a society free from violence, coercion. crime, degradation, discrimination, exploitation and intimidation of the weaker, minority and the poor;
- To promote and advance gender justice, equality and equity;
- To promote physical and mental well-being, including the issues of reproductive health;
- To acquire skills which increase young citizens' capacity to serve Pakistan;
- To promote a work ethic (including work environment free from any type of exploitation and harassment including sexual

harassment to women) and equitable life-long learning;

- To serve as ambassadors of Pakistan for regional and global peace, friendship, as well as bridging and binding civic engagements;
- To promote respect for diversity (e.g. cultural, political and religious and lifestyle);
- To promote positive lifestyles, conduct, behaviours and attitudes by young citizens;
- To protect and preserve the civic space, ecology and environment;
- To promote respect and understanding amongst young Pakistanis of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and other laws of the Land.

Annexure-III

National Youth Policy 2002

Introduction

Young people are a major human resource as well as key agents for social change, economic development and technological innovations.

The period of life which youth represents is most productive and useful by virtue of the nascent energies they are endowed with by nature.

The young people aspire for full participation in the life of a society. If appropriate opportunities are made available to put their natural endowment to creative, productive and useful channels; youth is indeed capable of working miracles.

Formulation of a youth policy is necessary for addressing the challenges and potential of young people and influencing the social, cultural and economic conditions.

The United Nations defines youth as a period during which a person is being prepared and prepares him/ her to be an active and full, responsible member of the society.

It is a period of transformation from family dependant childhood to independent adulthood and integration in the society as a useful citizen. Young people form a changing group tending to enter the job market and start a family later in life.

This period of youth is identified by the United Nations as 15 to 24 years. While the lower period remains 15 years; each country has adopted different maximum years ranging from 24 to 40. In Pakistan it is taken as 15 to 29 years since young people after transition from childhood to adulthood are acquiring autonomous status much later in life and as such continue to require social, economic and political support to realize their full potential.

Youth have played an acknowledged role in the creation of Pakistan. They continue to be vibrant and active and eager to contribute their due share in the progress and prosperity of the nation.

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Comprising one fourth of the total population, they are imbibed with ambition, enthusiasm and commitment, recently the youth have been given the right to vote and age limit has been brought down to 18 years. This has brought them in the main stream of politics and they have to be equipped with necessary knowledge and guidance to be able to play their due part in national life. They are however confronted with multi-dimensional socio-economic problems as well.

Among these the gravest problems confronted by youth, are un-employment / under-employment; inadequate access to basic education and high percentage of illiteracy; campus indiscipline; exploitation by anti social elements, lack of vocational training opportunities; decline of moral values; increasing violence; ill-health and un-satisfactory hygienic living conditions, lack of recreational facilities; drugs abuse; degradation of environment; population growth; and lack of guidance and counseling.

In order to harness the full potential of the youth for advancement of the nation, community family and individual as well as to cope with the multiple and grave problems faced by the youth and the society, a comprehensive National Youth Policy has been formulated.

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It has been prepared in the light of earlier drafts on the subject, and proceeding and recommendation of the National seminar held in January 2002 and provincial consultative workshops in May 2001. It provides a framework agreed upon by all relevant federal ministries and provincial governments.

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DEFINITION OF YOUTH

UNITED NATION' S DEFINITION

Period during which a person is being prepared and prepares himself/ herself to be a fully responsible member of the society. United Nations has defined this period as 15 to 24 years.

COMMONWEALTH DEFINITION

Period of transformation from family dependent childhood to independent adulthood and integration in the society as a useful citizen. The commonwealth youth programme (CYP) has defined this period as 16 to 29 years.

PERIOD DEFINED BY SOME OTHER COUNTRIES AS YOUTH

* Bangladesh; 15 - 30 years
* Maldives; 16 - 35 years
* Malaysia; 15 - 40 years
* Sri Lanka; 15 - 29 years
* United Kingdom; 15 - 25 years

PAKISTAN; 15 - 29 Years

(Youth within the age bracket of 15 to 29 years include illiterate, dropouts, students, educated, economically active and inactive Population) population)

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The policy aims at turning the young people into good citizen imbibed

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with Islamic values, committed to the ideology of Pakistan and prepared to devote their energies for the progress and prosperity of the nation, community, family and themselves.

