

**From Youth Bulge to Demographic Dividend:
A Critical Analysis of Public Policy in Pakistan (1947-2012)**



Researcher:

**Raja Mohsin Ali
81-FSS/MSPiR/F10**

Supervisor:

**Dr. Husnul Amin
Assistant Professor**



Department of Political Science & International Relations

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University Islamabad

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Declaration

I **Raja Mohsin Ali** Son of Raja Lahir Nawaz Registration No. 81-FSS/MSPSIR/F10 student of MS in Politics & International Relations at International Islamic University Islamabad do hereby declare that the thesis **From Youth Bulge to Demographic Dividend: A Critical Analysis of Public Policy in Pakistan (1947-2012)** is submitted by me in partial fulfillment of MS degree in the Department of Politics & International Relations. It is my original work and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism found in my thesis dissertation at any stage even after the award of the degree, the work may be cancelled and the degree revoked.

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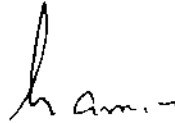
Raja Mohsin Ali

Reg No: 81-FSS/MSPSIR/F10

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Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "**Form Youth Bulge to Demographic Dividend: A Critical Analysis of Public Policy in Pakistan (1947-2012)**" submitted by **Raja Mohsin Ali, Reg # 81-FSS/MSPSIR/F10**, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of M.S. Politics and International Relations

Supervisor



Dr. Husnul Amin

Assistant Professor

Department of Politics & International Relations,
International Islamic University Islamabad

Internal Examiner

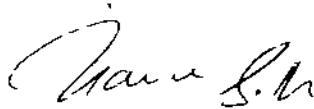


Dr. Manzoor Ahmad

Assistant Professor

Department of Politics and International Relations
International Islamic University Islamabad


External Examiner



Dr. Noman Omar Sattar

Director

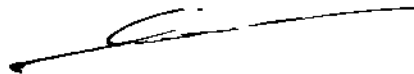
Area Study Centre Quaid-i-Azam University,
Islamabad



Dr. Husnul Amin

Incharge

Department of Politics & IR



Professor Dr. Nabi Bux Jumani

Dean Faculty of Social Sciences,

International Islamic University Islamabad

Table of Contents

List of Figures..	v
List of Tables .	vi
Dedication	vii
Acknowledgements	8
Abstract	9
Chapter 1	10
Introduction	10
Literature Review	15
Justification for the study	24
Thesis Statement	24
Research Questions	25
Tentative Thesis outline	25
Methodological framework	25
Chapter 2	26
Theoretical and Conceptual Framing of Study Policy Process in Context	26
Introduction	26
Policy Analysis and Question of Framework(s)	26
Public Policy Cycle (Stage Heuristics) as general Framework	27
Critical Public Policy Analysis	44
Chapter 3 – Youth Youth Bulge and Population dynamics in Pakistan	48
Introduction	48
Conceptualization of Youth	48
Youth Bulge	54

Youth Bulge Dividend or Disaster	56
Youth in Pakistan	70
Chapter 4	77
Youth Policy in Pakistan Historical Review and Critical Analysis	77
Historical review of youth policy in Pakistan	77
Brief Summary of the National Youth Policy 2008	79
Critical Analysis of the National Youth Policy 2008	86
Chapter 5	97
Conclusion	97
Bibliography	101

List of Figures

Figure 1	11
Figure 2	12
Figure 3	13
Figure 4	14
Figure 5	30
Figure 6	34
Figure 7	68
Figure 8	69
Figure 9	71
Figure 10	73
Figure 11	74
Figure 12	75
Figure 13	76

List of Tables

Table 1	72
Table 2	88

Dedication

To My Grandparents - Raja Muhammad Aslam (Late) & Banni Begum

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My deepest gratitude is for my parents who supported, prayed and helped me in all my endeavors of life and without their love it would not have been possible for me to complete this study

My supervisor Dr Husnul Amin has also been a very supportive in completion of this work as well as his encouragement and expert guidance throughout my study and research enabled me to embark upon the path of higher studies. Dr Ijaz Shafi Gillani has also been an inspiration for me to understand the dynamism of demographics

Finally, I would also like to thank my numerous fellow colleagues including Mr Ilam Khan, Ms Saadia Khanum, Mr Mehran Ali Khan, and Mr Ejaz Ahmed Bhatti who not only helped me complete this study but also constantly encouraged as well as guided me at all the stages of research

Abstract

Demography as destiny is an old saying yet very relevant even today. Pakistan being 6th most populated country in the world with a major share of Youth offers an opportunity to study and explore the population dynamic and its effects on the nation for any researcher. This study attempts to study the dynamics of youth population and how the public policy has treated/entertained this segment of Pakistani population. The study takes first the different stages of public policy cycle/process into account to ground the theoretical aspect of public policy debates. Thereafter, the concepts of Youth, Youth Bulge, Demographic Dividend and Demographic Disaster have been explained in order to give a clear picture of the multiplicity of the issues in this study. A historical review of youth specific policies in Pakistan has been followed by a brief summary of the National Youth Policy 2008. The critical analysis of policy has been carried out in the light of the governmental measures to achieve the objectives of the policy. Main focus of our critical analysis remained the educational and economic areas since these two are the wheels around whom a youth Bulge is transformed into a Demographic Dividend. In final chapter it has been concluded that youth bulge in Pakistan, from a public policy perspective, has been constantly dealt inadequately which is resulting in the wastage of Demographic Dividend and at some point causing to turn this prospective Dividend into a Disaster. If no measures are taken to gain full benefits of such Demographic opportunity, the next generations along with State of Pakistan shall suffer immensely.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

World population has crossed the figure of 7 billion in 2011 (Haub, 2011). Population bomb is set to explode which will not only put an end to natural resources but will also become a leviathan which will be politically uncontrollable. This issue is of great importance for states around the world economically as well as in strategic terms. Nearly half of the world population is under the age of 25, which means they are young, in childbearing age group, in working age and in fight-age group. Mid of the 21st century, the population of the globe will be in between 9 billion to 11 billion depending upon the total fertility rate. As the world population growth is putting everyone on alert, there are two acute patterns of this population surge. First is the ageing of people living in the developed states i.e. Europe & Japan. Second is the large youth cohorts in the developing world many states in Africa & Asia (UN News Centre, 2011) (Haub, 2011).

Pakistan is the sixth most populous country of the world with an estimated population of more than 190 million. Pakistan is ranked among few those countries whose population is being doubled within every 30-40 years. Pakistan is a young and increasingly urban society. Half of its citizens are under twenty, two thirds have yet to reach their thirtieth birthday. Pakistan's demographic transition (from high to low mortality and fertility) has delayed (British Council, 2009, p. 4). Almost 66% of population belongs to the age group of 30 or less. Pakistan's youth population in age group of 15-29 years stands around 30% (Butt & Mehmood, 2010, p. 7). In fact, the growth rate in Pakistan has persistently been high relative to its regional and

international growth rates which will continue to add more people until 2050 when Pakistan will have population more than 350 million making this country world's 4th most populated state

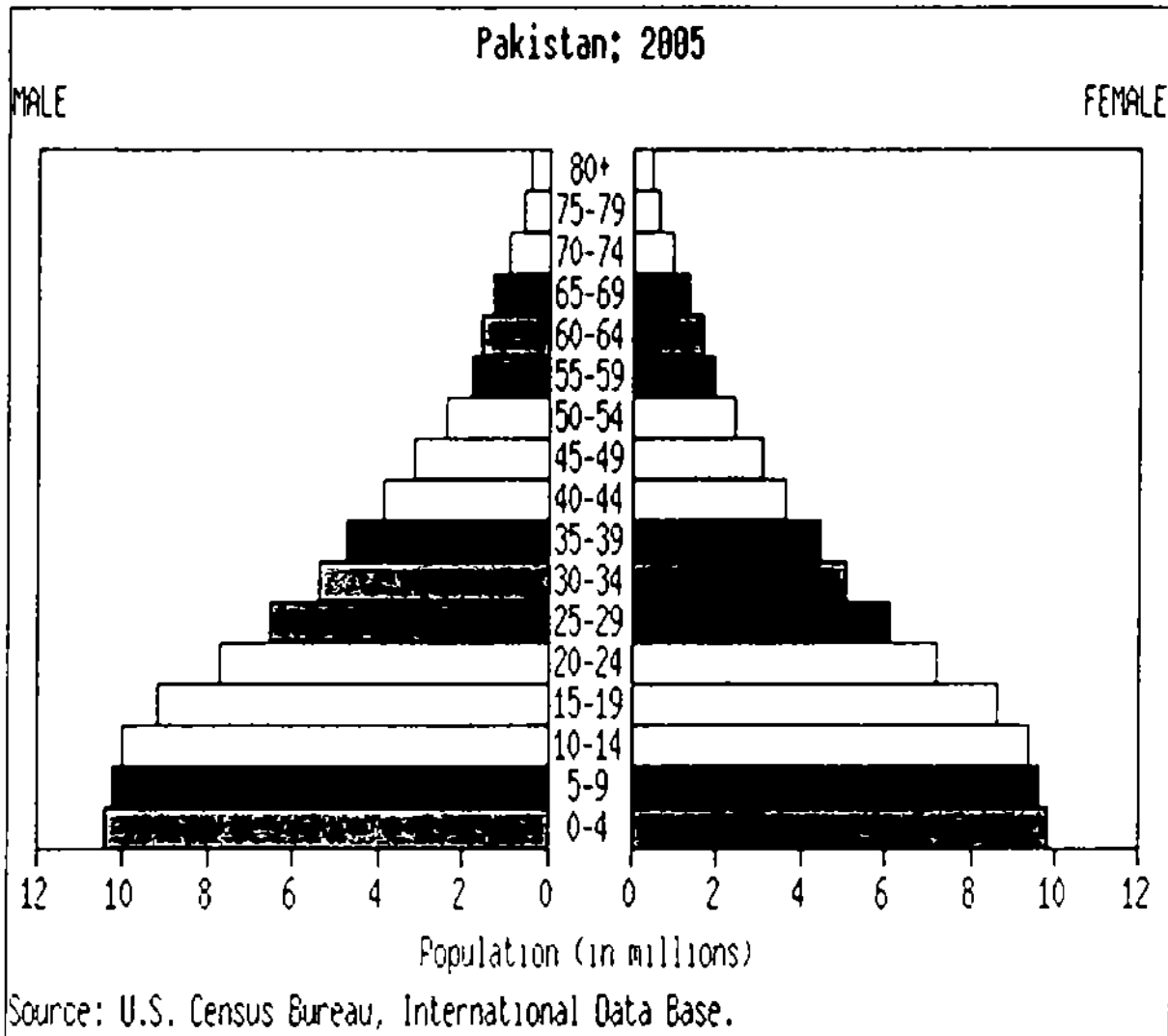
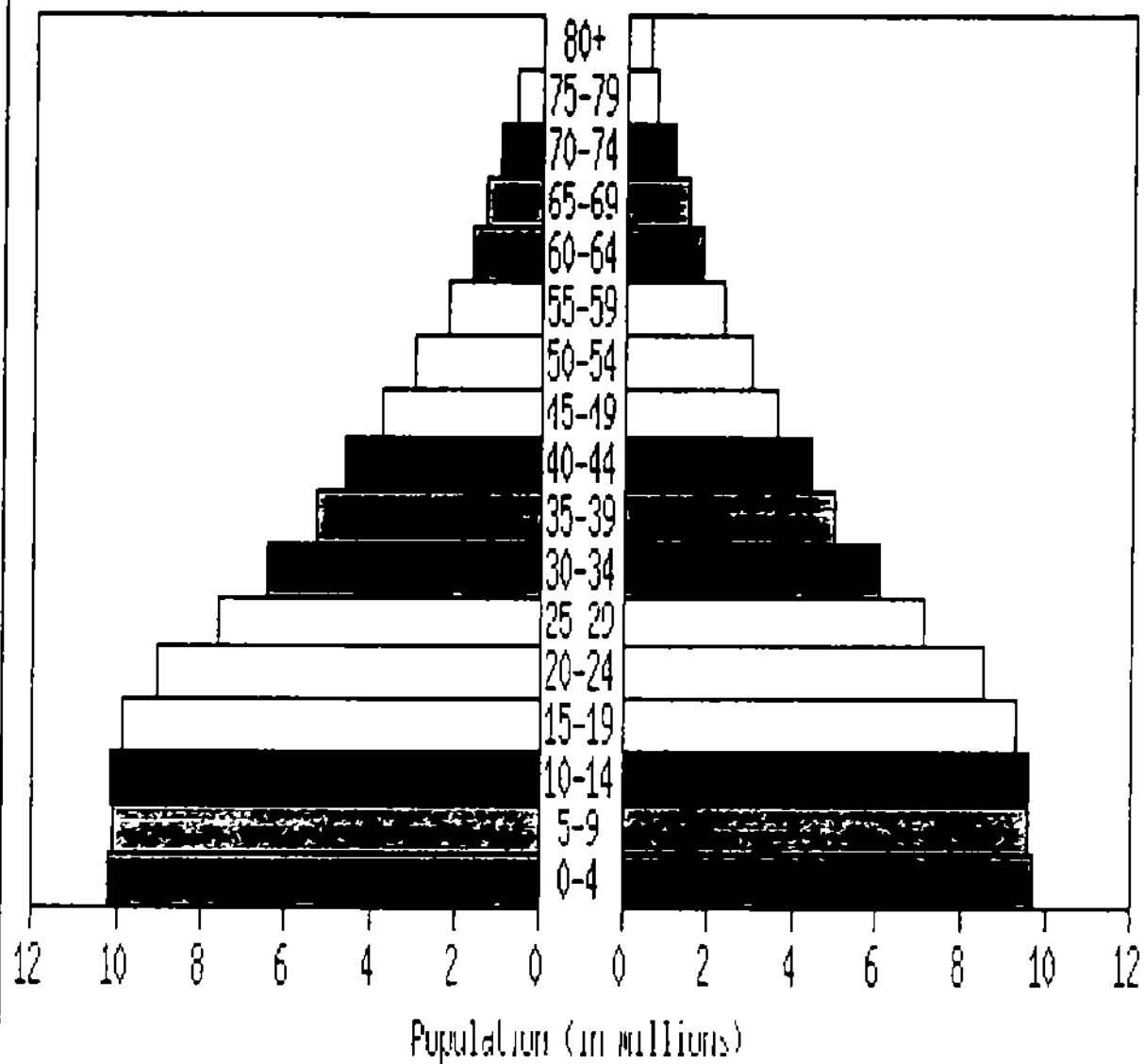


Figure 1

Pakistan: 2010

MALE

FEMALE



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base.

