NEXT | GENERATION VOICES

# NEXT GENERATION

## INSECURE LIVES,UNTOLD STORIES

## Disclaimer

The Next Generation Task Force is convened by the British Council Pakistan. The Task Force functions in the capacity of an advisory body for the 'Next Generation Voices' research series.

While the British Council endorses this report, it does not necessarily agree with all the views expressed in it.

Consent has been given by all young people whose stories have been quoted in this report.

NEXT GENERATION VOICES

# NEXT GENERATION

## INSECURE LIVES,UNTOLD STORIES

This report is dedicated to the 1,800 young people who shared their stories with us

# CONTENTS


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Task Force | | i |
| Acknowledgements | | ii |
| Preface | | v |
| Overview | | vii |
| Chapter 1 | Insecure Lives – young people as victims and witnesses of violence | 1 |
| Chapter 2 | Violent Lives – young people who engage in violent acts | 13 |
| Chapter 3 | Broken Lives – the impact violence has on young people | 23 |
| Chapter 4 | A Troubled Mind – the psychological consequences of trauma | 33 |
| Chapter 5 | Communities Under Attack – how violence changes society | 45 |
| Chapter 6 | Coping with Insecurity – tales of community resilience | 55 |
| Chapter 7 | Resilient Societies – lessons from around the world | 67 |
| Chapter 8 | Breaking the Cycle – lifting the burden of violence | 77 |
| Chapter 9 | A Call to Action – tackling violence head on | 89 |
| Annex 1 | The Story of the Research | 95 |
| Annex 2 | Contributors | 105 |
| Stories Index | | 108 |
| Endnotes | | 110 |

# TASK FORCE

**Dr. Quratulain Bakhtiari**
Founding Director, Institute of Development Studies and Practices, Pakistan

**Dr. Bernadette L Dean**
Principal, St. Joseph's College for Women

**Mr Peter Jacob**
Executive Director, National Commission for Justice and Peace

**The Hon. Dr. Hina Jilani**
Director, AGHS Legal Aid Cell

**Mr. Shakeel Qadir Khan**
Secretary, Planning & Development, Balochistan

**Ms. Shazia Khawar**
Director Society, South Asia, British Council

**Dr. Maleeha Lodhi**
Special Advisor, International Affairs & Global Projects (and Former Ambassador), Independent Media Corporation (Pvt) Limited

**Ms. Rukhsana Rashid**
Development Consultant

**Mr. Saquib H. Shirazi**
Chief Executive Officer, Atlas Honda Ltd

**Mr. Fasi Zaka**
Columnist; TV and radio anchor

**Ms. Simona Gallota**
Rule of Law and Peace-Building Advisor, Delegation of the European Union to Pakistan
British Council Team

## Research Director

**David Steven**
Senior Fellow, Center on International Cooperation, New York University: Nonresident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

**Marlies de Groot**
Assistant Research Director, River Path Associates

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


## British Council Team

**Peter Upton**
Country Director

**Faiza Inayat**
Team Lead, Next Generation Research Project

**Sadia Rahman**
Head of Programmes, Civil Society

**Pawan Arshad**
Project Coordinator

**Anam Gill**
Outreach Consultant

**Mustafa Mumtaz**
Project Coordinator

**Sharmeen Peshimam**
Design and Graphics Manager

**Shaheryar Zaidi**
Marketing and Communications Manager

**Arsalan Rabbani**
Head of Digital Marketing

## Research Team

*River Path Associates*
Matt Kent
Jane Frewer

*Paper Authors*
Imtiaz Gul
Saroop Ijaz
Hina Junejo
Zabia Sarfraz
Naveed Shinwari

*AC Nielsen*

*Rozan*

*Institute for Development Studies & Practices*
Sadiq Khan
Farkhanda Aslam
Sajida Khair Mohammad

*Insan Foundation*
Kishwar Sultana
Sumaila Kausar
Waqas Albert
Irum Fatima
Hassan Nasir

## Photography credits

Khaula Jamil

## Active Citizen Partners

Anwar Jannat Foundation

ARTS Foundation

Awaz Community Development Services

Azat Foundation Balochistan

Chanan Development Organization

College of Youth Activism and Development (CYAAD)

Community Motivation and Development Organization (CMDO)

Dost Welfare Foundation

Entrepreneurship and Community Development Institute Pakistan (ECDI)

Goth Seengar Foundation

Integrated Rural Awareness and Development Organization (IRADO)

Pakistan Lions Youth Club (PLYC)

Pakistan Rural Workers Social Welfare Organization (PRWSWO)

Participatory Welfare Services (PWS)

Protection and Help of Children Against Abuse and Neglect (PACHAAN)

Sarhad Rural Support Programme (SRSP)

Sayya Foundation

School of Leadership

Sewa Development Trust Sindh

Sindh Community Foundation (SCF)

Sindh Radiant Organization (SRO)

Society for Empowering Human Resources (SEHER)

Special Talent Exchange Programme (STEP)

SUDHAR

Sustainable Peace and Development Organization (SPADO)

Umeed Welfare Foundation

Visionary Foundation Pakistan

Welfare Association for New Generation (WANG)

Women's Rights Association (WRA)

Youth Development Organization, Rajanpur, Punjab

YES Network Pakistan

Youth Action for Pakistan (YAP)

For a full list of contributors, please see Annex 2

# PREFACE

The conversation about violence in Pakistan is fraught with strong and divergent positions. Understandable, since so much is at stake because of the troubles over the past decade and more.

We admit to feeling some amount of trepidation in releasing this study. This hesitation is rooted in our apprehension that some readers may be tempted to rush to conclusions rather than taking the time to understand the evidence that we have presented.

It is for that reason we have chosen to explain our methodology in significant detail to lay bare what a report of this kind can say with legitimacy and what it cannot.

This research does not explain the causes of violence in Pakistan, whether external or internal. Nor does it have political prescriptions for addressing violence, militancy or sectarianism.

Those are larger questions best answered by others.

What we try to show in this report is what it means for the wellbeing of an individual, his or her relationships with others and the community post a traumatic incident of violence or conflict.

We do this in very personal terms by listening to their stories. We try to move away from the abstraction of dispassionate analysis by giving voice to individual testimony.

There is a relentless stream of events for the media to cover with a great deal of urgency, inadvertently what we are left with are statistics that do not capture the personal anguish and toil exacted on people.

So, what is our purpose in highlighting these voices?

We want to bring to the fore the public health crisis that is emerging from the trauma of conflict and violence. Those affected, the youth of the country, have a long life ahead of them. We owe it to them to ensure they remain productive and happy members of society.

The difficult aspect to this public health crisis is that dealing with psychological trauma is largely a one-to-one intervention. But given the scale of the problem – and the lack of resources and trained healthcare professionals – Pakistan will have to find new solutions.

Pakistan's great strength is its people. They have social bonds that have prevented the situation from becoming worse than it already is – despite being underprovided for in education, jobs and health.

An individual traumatised through incidents of conflict and violence experiences a weakening of their social bonds, the very fabric that is an asset to the country.

We would urge you to go through the stories to see how conflict and violence has affected people in different and tragic ways. It provides a perspective on how the well-recognised threat of terrorism is shattering the lives of young people, but also how the long standing problems of property rights, slow judicial processes, family disputes and other aspects of ordinary life can be life changing.

A lot of this does not make for happy reading. But it is important to recognise that despite the weight of developments working against society, Pakistan has been extraordinarily resilient. Other nations have faced similar issues and survived, including developed nations.

The resilience of Pakistan's people is rooted in their social bonds - addressing the public health aspect of the results of the trauma that has come from both conflict and violence will ensure its continued health.

We can no longer afford to ignore the impact that instability and insecurity is having on the next generation, the young people who hold the future of Pakistan in their hands. We ask you to read our report, consider carefully its messages, and join us in confronting conflict and violence head on.

*The Pakistan Next Generation Task Force*

# OVERVIEW

Over the past four years, the Next Generation research has brought young people to the heart of the debate about Pakistan's future.

In 2009, our first report alerted policymakers to the unique opportunity that a country enjoys as large numbers of young adults enter the workforce.[1]

Over the next 20 years, Pakistan has the opportunity to benefit from a demographic dividend, following a path trod by the East Asian tigers and by China during the 'miracle' years that transformed their economies.

But the demographic dividend can only be collected if the right policies are in place. We urged policymakers to plan for the long-term, investing in healthcare, education, infrastructure, and developing robust economic policies to provide young people with the employment opportunities they need to become productive citizens, and releasing the untapped potential of young women.

We returned to this theme in *Next Generation Goes to the Ballot Box*, our second report, published in the run up to the 2013 election.[2] It explored young people's influence on the political process, and the policies democratic parties need to appeal to them as voters.