The primary objectives of the policy are:

1   provide an environment for harnessing the physical and mental faculties of the youth to become responsible and productive members of the society, aware of their rights and responsibilities, endeavoring for the betterment of themselves, family, community and society;

2   enhance functional and productive capabilities of youth for rapid socio-economic development and technological advancement of the country;

3   inculcate in the youth, Islamic values, ideology of Pakistan, a sense of social justice and community service; need for national integration;

4   take steps for ensuring full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision making;

5   develop among youth an international and broad outlook and understanding of the changing world order and its challenges, and enable them to integrate with world youth;

6   arrange regular exchange programmers for youth of different areas of Pakistan to create better harmony and understanding at the national level. The non-Muslim Pakistani youth should always be included in both internal and external exchange programs. During these visits, trips to important historical places should be included to apprise the youth of their proud heritage.

7   and to achieve these ends establish suitable institutional structures for youth policies and programs, with an effective coordination framework in Governmental as well as non-Governmental sectors.

ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMMES

The challenges faced by the youth are multi-dimensional ranging from education and training, scientific and technological advancement to health employment recreation and sports, religion and culture, drug and

violence, environment, poverty, backwardness and socio economic disparity.

Efforts are being made to address these issues by initiating policies and programmes at the government level and in collaboration with civil society. While taking cognizance of them, this policy provides a mechanism of coordination and monitoring among them with a view to optimizing their result.

Supplementary and supportive initiations will also be launched under the policy in specific areas with special emphasis as outlined below.

1   HUMAN VALUES

Strengthen amongst youth the awareness and commitment to Islamic Values, ideology of Pakistan, human dignity, tolerance, honesty, justice, fair play, merit, positive and constructive approach to life.

Special efforts would be undertaken to eliminate terrorism, extremism, ethnicity, religious intolerance, obscenity, violence against women and discrimination of any count.

Protection and humanitarian assistance would be provided to rehabilitate the marginalized youth groups, the orphans on the street, destitute, disadvantaged and disabled and also the refugee youth.

2   EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Steps would be initiated for achievement of universal literacy, provision of enlarged and equal access to quality education for all, promotion of social scientific and technological education research and development, persistent up gradation of skills and knowledge, development of libraries, institutions of learning and removal of regional and gender disparity.

3   HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT

Extension and up gradation of physical and mental health, public health, preventive health care and population welfare and rehabilitation care facilities would be undertaken for the benefit of young people in addition to inculcation of health practices amongst them.

Awareness and preventive campaigns and programmes against drug abuse, smoking, HIV/AIDS, communicable diseases, nutritional

imbalance, accidental injuries, physiological and mental illnesses and environmental hazards, and problems. Community youth health committees would also be established for the purpose.

4 EMPLOYMENT

Innovative schemes and programs would be lunched for enhancement of opportunities for gainful self-employment, and overseas employment to meet market demands. Promotion of employment by up gradation and enlargement of vocational training, skill development financial and loan facilities (small loans and venture capital) and land lease programs.

Online consultancy and employment counseling services would be established. Steps would be undertaken to ensure workers' rights and obligation, job security and satisfaction.

5 SPORTS AND RECREATION

Expand sports infrastructure from national to grass root level sports complex, parks, playgrounds, gymnasiums, community centers, etc.

Mechanism would be devised to reactivate sports associations to undertake Nationwide competitive events, training and coaching programmes, promote participation in international and regional events, coverage of sports events in electronic and print media.

National Olympics would be regularly organized, district /local administration would be motivated to encourage district /village level sports activities.

6 CULTURE AND ART

Pakistan culture has unity within diversity, which could be exploited for national integration, understanding and harmony, art and culture in all forms shall be encouraged and promoted within the set national and Islamic values parameters.

Multi-dimensional youth festivals may be organized annually/ bi-annually, promotion of traditional craftsmanship, debates, workshops, seminars, exhibitions, fairs, etc, would be encouraged.

7 TOURISM

Promotion of youth tourism, youth hostels, youth club and national youth

exchange programmes for youth group, tourism, and student excursion trips to archaeological historical and tourist sites. Youth hospitality industry (tourist guides) would be encouraged.