Figure 2

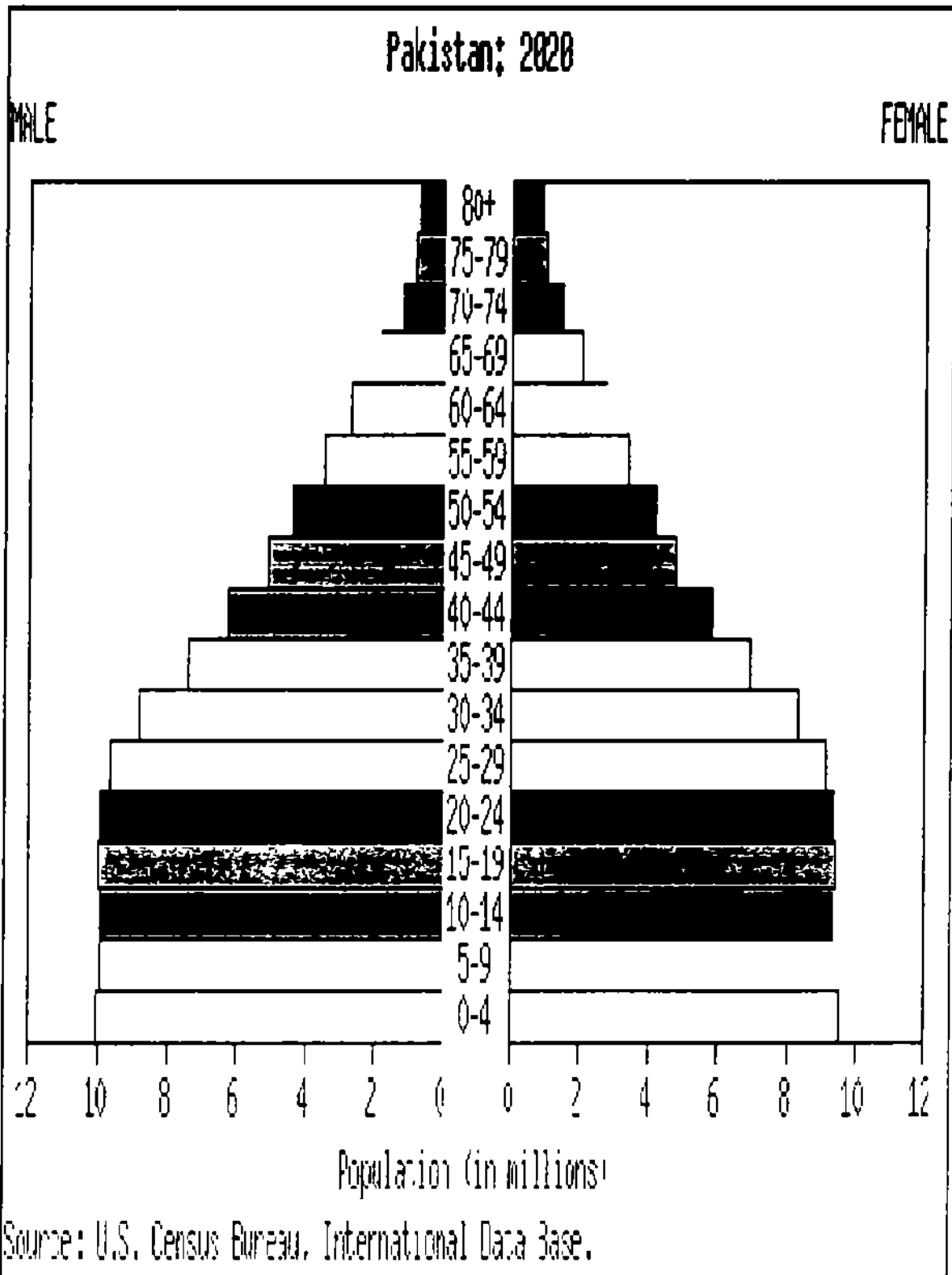


Figure 3

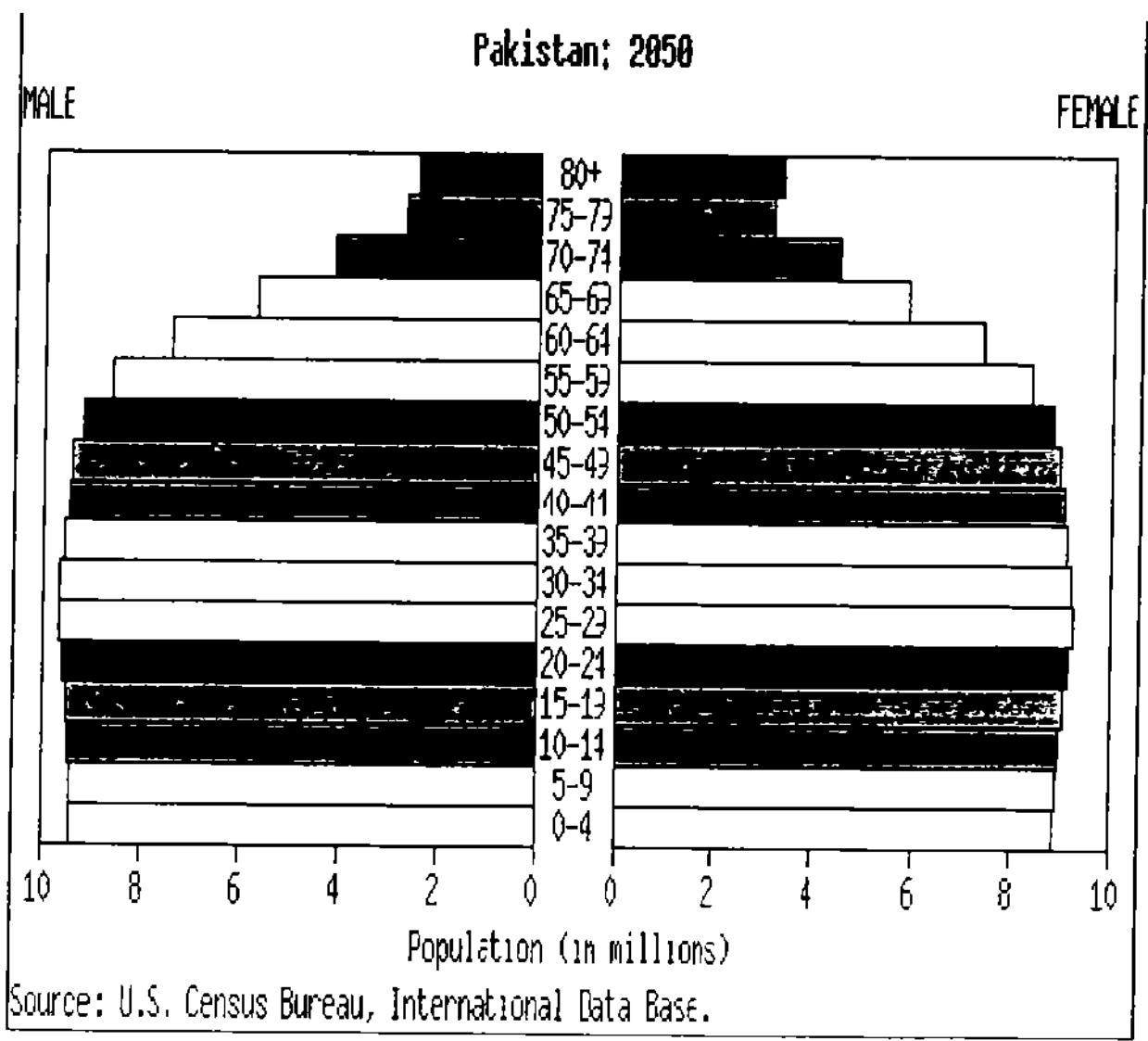


Figure 4

This vivid demographic character of Pakistan has serious implications for both the state & society. The presence of youth bulge is not inherently perilous but the environment in which it does exist makes its character positive or negative (Fair Gramlich, DaVanzo & Nichiporuk, 2005). This huge portion of Young population is alarming from policy makers to political parties, from state to society being its ability to be either a Demographic Dividend or a

Demographic threat (Durr-e-Nayyab, 2008) It has profound implications for worsening the Economic situations and degradation of Social conditions These deteriorations are having immense strains over public policy

Some scholars noted that Muslim world in general & Pakistan in particular is experiencing the new kind of social movement which is not primarily driven by the old elites rather new young generation is at the heart of this wave Recent political upheavals, from events of 9/11 and consequent US attacks on Afghanistan & Iraq to Lawyers movement & quest for independent judiciary, made the youth to think about their identity and significance in the political process via different channels (Rais, 2007) Public policy is totality of governmental decisions which it takes to deal with all issues of society Furthermore Public Policy, as Thomas R Dye (2004, pp 1-2) noted is "whatever government chooses to do or not to do" By the means of social media student politics and others, Youth is exerting its pressure to influence the policy process across the Pakistani society This study is to explore the different dimensions of this phenomenon

Literature Review

The relationship of population with politics has gained attention of political thinkers since ancient Greece But comparatively other fields of political science not only remained as major focus of political scientist but this connection of Politic and population in general terms could not be successful in gaining that much scholarly attention in following periods Studying the relationship of population with politics, government & public policy, how population can influence the political process and demands being made upon the state machinery for fulfillment are called broadly political demography Bruce Curtis regarded the demographic knowledge as

“inherently a political and administrative knowledge” He maintained that not only governments but also the economic agents are usually interested in the demographic knowledge. As the governments are able to discern the peculiarities of population spatially for policymaking, but those market actors can also trace the market patterns of consumers (Curtis, 2006, p. 619). As a field of study Myron Weiner (1971) has remarkably defined political demography as

Study of the size, composition, and distribution of population in relation to both government and politics. It is concerned with the political consequences of population change, especially the effects of population change on the demands made upon governments, on the performance of governments, on the distribution of political power within states, and on the distribution of national power among states. political determinants of population change, especially the political causes of the movement of people, the relationship of various population configurations to the structure and functions of government, and public policies directed at affecting the size, composition, and distribution of populations.

By definition, political consequences and political determinants of population change are subject of study. It becomes quite clear that Political Science and Demography are interlinked deeply. Demography not only determines the Political process in a given territory but it is also being determined by the Political processes at the same time. In Europe, for instance, when Black Death reduced its population almost to its half and established a mortality regime that continued to haunt the Europeans for many generations to come. Even this trend has retrospectively engendered a whole new world. This new world not only destroyed the feudalism in Europe but also put the church and its religious authority into shambles. The decline of feudalism, the rise of

renaissance Florentine state and divisions inside the Christendom all were carved in the backdrop of demographic changes (Levine, 2006, pp 597-618) The seeds of reformation in 16th century Europe were cultivated by Luther and broaden to wider areas by his young followers (Moller, 1968)

While the global population trends are moving on two parallels of Ageing of Advanced-Industrial societies and growth of Young population in developing world Both entail their pros and cons equally, greater political challenges are emanated from the Youth and its related issues like illiteracy, unemployment, political unrest and civil strife Youth Bulge debate has gotten currency in academic circles in late 20th century

This seeks to explore a population trend that leads any nation to political violence, instability revolutions and political turmoil when large youth cohorts due to lack of regular, peaceful employment opportunities become a risk for violence Gunner Heinsohn maintained that youth bulge theory grounds on the social reality in which a difference between excess non-inheriting youth segment and available social positions within that social system of existing division of labor Contributors to the development of youth bulge theory include Jack A Goldstone (1991), Graham E Fuller (2003), and German sociologist Gunnar Heinsohn (2003) Samuel Huntington has tailored his Clash of Civilizations theory by using youth bulge phenomenon

According to Heinsohn, who has addressed the youth bulge in its most generalized form, a youth bulge occurs when 30% to 40% population of a nation belong to the 'fighting age' cohorts from 15 to 29 years of age Demographically, when total fertility rate remains above 2.1 it will lead to

population growth and to a youth bulge. As total fertility rate of 4-8 children per mother implies 2-4 sons per mother

Sociological impact of this would be as one father has to leave not 1, but 2 to 4 social positions (jobs) to give all his sons a perspective for life, which is usually hard to achieve. Since respectable positions cannot be increased at the same speed as many "angry young men" find themselves in a situation that tends to escalate their anger into violence therefore, he proposed that in such an environment these youth cohorts are naturally (i) demographic surplus, (ii) without jobs or forced to stay in menial jobs and (iii) having no access to legal sex unless their careers enables them to have a family. The combination of these stress factors that lead them into a frustration and resultantly they will find themselves involved in (a) Violent Crime, (b) Emigration, (c) Rebellion (d) Civil war and/or revolution (e) Genocide (f) Conquest (violent colonization, frequently including genocide abroad)

In these situations the role of religions and ideologies is seen as secondary factor only as to extent of getting legitimacy for these exit options, and they themselves will not lead to violence by them if no youth bulge is present. Consequently, youth bulge theorists see both past "Christianist" European colonialism and imperialism and today's "Islamist" civil unrest and terrorism as results of high birth rates producing youth bulges (Youth Bulge Theory, 2010). In fact the causal underpinning of this assumption has drawn wide criticism and along with appraisal from intellectual community

As this subject has taken a lot more attention in last two decades, numbers of scholars are engaged in studying the existence of youth bulge and its effects from different perspectives. Literature on this subject can be categorized into two main realms, one is discussing the economic consequences of youth bulge and the second emphasized upon the political effects of this part of population.

The literature in economic perspectives can be sub-divided into the adherence to Malthusian thesis of population and economy (pessimists) and the optimists with little attention to the neutralist lines. Malthus in 18th century envisaged that as population will grow the means of production and economic growth will be stalled (Malthus 1798, 1998). Those with optimistic views related the expansion of population as instrument for extending the economic activities. Some of them has identified the historical expansion of European power across the continents was a result of population growth and a point came when more economic development could not be sustained resulted in revolutions (65% population of France in 1776 was below the 29 years of age) (Weiner 1971, pp 567-717).

Today, optimists called the existence of this youth bulge as an asset for economic growth development. Demographic dividend has been the key word of the writers of this category. These studies undeniably put emphasis on the role of youth and their potential for elevating a country into heights of material wellbeing, prosperity and progress (Durr-e-Nayyab, 2008). And as noted elsewhere that Pakistan is enjoying the scenario where its human resource in terms of young people is very much favorable for reaping it. This wave is to continue to the mid of 21st century.

Among others Durr-e-Nayab has called the youth bulge in Pakistan as an opportunity for growth, development and vehicle of prosperity. She went on to say that economic contribution from this part of population being its ability to be more productive than being more consummative in essence. As working age people supply more than they actually demand so it automatically adds up into the wealth of nation through savings, labor force and domestic investments and etc (Durr-e-Nayab, 2008). Some empirical studies regarding the relationship of demographic transition and economic growth in Pakistan suggested that due to its demographic process Pakistan with careful policies, can accelerate its economic growth pace and stabilize its economy (Hussain, Malik, & Hayat, 2009).

Dismal educational situation and giving little priority for improvement and betterment of education system in Pakistan, the benefits of Youth Bulge has largely remained unattained. It is very naive to suggest that without equipping the future generations required set of skills and education, any nation can fully reap the benefits from its demography. On this front, Pakistan has fared very low as compared to its regional and international contemporaries. Literacy rate has not been able to reach even 60% of population. Govt. of Pakistan estimated that literacy rate in Pakistan in year 2010-11 has reached 58% (Government of Pakistan, 2011) however other studies debunked such official claims and estimated that actual literacy rate in Pakistan has not been more than 55% in 2010. Furthermore, the disparities among different social clusters in education sector remains very high. Urban-Rural, Male - female inter-provincial etc division have long plagued the situation and proved to be major impediment (Wazir, Goujon & Lutz, 2013).

Currently, there being no official data available on the state of poverty in Pakistan which leaves this crucial aspect to the works of NGOs and other institutions. Population rise is directly linked with the poor education level in female population as well as prolonging the poverty in the households. Economic crises due to floods, earthquakes and terrorism have put great pressure on the economy of Pakistan to face such challenges amicably (Arif, 2013). In this scenario, population welfare is only possible as a consequence of decline in population growth. Thus, economic burdens do not let Pakistan give priority to the human development issues.

Although, economic perspective clearly states the positive part being played by the Youth in the advancement of any country including Pakistan, but it in one way or another, implies that youth is apolitical and whose basic concern is limited to its career-advancement. These studies do not embrace the reality that people can think beyond their material wellbeing. Pakistani youth has nullified this conventional wisdom that only good education, good job is their concern rather their involvement in political controversies, political movements and to an extent participation in social movements has demonstrated the fact that now they have realized their civic duties (Rais 2007). The one main drawback of this perspective is ignorance from the political character of youth and its role in determining the socio-political settings. As these studies suggest proper planning & policies are critical for turning this part of society into a demographic dividend.