This report painted a picture of a generation on a knife edge. Far from benefiting from its youthful population, Pakistan risks entering a self-perpetuating demographic disaster in which:

- Competition for jobs, land, resources, and political patronage damages the prospects of the young and is a growing cause of instability.
- Incentives to invest in the future are low, while a series of crises limits government's ability to make long-term decisions.
- Faith in authority figures and institutions collapses, as the next generation loses confidence in the future.

"The next generation is increasingly gripped by a profound feeling of helplessness and young people do not feel in control of their own destinies," we concluded, urging Pakistan's leaders to develop policies to tap the potential of the young while there is still time.

## Listening to Young People

The Next Generation research has attracted worldwide attention and has influenced the work of governments, political parties, civil society, and young leaders themselves.

In order to capitalise on the momentum it has created, we are launching a series of policy dialogues that aim to build consensus around a policy platform for the next generation, building towards the 2018 election when another 14 million young people will be eligible to vote.[3]

At the same time, we are continuing to deepen understanding of the issues that young people face. In this new report, we present a detailed exploration of the ways in which conflict and violence are shaping their lives.

This research has not been easy to conduct. By their nature, many violent acts are hidden from view and cannot easily be studied. We have had to confront highly sensitive issues, both at a personal level and for political reasons.

This drove us to develop an innovative research design (for more details, see box on page X). Alongside traditional quantitative tools, we used participatory techniques to collect 1,800 'untold stories' from a generation that has barely known peace.

The audience for this report includes young people themselves, policymakers, civil society, the media, think tanks, and the international community. We aim to:

- Stimulate debate among policymakers and in the media about the impact of uncontrolled violence on Pakistan's youth.
- Increase understanding of the psychological, social, and economic impacts of conflict and violence, and the need to address these impacts.

- Catalyse the creation of a campaign to respond forcefully to the epidemic of violence that holds the country in its grip.
- Focus energy and resources on the needs of survivors of violence, and on the commitment of young leaders and activists to peace and security.

We now plan to work with organisations across the country to help them understand and reflect on the report's findings, and expect this research to be used extensively in the development of their policies, strategies, and projects, at national, provincial, and local levels.

## Structure of the Report

The report has nine chapters.

In the first two chapters, we explore the different roles young people play in Pakistan's overlapping conflicts, as witnesses, victims and survivors of violence, and as perpetrators of violent acts.

Next, we examine the physical, social, and economic impact of violence on young people, before providing a detailed account of the profound psychological damage that results from exposure to conflict and violence.

In the fifth and sixth chapters, we turn to the communities in which young people live, presenting evidence on violence and the family, and on how formal and informal institutions fuel conflict on the one hand, and resolve it on the other.

In chapter 7, we argue that violence is now a binding constraint to realising the potential of the next generation and ask what Pakistan can learn from the experience of other societies that have attempted to break a cycle of violence.

In chapter 8, we set out four interlocking conclusions, before issuing a call to action in chapter 9. A detailed account of the research methodology is included in annex 1.

## Conclusions

The research reaches the following conclusions.

**It is time to accept the seriousness of the impact of conflict and violence on young people.** A significant minority, around 22%, of the next generation are themselves victims of violence or have family members or friends who are victims. Most of the rest are indirectly affected by violence, whether through their exposure to graphic media coverage of violence, or because insecurity reduces the economic opportunities they enjoy and erodes the bonds of trust on which any society depends. We can no longer afford to deny this reality.

**More needs to be done to give survivors of violence a voice.** During the research, we have found that young people have a powerful desire to share their experiences and bear witness to the impact that violence is having on their lives. At present, however, there are few platforms that give them this opportunity. Some violent incidents are covered by the media, but a victim of violence is a headline one day, forgotten the next. Survivors need to be able to argue for their human and constitutional rights, and to demand justice and resolution. Those who have paid the ultimate price should be remembered.

**Greater priority must be given to tackling the trauma exposure to violence causes.** Political solutions are essential if the underlying causes of conflict and violence are to be addressed. Better education and healthcare, increased economic opportunities, and fairer institutions will help harness the energies of the young and turn them away from violence. But these interventions are not enough. We must treat violence itself, tackling it with the same seriousness and levels of resources as any other public health problem that affects a large section of the population. Survivors need support when violence has a lasting impact on their mental health. The values and behaviours of perpetrators of violence must be challenged and they should be offered the skills needed to live productive and peaceful lives.

**We must work to increase the resilience of communities to violence.** Violent acts degrade the bonds on which strong and dynamic societies depend, but these same bonds can inoculate a society against further violence. Interventions must be designed to strengthen the fabric of community, while empowering young people to stand against violence and to recover from its consequences. Sustainable solutions will be led by communities themselves, with appropriate support from outside.

**Interventions must be delivered at scale, given the sheer numbers of young people who suffer**

**serious violence on a day to day basis.** Many groups are working with small numbers of victims and perpetrators of violence, often achieving extraordinary results with limited resources. But piecemeal approaches are no longer enough. It is time to take these efforts to another level, building on both national and international best practice to reach large numbers of people at a reasonable cost. A national programme is needed to confront the culture of violence, rebuild confidence in the future, and move Pakistan decisively onto a more peaceful path.

## Recommendations

The report includes a number of recommendations which build on the broader economic, social, and political agenda set out in our first reports. These include:

- A nonpartisan coalition that will reach across political divides to confront violence.
- A Commission for Survivors and Victims, alongside a day and book of remembrance, to give a voice to those affected by conflict and violence.
- A voluntary code of conduct, developed by and for the media, to moderate the coverage of violent events.
- A large scale programme to address the mental health needs of survivors of violence and the families of victims.
- A similarly ambitious programme to tackle the behaviours of those who perpetrate violence.
- Support for families, educational establishments, community centres, shelters, and workplaces to become sanctuaries from violence.
- Public campaigns to address the values and norms that allow a culture of violence to flourish.
- Investment in the next generation of professionals to rebuild confidence in Pakistan's institutions.
- Greater use of technology to provide support to those vulnerable to violence, and to deliver cost effective mental health interventions.

We call on all stakeholders to create a shared vision and action plan to take the recommendations of this report forward, based on the robust data and evidence that is needed to underpin change.

This call to action is addressed to governments and political leaders, businesses and nongovernmental organisations, and to young people themselves. We also call on the international community to meet the commitments it has made to reduce violence.

# Research Design

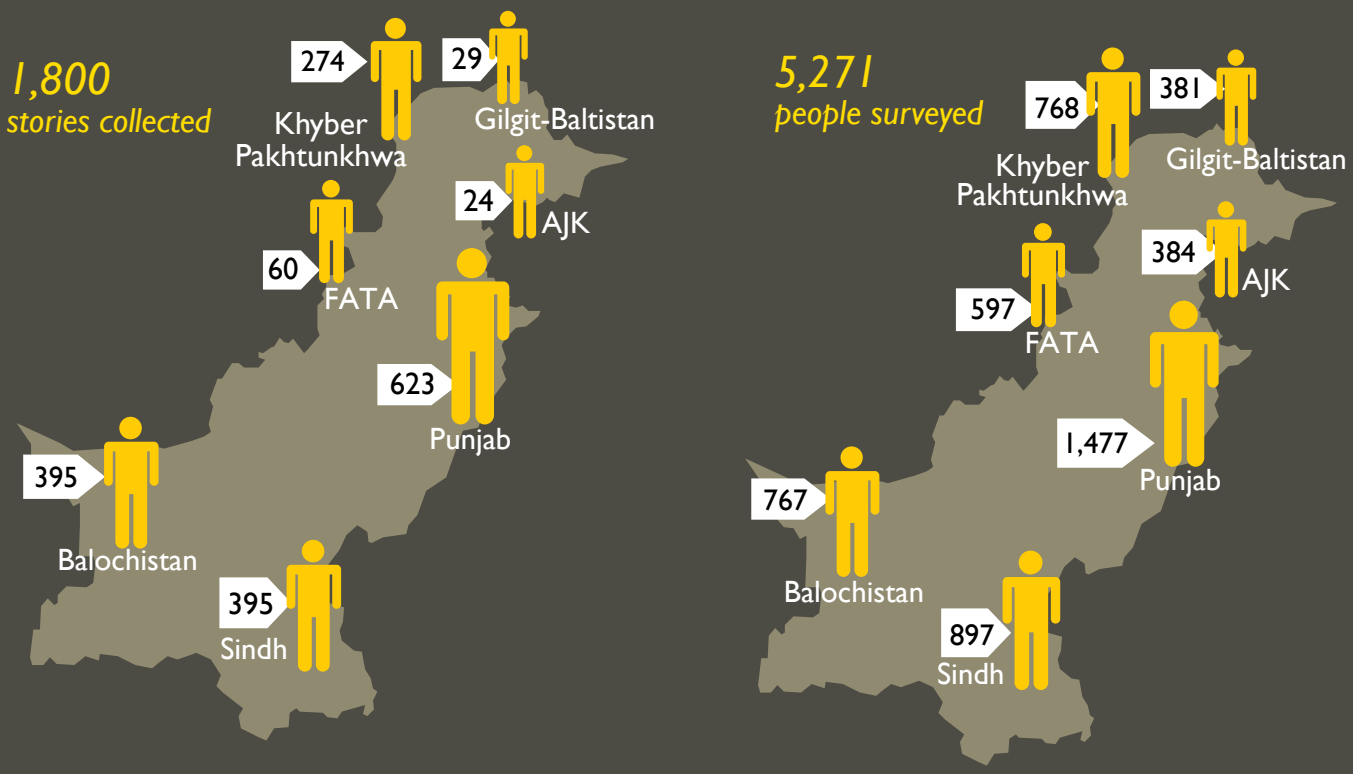
## Research question:

- How are conflict and violence changing the lives of the Next Generation?