8   YOUTH PARTICIPATION

Encouragement and promotion of voluntary youth groups and youth development workers to undertake social, humanitarian and development works on voluntary or self-help basis. Institution of youth award scheme

9   CIVIC RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Awareness campaigns would be launched on civic rights and responsibilities, rule of law, cooperation and respect of law-enforcing agencies, clean and pollution free environment, safety and security.

10   INTERNATIONALISM AND YOUTH

Steps would be initiated to strengthen commitment and participation in the United Nation resolutions and programmes of action undertaken for the betterment of youth.

International youth Exchange opportunities will be expanded. Wherever possible, reference to youth Exchange shall be made in cultural agreement. Liaison with the international agencies will be strengthened and an international youth center will be established.

11   INFORMATION AND MEDIA

Website on youth would be established and special youth programs, newsletter, special pages / columns, debates;, competitions would be lunched on television, radio, newspapers, magazines and Internet etc. A lot is already being done but it needs to cover the rural youth also.

12   NGO AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

NGOs involved in youth development will continue to be enrolled, assisted and monitored for undertaking youth development activities.

In addition training of NGO personnel and will be arranged in the techniques of planning and organizing community services and implementing small youth related project on self-help basis or with essential inputs from government. Rural based and gender oriented NGOs

will be given priority.

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

1. NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR YOUTH

A national council for youth will be set up as a higher decision making body headed by the head of the government and comprising of concerned federal ministers, chief executive of provinces and some vice chancellors of the universities.

It will meet at least once a year; it will take decisions on matters relating to youth affairs, consider the report on implementation of the youth policy and give guidelines on youth strategy. The functions of the council are at Annex-A.

2. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR YOUTH

The Executive committee will be the operational arm of the council and will oversee the implementation of the policy and progress.

It will be headed by the secretary ministry of minorities, culture, sports, and tourism & youth affairs and will meet at least once in three months.

It will be empowered to take decisions on operational matters on behalf of the council.

3. PAKISTAN YOUTH VOLUNTEER CORPS

Pakistan youth volunteer corps would be established through the formulation of youth volunteer committees at the Tehsil and District levels by the Nazims. Youth female volunteer committees would also be set up.

4. PAKISTAN STUDENT VOLUNTEER CORPS

Pakistan student volunteer corps would be established through formulation of youth volunteer committees in all the educational institutions from middle schools to universities. The youth volunteer committees would undertake community projects and programmes and volunteer work in more human related areas such as hospitals, children's home with the elderly and handicapped, blood donations, emergency relief services, and rehabilitation of drug addicts.

120

The student volunteer committees would also undertake cleanliness drives in their institutions, peer coaching of students in weak subject areas, health awareness and anti-smoking campaigns, environment protection and tree plantation.

5. PROVINCIAL YOUTH VOLUNTEER BOARDS

The boards would be established in provinces headed by the provincial secretary dealing with youth affairs. Its members would be elected by district youth volunteer committees from amongst themselves.

The functions of the board would be to organize training camps for volunteers and NGOs, plan community projects and programs and confer awards on the basis of outstanding performance of volunteers and NGOs.

6. YOUTH VOLUNTEER CONVENTION

The board would organize youth volunteer convention in the provinces annually, to discuss activities and achievements of the youth volunteer committees, issues and problems faced by them and suggest solutions.

7. NATIONAL YOUTH FOUNDATION

National youth foundation would be established with an endowment fund of Rs. 1 billion to initiate programmes for youth including self-employment through venture capital. The foundation will have a board of Trustees, an Executive committee and a, MD to give policy directions and to manage control and evaluate its activities.

The functions of the foundation will comprise of research and survey of youth issues, devising projects and programs for youth, youth NGOs and volunteers, initiation of self-employment programs through venture capital, organizing training camps, holding conventions seminars and conferences, establish youth Development centers and youth Research counseling centers.

Act as headquarter of the national youth and students volunteer corps for overseeing their functions and formulation etc

8. YOUTH AFFAIRS WING

The youth Affairs wing will have overall responsibility of formulating. co-coordinating and monitoring of the National policy and programs

9. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AT PROVINCIAL & DISTRICT LEVEL

The federal institutions will be replicated at the provincial and district level.

10. NGOs AND COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATION

The role of NGOs and community-based organizations in youth affairs will be encouraged and promoted They Them will be actively involved in the upgrading and execution of the National youth policy and programs.