The literature in political perspective on existence of youth bulge in any society maintains the rise of radical tendencies, revolutionary visions if not taken intelligently leads to the violence and terrorism. Mazzini was quoted (Moller, 1968) as saying

Place the young at the head of the insurgent masses, you do not know what strength is latent in those young bands, what magic influence the voices of the young have on the crowd, you will find them a host of apostles for the new religion. But youth lives on movement, grows great in enthusiasm and faith. Consecrate them with a lofty mission inflame them with emulation and praise, spread through their ranks the word of fire, the word of inspiration, speak to them of country of glory, of power, of great memories

Jack Goldstone's work on rebellion, revolution and political upheavals since English revolution is worth noting here. In sum, he maintained that whenever a country especially in Europe experienced the Youth Bulge at any point of history, revolutions political violence emerged there and sometimes successfully overthrowing the incumbent regimes (Goldstone, 1991). Another very latest in this row is Henrik C. Urdal's work on Youth bulges and political violence in which he demonstrated the links among large youth cohorts and political violence as well as educated youth with terrorism (Urdal, 2006).

Focusing on the demographic pressures on governments in Muslim world, Samuel Huntington also noted that high population is among many causes of clash of Islamic civilization with others and conflicts within herself. He further noted that existence of large young populations in the regions of Asia and Africa has proven to be a cause of political insurgencies, violence and instability (Huntington, 1996, pp. 115-120). He (2001) emphasized this point by saying

History shows that when people in that age group amount to more than 20% of the population of a society, instability, violence and conflict are likely to escalate. In most Muslim countries the youth bulge has reached the 20 % mark and has given rise to Islamic militancy, Muslim migration and the pressure of rapidly growing Muslim societies on their neighbors.

Graham E. Fuller (2003) highlighted the challenges and prospects emanating from the youth bulge in Muslim world not for themselves only but also for others as well (including USA). His approach is also similar to Huntington's view that such a vast young population and futile policies of their states is leading them to look other channels for exerting their political will. Growing radicalization, Islamic fundamentalism is actually a quest of better alternatives against the state.

Since the Arab Spring, youth has felt a great sense of empowerment and Pakistan is no exception to this effect. Politicians and policy makers are fully aware of the fact that if they are not taking meaningful steps and policies for betterment of Pakistani youth at this time, similar reaction can erupt in form of political violence which will further aggravate the situations. Secondly, electoral demographics are also telling an interesting story which has made political parties more conscious about existing youth bulge of Pakistan.

According to NADRA, 'Forty-seven per cent of the total electoral list is composed of young adults between the age of 18 and 35 – approximately 39 million people and around 20 per cent are even in the younger age bracket of 18 to 25 years' (Shahid, 2012). This reality has put several political pundits to re-consider their calculations for electoral results in coming elections.

Government(s) has started taking various steps like Free Laptops, Paid Internships, and provision of taxis to unemployed youth only for their political gains. But still the question remains that all these measures are adequate and sufficient to fully address the issue of youth bulge?

Justification for the study.

A reader while studying any book, article or research reports / thesis wonders that why *another* when there is a handful work already available. Well, answer rests in the fact that most of studies on this subject addressed this issue from one perspective or another whereas the missing dimension of research on this subject remained the relationship of public policy and youth bulge in Pakistan and the questions related to the causes and consequences of this relationship.

This study not only is meant to map the existing literature but also to identify laps & gaps in public policy perspective on the issue as well as the how the state, society and Youth bulge in Pakistan are influencing each other and what could possibly be the outcome of this complex relationship.

Thesis Statement

The public policy in Pakistan has dealt with the Youth Bulge in Pakistan inadequately in the past. Due to this inadequacy & neglect, demographic dividend has been getting turned into demographic disaster implicating severely not only the Youth of Pakistan but also State & Society of Pakistan at large.

Research Questions

How the Public Policy has dealt with the Youth bulge in Pakistan?

What are the implications of negligence in public policy of Pakistan especially for Youth and generally for State and Society?

Tentative Thesis outline

- i) Introduction**
- ii) Theoretical and Conceptual Framing of Study Policy process in context**
- iii) Youth, Youth Bulge and Population dynamics in Pakistan**
- iv) Youth Policy in Pakistan Historical Review and Critical Analysis**
- v) Conclusion**
- vi) Bibliography**

Methodological framework

This study is explanatory in nature therefore qualitative methods of research are used. Sources of primary and secondary nature are utilized to ground test and verify the proposed thesis statement.

Chapter 2:

Theoretical and Conceptual Framing of Study Policy Process in Context

Introduction

This chapter is based upon two parts. First part outlines and discusses the policy process debating the different stages of policy cycle. Next section gives a detailed account of critical policy analysis at length. Concluding section tries to sum up the theoretical discussion.

Policy Analysis and Question of Framework(s)

Policy analysis is a method of inquiry to examine governmental activity that provides a systematic way to assess the consequences of past policy actions and the alternatives available to address societal problems (Schneider & Bromley-Trujillo, 2011, pp. 1218-1219).

As a field of study, this subject has expanded enormously since the 1950s. The pioneering study of *Policy as Science* by Harold Lasswell established public policy as a new discipline for examining the whole process of decision-making (policy making) with scientific objectivity. It also addresses the issues that need the attention of state for their resolve. As the concerns of society increase regarding any problem, state is approached for its removal from public life as a constraint. Expansion of state institutions is linked with the growing number of issues any society within that state faces (Dahl & Luft, 1973) (Dye, 2004) (Weimer, 1971).

In the policy process, social issues and problems are first conceptualized for solution and brought to the government. Government scrutinizes the problem and governmental institutions weigh various options as solutions and then implement one. Afterward, evaluation takes place for

measuring the effectiveness of that solution. However, this is not as easy and simple as it appears to be. Not only a number of actors directly and/or indirectly are part of this process but there are also complexities in terms of technicalities and legalities are involved (Sabatier, 2007)

It is imperative for a policy scholar to understand this complexity and translate this process into useful knowledge. For that purpose a very useful method or argument is to think about this process in devising frameworks, theories and models. It is so due to the difficult and complex nature of policy process and involved actors (institutions, individuals and etc). Defining general framework to incorporate so many variables and their interactions that further lead to the theoretical knowledge about the issue is a rational way to work. These frameworks help to understand a wide variety of elements, interaction of objects and tools of inquiry to derive useful knowledge. Frameworks classify 'diagnostic and perspective inquiry, provide list of variable for analysis, meta-theoretical language for comparing theories, identifying the universal element relevant to the similar theories'. These also help analyst to make queries in conducting the analysis (Ostrom 2007, pp 25-26)

Public Policy Cycle (Stage Heuristics) as general Framework

Public policy is always in making and a never ending process. Over the time scholars of public policy has developed certain theories, approaches and models that are used to understand this process in more simplistic way than it actually is. Conceptualizing Policy process rather in stages and steps is quite rational and makes it easy to comprehend this phenomenon. Policy Cycle, Policy Process model or Rational-decision making are few names to describe the same framework of studying and examining the public policy process in any given government. This

model breaks the policy process into various stages. Stage heuristics of policy making became main framework of analysis in policy analysis from the post-war years by the works of Lasswell.

Policy Cycle framework or stage heuristics provides us this opportunity to think the governmental action in steps and stages. The framework has been employed for research for almost decades albeit the criticism (Young, 2011, pp. 786-795). Another advantage as noted by Michael Hill is that the stages model is that it offers a way of *chopping up* if only for the purposes of analysis, a complex and elaborate process which makes the complex policy procedures more simpler for comprehension of even a general reader (Hill 2005, p. 20). It enables us to consider not only variables spanning from individuals and organizations but also in terms of time-frame and contextual influences.

Harold Lasswell not only proposed a new thinking about every day politics but also introduced the way for rationally understanding the politics. In *Orientation to policy sciences* a model of the policy process comprised of seven stages: intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal was described (Jann & Wegrich 2007, p. 43). In following decades, policy research followed the stage framework and great contributions were made in policy sciences. Some have even contested the Lasswell's conception of stages and tried to outline the stages or incorporating new features to this typology. Werner Jann and Kai Wegrich maintained that the differentiation between agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision making, implementation, and evaluation has become the conventional way to describe the chronology of a policy process. Agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making,

implementation, and evaluation eventually lead to termination of the policy or in its modification (Jann & Wegrich, 2007, pp 43-62)

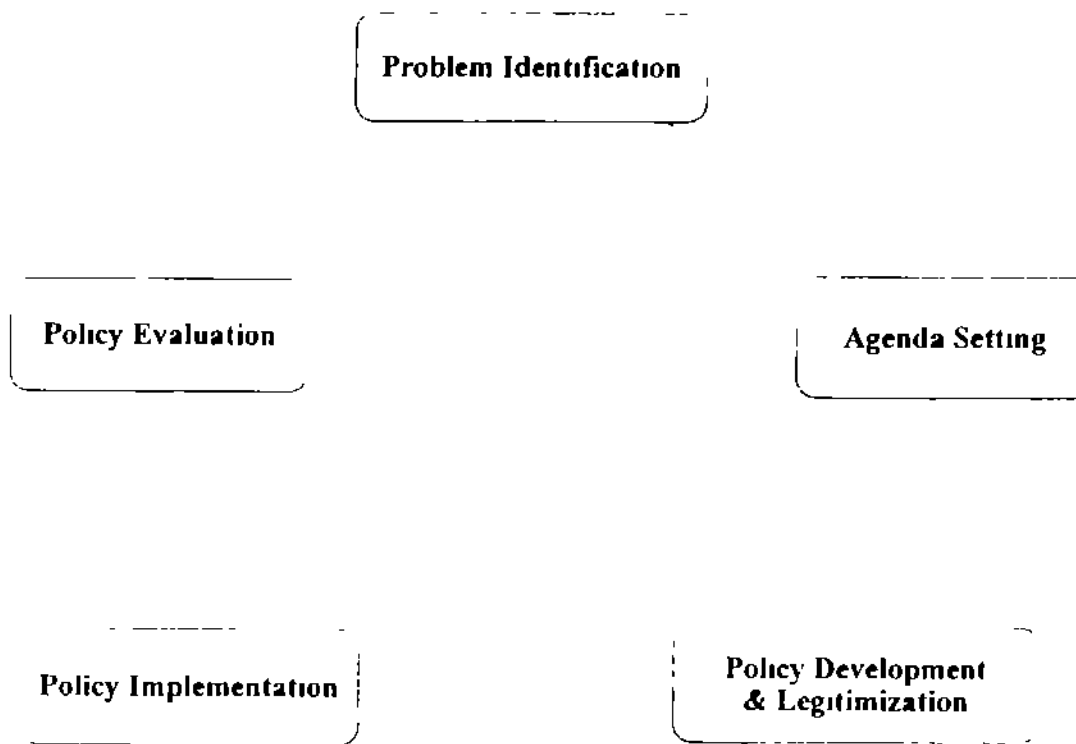
Lasswell proposed that one can study the governmental decisions and course of actions in a set of stages which starts from problem identification and follows the line of intelligence, promotion, and prescribing, invoking application, appraisal and termination phases (Lasswell, 1963) Over the time many other scholars have also worked on this model and outlined stages Thomas Dye has concluded that Process model includes six stages namely Problem identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy Legitimation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation (Dye 2004)

The policy cycle proposed by Althaus Bridgman & Davis provide a foundation for identifying elements of good public policy practice Bridgman and Davis specified eight stages in the policy cycle (1) issue identification (2) policy analysis (3) policy instrument development, (4) consultation (5) coordination (6) decision, (7) implementation and (8) evaluation While these stages are represented in a linear manner in reality they interact with one another in complex ways and are not mutually exclusive (Miller 2009 pp 86-87)

As a result of sustained research, the stage heuristics model is being developed and analyzed in a variety of ways This process can broadly be summarized and presented in following illustration showing its major stages mainly adopted for current study

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Figure 5



Source Adapted from works of Dye (2004) Sabatier (2007) Jann and Wegrich (2007)

Though this framework has been under strict criticism from propagators of other models such as The advocacy coalition framework, the multiple-stream, framework, the institutional rational choice approach, policy diffusion models, and the punctuated equilibrium theory and claims to be alternative frameworks of policy process (Sabatier 2007) yet the process model has not faded altogether being its nature as a general template of understanding and analysis of Public policy as a whole scheme of study. Some has concluded that many new frameworks developed by recent

scholars are also subject of absorption in the process model by their similarity of one or more stages (Jann & Wegrich, 2007, pp 57-58)

Problem Recognition & Agenda Setting

Dery David (2000) noted that problem definition is related to, but different from, agenda setting of policy process. It is considered mainly the organization of a set of facts, beliefs, and perceptions and how actually people think about circumstances. In stage heuristics, the issue of Problem identification and recognition is first crucial step which enables an issue to get to the agenda. A problem in simple words is defined as a gap between an "is" and "ought" (Hoppe, 2010 p 23). However, in terms of policy, a problem is considered a social construct of various actors. In policy analysis many studies suggests that problems definition is conjecture of two notions, first is that problems are analytic constructs, or conceptual entities politically structured and second assumption postulates that definitions of problems in the context of practice must answer the criteria of feasibility and worth or improvement (David 2000)

Social construction of problem is categorically, perceptions and ways of a society and competing interests of various groups within it, about defining and communicating the problems being contended by various variables as the way these problems are. Social construction, of problems itself is connected with the existing political situations, social configurations and ideological structuring of that day. Definition of problem in a particular way is also important due to its relation with finding a suitable solution to it (Birkland, 2007, pp 63-78). Stone considered the problem definition in the political context as 'the strategic representation of situations' representations that are 'constructed to win the most people to one's side and the most leverage over one's opponents (Stone, 2002)

In the context of practice, however, continued exercise not only equip individuals with various sets of expertise and skills for future but also inevitably gives rise to the institutions to address such problems keeping feasibility, worthiness and improvement in equal consideration (Stone 2002) Bridging the gap between 'is and ought' needs the shared belief as well as consent for allocation of resources collectively after developing consensus over means and ends (Hoppe, 2010, p 23)

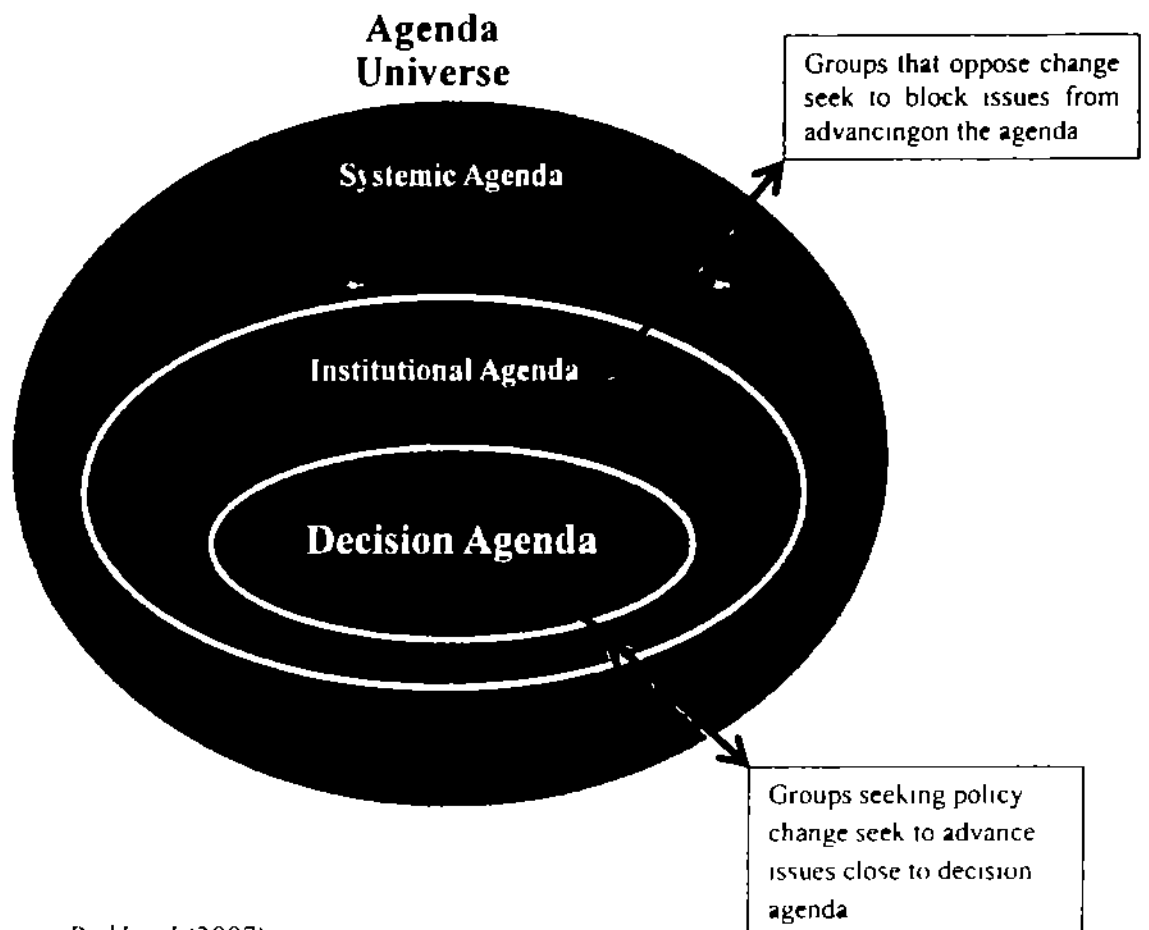
When a problem is defined and persuasively communicated to public officials, government is demanded to take an action and that problem is put on the agenda for decision. Agenda is namely of priority of problems which are to be decided. Agenda is defined as "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside the government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time" (Jann & Wegrich 2007 p 45). Another definition of agenda is as a "collection of problems, understandings of causes, symbols, solutions, and other elements of public problems that come to the attention of members of the public and their governmental officials."