## Research objectives:

- Focus on the experiences of those affected by conflict and violence, whether as victims, participants, witnesses or responders to violent events.
- Paint as broad a picture as possible, reflecting Pakistan's size and diversity (see map below), and the many types of conflict and violence that affect young people.
- Target marginalised voices, especially those who are most affected by conflict but are under-represented by standard research techniques.
- Draw on existing research into the origins, causes, and evolutions of conflict, while adding original insights in the individual and community dimensions.
- Mixed methods design, including quantitative, qualitative, and desk research elements.

## Geographical Spread of Collected Data




* A detailed methodology can be found at Annex 1, page 95.

## Research Elements

| | |
|---|---|
| *5,271 people surveyed* | *Opinion survey based on face to face interviews with young people aged 18-29 years. Disproportionate, multi-stage random sampling ensured national level results with a margin of error of 1.35 at the 95% confidence level and 4 or less percentage points for provincial level results, for men and women, and for urban and rural respondents.* |
| *1,800 stories collected* | *Participatory research that collected stories from young people across Pakistan about their experience of conflict and violence, drawing on the networks and expertise of 100 local groups and 400 researchers.* |
| *8 mini life histories* | *Mini life histories providing detailed insight into how the lives of young people are shaped by conflict and violence.* |
| *25 in-depth interviews* | *In-depth interviews with professionals, including lawyers, psychologists, journalists, police officers, government officials, politicians, religious leaders, academics and social workers.* |
| *7 commissioned papers* | *Commissioned research papers: Conflict and Violence in Pakistan (Imtiaz Gul); The Criminal Justice System (Saroop Ijaz); Psychosocial and Psychological Impact of Conflict and Violence (Zabia Sarfraz); Case Studies Illustrating Hope through Youth and Community Empowerment (Hina Junejo); Conflict in Southern Punjab (Imtiaz Gul), Case Study of Political Conflict in FATA (Naveed Shinwari) and Case Study of Political Conflict in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Naveed Shinwari).* |
| *8 case studies* | *Review of existing research into conflict in Balochistan, Karachi, Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir, which compliment the commissioned case study papers mentioned above, and of international experience from South Africa, Colombia, Northern Ireland and the inner cities of the United States of America.* |
| *300+ published sources* | *Review of published sources, with a focus on the social and psychological impacts of conflict and violence on young people.* |

# 1

# INSECURE LIVES

## Young people as victims and witnesses of violence

“I was forced to marry my cousin against my will. Since I am the only child of my parents, they married me with a lot of pomp and show and gave me everything in the name of dowry. On the day of my marriage, I was feeling lifeless but for my parents’ sake, I had to accept this relationship. The disaster started with my wedding night. My husband suspected my reluctance as a sign of my relationship with another man. He called me a whore and tortured me mentally and physically. I bear everything so that my parents don’t have to suffer because of me. But then came a point where I couldn’t bear it any more, not for anyone. I filed for a divorce. I tried suicide many a time but was saved. My saviours don’t know that death is my only refuge.”

*Homemaker (female), age 24, from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*

# 1 INSECURE LIVES

## Young people as victims and witnesses of violence

"It was 21st of Ramadan when a dreadful incident occurred in my life," the young man says.

He was attending a religious meeting in Lahore when the first bomb went off. He remembers seeing body parts 'hovering in the air' and then the sounds of screams coming through thick smoke. A suicide bomber triggered the second explosion as rescuers were loading the wounded into ambulances and he was forced to watch helplessly as one of his friends lost his life to his wounds. He does not remember hearing the third bomb, another suicide blast.

By the end of the day, 31 people were said to be dead and at least 170 had been wounded, although the full toll of suffering will probably never be known.[4] As an angry mob set fire to a local police station in protest, the Prime Minister condemned the attacks as "cowardly acts of terrorism" and promised that those "playing with the lives of innocent people would not escape the law of the land."[5]

More than two years have passed since that day, but the man remains haunted by what he witnessed. "I started hating terrorists and held responsible government for that awful occurrence," he says. "There is no assurance of one's life in Pakistan. Why are thousands of innocents being killed every year? We need good governance and rule of law in our country."

This story is typical of many that we have collected.

It's not the subject matter – terrorism has a significant impact on the next generation, but it is far from being the most common form of violence. Nor even the severity – although we have heard from large numbers of young people who have been victims or witnesses to similarly appalling atrocities. Rather, it's how dramatically violence can reshape a life and how pervasive and long-lasting the impacts can be.

In this chapter, we begin to explore how violence affects young people's lives, using both quantitative and qualitative data. We set out evidence on the prevalence of violence, based on official databases and responses to our own survey. We then use some of the 'untold stories' to show what young people say when asked to explain, in their own words, how conflict or violence has made a difference to their lives.

### The Scale of Violence

Violence in Pakistan is common, serious and pervasive. Every young person has grown up affected by it to some extent, if only through exposure to often graphic images of attacks that are carried by the media.

But how many young people can expect to be directly touched by violence, either as victims, witnesses or perpetrators? This is a difficult

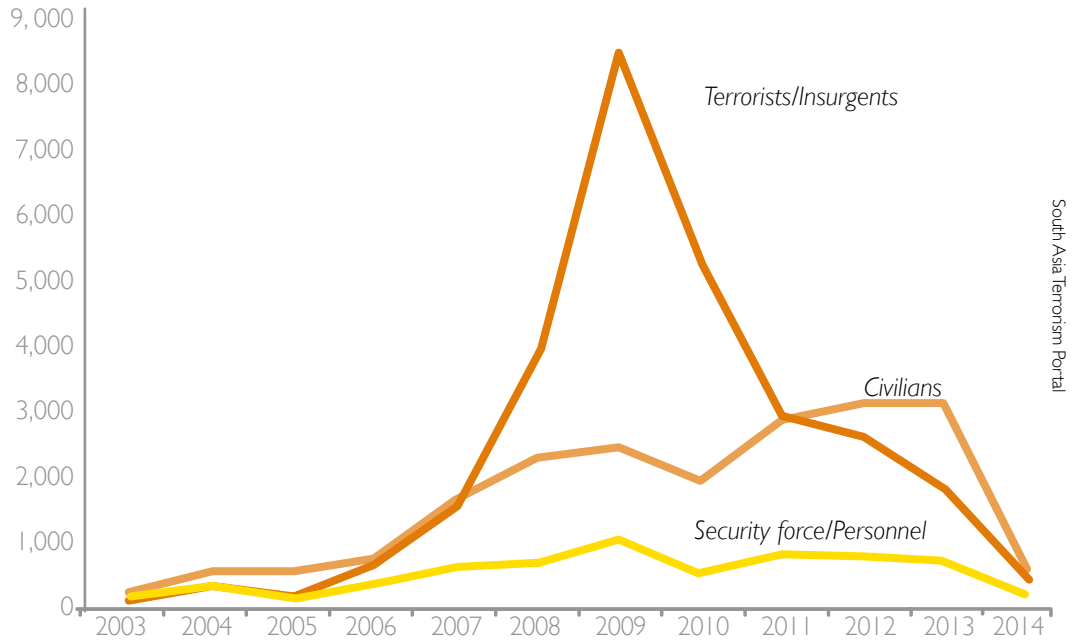



**Figure 1. Casualties of Terrorist Violence in Pakistan**

question to answer. They live in a society that is certainly less peaceful than average, with Pakistan ranking 157th of 162 countries on the Global Peace Index.[6] According to the Global Terrorism Index, no other country, aside from Iraq, has been so affected by terrorism in recent years.[7] While reliable data is hard to obtain, the best data suggest that over 50,000 people have died due to terrorism and conflict over the past decade, including approximately 18,000 civilians (see figure 1).