Priority will be given to their involvement in the execution of Youth Development projects programs and activities at the grass root level. Financial and technical assistance will be provided to these institutions.

Annexure-IV

Youth in Constitution of Pakistan

When you make a search string 'youth' in the 1973 constitution of Pakistan, "Sorry! No matches found!!!" appears. However, we have tried to dig out certain articles, which directly or indirectly refer to youth.

Relevant articles

Article 11

(1)
Slavery is non-existent and forbidden and no law shall permit or facilitate its introduction into Pakistan in any form.

(2) All forms of forced labor and traffic in human beings are prohibited.

(3) No child below the age of fourteen years shall be engaged in any factory or mine or any other hazardous employment.

17.

(1) Every citizen shall have the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reason- able restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality.

22.

(1) No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction. ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own.

25.

(1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.

(2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone.

(3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

31.

(1) Steps shall be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan. individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the fundamental principles and basic concepts of Islam and to provide facilities whereby they may be enabled to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

(2) The state shall endeavor, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan:

(a) to make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory, to

encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language and to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran;

(b) to promote unity and the observance of the Islamic moral standards; and

(c) to secure the proper organization of zakat, ushr, auqaf and mosques.

34.

Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

37.

The State shall:

(a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas;

(b) remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period;

(c) make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit;

(d)ensure inexpensive and expeditious justice;

(e) make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment;

(f) enable the people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods, to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan; ;

(g) prevent prostitution, gambling and taking of injurious drugs, printing, publication, circulation and display of obscene literature and advertisements;

(h) prevent the consumption of alcoholic liquor otherwise than for medicinal and, in the case of non-Muslims, religious purposes; and

(i) decentralise the Government administration so as to facilitate expeditious disposal of its business to meet the convenience and requirements of the public.

Ref: www.jinnah.org

Annexure-VI
Presentation to Youth Affairs Division (YAD)

Comparison

Area	Conventional Approach	Modern Approach
Role of Youth Affairs Div.	Projects and Problems	Supportive and Catalytic
Role of Youth in Policy Eye	Agents of Reform	Focus of Reform (Understanding)
View of Youth	'Youth is Future'	'Youth is Present'
Emphasis of Policy	Commands and Demands	Consults and Rewards
Concern of Planning	National Development	Youth Development
Delivery Mechanism	Centralized, Physical Infrastructure	Decentralized, Public-Private Partnership

Policy Options for YAD

	FOCUS	IMPLICATION	ACTION
OPTION 1	Problem Approach	Duplication, conflicts, Irrelevance	Centralized Projects & Plans
OPTION 2			
OPTION 3	Catalyst Approach	Linkages with other agencies	Youth Windows
	Mentor Approach	Partnerships, Alliances	Youth Scenario & Network

This book presents several insights and ideas about youth policy process and also suggests an alternative paradigm for Pakistan. It unfolds the debate on youth policy and information processes, which have gone into the process of policy formulation. It also offers several recommendations for youth development and youth empowerment, by creating nexus of youth and the society at large.
The book consists of four parts......

Ali Salman, The Author

In traversing through a labyrinth of issues and opportunities, this book makes an earnest attempt at providing both a mirror to the status quo and at the same time contextualizing the vast agenda that lies before stakeholders who actually do endeavor to place youth issues firmly on the policy table.
......Congratulations to Mr. Salman for this engaging effort at providing a voice to youth issues in public policy. One only hopes that everyone's listening.

Farrukh Moriani, UN Advisor for Corporate Governance

It is a wonderful book, which covers many aspects of the question of a national youth policy in Pakistan.
......It is a book well worth reading on the roles of youth in the present and future national development of Pakistan.

William D. Angel, Secretary General International Council on National Youth Policy (ICNYP) - Austria

I think this document will serve as an important building block to come up with a comprehensive youth policy.

Mohammad Tahseen
Executive Director
South Asia Partnership (SAP) Pakistan

The book concentrates on four areas of change: understanding youth situation in Pakistan, articulating concepts of youth development, reviewing national youth policies of the past, and presenting an alternative youth policy of Pakistan.
......We also hope that this book proves an important work in Pakistan......

Sabiha Shaheen
Director Bargad