Furthermore, agenda may be as concrete as a list of bills that are before a legislature but also includes a series of beliefs about the existence and magnitude of problems and how they should be addressed by government, the private sector, non-profit organizations or through joint action by some or all of these institutions" (Birkland, 2007 p 63). Whereas Agenda setting process refers to the mechanism by which some problems come to public attention at given times and places (Hoppe 2010 pp 60-61) and some are left at all. Groups and actors have to fight to get their issues on the agenda because not all issues can be addressed simultaneously.

Birkland has also illustrated the different levels of agenda namely Agenda Universe, Systemic Agenda, Institutional Agenda and Decision agenda. Agenda universe constitutes the entire set of issues being faced by population, this is the broader conception of issues. However, demarcation point between Agenda Universe and Systemic Agenda is the jurisdiction and authority of governmental control over them. Institutional agenda is "that list of items explicitly up for the active and serious consideration of authoritative decision makers" (Birkland, 2007).

The issues successful in getting alleviated from Systemic agenda are put on organizational agenda. Given the lack of time & resources, very few issues are moved forward to decision agenda. Decision agenda is where the government considers the issues to take action for resolve. To get placed an issue among those limited number of issues, actors involved in this process leave no stone unturned to be successful.

Figure 6



Source: Thomas Bukland (2007)

Another aspect in this process involves the power relationships within society at large, within organizations, within interest groups, within political parties and within government departments in particular. Power is defined in many ways like some regarded it as 'ability not only to influence others but to control outcomes in a way that would not have occurred naturally' (Mingst, 2003 p. 105). It's also seen as 'the capacity to achieve values in collaboration with and in opposition to others'. It includes the ability to act autonomously and to exercise influence or

control over others” (Lentner 2011, p 1330) In politics it is also defined as “the ability of A to make B do something B would not choose to do” (Robertson 2004, p 399)

However, Bachrach & Baratz expanded this concept by adding not only the ability of A to make B act in accordance with A’s orders but also preventing B from doing anything undesirable for A (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962) During agenda setting process especially in democracies, the second face of power is exercised Interest groups and “Policy monopolies”¹ tries to prevent different opposing issues from getting onto agenda because they usually perceive them to be against the status quo or perhaps in opposition to their own interests

Policy Formulation and Adoption

Policy Formulation is a pre-decision process in conventional policy process Once an issue is put on agenda Policy process suggests it is debated and many solutions are considered in legislatures & executive bodies “*Alternatives*” are discussed and deliberated until consensus of actors involved is achieved over suitable and feasible policy option Policy formulation focuses on the drafting and consideration of proposals by an attentive policy community while policy adoption refers to the passage of the proposal through the formal institutions that have the authority to adopt the policy (Young, 2011, pp 786-795)

However, studies on this subject reveal the complexity of processes involved in this stage Decision-makers interest groups, organizations, individuals concerned are in continuous interaction and in process of communication with one another so that it serves their interests well The number of actors is greatly lessened and the competition is reduced only to limited

¹ Policy Monopoly is a concept coined by Baumgartner & Jones that it is a monopoly on political understandings concerning the policy of interest and an institutional arrangement that reinforces that understanding moreover it is a concentrated closed system of the most important actor in the policy making which holds a tight grip on the policy making process

participants at this level of policy process. Policy formulation is the realm of the experts, the "hidden participants", the technocrats or knowledge elites (Sidney, 2007, p. 79)

Policy arena of the fights here is normally, legislatures, executives and to some extent judicial chambers. Think tanks, NGOs and public figures usually influence the members of these governmental bodies formally and informally. Studies focusing on the policy formulation denote the importance of belief system of actors and their vested interests, because policy proposals of particular group are often the problematic issues for other competing groups. Consequently, the previously varying entities form coalitions, groups to seek an approval of particular solution which is more and more favorable to guard their interests (Dye, 2004)

Another common technique of forwarding a specific proposal in legislatures is lobbying. From environmental problems to urban planning issues, each group involved in try to not only gain favorable policies but also try to avoid any regulation which hinders its way (Lindblom & Woodhouse, 1993)

Lawrence Susskind (2006, pp. 269-295) notes that there are three ways that people and the parties usually opt when they try to influence other's views for achieving their policy objectives. He suggests that option one is conversation, secondly parties would go hard bargaining and thirdly they will prefer negotiations. *Conversation and argumentation* being the first way to communicate one's own views and influence the opposing parties' view (interests) is structured around the step of making people to listen and in doing so one has to avoid demonizing the other party.

Once other parties are ready to listen and room for debate and deliberation is favorable, usually, then argumentation is carried on with reference to logic, with reference to emotions, with reference to history, relevant evidences and certain judgments and expert findings, with reference to ideology and values. However, one must be naive enough by considering the opposing parties may choose to act accordingly as they had previously concurred to listen. So from here onward, usually, things get to more hardliners and *Hard Bargain* takes place. "Hard bargainers try to limit the choices available to their negotiating partners by making threats bluffing and demanding concessions" (Susskind, 2006)

Here, the number of actors and the context also plays significant role to bring the acceptable outcome to parties involved. When the power across the parties is unevenly distributed threats and bluffing is part and parcel of bargain process that makes it look like a zero-sum game. Powerful parties would not hesitate to intimidate the weak parties and in retaliation weak parties usually exploit the bluff.

However, both ways put higher risks on the stakes involved because weak may agree during the decision point and in implementation point may create impediments and in order to assess powerful may test the bluff, hence, putting the credibility of weak party on line. When the parties engaged in this process conclude that previously noted ways are unsuccessful in attaining the desired outcomes, will eventually find themselves in a situation from where they can only hold the *negotiations* and to come to a compromised decision. These contending parties will negotiate on terms and conditions by letting some of their interests compromised in exchange to other interests.

The literature on negotiations focuses the theories of mutual gains, consensus-building and effective dealing of the challenges against the consensus-building. Issues pertaining to public policy are usually multiparty disagreements. But, certainly, one party in categorical terms is that one which desires the status-quo to prolong and the other(s) that emerges to oppose it. The opposition consists of the different sub-parties which may be disputing the issue on different grounds however making the coalition for shared ends. This can be demonstrated by the recent Arab Spring of Egypt where we see Brotherhood and others were in alliance against the Mubarak regime. While negotiating the issue, all parties try to propose solutions in response to "what-if" question. This goes further until agreement on solution(s) is achieved. Another element that emerges along this process is the role of *Neutral* as mediator (Susskind, 2006).

Above description elucidates that how the actors at certain level agree on what is the best course (policy) of handling the issues in hand, the next thing is to decide by which means a certain policy is to be put in action. The *tools* literature provides an answer to this problem. The taxes, regulation, grants, services, budgets, information, rights, and other policy tools which indicates the provision of government services or non-provision of these services. These indirect measures include contracting, grants, vouchers, tax expenditures, loan guarantees, government-sponsored enterprises and regulations among others, many do not appear on government budgets. Studies characterize the choice of tools as political as well as operational (Sidney 2007 p. 82).

Another perspective in policy tools literature considers the tools into three categories. First is to conceive of instruments as institutions. Second approach focuses on the politics of instrument selection, in the sense of the interests or ideas that shape the choice of tools and third set of

approaches to the instruments of government has tended to be institution free and to focus more on cataloguing the tool kit in a generic way than on the politics of instrument choice (Hood, 2006, p 469) As Schneider and Ingram too given a framework of much integrative in nature which also postulates that each policy design is greatly influenced by the institutional and ideational context (Sidney, 2007, pp 83-84)

Policy Implementation

Without implementing what have been decided as policy, we cannot say it as a policy at all Unless a policy is not put into effect, it cannot address the issues seeking resolve Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) were the first to identify the lack of scholarly work about the implementation in their seminal work on *Implementation*² Following their lead, a vast number of studies have been produced over four decades that enriched the policy implementation from a variety of perspectives

The works on policy cycle have identified three approaches to study policy Implementation First approach “Top-Down” suggests that Implementation is the execution of a policy duly enacted by the legislatures at the top It is believed that it will be implemented in its letter and spirit It has been traditionally taken for granted that every decision taken at the top will be automatically followed till to the bottom It has been considered that Policy makers at the top have the control over the implementation of the policy

²Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky (1973) *Implementation: How great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland Or why federal programs work at all* is considered the pioneer work to address the importance of implementation and the issues pertaining to the phase of policy process cycle

Politicians elected by general public are the holders of public offices at the top, however, to work efficiently, they delegate certain discretion of functions to the bureaucrats working underneath them. These officials even delegate some of their authority to their lower ranks and this goes all the way down to the bottom with certain amount of discretion. Keeping this in view, the point is that bureaucracies and public officials (indirectly this refers to the State) have the capacity to manage the implementation process as initially was envisioned while the designing the policies at the top.

Over the passage of time focus on implementation studies has produced a number of theories and models to explicate the policies of governments in the world. The failure of policies over the passage of time made the scholars think about 'non-implementation' or 'unsuccessful implementation' of such policies (Maddison & Denniss, 2009 p. 173).

These concerns gave the way to other side of policy implementation and hence a new strand of policy literature started to emerge focusing on the "Down-top" approach. The importance of "Street-Level Bureaucracy" was acknowledged and scholars engaged to understand the behavior and interaction of these policy agents who actually represent the policy to the public at large (Lipsky, 2010). Multitude of actors as policy agents has indeed given the government an opportunity to cover a vast range of solutions to a vast range of issues. The relationship of this matrix is also very complex and study of this complex relation has also produced a political theory of its own (Peters, 2011, pp. 63-72).

The third approach tries to synthesize both the "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches in its postulations and tries to bridge theoretical shortcomings of the both schools. A goal of the third approach is to emphasize the policy design and objective of implementation as indicated in the top-down approach. But equal emphasis is given to the autonomy and discretion exercised by actual implementers in the process and their relation to their higher authorities. Another major point to be deliberated is the policy itself. The nature of policy is also a determining factor of how it will be implemented. This path also leads us to consider the number of actors involved in implementation of any particular policy as well as to the understanding that implementation is an evolutionary process (Pulzl & Treib, 2007, pp. 89-105).

In fact, traditional conception of top-downers about the technical execution of the policy as sole explanation of implementation process is augmented and incorporated with the given prominence of bottom-uppers with regard to the question of politics at play within the street level bureaucracy (Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone, & Hill, 2007, pp. 187-219).

Limiting ourselves to the subject at hand and returning to the discussion back again, when legislatures adopt a policy, the government implements the laws and policies through its bureaucracy. The locus of government action has long been in bureaucracies. Government's actual power is bureaucratic power, whether the bureaucracy is military or civil. Bureaucracy refers to the complex organizations assigned to perform specific tasks. The bureaucratic power is derived from and defined by constitutional and institutional rules and regulations.

Bureaucracy historically speaking, originated from chamber of accounts in France as far back as 1300s, where financial records of King were administered. The King's administrators used to keep these records in a special room, and laid them out on brown woolen cloth, known as *la bure*. In time they came to call the room *Bureau* and hence the term Bureaucracy was born (Kettl, 2006, p. 366)

Max Weber is considered the first scholar of 20th century who analyzed the bureaucracy and attributed it as the back bone of modern state. For him bureaucracy is any institution which shares i) a mission defined from the top, ii) fixed jurisdictions within the organization and with scope of work defined by rules, iii) graded authority from top to bottom with higher level officials having more authority than those at bottom, iv) written documents for management that create record of work, v) Career experts managing and embodying the capacity of organizations to do work, vi) rules and regulations that govern the discretion exercised by administrators (Kettl, 2006 p. 371)

Policy Evaluation

Policies enacted, promulgated hitherto requires an assessment. Policy cycle approach placed Policy evaluation as the last step before that wheel starts again. Evaluation of policies enables the governments to know the extent of their success in translating plans into actions and whether the goals initially set have been achieved or otherwise. Moreover, it is also helpful for the population of the country that how a specific measure/policy resulted into their benefit and/or helped them to solve the problems they faced.

For this study definition of the term *Policy Evaluation* is adopted from Hellmut Wollmann (2007, pp 393-404) which describes it as

First, evaluation research, as an analytical tool, involves investigating a policy program to obtain all information pertinent to the assessment of its performance, both process and result, second, evaluation as a phase of the policy cycle more generally refers to the reporting of such information back to the policy-making process. Thus, analytical procedures, which have come to be called "performance audit" would be included in our definition.

In the light of above definition it becomes necessary to explicate the difference between ex-ante evaluation and ex-post evaluation. Ex-ante evaluation of any policy is done before its adoption while weighing multiple policy options. It may also appear that a policy proposal along with the cost-benefit details and how simply, yet in a better way, target the issues in question in contrast with similar policy proposals while policy making process is underway. On the other hand, ex-post evaluation is concerned with the assessment of programs and policies once they are implemented and with the passage of time have started affecting the lives of people or resolving the problem in question (Wollmann, 2007).

Another question about the policy evaluation that intrigued the scholars has been: Whether policy evaluation process is apolitical or political in nature? Though apparently, it is difficult to demarcate or draw a line from where evaluation process transcends to be political from apolitical. In order to understand we must first look into the actors involved in the evaluation process. Herein, it is pertinent to bring the debate about internal evaluation and external evaluation. Internal evaluation is basically evaluation conducted by the agency or organization

itself. Within the bureaucratic ranks of governmental institutions different people/organizations are tasked to evaluate certain policy measures.

This in-house approach is well established and even from the public administration point of view there are certain indicators on whom evaluators usually rely for obtaining the goals of evaluation. On the other hand, the external evaluation is usually conducted by the actors who are external to the policy process. They might include political actors or sometimes ordinary people or even any of the third parties whose interest have been affected by the program in question. For this purpose some specialized organizations have come into being who professionalize in the evaluation process like American Evaluation Society (AES) in USA (Wollmann, 2007, pp. 395-396).