Levels of crime are also high, with Pakistan's murder rate seven times higher than China's and twice that of India.[8] Although Pakistan is still far from seeing the extremely high rates of criminal violence experienced in some Latin American and Caribbean countries, there appears to have been a sustained increase in both violent and non-violent crimes in recent years (see figure 2).[9] There were over 20,000 reported kidnappings in 2012 (and many go unreported), more than double the level seen a decade previously.[10] Women, in particular, suffer from extremely high levels of violence both inside and outside their homes, much of it unreported. According to one survey, a third of ever-married women in Pakistan have experienced physical violence at least once.[11] However, overall levels have been estimated to be much higher, with more

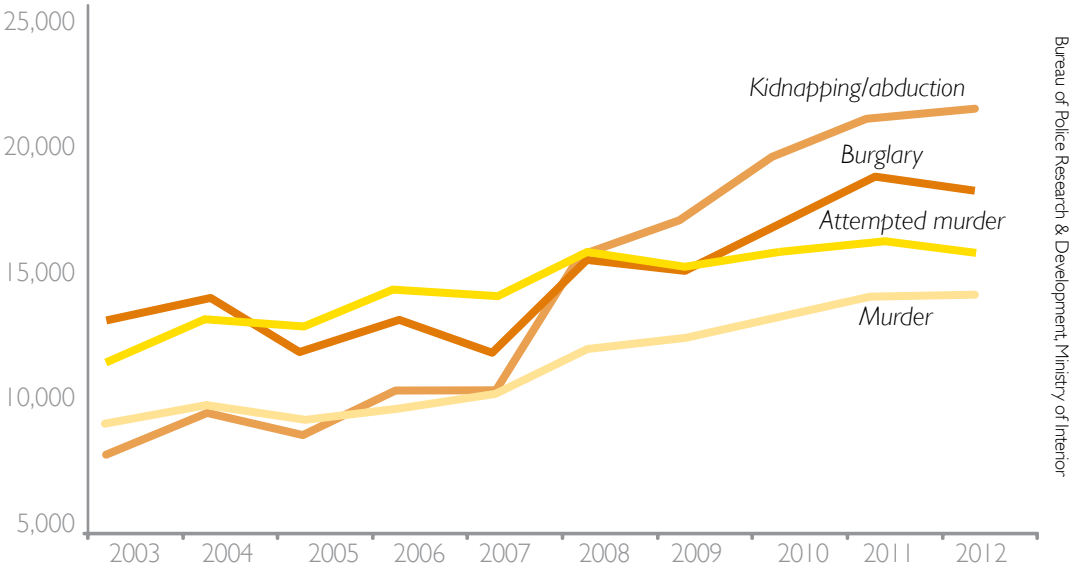



**Figure 2. Crimes Reported by Type**

than 70% thought to have suffered some form of domestic abuse.[12] Some of the most visible cases include honour killings, gang rapes, and acid attacks.[13]

Data on levels of conflict, crime and other forms of violence have serious limitations, however, whether compiled from official sources or by independent analysts. There is no household survey that we can turn to, to show how the prevalence of violence has changed over time, while there are clear political incentives to under-report violence, especially when it is directed at disadvantaged and vulnerable groups.

Our quantitative research provides a snapshot of the incidence of violence experienced by the next generation. In our survey, 16% of young people say they or people close to them have been affected by major traumatic experiences, such as being attacked with a gun or knife, being kidnapped, physical abuse, sexual abuse, explosions, and violent incidents involving the police or military (see figure 3).

A further 6% have not been touched by incidents of this severity, but have been bullied or harassed, or have been nearby when there was a serious attack (they heard a bomb go off, for example, but weren't close enough to see the consequences, or were close by when shots were fired).

These figures probably underestimate the prevalence of violence. We suspect that some victims were unwilling to talk openly about their experience of violence, especially those who feel pronounced guilt or shame about an attack they have suffered, or those who live in fear of further attacks from members of their family or community. We also know that quantitative research under-represents the voices of young people from the least stable areas of the country, precisely those who are likely to experience the highest level of exposure to violence.

So what do the 'untold stories' tell us about the impact of conflict and violence? And can they help us move beyond the numbers to gain a better understanding of what it means to live a life deprived of the fundamental rights to life, liberty and security of person that are enshrined in Article 9 of the Constitution of Pakistan?[14]

## Victims and Witnesses of Violence

In annex 1 (pages 95-104), we explain in detail the methodology for collecting 1,800 verified stories that were the result of young people being asked to tell us, in their own words, how conflict or violence had made a difference to their lives. In gathering stories, our objective was to ensure they provided insights into the types of violence that affect young people, from very serious acts such as murder, kidnapping, and warfare, through

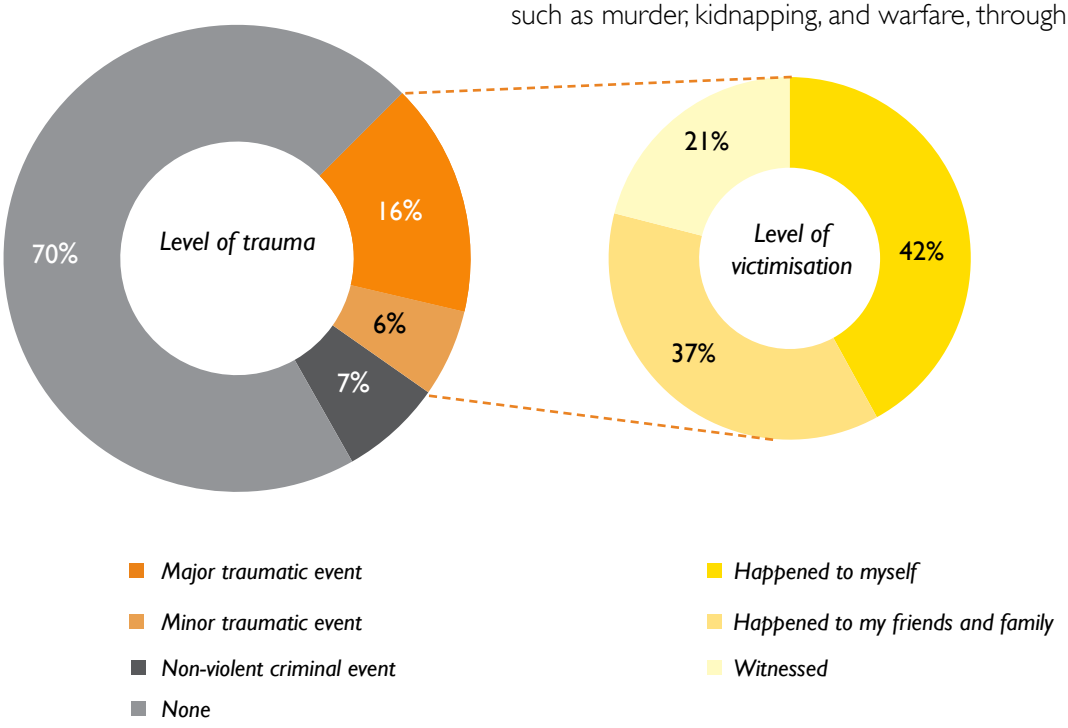



Figure 3. Incidence of Violence

to relatively mild acts such as teasing.

As before, it should be emphasised that in this element of the research, we are not seeking a statistically representative sample, but a set of responses that provides a sufficiently broad analysis of the diversity of conflict and violence in Pakistan, in terms of its nature and impact, and the way people respond to it.

In the majority of stories, young people portray themselves as victims or witnesses of violence, with a much smaller proportion (around 5%) telling stories in which they are an aggressor. In this chapter, we explore the experience of victims and witnesses, turning to perpetrators of violence in chapter 2.

### *Moderate Violence*

Moderate violence is mainly psychological in its nature, including arguments of various kinds, teasing and bullying, threats, verbal abuse, and false accusations.

For example, a young woman from Sindh describes being bullied by her family because "my colour and face is uglier than my sister and cousins," while a young graduate says he is bullied by his brother because he does not have a job. A student from Punjab describes how the pressure of her studies led to depression which, in turn, caused her to lash out at her family. Another young man describes dropping out of college because of his treatment by older students, bullying that was relatively mild when compared to the violence portrayed in other stories, but which still had a significant impact on his life. "That 'fooling' was very sarcastic in nature," he says. "That ruined my self-confidence. I started hating education."

An accusation, if unfounded, can have extremely serious consequences for a young person. False accusations appear in slightly more than 100 of our stories, demonstrating how reputation, status, and honour are important, if fragile, assets for many members of the next generation. False accusations are often made within family, with women especially vulnerable in this regard. A woman from a rural area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa describes her horror when, after being forced to marry by her parents, her husband accused her of having a lover. "I tried suicide many times but was saved," she says. "My saviours don't know that death is my only refuge."

Women are also vulnerable outside the home, especially when they reject unwanted advances from men. One young woman had her life ruined at university after she turned down a proposal from a fellow student, who then hacked her Facebook account and made it appear she was involved in a relationship with someone else. As a result, her family were hounded and had to move to another city, a common reaction to persecution in many stories. An uneducated woman from rural Punjab married her cousin, who later accused her of using a mobile phone to have an affair with another man. She says she was then sold as a servant to another family who tied her up at night and used her to look after the goats in the day. Due to a false accusation, in other words, she experienced an extremely serious contravention of her human rights.

Accusations of wrong-doing at work are also common, especially when there is a marked disparity in power between employee and employer. A domestic worker says she was falsely accused of stealing jewellery and was forced to work without pay as a result, while the servant of a cement seller says he was accused of theft after he demanded unpaid wages and was arrested and brutally beaten by the police. A Christian woman, meanwhile, gained a good job with an NGO after graduating from university. However, she had to spend extensive periods working in the field and after one trip found that she had been subject of a campaign to ruin her reputation in the office. "They said that I had spent a complete week with my field worker," she remembers. As a result, she lost confidence in her decision to seek work, taken in opposition to those in her family who thought she should stay at home. She resigned from her job in despair, although she has since found another job and now believes that she must face adversity, rather than flee from it.

In some stories, young people feel their reputation has been damaged because of the ethnic or religious group they belong to, or simply because of their low economic status. "I am very scared of letting someone know I am from Waziristan," a young man admits, as he believes people automatically assume he is an extremist.

A refugee from Afghanistan, living in Islamabad, says that he was investigated by police every time there was a crime in the area. "I will go back to Afghanistan soon," he says, "and I will never forget this prejudice behaviour of Pakistanis."

Repeatedly, we have been told stories that demonstrate how rapidly violence escalates, with many young people living in environments where there is a high social tolerance for violent acts and few mechanisms to diffuse conflict peacefully. For example, a young man from Punjab tells the story of a minor argument with a teacher at his college. Sometime later, this teacher was promoted to be head teacher and friction between the pair worsened. The student then chose to take matters into his own hands, organising a protest that soon turns ugly. "I gathered the whole college students and had attempt strike," he said. "I went on the second floor and threw all the furniture of my class out the balcony. The headmaster called the police and I was sent to jail for two weeks. I learned my lesson and graduated from another college."

A man, meanwhile, tells us how his father, a rickshaw driver, was insulted by a group of intoxicated, young men. When he talked back to them, they beat him and seriously injured him. Another says that his outlook on life was changed after seeing his father, a compassionate man who went out of his way to help others, taunted for only being a barber. The incident made him believe that he lived in a society where only money and power provide respect. "The whole episode unbridled a desire in me to earn as much money as possible, legally or illegally, by hook or by crook," he says. "I want to be rich now."

### *Serious Violence*

Roughly a third of the stories contain violent acts that we have categorised as serious. In more than 200 stories, an incident of physical abuse is described. There are a similar number of fights, attacks and torching of property, approximately 70 incidents of robbery, and multiple cases of shackling, drugging, and indecent behaviour.

Women are most vulnerable to physical abuse and many describe lives where this is a regular occurrence in their own homes. In the stories we have collected, women of all educational levels appear to be vulnerable to serious physical abuse within the home. In some cases, this happens within their own family, but more often starts when they marry and move to live with their husband's family. An uneducated woman from Punjab, for example, recounts how she was beaten by her mother-in-law and her husband. Another describes how she was attacked when unable to do housework after an operation: "all members of home beat me badly specially they touched me at spot of operation." She was saved by neighbours who heard her cries.

Educated women often experience a very marked loss of status in the early years of their marriage. A graduate was resented by her husband for her education and was beaten on a regular basis. In a number of cases, violence escalates if a woman is not able to have children or if she has girls rather than boys. One woman says both her in-laws and husband were delighted when she became pregnant at the age of eighteen, but her husband told her that she must give birth to a boy as he didn't like girls. "I was shocked to hear this type of thinking," she says. "How can a human baby be born by choice. It is God's wish." When her daughter was born, the woman was told she had brought bad luck to the family and was abused as a result.

Men are not immune to serious physical abuse within the home. One young man, for example, attempted to stand up for his father who was embroiled in an argument over money with his elder brother. He ended up hospitalised after his brother stabbed him four times. Men are also frequently physically abused at school and in other educational settings, at work, and by landlords. Both women and men tell stories of being abused by those who wanted to prevent them from completing their education. A young man from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) describes a protracted campaign of what he describes as torture by his family, who thought he should be working rather than at school. A woman from Punjab says that, in opposition to her going to school, her brothers beat her so badly that she became disabled, and also threw acid on her.

Fights and serious attacks are a common feature of many stories, often with extremely serious consequences, such as permanent disability. One man was beaten by those associated with

a powerful rival and lost both his legs. A driver describes how his car was taken from him and he was beaten, stripped naked, and left hanging from a tree. Protests can also lead to sudden and shocking injuries, with one man left unconscious after a demonstration against loadshedding[i] degenerated into a fight between the protestors and the police. Another man describes serious fighting between Balochi and Pakhtun students at his university, after which he says he was arrested and beaten by the police.

A single violent incident can permanently destroy a young person's dreams. One man was training to be a nurse but was caught up in a riot on his campus, in which a mob beat him seriously, leaving him hospitalised for three months. As a result, he was not able to keep up with his studies. "My semester slipped away from my hands," he says. "I missed that golden opportunity of my educational career, as well as my professional status."

### *Extreme Violence*

As serious as these incidents are, there are also a large number of incidents of even more extreme violence. In designing this research, we were concerned that it would be hard to find people willing to talk about their experience as victim or witness of heinous acts such as kidnapping, rape, torture, terrorism, and murder. This concern proved unfounded, as we have recorded more than 750 examples of extreme violence, with storytellers demonstrating great courage in their willingness to tell us of the abuse they have suffered.

Victims of kidnap, for example, have been through a life-changing experience, with some away from their families for extended periods. A man studying in Peshawar was kidnapped and held by the Taliban for nine months because they believed he had spoken against them. A shopkeeper was kidnapped when travelling on a bus from Quetta with four members of his family, other passengers, and the bus conductor and driver. They were taken on a series of arduous journeys through the mountains, during which time they were repeatedly threatened with death, before being released for unexplained reasons. The man remains haunted by the thought that he could have been killed and his family would never have known what had happened to him.

Kidnap victims are often severely abused while in captivity. A student describes how she was kidnapped by three men who raped her, filmed the incident, and then used the film to blackmail her family. A young government employee was kidnapped in Sindh and tortured over a period of four months while his family struggled to put together his ransom. Another recounts how she was kidnapped by an uncle who had adopted another religion, was forced to convert, and was then married to his son. A factory worker was kidnapped in a case of mistaken identity and tortured over a period of a month in an attempt to get him to admit his 'real' name.

We do not, of course, get to hear the stories of those whose kidnapping did not end in release, though these incidents are often related by family members. One claims her brother was kidnapped by the Pakistan army, with his 'ruined dead body' discovered a year later. Another says that her sister was kidnapped, forcibly converted from Hinduism to Islam, and has not since been seen by her family. A third says his cousin was kidnapped twice by men who did not want him to continue his studies at Balochistan University and is yet to return from the second incident. "Whenever there is a knock at the door, his family hopes it to be [him] or whenever they hear about any ruined dead body they reach there to see for [him]."

Young people also recounted distressing stories of sexual violence, including 26 who say they have been raped and 13 who tell the story of the rape of a relative, friend, or member of their community. In addition, there are many more stories of sexual abuse that stops short of penetrative sex. In a majority of these stories, the rapist is a family member or otherwise known to the victim. One woman says her husband used to rape her when he was drunk. "I tried to kill him but he survived and threw acid on me," she says. "I escaped somehow." A student, meanwhile, says that she was raped by her father, who threatened to kill her if she told anyone. It later emerged that he had also raped at least one of her sisters. Another ran away from home at the age of eighteen, after being raped 'at least once a week' by her stepfather once she had reached sexual maturity, while a young woman from rural Punjab was raped by her husband's brothers, seemingly with the consent of the husband.