By keeping the nature of evaluation we are able to discern that this phase of policy cycle is political in nature. Inter-organizational and inter-bureaucratic politics also carry an element of politics that has effects on the policy executers and the very people who are responsible not only to deliver and translate the policy into action but also their link with the policy makers and policy making bodies. External evaluation, however, is entirely a political endeavor. And as some scholars go on to say that the very idea of evaluation is inherently political (Taylor & Balloch, 2005, p. 1).

Critical Public Policy Analysis

Critical policy analysis is a mode of explication of policy wherein a scholar is engaged to deconstruct the dominant narrative, explore the meanings and contexts and thereby presenting a perspective that shows how and where certain other narratives are neglected as well as other meanings and contexts have either been suppressed or given little attention in a given public

policy Normally, policy analysis can be categorized as Technocratic or Accommodative in nature Dryzek (2006, pp 191-192) pointed that the critical policy analysis is a rejection of both of these modes of policy analysis As the policy process features a communication of meaning and an effect, thereafter, of practice therefore critical analysis of policy in terms of that communication its context and its effect is necessary for better understanding

Technocracy, as defined by Fischer (1993, p 22), is a mode of governance process wherein the technically trained knowledge elite dominates the political elite It functions as a replacement or governing the mechanism(s) of decision making process with more technocratic discourse(s) rather than political/democratic deliberative discourse(s) Technocratic policy analysis embodies on the other hand, the positivist orientation at its core Methodologically, it relies on econometric techniques for analysis

The same also involves basically what most people call it as cause-effect analysis The values are determined and sometimes quantified for declaring a policy as success or otherwise Statistical and/or quantitative methods are employed for the measurement of effectiveness efficacy in terms of economics as result of any policy initiative It also emphasizes the presence of policy maker who exerts total control not only in forming / framing of any policy but till its effective implementation as well It also implies that the said policy maker is value-free and works without impediments caused by politics embroiled in the process (Dryzek, 2006, p 190)

Accommodative policy analysis refers to any analysis wherein the analyst accepts and adheres to the definition(s) of problems, tools, and procedures that of the policy maker This can be regarded as a *loyalist endeavor* in which analyst try to accommodate his/her organizational

context yet bringing some external perspective to his / her analysis. This is rarely expressed explicitly however one cannot deny the existence of such kind of analysis altogether. Both the Technocratic and accommodative policy analysis are directed to advise the policy makers about their policies and to provide them the picture for further necessary action(s) yet the critical policy analysis is directed towards the subjects who are affected by these policy actions, policy decisions. As earlier are to inform and instruct those in power, the latter is meant to inform and educate those on whom that power is wielded and exercised (Dryzek, 2006, p. 191)

In the tradition of critical policy analysis, three techniques are used to explicate the policy language and search of an understanding in broader context i.e. Interpretative Analysis, Narrative Analysis and (Critical) Discourse Analysis. Interpretative analysis approach focuses on the meanings, values and/or beliefs of policies which these express as well as the on the processes that communicate those meanings to and read by different audiences (Yanow, 1996 pp. 8-9)

Narrative analysis, on the other hand, emphasizes on the stories told by the participants. As it is said that facts never speak for themselves so how well facts are embodied into a story to convince the audience about the teller's case and its explanation is the subject of this approach. The narrative analysis rests on the analysis of stories that are taken by one or more parties as supporting their assumptions for policy making. Units of analysis here are the acts or events, focalization or the prism, and presence of narrator in the story/text (Eeten, 2007)

Discourse can be defined as a collective of ideas, concepts and categories through which a certain meaning is given to any phenomena (Hajer, 1993, p. 45). Discourse Analysis focuses on the larger system(s) of meaning and the stories to generate a certain understanding of issue in hand (Dryzek, 2006, pp. 190-205)

Conclusion:

In this chapter, policy cycle and different phases of policy process have been discussed. From problem identification to agenda setting and policy design / formulation to implementation and Evaluation all major steps involved in the policy process have been explicated and discussed in details. Lastly, a brief discussion has been made about the newly developed strand of policy analysis i.e. critical policy analysis.

Chapter 3: Youth, Youth Bulge and Population dynamics in Pakistan

Introduction

This chapter firstly attempts to conceptualize the “Youth” and tries to explicate different postulations of it. Thereafter, a brief discussion on youth bulge including the definition and its existence in Pakistan is given with the help of various data sets available from various sources in the context of Youth bulge in Muslim World. Furthermore, it has also been explained that what makes the existence of mere a demographic trait so debatable. There has also been tried to determine how a demographic dividend becomes either a dividend or a disaster per se.

Conceptualization of Youth

Defining “Youth” is quite a problematic as there is no unanimous, internationally agreed definition of this concept. Such difference arises from lack of clarity in identification of people to be considered as *Youth* from the *children* and *adults*. The variety of definitions used by Governments, International organizations and other stake holders are usually constructed around the *age*. However, these are also organized around, alternatively, criteria of cultural specificities. Consequently, one needs to be very cautious about such definitional intricacies when comparing studies and reports where youth is defined in age based terms actual age ranges vary. Before we get to defining what makes a person as Young or in Youth, it is pertinent to discuss the background debate that brings us to the very understanding of what constitutes as Youth or Young age.

The official UN definition of youth refers to people in the age bracket 15-24 years, while UNESCO defines 'young people to be between 10-19 years old UNICEF identifies 'adolescents' (10-18 years), while the UN Convention on Child Protection considers all people up to the age of 18 as 'children' Thus, someone in the 15-18 age range can be considered a 'youth', a 'child', but also a 'young person' The African Youth Charter promulgated in 2006 by the African Union considers that youth are people between 15 – 35 years of age (Lintelo 2011)

In similar fashion Pakistan defined the population in the age group of 15-29 years as the Young population This age group is also consistent with the definition of youth taken by the Commonwealth (Govt of Pakistan, 2008)

The Youth *"can be defined as an interstitial phase in the life course between childhood and adulthood"* However, before we proceed, it is worth discussing that such a definition raises the questions as to what we mean by childhood and adulthood, and when one ends and the other begins Furthermore, these are almost impossible to answer in any categorical way

Hence, children are dependent upon family and state for protection and welfare Children are protected from exploitation from adults and provided for by the family and to some extent by the state State's role is more of a guarantor of protection and dependence arrange for betterment and upbringing of the children For example, a family is to guard the children from getting tormented treatment from the society in whatsoever manner it could be and yet its state's responsibility also to safeguard the children from falling into exploitive elements like child laborers and alike

As for as the adults are concerned, it can be said that they have certain other rights and duties. Socially speaking, they can marry, begin a family and participate in social activities around them. Political rights include casting their votes, running for public offices and actively take part in state affairs and etc. Moreover, they are held responsible before the civil and criminal courts for their misdeeds and crimes. They are supposed to provide for their living, entering into the contracts, seeking employment, increasing their means of income legally and paying the taxes and other duties that are part of social welfare at large (Marshall 1981). In case such adults are retired or has aged enough or handicapped that they are unable to get involved themselves in any of such economic activity can be provided with the state support for their living (Lister 1991). Therefore, the adults are considered full "citizens" and as such are regarded as independent and responsible human beings.

Young people, on the other hand, are positioned somewhere in between the children and fully grown adults. They can make decisions for themselves but not all the decision. They are considered in need of guidance to make fruitful and positive decisions for their futures and careers, and yet they are also in need of protection against the abuse and exploitation that exist around them through their families and state. They are semi-dependent upon their parents and family members for as well as for protection and if the family or parents fail to perform their responsibility, the state has to intervene and act on behalf of them (Jones & Wallace 1992).

Consequently, the rights, responsibilities of adulthood are descended upon them slowly and gradually as these are not as simple as they appear to be. Many rights and responsibilities are dependent not only upon chronological age but upon participation in some social institution.

Young people are deemed fit as semi-independent and semi-dependent in connection to their rights and responsibilities. Overall, society itself has recognized that these people are to be permitted to make some decisions for their futures and necessary support and guidance is also to be provided for their inclusion in that segment of society as useful grown adult.

Once we consider the youth as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood we should be naive to think it in terms of their chronological age period. They are held responsible for certain rights from the age of 10 or 14 and yet certain responsibilities are not entitled to them till the age of 24 or more. Even such rights are subject to change as the social and economic circumstances of young people change.

Many academics, therefore, find common age definition for youth and young unsatisfactory. For them the larger social processes and perspectives shape the things for people more than merely their number of years of living. They regard it as a series of transitions that brings a young man to the status of adulthood once he successfully completes all or some of the following transitions:

- a. the transition from full-time education and training to a fulltime job in the labor market (the school-to-work transition)
- b. the transition from family of origin (mainly the biological family) to family of destination (the domestic transition)
- c. The transition from residence with parents (or surrogate parents) to living away from them (the housing transition)

Here the role of parents is imperative as what they think appropriate for the children but if the children or young people are supposedly thought in risk or vulnerable the social welfare system activates its agents and agencies to preserve and ensure the provision of better future career and fulfillment of their needs. Depending upon the needs of children and desires of parents a child may have full time education from either from private schools, public schools or from special children's care school or any other institution.

The three main transition lines described above contain structures of opportunities for young people. So far, they have been presented only as a series of structured choices which, before the age of 16, are made either by young people and their parents or by other agencies responsible for young people's welfare. At the age of 16+ a young person may "choose" whether to stay on at school, go on to sixth-form studies or take courses in colleges of further education, take part in youth training or seek employment. Yet these main structures of choice are themselves determined by social and economic conditions and these, in turn, are largely shaped by social and economic policies. Policy developments can and do extend, restrict or reframe the opportunity structures available to young people. The interplay of each side of this equation produces the "social structuration" of youth. This term implies that we must take account of both social and economic institutions which determine structures of opportunity and the agency of young people in "choosing" a particular 'career' option (Colcs, 1995).

As noted by Jones & Wallace, that such statuses are always in fluctuation due to the social processes of negotiation and then renegotiation "between young people and their families then

peers and the institutions of the wider society" and these are the key factors in the social construction and reconstruction of the statuses of youth. However, their study points out to examine patterns wherein a welfare system is designed for children and adults differently.

Welfare systems are specifically designed for children ensure that opportunities and the support for children's development. (may it be social, educational, emotional or physical) are provided to them either through their families or through the agencies of state directly. Furthermore, such public welfare systems put certain mechanism that also helps preventing the abuse or exploitation and harm to come to the children.

The dependency of children in almost all the societies is provided from within the household and their families. They are cared for till they are economically independent and for that matter many welfare systems provide help and support to the parents or the families where it is feared that the children may not be given adequate attention. It is also to be noted here that where children are detached from their biological parents for whatsoever reason(s) it becomes state's responsibility to provide them the means either by the way of adoption, placing them in children's homes.

Interestingly, a study (Salman 2005) has recorded that about Youth a general trend of biasness does exist i.e. age discrimination. This prejudice has perpetuated to an extent that it does not appear as a matter of discrimination at all. Such observations can be made especially while studying the culture and social aspects of life in South Asia. It further elucidates that this age-discrimination has 4 different aspects for 4 different age groups.

For instance the children till age of 15 years, the common views of the people are largely positive that can also be observed by the ways affection and kindness is offered to this age group. The same is true, to a large extent, for elderly people within the age group of 50 years and beyond if not to the parallel of the children. The same can be viewed with the respect significance and preference given to people of this age group in public places, gatherings and family matters. For the middle age group who falls in 30 to 50 years of age bracket are perceived as neutral since this age group is not given any special treatment in comparison to the other two.

However, the youth and young men are perceived just the opposite of the above mentioned trends. According to the author (Salman, 2005) for youth of 15 to 29 years age discrimination becomes negative which is further exhibited by a general admonishment by society whether it's the parents, teachers or imams through their respective contexts. The same is even further emphasized and re-enforced by the state via placing ban on student union. In legal domain youth are negatively termed as adolescent criminals, youth offenders. Moreover, the press has more to report on the destructive part of the youth towards the society rather than the constructive and creative part. Professionally and in market terms youth is considered as equal to the inexperience and such related names instead of vibrant, creative and energetic.

Youth Bulge

The term youth bulge has been widely used by scholars and researcher of political activism, political violence, civil wars and students of revolutions as consequence of this phenomenon since last half of the 20th century. Although the literature on the civil wars and political violence identified and addressed the various causes for eruption of such upheavals that can be

categorized as, including but not limited to. *Opportunity Grievance, State Modernization factors* From Ted Robert Gurr (1968) (1970) to Samuel Huntington (2001) (1996), Jack Goldstone (1991) to Graham Fuller (2003), Henrik Urdal (2006) (2009) to Kalyvas (2007) and many others have studied the causes, processes and subsequent implications of political disorder in various parts of the world however, there remained very few authors whose focus was on the demographic factors

Foremost among others is Gunner Heinsohn (2003) who elaborated this issue from the perspective of social-demography. According to him, youth bulge is result of population trend in which large youth cohorts due to lack of regular, peaceful employment opportunities become violent and subsequently trend that leads the host society to political violence, instability revolutions and political turmoil. Theoretical explanation forwarded by the Gunner Heinsohn was first of its kind to address the issue from a demographic perspective.

Youth bulge, according to Heinsohn, results when population growth is marked by high fertility rate for a longer period and then low fertility rate for latter period. It is also pertinent to highlight that such fertility trends are based upon long period of years like in decades giving the rise in population exponentially and then falling and staying stable for similarly longer periods. For example if fertility rate remains above 2.1%, it will lead to population growth which would result into creating a youth bulge as it would mean 4 to 8 children per mother and implies that 2-4 sons per mother. The growth of sons in total number of population and their place in the society is determined by the positions available in the host society.

It also postulates that a father has to help create more than one social position so that his offsprings can survive. But as it so happens that all societies in this case offers less positions in relation to the available candidates who turn to use other means to find a suitable social position. Many other are left only to go with the violence due to frustrations and pressures of not having been able to secure a well, fulfilling place for them. The population cohorts of young people fail to find socially respectable positions, economically peaceful environment, and satisfying employment opportunities as well as political rights and say in the matters of governance.

Heinsohn pointed out as mentioned earlier that since there are not enough positions available in the given society, therefore, 3rd and 4th sons are left with very limited choices hence rising frustration and anger in them against the prevailing socio-political and economic status-quo leads them to use violence as a mean to achieve their goals. More the gap between available positions and excess of non-inheriting young people increases the relative chances of committing to violence by these youth cohorts.

Youth Bulge: Dividend or Disaster

The having of such demographic phenomenon has its consequences. Those consequences can be either beneficial, advantageous for peace, prosperity and development or they can be disastrous, dreadful and to disadvantage of the nation. These implication and effects of young population on the state of economy, society and politics are undeniably significant. Scholars have studied these effects for quite some time hence both the positive and negative aspects are further explored and explained in following paragraphs.

First strand of scholars is the one who view the existence of youth bulge an opportunity for economic progress and necessary wheel of growth. The underlining foundation of their argument is that economy performs well in the times when economic growth is accelerated due to an increasing population share of working-age individuals and corresponding lower population shares of children and the elderly (Asian Development Bank, 2011). This optimist perspective defines this characteristic and mechanism how any youth bulge can be translated into the Demographic Dividend.

The process of turning an opportunity provided by such population structure into demographic dividend involves certain other supporting measure to be taken by a state. These measures comprise of the Provision of better health facilities, improved education system keeping in view the socio-industrial demands in view, resolving the governance issues with better political rights and right to be heard in politics, better employment opportunities are the basic requirements to convert any population into a productive and progressive instrument.

As it can be drawn that if there is a lacking in any of above mentioned aspect or given less attention to one or the other thereof it shall result in the non-achievement of the objectives desired.

Scholars who share this view have put a great emphasis on the role that these young cohorts can play in given societies for its elevation to living standards, prosperity and progress. In relation to Pakistan, it has been noted that youth bulge exists and is likely to exist till the 2030.

According to NADRA, "Forty-seven per cent of the total electoral list is composed of young adults between the age of 18 and 35 – approximately 39 million people and around 20 per cent are even in the younger age bracket of 18 to 25 years." (Shahid, 2012)

The literature in political perspective on existence of youth bulge in any society maintains the rise of radical tendencies, revolutionary visions if not taken intelligently lead to the violence and terrorism. Studies highlighting the disastrous consequences of youth bulge put forth the argument that this phenomenon if not handled adequately would jeopardize the overall status of that society by giving rise to radical tendencies and leading the young men to violence and terrorism. The same has also been elaborated by Mazzini who was quoted (Moller, 1968) as

Place the young at the head of the insurgent masses, you do not know what strength is latent in those young bands, what magic influence the voices of the young have on the crowd, you will find them a host of apostles for the new religion. But youth lives on movement, grows great in enthusiasm and faith. Consecrate them with a lofty mission, inflame them with emulation and praise, spread through their ranks the word of fire the word of inspiration, speak to them of country of glory, of power of great memories.

Historical account of political instability, periods of unrest and occurrences of revolutions and revolutionary movements in Europe since English Revolution has been considered as a product of existence of Youth bulge in those particular societies. Goldstone (1991) has by and large attributed that political drama as a manifestation of the population dynamics of the European states. When any society experienced the youth bulge at any given period of time in past

centuries it was followed by a trend of political chaos and unrest. Opposition to existing status-quo grew as they failed to either foresee the needs of populations or tried to curtail the demands in view of changing ground reality. Resultantly, many regimes were changed or overthrown successfully.

Gunner Heinsohn also maintained that such population bubbles occur when 30 to 40% of population of a nation belongs to the age group from 15 to 29 years. He enlisted following traits of these youth cohorts -

- i Demographic surplus
- ii Without jobs or forced to stay in menial jobs
- iii Having no access to legal sex unless their careers enable them to have a family

The combination of these stress factors that lead them into a frustration and resultantly they will find themselves involved in

- i Violent crime
- ii Emigration
- iii Rebellion
- iv Civil war and/or revolution
- v. Genocide
- vi Conquest (violent colonization frequent genocide abroad)

Another study by Whelton (2007) has also supported the idea of youth bulge and its role in violence. For him, youth bulge happens once the population of any particular state comprises 30 to 40% of young people aged between 15 years to 29 years. As a matter of fact, that young

population might be well nourished, educated and properly housed yet their growing numbers outnumber the pace of opportunities available in economy and society. Gradually this growth trend put an end to the all the places or very little space is left available to these young men. Resultantly, a competition among them ensues and makes them vulnerable to get frustrated and prone to violence. Their anger leads them to get recruited by radical groups and other terror organizations without any difficulty.

Henrik Urdal (2006) (2009) has demonstrated empirically that the positive links are found between existence of large youth cohorts and political unrest. He further informed that terrorism and most of the terror related activities are usually carried out by well-educated young people. Two general classifications of literature that tries to explicate the causes of civil wars, political violence and domestic conflicts have been highlighted as follows:

- i) *The Opportunity / Greed Perspective*
- ii) *The motive-oriented / Grievance Perspective*

The Opportunity / greed perspective traces the roots of political violence to the economic benefits and financial fruits. The prospects of rebel groups for benefitting from waging a war against the governments and underlined opportunities are usually higher than the costs. Collier and Hoeffler suggested that since the large existence of youth cohorts reduces the recruitment cost for a rebel group, therefore it is more likely that such organizations are going to expand and exert more power over short spans of time. Moreover, the weak State with its limited capabilities

to cause severe damages also provides the needed boost to such organizations to operate quickly and smoothly (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004)

Opportunity perspective also describes the other dimension of why and how the young people get recruited by armed militias. It is basically the perspective of the recruits that the potential gain after joining such groups is comparatively more than what otherwise are less. Moreover, the cost of involvement is presumably less than that of the gains received. Since, the cost of being part of such movements are less and appears to be very marginal whereas the gains, basically economic, are enough to fulfill their and their family's needs appropriately.

Though, the opportunity aspect may be the most significant underlying feature of the political violence however the existence of motives has also to play a vital role in eruption and/or increase in the civil wars. The motive or grievance perspective has originated from the relative deprivation theory and intends to address the political or economic grievances by way of commencement of violence.

Motives or grievances that lead the young minds to commit the violence are either economic or political. In economic grievances, these can range from poverty to large inequalities among different strata of society. If we view the developing world and especially the Muslim world we are faced with this reality that most countries with youth bulges are basically poor or with very low income per capita such as Yemen or Somalia. Meanwhile there are other countries including Pakistan where the poverty is coupled with stark differences in income and status within the provinces as well within different social entities and classes.

Political grievances are also particularly important and even more complicated when coupled with the economic grievances. It postulates that, and surprisingly, major youth bulge as disaster literature is based on the arguments falling in this category where lack of political rights, pervasive corruption, lack of career opportunities to grow and get stable in life, lack of employment or under employment that does not commensurate with the qualification of the individual and other institutional / structural bottlenecks aggrieve the young people and over a long period having been declined to be a part of labor market or active citizens. In order to change this, some of them turn towards supporting other voices who later on take their advantage for mala fide objectives.

If the labor market cannot absorb a sudden surplus of young job-seekers, a large pool of unemployed youths will generate strong frustration. While labor markets differ substantially with regard to flexibility, empirical evidence does suggest that on average, large youth cohorts are substantially more likely to experience higher unemployment rates. From the literature on economic and population growth, we expect that when countries experience declining dependency ratios that increase the potential for economic growth, the relationship between youth bulges and political violence will generally weaken.

When the economy fails to adjust the growing number of youth who is seeking jobs and other employment venues, it results in the creation of a surplus young population. For instance, there are 20,000 university graduates in a national economy however jobs position available in that fiscal year are merely 5,000 than remaining 15,000 who failed to find any suitable position carries forward. In the next year, again the same number of graduates is produced coupled with the carried forward balance of last year means now there are 35,000 graduates looking for

suitable jobs. But the economy offers only 5,000 openings than there remain 30,000 graduates looking for jobs and employment opportunities. Given this example, if the output of universities and absorption rate of economy remains the same than after 5 years 75,000 unemployed people would be looking for any job opportunity irrespective of their social status. Those who remain unemployed are now to be considered as surplus youth. Now, if some of them who have been in this pool over 5 years would be more frustrated than the others and having not been able to get employed would sure look for other means to fend themselves. Such young people are more prone to fall into the hands of rebellion, violent organizations and anti-state or anti status-quo movements easily.

The expectation is consistent with the opportunity as well as the motive perspective. In countries with a lower dependency burden, the alternative cost of rebel labor will be higher. On the motive side of the coin, a reduction in dependency burden implies greater employment and income prospects reducing grievances.

The common denominator in both the perspective i.e. motive and opportunity is the expectation of the young for the gains enabling them to move forward whether by redressal of their grievances or by virtue of fulfillment of their material needs per se. When the burden or dependency ratio of population on working age adults decreases it effects to cause the reduction in governments expenses barely to cover the maximum population with minimum public goods and turns that focus for the provision of maximum public goods and better environment to the maximum population. The devil in demographics is gradually curtailed and vulnerability of the society is ultimately turned into positive prospects. Hence, we may expect countries with large

youth cohorts and continued high fertility to experience a higher risk of political violence than states with similar youth cohorts and declining fertility (Urdal, 2006)

Recent quantitative studies have found that large youth cohorts, or 'youth bulges' generally increase the risk of internal armed conflict or civil war (Urdal & Barakat 2009) While large youth cohorts may generally increase the risk of conflict, the contextual factors that determine when this is true, and under what conditions large youth cohorts may be a blessing are not well understood (Urdal & Barakat 2009)

Focusing on the demographic pressures on governments in Muslim world Samuel Huntington (1996, pp 115-120)also noted that high population is among many causes of clash of Islamic civilization with others and conflicts within herself He further noted that existence of large young populations in the regions of Asia and Africa has proven to be a cause of political insurgencies, violence and instability

Another more illustrative account has been forwarded by the Samuel P Huntington (2001, pp 131-142)in following words -

"History shows that when people in that age group amount to more than 20% of the population of a society, instability, violence and conflict are likely to escalate In most Muslim countries the youth bulge has reached the 20 % mark and has given rise to Islamic militancy, Muslim migration and the pressure of rapidly growing Muslim societies on the their neighbors

Now, considering this postulation for recent upheavals in the Muslim world one can surely discern that Huntington has pointed out a very obvious yet un-attended fact that remain at the very core of the present conflicts in the Muslim world

From his study of the history (1996), he concluded this salient feature that has been involved in the process of violence escalation in many countries across the world. Hence, he claimed and regarded the current extremist, militant activism to the rapidly populating societies of Islamic world with the young men at their core

Graham E Fuller (Fuller, 2003) explored the pros and cons of youth bulge in the Muslim countries. For him, the wave of violent extremism in Muslim world is a result of existence of large yet under educated unemployed or under employed and politically immobilized youth cohorts. Since the politically, socially and economically most of the Muslim states are developing states therefore the changes requisite to make their domestic environment conducive for betterment or similar to that of a welfare state are difficult if not impossible altogether

The discussing the impacts of youth bulge at length he pointed out that in such circumstances *Gender issues* are highlighted very significantly. Since, the boys are preferred over girls due to multiple reasons the very effect of this discrimination is the exclusion of girls from social positions. Social norms put bar on the progressive women, working ladies and discourages the females from participating in the economic activities

The other important factor is rise in the number boys in proportion to the girls in total population. Better health facilities enabled the parents to know whether the expected child would be a girl or boy and after knowing the gender of the to-be-born child many families opt for abortion if it's a

girl. For example, this trend has given rise to increased number of young boys in the population of Kuwait and China where corresponding girls for future family has seen immense imbalance. In education, the boys are preferred to attend the school and attain the education necessary to make both ends meet; however, the girls are mostly kept in the houses for housekeeping as well as are discouraged to attend schools since they have to take care of her family which is more likely once she is a housewife ultimately.

Inter group demographic imbalances occur where population of one sectarian or social group feels threatened and their numbers in population provide them the opportunity to keep their identity alive and intact. Author quoted the examples of Muslim states of Lebanon and Palestine where fertility rate of Lebanese Shia population, Palestinians populations who are fighting for recognition of their respective identities against the other hostile majorities.

The exhaustion of State resources whether state provides the means to better education, better health or other political venues to demonstrate and train the young to be a constructive part of the society in the limited resources at its disposal. Resultantly, a time comes when state finds it hard to provide the needful help to keep the welfare programs afloat. And gradually things are left unchecked at their own to regulate the matters, meanwhile it is when the catastrophe is most likely to happen. Non state actors intervene in this process taking the young men away to fulfill their own designs and purposes including but not limited to political violence.

The *Arc of Instability* is another term to define the countries with high ratio of youthful populations. Richard Cincotta (2010) postulates that States having the large parts of their population consisting the Youthful people form a crescent stretching from Andean region of Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Caucasus and then through the Northern

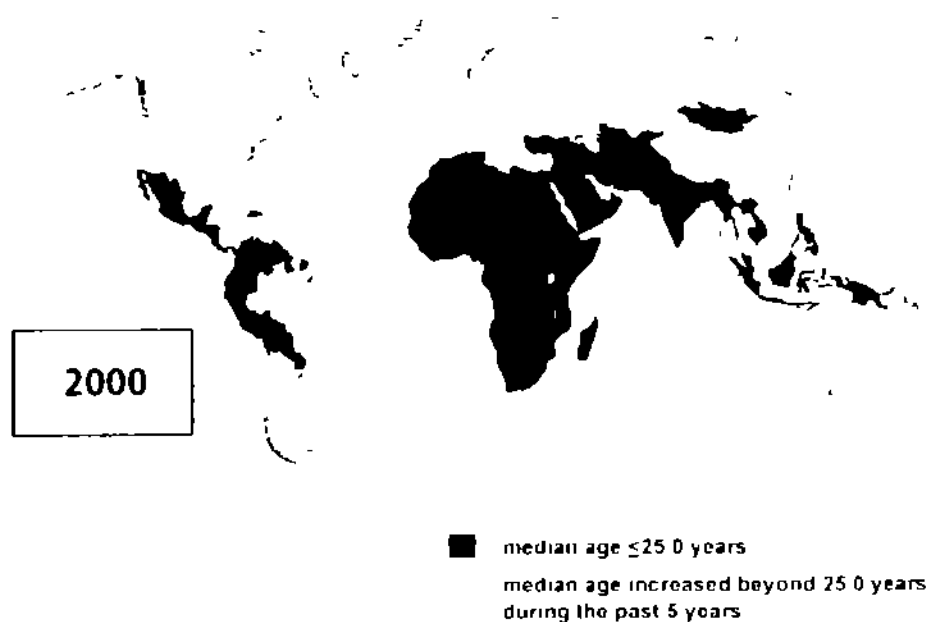
South Asia. He declares these regions of the world as the arc of instability. Based on the population projections of these states, it is forecasted that this arc would be faded away beyond 2025 due to number of reasons including decline in fertility rates, better economic conditions etc.

Figure 7

Youthful Age Structures, 2000 & 2030

The Demographic Arc of Instability

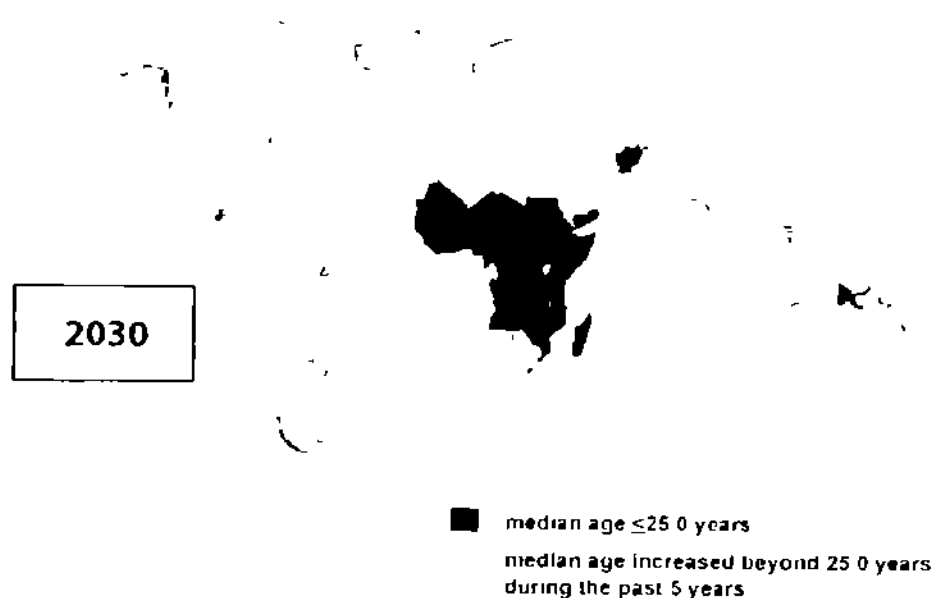
median age <25.0



The 2/3 of the countries projected to have youth bulges beyond 2025 is located in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, rest of them would be scattered in Asia, Middle East and some Pacific Islands. Youth bulge once starts to mature and convert into the work force bulge, the fruits could be far more beneficial than imagined, for instance, new economic tigers could be emerged due to this factor. But, to reap the fruits of this nature a State has to provide the opportunities of good education and a business friendly environment for investment and increase in economic

activities. Currently, Turkey, Lebanon, Iran, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia are some of those State who are putting up the efforts to provide these opportunities as well as the requisite environment and policies to their youth.