[i] Electricity rationing

Women are also raped by members of their community. One describes being kidnapped and raped by a powerful local figure at the age of eleven. Another says that she and three other women were gang-raped by a landlord's men in order to intimidate bonded labourers. A third says she was raped by her new employer at a company conference. Some women are attacked by the people whose job it is to protect them. One recounts the story of how she was kidnapped by a police officer and raped repeatedly over an extended period. "After long torture of the eight months in which I also got pregnant and then passed through the abortion," she says, "one day I got the opportunity and escaped from the house cum jail and came to my parents."

Men also recount tales of rape and sexual abuse. One man says he was raped in a Madrassa. Another was a victim of attempted rape in a Madrassa and when he resisted, his attacker threw acid at him and then harassed his family until they were forced to move to another town. A third man says he had sexual relations with a female teacher while a child, while a fourth recounts how he was raped by a male neighbour and two friends, and a fifth was raped at gunpoint by another man who was drunk and then beat him afterwards. In one case of repeated abuse, a man remembers how he was raped as a 10-year old child by a number of older men.

Members of the transgender community are particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse. One describes being sexually harassed at work, "my supervisor always used to ask me for sexual favours…he started forcing himself on me". As a consequence, the young person left this job disillusioned, joined a transgender community and now works as a sex worker. Another was sold to a group of transgenders for 30,000 rupees ($285 US dollars) by her father due to their poverty, "when I was twelve years old, the group sent me off with a [person with power], all night he sexually abused me". Others describe accounts where they were sexually abused by other boys in the neighbourhood, local shopkeepers or even teachers at school.

Murder is the most serious of all violent crimes. It is also one where, inevitably, our research can tell only part of the story, as the voice of the victim has been definitively silenced. However, others tell the stories of those who have been murdered. One woman, for example, recounts how her husband was killed by the cousin who had hoped to marry her. Another's husband died, along with two others, in a fire that was started in an attack on their village as a result of a land dispute. A third says her husband was a gangster who was stabbed by someone who he had previously attacked. In all three stories, the widow has been left to face life on her own. "Although things get really hard sometimes," says one. "I am struggling to fight the situation and survive in order to give my children a brighter future."

Fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters are also victims. One man says his father was killed by a relative in an incident that destabilised their whole community and led to the forced migration of the storyteller's family from "our settled life to an unknown place." One young woman says her father tried to force her mother to set herself on fire. He beat her when she tried to protect her mother and then murdered the mother. A man from Punjab was called to a family meeting to discuss a land dispute. He was then fired upon by his uncle. The storyteller was permanently disabled, while his elder brother and a servant were killed.

We have also collected a number of stories of murder outside a family setting. Some killings have an economic motive. A young woman from Balochistan tells of the death of her cousin when he tried to resist men who wanted to steal his motorbike. A young man tells the story of a devastating tribal conflict, caused by a land dispute, that lasted for four years, resulting in around 50 deaths and widespread destruction of property and crops, as well as the theft of livestock. "We could not wander openly because the people of the opponent tribe would come and kill us," he remembers. "And, with every coming day I had to face the dead bodies of the youngsters of our tribe."

Other deaths have political or sectarian roots. For example, a man, who says he had an exceptional academic record, describes how he was arrested along with 50 other students after a student was murdered during political clashes at his university. Another – a Sunni – says his brother-in-law and his family were targeted for sectarian reasons,

resulting in two deaths and a serious injury, while a young Hazara describes how his father, a shopkeeper, was "brutally killed by people who were enemy of Hazara community." A woman from Gilgit-Baltistan tells us about her orphaned cousin, whose father was shot dead whilst travelling. Militants had stopped his bus, asking passengers to disembark and then, "lined up the people who belonged to Shia community and killed them mercilessly."

Some of the stories show the consequences of the war on terror. A young mother says her husband was a truck driver in FATA. "My husband was taking a NATO truck to Kabul when terrorists killed him by firing 30 bullets," she says. "My husband died on the spot. He could not enjoy the happiness of his son." Also in FATA, a shop keeper says that he was busy at work when his neighbours rushed to find him. "I asked them what happened, is everything fine? They told me that army convoy was passing by your home and that time your son came out of home and army personnel open fire on him and he died in seconds."

We were also told a number of stories that involve drone attacks. In one, a young man in FATA was at home when there was a loud explosion that totally destroyed the family's hujra.[ii] "I rushed to the hujra and see only small human body pieces but did not recognise anyone amongst them… When our neighbours and elders of the village reach there, they told that it was drone attack. My villagers arrange plastic shopper for body piece to put in it. When my villagers start writing tags of drone attack victims, I saw the names of my father, elder brother and uncle."

The consequence of this attack lives on. "My family are still in shock and waiting that someone will tell us the reason for which my family has been targeted, as from the creation of Pakistan on all forums we were declared as devoted to our nation, but now at once we tribal got title of terrorists."

## Conclusion

For the majority of the next generation, violence is something they see on their television screens, read about in their newspapers, or hear reported to them by friends and family.

Violence enters directly into the lives of many young people, however. In this chapter, we have explored the diversity of their experience of violence, whether at home, at school or work, or on the streets. In the most extreme cases, the impact of violence is permanently life-altering, but even less serious violence can have a deep-seated and long-lasting impact on a victim, relative, or witness.

This chapter, however, has looked at only one side of the story. In the next, we turn to the experiences of perpetrators of violence and their accounts of the damage they have caused.

[ii] A room for entertaining male family members and guests

# 2

# VIOLENT LIVES

## Young people who engage in violent acts

"I was belonging to a tribe which was involved in tribal conflicts. As I was on job my family got conflict with neighbours, and opponents also included my name in FIR*, as I returned to visit home the police caught me and locked-up. After release to take revenge accompanying with my friends I attacked opponents, in which one person was killed and many injured then I become absconder and now I work with a criminal group which is involve in theft, robbery, vehicle snatching, kidnapping for ransom etc. I am not guilty on my act as the opponents were very much powerful, I could not do against them legally that's why chose this way."

*Unemployed man, age 28, from Sindh*

*FIR – First Information Report (a complaint lodged with the police by or on behalf of a victim for an offence where an arrest may be made without a warrant).

# 2 VIOLENT LIVES

## Young people who engage in violent acts

On the whole, it is easier to gather stories of victimisation than to get young people to talk openly about their participation in violent acts, especially when their aggressive behaviour reflects poorly on them. Human beings are highly likely to justify their own behaviour and to find reasons to evade responsibility for their actions. That said, we have been successful in gathering a range of stories where young people feature as perpetrators of violence, including some in which young people admit to acts that had extremely serious consequences for their victims.

In this chapter, we therefore focus on 89 'aggressor' stories, with the overwhelming majority told by men. Subjects include arguments, fights, physical abuse, robberies, kidnappings, rape and indecent behaviour, torture and murder. There is also one story of an averted suicide bombing though, for obvious reasons, it has proved challenging to collect stories from those actively involved in terrorism or other forms of armed struggle.

In addition, we also discuss stories which describe the aggressive behaviour of friends and family members (over 600 stories fall into this category), and also include some stories where a storyteller has incited violence, but has not carried out a violent act. In total, therefore, we have approximately 700 stories that shed light on the perpetrators of violent acts.

### Challenges and Limitations

Some of the stories we have collected describe shocking crimes. For example, a man recounts a property dispute between his father and his father's relatives, which led to the father being killed by what he describes as 'rented killers.' He says that he then dedicated his life to revenging his father, killing three of his relatives. With his family 'displaced and shattered badly' and having 'lost the sense of human values', the storyteller says he decided to become a rented killer himself.

"This one event pushed my life to inhuman behaviour and till now I killed 26 different people – men and women – for ransom and money," he says. He wants release from this life, especially as 'the fire of anger and revenge' cools, but he feels he has "no control on time and situations which are responsible for my inhuman behaviour."