Figure 8



Source of median age estimates and projections: UN Population Division, 2009

Youth Bulge in Maghreb States, Turkey, Lebanon and Iran would be diminished soon due to rapid falling fertility rates however the same cannot be said about other leading Muslim states especially Yemen, West Bank/Gaza, Afghanistan and Pakistan even beyond 2025. Since, these countries are facing harsh economic situations and prone to unrest as well as the due to the weak state, youth populations are to continue externalizing the violence or seek other means that are detrimental to their progress and peace. Pakistan's and Nigeria's populations are each projected to grow by about 55 million people.

The projection of population growth predicts that the population growth in these states will alarmingly remain high. Iraq and Pakistan will have left the arc between 2025 and 2030-yet there are reasons to be cautious about expecting progress in both countries (Cincotta, 2010). The age structures with large proportions of young adults—a demographic feature that is associated with the emergence of political violence and civil conflict (National Intelligence Council, 2008)

Since the Arab spring Youth has felt a great sense of empowerment and Pakistan is no exception to this effect. Politicians and policy makers are fully aware of the fact that if they are not taking meaningful steps and policies for betterment of Pakistani youth at this time similar reaction can erupt in form of political violence which will further aggravate the situations. Secondly, electoral demographics are also telling an interesting story which has made political parties more conscious about existing youth bulge of Pakistan.

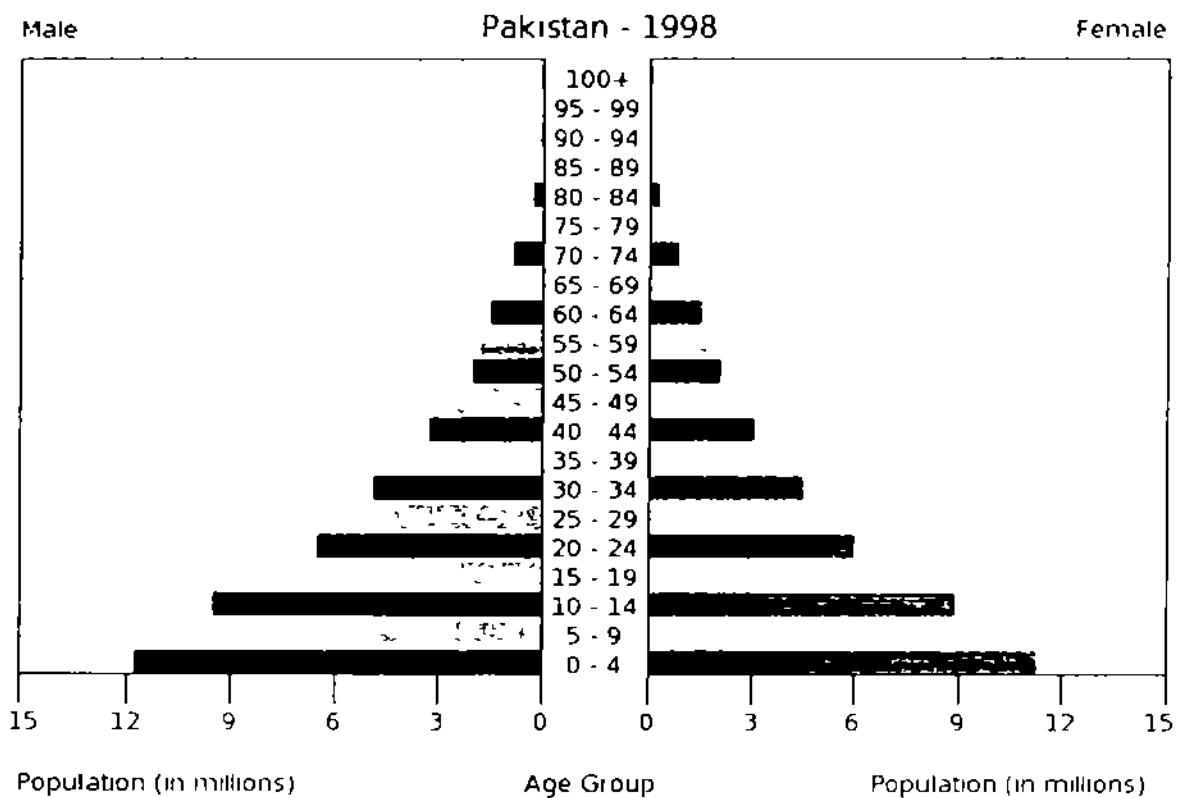
Youth in Pakistan

The resurgence in protest politics and social movements chiefly among them the recent Arab Spring has provided the young people around the globe new understanding of their roles and rights in their respective societies. These effects of empowerment around the world has affected the youth of Pakistan in a number of ways. Before we discuss the about those effects it seems more appropriate that we first have a look on the demography of youth in Pakistan.

Pakistan has gone from a dramatic demographic transition over the past decades. Our starting point for this study is the population census of 1998 on whose basis most of the government decisions are taken for policy matters. Population of Pakistan was estimated as 134 million including the areas of AJK & Gilgit Baltistan (Khan, 2012) however if we exclude those areas then estimated population of Pakistan remains at 132 million (Govt. of Pakistan, 1998). On the

other hand population estimation made by US Census Bureau for the year 1998 about Pakistan was 144 million (US Census Bureau, 2010) using high variant of population growth for this projections. In addition to this, population pyramid is also given to understand the dynamics of Pakistan's population.

Figure 9



Source: US Census Bureau International Database (2015)

The population pyramid here is a clear indication that major population in Pakistan 1998 belongs to the lower age brackets and most of them lie below the age bracket of 30-34 years. Based on this reading, it was clear that in the years to come the youth and young people will become the

instrument for advancing and shaping, re-shaping of political agendas of different political parties and elites. Historically, the Pakistan movement was empowered by the young Muslim population of sub-continent therefore, the incumbent Pakistani regimes viewed the political power and dynamics of students unions as instruments for furthering their political interest or similar agendas (Butt & Mehmood, 2010)

Even the formulators of National Youth Policy (2008) have admitted the fact that no comprehensive policy documents has ever been devised or put forth by legislatures till then. As per the policy document (Govt of Pakistan, 2008) -

'Youth had played an acknowledged role in the creation of Pakistan. The founder of Pakistan (Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah) had always reposed great trust in the young people as the agents of future prosperity of Pakistan. The youth continued to be vibrant and active and eager to play significant role in the progress and prosperity of the nation. Pakistani Youth is brimming with ambition, enthusiasms, dynamism and commitment to rise. However, Pakistan does not have hitherto any comprehensive National Youth Policy though the subject had been pondered over since 1989. Various Ministries and Departments have some programmes dealing with various facets of the life of the youth but there has been a lack of integrated well synchronized policy with a futuristic vision. This policy document is meant to fill this vital gap.'

Hence, it is considered appropriate that we keep our focus on analysing the National Youth Policy 2008 as it has already been acknowledged by the Government of Pakistan that a lack has remained on its part in past several decades that it did not taken any youth-focused policy initiative to streamline and dedicated steps for betterment of young generation of Pakistan

Brief Summary of the National Youth Policy 2008

In this section, a brief summary of Policy document has been appended prior to critically analyzing it. National Youth Policy 2008 has been structured into five sections as follows (Govt of Pakistan, 2008) -

- i Forward
- ii Preamble
- iii Structure of the Policy Document
- iv Principles of the Policy
- v Plan of Action
- vi Institutional Implementation Plan

The *Forward* section provides the historical background and past development with the emphasis on the importance of youth in nation building coupled with the summary of efforts put in preparation of this policy. It also defines the role of Ministry of Youth Affairs for managing the retrospective affairs as well as implementation process of the policy in collaboration of other public and private departments/organizations

The *Preamble* Section however establishes the definition of youth in Pakistan as “For Pakistan the population in the age group of 15-29 years is taken as the young population” (Ibid) It also highlights the demographic context which makes it inevitable for the government to formulate this policy as well as informing the future dynamics of the population in Pakistan especially that of the youth which force the policy makers to consider the young population as a distinct age-group and give priority to secure their interests, wellbeing and their role in shaping a better nation It also foresees some challenges to the task including, but not limited to, the transforming the demographic dividend (young population) into an economic dividend, the wellbeing of young people, and challenges of realizing the potential of Pakistan youth for betterment of nation

Youth has been defined in this policy documents as a person who is between the age of 15 to 29 and the epistemological connotations of this concept has been neglected and has only been adhered to a single, static aspect Such a definition does not only objectify a person but also fails to fully understand process which would otherwise help to address such a phenomenon

Then challenges for Pakistani youth are enlisted however if we look closely and put these challenges in a socio-political context of Pakistan at that time it becomes clear that those challenges were actually existential threats wherein Pakistan has been suffering from the menace of terrorism, extremism and most of the such acts have been committed by the young people It also identifies silently the failure of all institutions and relevant policy forums to address and resolve such catastrophic and critical situations for young

Main part of the policy document consists of "Principles of National Youth Policy", "Plan of Action" for each principle stated in the Policy and an "Institutional Implementation Plan" to implement the Policy

Principles of National Youth Policy can also be understood as the *Goals* and targets of the policy per se it has been considered *needful* to what ends this document is meant to serve and where the government must look forward in order to achieve these goals. These objectives include

First principle / goal was stated in the policy as Reinforce sense of Pride, awareness and motivation by instilling knowledge of our historical heritage and achievements. It may be noted that were the times when being Pakistani or being Muslim has largely been stigmatized by the world internationally due to terrorism and violence in Pakistan as well as other Islamic states. It was aimed that institutions from national to local level would be brought together to achieve this goal and efforts would be made to give a positive vision to the youth

Promotion of National Integration aimed to bring the different youth segments from the different parts of the country to visit other notable places and meet people there on merit based selection process. Moreover, local administrations and district administrations were desired to arrange inter-city weekend trips so that the young would be able to know the city they dwell. Arrangements of debate competitions for promotion of healthy environment wherein a youth interaction within youth groups can be achieved shall be made. Special Youth Hostels in different cities were planned to be built hence enabling youth to reside while they are engaged in the activities initiated under the objectives of the National Youth Policy. It was also proposed

that youth of Urban area and rural area would be engaged in exchange programs where they are given the opportunity to live each-other's social setting to widen their perspective

Although youth Hostels have been constructed in major cities of the Pakistan to facilitate many programs intended in Policy document but most of these programs have been realized at very minimal level

Enabling prospects for Youth to generate income through various public initiatives and policy measures including but not limited to skill development, vocational trainings, entrepreneurship Micro-financing, internships and Job placements were aimed and resultantly NAVTECH SMEDA, National Internship Program (NIP) took such initiatives for enhancing and polishing the skills of educated Youth to enable them become a fruitful person for themselves as well as for the country

Addressing issues of Marginalized and vulnerable youth groups appropriately was also part of the policy document. It was intended that out-of-school and vulnerable youth from begging or clinging to shrines etc. are also to be brought into mainstream and with the support of Civil Society they are also to be made part of mainstream youth and saving them from being wasted

Character building was also aimed using every channel available at State's disposal including media campaigns, engaging civil society, parents and teachers as well as educational institutions

Policy also envisaged to promote sports and recreation activities for the youth and for that purpose it was planned that distinguished personalities from different walks of lives would be

involved and patronize such activities with the help of public and private sector. Media would be covering these activities and projecting a positive impression also Youth Activity Centers were planned to be constructed in small towns

Academic & Intellectual development of the youth in Pakistan was also desired by provision of scholarships from secondary level to graduation level in country or abroad Merit was considered to be benchmark of these programs as well as it was proposed that educational loans may be introduced Local institution would be encouraged to facilitate the youth for developing such programs where youth can learn on subsidized fees ,

Provision of Health care and health education for youth by up gradation of health facilities undertaking health awareness campaigns and similar programs as well as youth counseling programs have been intended in the policy

Social volunteerism shall be promoted and such organizations shall be encouraged to participate in building national youth into a social asset Youth Volunteer Award was proposed to be instituted as incentive for youth activism

Incentives for talented and high performing youth would be introduced irrespective of their social, educational or family background However, main criteria of such incentives has been established to be an outstanding performer in any field or jobs of national importance

Educating young men and women about the marriage, family life and other life skills was also made part of this policy since the social aspect of life cannot be ignored It was suggested that

formal as well as informal programs at educational institutions would be initiated to prepare them for handling and dealing amicably the issues and problems faced in early years of married life and problems. For that reason they were also given training to develop communication skills and make them aware of legalities of marriage in Pakistan.

Mentoring the youth for improving their lives and the lives of people around them has also been envisaged with the help of parents, senior citizens, teachers and professional leaders for improving and guiding the youth.

Providing equal opportunities for the special (handicapped) youth to become the productive part of the national level has also been proposed. Special quota is to be provided in education, jobs and public places is to be observed for such persons.

Creating a gender balance for youth with encouragement of females of nation was considered as another guiding principle for future policy measures. Although, public sector employments has already allocated that 10% quota for women however it was further planned that such measure would be taking to improve the workplace environment by giving a proper legal cover as well as provision of certain incentives for females to encourage them to come forward in economic activities coupled with the steps to enhance their education and developing their skills.

Youth in prisons also not be left out from the mainstream and becoming a productive part of nation. Therefore, it was stated that all programs for betterment of youth would be equally introduced inside the prisons.

In order to achieve these goals, a plan of action has also been formulated in accordance with principles / goals mentioned above. Since, every end defines its own means therefore every objective of this policy also involves a different set of instruments for achieving it successfully. In short, the plan of action involves participation from multiple actors from and within public sector to private sector. From top public officials like President / Prime Minister to common citizens, and other stakeholders a complex set of actors is included in the action plan for implementation of this policy.

The Final part of the policy outlines the details of institutional design to implement, oversee and initiate as well as monitor the progress of policy goals. As per institutional plan, the supreme body to oversee take decision at the highest level was called National Youth Council, The Ministry of Youth Affairs will form its Secretariat. The main function of this council will be to give impetus to harmonious implementation of National Youth Policy, monitoring of performance and to provide overall guidance. The council may meet at least twice a year (Govt of Pakistan, 2008).

At provincial level, it was recommended that all the provinces would create their departments/ministries of youth affairs so that a unified coordination could be realized for implementation of this policy. Provincial councils like national youth council were also recommended to be formulated by the concerned authorities. However, since the provinces establish their respective youth affairs ministries/ departments, a complex setup including different ministries was arranged to kick start the implementation of this policy and measures desired under this policy.

Role of Civil Society and Media in promotion of the Youth affairs and implementation of National Youth Policy, propagation of youth by allocating specific channels or prime time transmission based on youth coupled with the and establishment of a Youth Fund for funding the programs of this policy was also determined Corporate sector was also recommended to be made part of the implementation program of this policy since a social responsibility also lies on these companies and businesses in Pakistan

Since, the policy document was goal oriented and a chart/way was outlined to achieve the stated goals separate to each other Every goal was given a different set of tools/measures at its disposal

Critical Analysis of the National Youth Policy 2008

Our critical analysis of the youth policy has been grounded primarily in the context of education and economic development since these have set the baseline for the policy and any measure to be taken is directed towards either of these two However, other aspects have also been critically analyzed side by side Moreover, these sectors of education and economic development are the keys to assess the effectiveness and successfulness of this policy in transforming the Youth Bulge of Pakistan into a demographic dividend

As one can discern from the study of text of National Youth Policy 2008 that it has been comprehensively prepared to address all the aspects of youth issues faced in Pakistan that remained un-addressed from the policy perspective for decades However, if we look closely on the implementation aspect it is found that very small number of measures were taken and great

efforts have yet been needed to fully operationalise and realize the fruits of such policy but the same could not happen due to multiple political, fiscal, and administrative reasons. Following paragraphs are a sum up of the deficiencies that led to partial failure or hampered this Policy from bearing any fruits.