This story demonstrates some of the issues involved in researching perpetrators of violence. The events described in this story are extreme but plausible. As the quantitative results show, money is a powerful motivator for young people to commit violence (see figure 4). We also know that target killings are common in some parts of Pakistan and that some contract killers have murdered many victims. An online magazine, for example, published a video of an interview with a man who said that he had murdered 35 people and claimed there were 600 active contract killers in Karachi alone.[15]

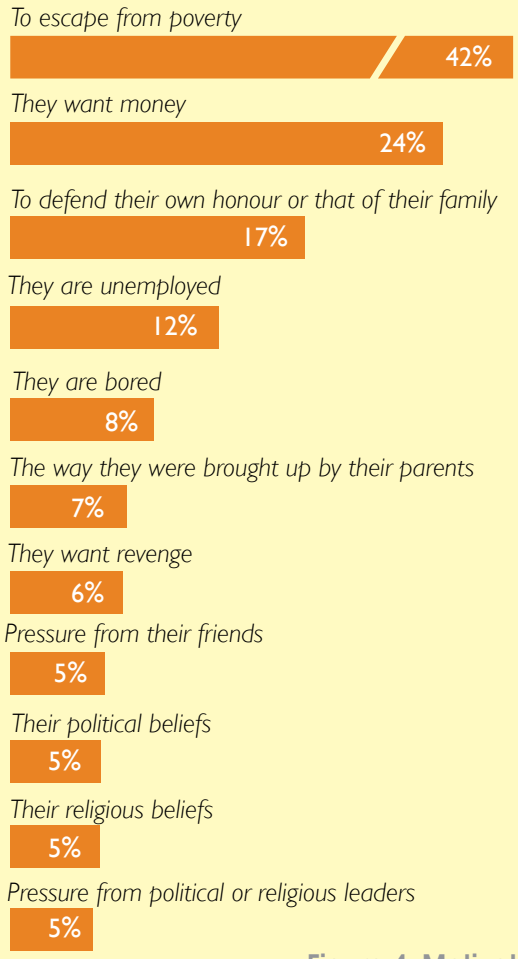
These figures are backed up by independent research, with the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan estimating that there were 1,726 victims of these murders in the first six months of 2013.[16] None of this proves the storyteller is truthful when he says he has killed many people. Beyond the verification procedures documented on page 103, which are primarily intended to ensure the storyteller told the story, it is not possible to know whether participants of violent acts have exaggerated the role they played (as may have happened in this case), or downplayed their culpability in order to make themselves seem more sympathetic.

This is a problem with any surveying technique, whether quantitative or qualitative, given that people are not always truthful in what they tell researchers. Moreover, in all cases except those where a storyteller has engaged in a wholesale fabrication (and we expect this to be a very small minority), each story provides an insight into the storyteller's perception of his or her past, how they have processed their experience, and how they believe that experience influences their current and future behaviour.

The majority of young people do not, of course, believe that violence is acceptable. In our survey, when asked whether it is right or wrong to steal, attack someone, or hit a woman or child, almost all young people agree that this is morally wrong. Half of young people, however, believe that it is acceptable to fight to protect their families, while 46% believe that "It is OK to fight if someone insults your culture or religion." More than a third believe they will be stigmatised as a coward if they back down from a fight.

Honour, when placed in the context of protecting ones relatives, communities, or beliefs, makes violence more acceptable. Other young people will, of course, find themselves engaged in violent

**Top motivations for young people to commit acts of violence in Pakistan**




Only 3% of the young people surveyed admitted to participating in violence. Two thirds of these had actively participated, the others had only been present whilst someone else committed the violence.

For many young people, social circumstances and reputation are perceived to be the main motivators for committing actsof violence. Escaping from poverty and the need for money were the most-cited reasons. More than three-quarters of young people from Punjab cited at least one of these reasons.

Almost one in five young people cited 'defending their own honour or that of their family' as a main motivation for young people committing acts of violence. At regional level, 31% of young people in FATA cited this as a main reason – the highest proportion across all regions.

Unemployment was cited as a main motivator by almost double the proportion of young people from urban areas (17%) as from rural areas (9%). Almost one fifth of young people in Sindh cite unemployment as a motivator, more than any other region.

We also asked whether these young people had ever been encouraged by people in their village or neighbourhood to commit violence. Half of those who answered yes were encouraged by their friends. A quarter had been encouraged by either the police or by a political leader, and one in ten were encouraged by their family.

Figure 4. Motivators for Conflict & Violence

or criminal acts even if they know it is morally wrong. Some are motivated by money, some have become addicted to drink or drugs, others find themselves unable to control their anger and aggression. As will be seen from some of the stories that follow, and from figure 4, there are many reasons why young people lead violent lives.

## Communal and Family Violence

In many cases, family or community disputes are provoked by economic motives. Two stories concern water. One storyteller admits that he and his brothers attached a pipe to the largest water tank in their village without permission. "It was our fault," he says. The incident blew up into a fight after the other villagers confiscated a lengthy and valuable section of the family's pipeline.

Another describes his reluctance at being dragged into a family conflict over a piece of irrigated land. "I initially tried a lot to avoid the dispute but it had become a matter of dignity and honour for both parties. I personally hit four to five persons of the opposite party with stick and punches which caused them to become injured and I was also suffering from the same situation which caused me ten stitches to my head." The man says that his family was forced to accept they were in the wrong after tribal elders intervened.

We also have a handful of stories from those who admit that they or their family members have been kidnappers. One says his cousin attempted to kidnap a girl, after being taunted that "there was some fault in him due to which the girl was not prepared to marry him." The girl resisted and he shot her twice, before approaching her prone body and shooting her in the head. A young woman from a feudal family says her life has been shaped by her brother's decision to kidnap and marry a cousin. She was forced into a deeply unhappy marriage in an attempt to heal the familial rift this created. Another woman says she comes from a rich family with a 'fighting culture.' Her brother has killed two or three people in fights, and "he often used to kidnap girls of people he fight with and rape them." Another man says he kidnapped a girl from his extended family and held her for two days. The girl's husband and brother killed the storyteller's brother in retaliation.

Family feuds often fail to end in resolution. One man describes a land dispute that had led to the deaths of ten people, but which had supposedly been resolved in return for rice and cows. However, it flared up again and the man's father was murdered. "I killed my father's murderer and our enmity began once again," he says. "My education was left incomplete… All my dreams were broken. Now I am living the life of a fugitive…I left my home and land and each and everything and completely destroyed myself." Another man had joined the army but was dragged into his family's conflict with their neighbours. With friends, he killed one of the family's opponents and injured others. After absconding, he joined a gang and admits to involvement in robbery, vehicle snatching, and kidnapping. He says he feels no guilt at his action as he was up against adversaries who were more powerful than his family and did not have any legal means of recourse.

Retribution can be risky. A villager from Balochistan believed he knew the identity of a thief who had broken into his home. He tracked down the supposed thief and found him sleeping outside. Gripped by what he describes as a sense of 'ecstasy', he fired three shots into the man, injuring but not killing him. His victim later swore on the Holy Koran that he was innocent, leaving the storyteller's family trying to resolve the situation through a Jirga.[iii] All family members remain at risk of retaliation.

Not all storytellers have escaped punishment for their involvement in feuds. One says he was living a happy and prosperous life before his father fell out with his uncle. During this dispute, the storyteller killed two people, while his father and brother also lost their lives. "I surrender myself into the custody of police and completed the punishment that was declared by the judges," he says. Another was sentenced to a 25 year prison term, along with his father, and has served 10 years. His crime was to kill one man and seriously injure another with an AK-47 in a family dispute over a loan, despite his father's advice that he should allow for negotiations to resolve the dispute. He now has tuberculosis and his eyesight has suffered in prison.

[iii] A tribal decision making assembly

## Sexual Violence

Some of the hardest stories to collect concern the perpetration of sexual abuse. While young people share their experiences of being harassed, molested, or raped, few men are prepared to admit their involvement in these acts. Often, therefore, we are reliant on accounts of the actions of family members to gain a perspective into how abusers behave. For example, a teacher remembers being abused by her brother when she was a child. At least one of her sisters was also abused and eventually had a breakdown and was hospitalised, at which point the brother's acts were revealed and he was thrown out of a family that the woman describes as 'broken' and 'in pain.'

The woman's story is notable for her account of what then happened to her abusive brother. "He was not allowed to enter the main building of the home," the woman recalls. "He used to come home rarely and sleep in the drawing room. For years, my dad never talked to him." She says the brother "lived the life of the dead" and that, even after the mother brokered a partial resolution, the brother remains a lonely man, without any self-respect. The woman now recognises that her brother was also a child when these incidents took place, arguing that "It is a sexually frustrated society where youth are not given space, knowledge and opportunities, leading to such incidents." While the rest of the family has healed, she says, "the greatest sufferer of all is [now] our brother."

Some men are prepared to talk about their actions as abusers, however. A man recounts his rape of a woman 'captured' by the Taliban in Afghanistan. "In one fight we captured many girls and Taliban gave one of them to me who was fifteen years old," he says, "the girl kept on begging me but I did not listen to her and abused her forcefully." Another man was working in a hotel owned by his family, when a man from his village came to stay with a woman who was not his wife. "That night when I passed near their room," he says, "the door was open a bit and both were laying on the bed in a strange manner." Threatening the man with the police, he discovered that the woman has eloped from her home with a third man, who had sexual relations with her and then passed her on to the man from his village. The hotel owner then had intercourse with the girl, as did a number of other men. "One day, girl was successful in escaping and she reached to women centre and there she was helped and lodged a case against all of us."