Foremost observation is that the National Youth Policy in Pakistan (2008) was formulated at a very belated stage. As mentioned earlier that youth specific policy making remained at very low priority of the stakeholder in Pakistan due to various reasons. Even soon after the Census of 1998, the need to formulate the policy designated for the youth was felt however due to limited resources it was considered sufficient that other policy sectors would do the job unlike the developed nations who not only foresee the future but also plan to deal with it. For instance, Japan introduced the first policies to address the needs of the elderly population in 1960s and 1970s while the aging of its population was yet to happen in coming decades (Hayashi, 2011).

Thus the Youth policy was tabled when Pakistan was making some political developments amid its democratic transition and administrative crisis in the first decade of 21st century.

Policy suggested that academic trips, vocational training, video conferencing or meetings with noble laureates would be arranged without taking into consideration of multiple factors like low education budget for decades, rural majority of youth residing in rural areas where even basic needs of energy (power) and education are hardly fulfilled, The education sector has largely been ignored or remained a low priority for the policy makers for a number of reasons.

The historic review of the ratio of total GDP shows that even at the height of public spending on education sector it could not get even the 3% of total GDP in the history of Pakistan as shown in following table

Table 2



Source: *Trading Economics* (2014)

The Government Pakistan claims that the literacy rate in Pakistan has risen from 57 percent in 2008-09 to 58 percent in 2010-11 (Government of Pakistan, 2011). However, others showed a slight disagreement and estimated that literacy rate in Pakistan is 55% in 2010 but it is pertinent to mention that the disparity among different sectors is pervasive (Wazir, Goujon, & Lutz, 2013). The literacy rate in Pakistan among women is alarmingly low. Some studies have estimated that almost 61% of the female population in Pakistan is illiterate or out of school. However, on the

other side, the literacy levels of male are comparatively high as it is estimated that only 39% of male population is illiterate or out of school (Wazir, Goujon, & Lutz, 2013, p 25).

The inter-gender and urban-rural difference among education levels is an open secret. Furthermore the provincial level differences have also been observed with the Punjab being the most literate province followed by Sindh and then KPK. Balochistan has fared the least on the literacy measurements and even some of its districts have been declared the most illiterate areas in the entire Country. Islamabad, Karachi, Quetta and Haripur /Abbotabad has topped the list in their respective regions with highest literacy rates (Government of Pakistan, 2011)

After declaration of universal enrollment of the children aged 5-16, a positive increase has been observed in the primary and secondary level enrollment by the children however the target of universal enrollment has yet to be achieved.

Despite the realization of the fact the future of Pakistan depends upon the educated youth and children, irrespective of their gender or social status or their economic background, the investments in development of education sector has constantly been low as well as the number of children in the age of primary and secondary school going are growing at much faster pace than the resources are being committed to them (Wazir, Goujon, & Lutz, 2013, pp 26-27)

Education plays vital role for understanding the latest technological advances in industry. Fertility Rates of educated women is lower than the fertility rate of uneducated women. The educated father and mother keep the family small however uneducated parents prefer the large families. Demographic and Health Survey in Pakistan 2007 shows that highly educated women are at the forefront of the fertility decline, with a total fertility rate (TFR) of 2.3 children, in contrast to a TFR of 4.8 for women with no education (Govt. of Pakistan 2007). As noted

earlier that contraceptive measures are opted by the educated and urban females however uneducated and rural females are yet far behind in use of contraceptives for limiting their family size

The development in Human Capital in Pakistan as well as decline in fertility rate is directly linked with the development of education sector and for attaining the both, Government of Pakistan has to invest heavily in education and make sure that maximum number of children, both girls and boys, without any discrimination are provided with the facilities for attaining the education. Psychological part for betterment of youth in jail has also been neglected

However the Youth who remained in the company of criminals can be brought back to the normal life not only by better economic opportunities but by their psychological counseling on regular basis so that they could feel more peaceful and also help them suppress their criminal tendencies to cause any harm again. Art and cultural activities play a positive and very developmental role in the betterment of society and population feels connected within their respective cultural groups. Visits across country are helpful as stated in the policy yet not entirely fruitful for the said purpose if not blended with artistic, cultural activities per se

The continuous low investments in education sector have severe consequences for the coming working-age population. If the same pattern in low priority of education sector remains prevalent it would be coupled with the factors of poor quality education, lack of sustained growth that would eventually lead Pakistan to fail completely in reaping the benefits of demographic dividend (Amjad 2013). Although the emphasis has been put on the skill development through various means however one wonders that why there has not been given any attention to the Research and Development in the 21st century. Advanced technologies around the globe are not

even given a second thought while preparation of this policy and how to provide such facilities to the young researcher (Najam, 2011)

Another shortcoming of the policy remained that it failed to harmonize and/or unify the education system of Pakistan as there are currently 3-4 separate educational systems in practice here. Moreover, all have been teaching students whatever these schooling systems deemed appropriate according to their needs and there is no governmental check on the course curriculum and teaching methodologies. That has left a huge void which is ultimately filled by all the un-wanted elements in the absence of such check and balance (Najam, 2011)(Javed, 2010)

It would also be prudent to take Youth Policy and Education Policy side-by-side. Since, both depends heavily on each other therefore it is the responsibility of the policy makers and all other stakeholders to pay full attention as to how both of these can help promote the Youth of Pakistan as the asset and future of this Nation. Unless, the education budget from 2 to 7 percent or higher is not made in GDP, the objectives of the Youth policy shall remain un-attained.

Considering another dimension for failure of Pakistan to reap the benefits of "youth bulge" as "Demographic Dividend" has been economic. The economic conditions of Pakistan since the advent of demographic dividend remained volatile except the brief period of 2002 to 2006. Pakistan's labor force is currently growing at around 3.5 percent annually. Based on historical elasticity of 0.45, Pakistan would need growth at around 8 percent per annum to absorb the increase in the labor force alone. It would need to grow faster if unemployment (6 percent in 2010-11) is to be also reduced. One basic principle to benefit from this opportunity is to create the jobs that equal the number of youth entering into the economy. On this account Pakistan has

failed since its GDP growth rate has been 4.9 on the average since 1980s however that has failed to commensurate with the youth entering in the market in search of jobs and other economic opportunities (Amjad, 2013, pp 48-51)

On the macro level the economic situation of Pakistan did not improve very well therefore the Pakistani markets failed to adjust the growing numbers of youth. Moreover, on micro level, the females labor has also failed to compete in the market due to a number of reasons major among them are personal/family responsibility, lack of technical skills and being un/undereducated as well as failure to find suitable jobs. It is concluded from the different studies that almost 3.1 million persons are to enter the labor force every year over the next four decades who without being properly educated, placed in the job market would negatively impact the fabric of Pakistani society in coming years (Hussain A. 2013)

The Federal Government has drastically squeezed budget for the Public Sector Development Programs (PDSP) in year 2011-12, from over 5 percent of GDP in 2005-06 to close to 2 percent in 2011-12. Hence, this drastic cut in social development sector has impacted the youth and other related segments of society alike (Amjad, 2013). It was proposed that to harness the potential of youth, employment opportunities would be created however it was left to the proposition of internship programs on campus jobs etc without making it clear that how would be a greater job market would be created and the business -- friendly environment would be provided so that larger economic activities could be done hence automatically creating the job market. Since, there is no job market on the ground therefore internship program and other temporary measures are not sufficient.

On the other hand, an interesting study of G M Arif (2013, pp 55-67) indicates a positive relationship between the large number of household and poverty. He posits that in the presence of bigger family, most of the families are prone to remain in chronic poverty or going to be considered into the category of poor since the income earning is less than spending of whole household. This situation is mainly caused due to higher dependency ratio. In case of Pakistan, lack of females in labor force as well as increasing number of children coupled with the presence of elderly in the same household hinders the savings and extra money for any investments (Arif, 2013)

Currently, no official data or statistics are available since 2006 on the actual state of poverty in Pakistan. However, knowing the challenges of Pakistan's economy including declining growth rate, high inflation, power and energy shortages, ongoing war on terror are some of the factors that have altered the priorities of public expenditure away from the social and public development (Arif, 2013 p 58)

Devastating earthquake of 2005, IDPs crisis and Military Operations in Swat 2008-2009 and floods in 2010 contributed negatively to the overall economic situation (Royan & Sathar, 2013 p 3). As noted above the policy talked about all the aspects anyone can think of also has appeal to the emotions by using positive terminologies therein. However, it fails to substantiate these words with actions.

National Youth Fund was decided to be established however it has not been mentioned that from where and how exactly would be the funds accrued and it was left to the donors and banks to provide the requisite funding. Another basic miscalculation can be pointed out in the policy by putting the implementation strategy on ground. It appears that while formulating the policy not

all the stakeholders have been taken on board as many things have been left in dark or to be taken into account later on. Such mistakes only result in the ultimate failure of the policy in the longer run.

It is further mentioned that sport promotion was taken into account however revival of international sports in Pakistan has not been mentioned which had greatly impacted the youth. In all sports particularly in Squash and Hockey once Pakistan dominated however a very dismal picture of Pakistan's position in two sports can be viewed. Even, the Cricket home series are played in UAE due to security and non-availability of international level stadiums in Pakistan. The role of Patron of sports organization has also been left undefined.

The Youth of Pakistan has been radicalized since 1979 and the era of Afghan Jihad. Absence of good governance, existence of poverty, and lack of education and career direction youth of Pakistan became an instrument of so called Mujahedeen to fight against the USSR however the enemy of Islam can be determined as and when required by the elders of those organizations. Universities like Punjab, Peshawar and Karachi got highly radicalized in terms of religious radicalization and ethnic radicalization as well. Islamization of other educational institutions across the country resulted into the division of youth and subsequently clashes among them on ethnic, sectarian basis.

Since there remains the definite gap in defining who is to perform what in the policy there would ultimately remain gray areas in implementation of this policy. Good governance and civic responsibilities are the recipes to development. Interestingly there is no reference in the policy about transparency, accountability, protection of rights, obedience to rule of law etc. The

development of these key principles is necessary for the development of what is called a patriotic citizen, which the policy claims to achieve. The issue of moral values is left to the ministry of religious affairs (Najam, 2011)

Moreover, the policy documents describes the impression of Pakistani youth who is urbanite and mostly resides in the cities and belong to middle or lower middle class. That impression is also wrong since the majority of youth is housed in the rural areas where the literacy rate is depressingly low. Therefore, the policy document has critically failed to show the way for those young cohorts (Javed, 2010)

However, the Ministry of Youth Affairs at federal level was devolved and its assets, staff and function were handed over to the provinces or adjusted into other departments as part of devolution plan in pursuance to the 18th Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan (The Tribune, 2010). Consequently, the National Youth Policy 2008 became invalid and the provinces started the process for formulation of their respective youth policies anew. Soon after the devolution process was completed in Jun 2011, the federal government also backed off from supporting or providing any fiscal help to these ministries despite the requests from the provinces to fulfill the monetary needs prior to their full absorption and adjustment into the provincial administration (The Nation 2011)

The provincial governments also played a negative role due to various reasons including but not limited to non-holding of the local government elections. Since, one of the basic pillars to implement the actions / plans of National Youth Policy included the Nazims and other local body

personnel with the cooperation of DCOs and other parts of bureaucracy at different levels (Butt N , 2010) (The Dawn, 2010)

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Chapter 5

Conclusion

As it has been stated at start of this research that in the public policy arena of Pakistan Youth Bulge has been dealt in past inadequately. However a hope in the shape of National Youth Policy 2008 was born that there might be a chance to make the difference from the past governments but to not avail. Due to this inadequacy & neglect, demographic dividend has been getting turned into demographic disaster implicating severely not only the Youth of Pakistan but also State & Society of Pakistan at large.

The Youth in Pakistan from the policy arena has remained absent and neglected for past several decades. By the introduction of National Youth Policy in 2008 was seen a major step forward to change this scenario. The Government of Pakistan not only acknowledged the need of such actions but also recognized the fact that there are a number of further measures in this regard to be taken for betterment of the State and nation.

It has been concluded from this study that though the National Youth Policy 2008 was a milestone with the vision of progress and benefit of the youth in a streamlined way but due to inherited weaknesses within this policy caused the not-so-successful end of this policy.

On major flaw that was imbedded in the policy was that it lacked the proper implementation plan whereby properly defining the specific roles of all the stakeholders and implementing authorities. It is worth mentioning also that due to creation of complex relationships of inter-governmental

ministries and involving the multiple actors and leaving them to decide what to do or how to do caused the administrative failure. Using fancy and rather idealistic language does not help any public policy to be of any good if it's not backed by the means to achieve the objectives of the said policy.

Lack of funds and little budgetary allocations for the complete execution of all the programs as envisaged in the policy has been another major setback. Although certain programs such as Youth Hostels and National Internship Program (NIP) had taken place however it can be discerned the seriousness of Public sector from these half-hearted steps. It may also not be forgotten that such actions are more political and/or administrative in nature and the very little benefit was provided to their intended audience. Further on this point we can also be very enlightened that during this period total education budget had not been increased which results in worsening of education development. Suffering of education sector also causes the damages to the youth of the nation as well. The priority of the governments on the other hand, had been programs such as BISP since obtaining political support in the general masses has greater value than educating and providing the youth necessary incentives.

It is also interesting to note that policy document itself has taken a very ambitious road to the future of youth. It has already been highlighted that bureaucratic styling of policy overlooked the ground realities of Pakistan. It aimed for the change in the condition of youth of Pakistan in a bit miraculous way yet failed to foresee that most of the target population lives with very little means for living. This fact may also be including with the fact that welfare programs such as BISP clearly indicates that poverty in that society is so pervasive that certain amount has to be

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distributed in deserving segments of population to support family life. In such circumstances, it would be naive to expect that policies such as national youth policy could get any far in short course of time.

It has also been concluded that in the internationally competitive environment wherein a number of developing countries from India to Kenya to Ghana and alike have recently developed and enacted the youth policies respectively also compelled the policy makers in Pakistan to finally give heed to this section of population from a policy perspective. Therefore, to some extent these global changes in the outlook to deal with the rising young populations has forced the policy makers here to formulate a policy that would lead the government further towards a progressive future in respect of Pakistani Youth.

Study of the Policy document manifests another striking observation that most of the planning has been made on long-range and long term basis. Meanwhile, short term and immediate difficulties faced by the youth have not been properly addressed. All the steps and plans have been devised for the youth who has achieved a certain level of development while that not the reality. Many things have been outlined in a way that only suits middle-class urban population which is one of the very basic limitations put in this policy paper.

The last nail in the coffin of this policy was stuck by including the ministry of Youth affairs into the devolution plan as consequence of the 18th constitutional amendment. Devolution itself is a good sign for benefit of federalism and democracy in any federal state however prior to devolution, it is the job of policy makers and respective stakeholders that which

departments/institutions need to be handed over to federating units and which is not. As well as the strategic significance for long term national interest also needs to be charted out before such devolution plans take effect.

In concluding paragraph, it is again reiterated keeping in view the previous study, unless the Government of Pakistan does not prioritize the educational development of this country on emergency basis and takes measures to provide peaceful economic environment, the onetime window of opportunity provided by the demographic transition [Youth Bulge] would be wasted. Almost 30 years have passed since this opportunity has been presented to this nation and which is estimated to remain open for 4 more decades but till now very little steps has been taken to reap the full benefit of this situation. Pakistan is in the middle of its demographic transition therefore it is the last chance for all the policy makers and stakeholders to take not only short-term politically targeted measure but also long term policy decisions. And after that practical steps may be taken with full commitment and in letter and spirit before the remaining 3-4 decades could pass by. And as one can opine that now this matter has come to a stage where it's now or never and one should have this in mind that if now solid action is taken at this juncture of time, our future generations would not forgive us.

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