Men also abuse other males. A man says that he was attempting to emigrate to the European Union via Greece, using the services of an agent. He was asked to take another man's son with him. While waiting for their departure, the man and boy stayed together in a hotel room in Karachi. "My thinking got negative regarding the boy," he says, explaining how he coerced the boy into having sex with him. The man was arrested on the way to his destination, but he says that the boy managed to escape from the police (and from the storyteller as well).

A barber, meanwhile, says he regularly uses the services of what he describes as 'professional boys,' but that he once groomed a 15 year-old who attended a school near his shop. Promising to give the boy a dagger, he persuaded him to come to his home. He then gave the boy 'something to drink,' kissed him and tried to get him to remove his clothes. When the boy balked, he forcibly stripped him and raped him. "The room was empty and he knew he couldn't run therefore he didn't struggle much," the man says. Later he says he felt guilty and afraid he would be captured. He now says he continues to have sex with boys, "but with wilful consent not force."

## Criminal Violence

We have collected a number of stories from people who occasionally or habitually engage in crime for financial gain. A young man who sells hand fans in the street for a living admits he used to be part of a gang that stole from houses on a weekly basis. Caught by the police, he was chastised by his father and told he brought shame on the family. He has since resolved to live a more dignified and honourable life.

Another man, from Balochistan, gave up his studies during a period when his father, who was in the army, lived away from home in Islamabad. He fell in with some friends who regularly burgled houses and was caught stealing from a neighbour. In his story, he tells how his father refused to help him, but his uncles paid bribes to stop the police

beating him. He received a three-year prison term, later reduced to seven months. The man's young daughter died while he was in prison.

A man says he lived in a 'notorious area' and became a petty thief as a child after his father died. After serving time in prison, he says that he gave up crime, but continued to face accusations from the police whenever there was a robbery in the area. Another was reformed after he was severely beaten by a man from whom he had stolen a bag of food shopping, while his friends watched on laughing. He says he is a changed man and no longer sits on street corners, as he has realised that "one has to save his respect himself."

Another tale of redemption involves drugs and alcohol, which feature in 121 of the stories. A young man from a city in Punjab says he was spoiled by his parents and used money that they gave him to start smoking at an early age. From tobacco, he progressed to cannabis, alcohol, and heroin, becoming addicted despite his family twice paying for him to be treated. When his parents stopped giving him money, he stole from home and then across the neighbourhood. His father bankrupted his business to pay back the thefts and then died shortly thereafter.

Beaten and shunned by his family, who blamed him for his father's death, the man took the decision to change his life, asking a local tailor to take him on as an apprentice. "He was afraid that I would steal from his shop," the man admits, "but after a lot of requests he agreed and started teaching me his work. I worked very hard and learnt that art very soon." Free of drugs, he now has his own shop, is the main breadwinner in his family, and has supported the marriage of two of his sisters. "I cannot change my past," he says, "but I can say that bad companies always lead towards destruction and these should be avoided."

Some stories have an air of black comedy. A soldier says that he became friends with a clerk, also serving in the army, who said to him, "Yar until when we have to pass our lives like slaves just to depend on salary, would that we get a chance to become a millionaire?" After many discussions about how they could become rich, they decided to join with others to rob a bank. They took leave from the army and holed up in a hotel to plan the raid, with the leader of the gang distributing loaded guns. "While talking I kept gun on my leg," remembers our unfortunate story teller. "Suddenly trigger was pushed and bullet pierced in my leg. Feeling unbearable pain, I started crying." While the others fled, he and his friend took a taxi to the hospital, where they tried to use their status as army men to avoid the police being called. But further disaster ensued, as his friend was then accused of shooting him after the police found he had two guns on him. Both were arrested by the army – the storyteller after a life-saving operation – and sentenced to time in a military jail, despite concocting a story to cover up their real intentions.

Not all criminals are repentant. In one story, a dropout from school became a thief in order to buy drugs, joining with friends to commit a series of armed robberies in Karachi. When his mother became ill, he and his friends attempted to kidnap the owner of a petrol station, but they became embroiled in a shootout with the police. He was shot in the stomach and waist, and rendered unconscious. After completing a jail sentence, he continues to steal in order to fund his drugs habit.

In another, a factory worker turned to crime "to meet belly requirements" after what he regarded as unfair dismissal from a job that he had obtained on the recommendation of an influential patron. Together with a friend, he says that he carried out hundreds of thefts, some of which were exceedingly violent. "One day, I was snatching mobile and he started making noise then I fired at him and killed him and escaped. And one day, I was snatching motor bike and he put resistance. I shot him in the head." He was caught, but promised his lawyer Rs50,000 (US$475) if he could free him on bail. "I robbed a house of my known person [the patron who had helped him get a job] and took 5 gram gold, mobile and other belongings so that I could pay the fee of my lawyer," he says. The man expresses no regret for his crimes, or for his treatment of his patron, but continues to lament his dismissal from the factory.

## Militancy

Some stories tell of involvement with militant groups. One man describes how he became disillusioned at school after being beaten with a stick by a teacher until both his hands bled.

He stole money from his family and ran away to Afghanistan where he managed to gain admittance to a centre that trained suicide bombers. He enjoyed the training and registered his name for a forthcoming attack. "I was brainwashed and ready to explode myself," he says, but his family rescued him. Now, he thanks God for saving his life just a few days before he would have ended it, but lives in fear that he will be tracked down and taken back to Afghanistan or killed.

In a similar story, a man was rescued by his brother after training for Jihad and shortly before leaving for Afghanistan. After many struggles, he finally gained an education and now wishes to keep his children free from extremism and terrorism, and to teach them that "Islam is a religion for love and peace not for taking lives of innocent people." Another man says he was committed to Jihad and trained with 25 other would-be suicide bombers, but fled to Iran after he felt he was tricked and lied to by his commander.

Others tell stories of the involvement of family and friends in terrorism or armed struggle. An Afghan woman says her husband was a member of the Taliban who was killed by the army. He was a brutal man and she was scared she would suffer a similar fate to another local woman, who was burned to death by her husband, in public and using boiling oil. After her husband's death, she was forced to flee, moving to Pakistan from his family with her children from where she told us her story. Another man remembers a friend and classmate who left school and went to train for Jihad and later tried to recruit him to the militant group, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. The friend was later arrested while wearing a suicide bomber's vest.

A labourer says his friend joined the Taliban and was killed in a drone attack after running away to Waziristan after his family became embroiled in a dispute about a piece of land "His parents begged and pleaded with him to come back but he refused," the man says. The land was only 10 feet across, but six people have now died because of it.

## Escalation of Violence

As was seen with stories told by victims of violence, aggressors often admit to a violent response that is out of proportion to the original trigger.

For example, a young man recounts his increasing alienation at the insurance company where he worked, after a religious scholar persuaded him that he was earning 'Haram money.' This led to an argument with his manager that eventually escalated into a fight, leading to the man losing his job. An engineering student says that he was verbally abused by his hostel supervisor and he and his friends retaliated by beating the supervisor so badly that he was hospitalised. Another man remembers being involved in a fight at school when he was a young teenager in which he hit another boy with a brick, breaking his finger. After being beaten by both his mother and father, he was sent away to avoid police action and has never again been involved in fighting. A third man attacked a policeman who stopped him for speeding and then threatened him with a gun. He was arrested, but bailed by his family and says he has learned his lesson.

In the worst cases, the uncontrolled escalation of any argument leads to one or more people losing their lives. One young man admits inciting others to violence, with terrible consequences. He persuaded his friends to harass a boy from the neighbourhood who had come to their college to 'check out girls.' Their victim then rounded up a large number of his fellow labourers to retaliate. One of the storyteller's friends was beaten to death. The storyteller admits ultimate responsibility. "I couldn't believe myself what I had done," he says.

In another incident, a young man's younger brother is hit on the head with a cricket bat by a schoolmate. In return, the storyteller fires on the student's family house and is beaten in retaliation. A further fight results in which more men are involved, and the younger brother is shot and dies. "I really wish I didn't fight back so my brother would be alive right now," the storyteller concludes. In a third story, a student is involved in a minor fight, which leads to a much bigger confrontation, with the storyteller supported by fellow members of the student wing of a political party. Weapons are fired, leading to a death and many injuries, with the student now under investigation for murder.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the experience of those who perpetrate acts of violence. This account may not provide a complete picture – it is hard, for example, to research the experiences of those currently involved in extremist violence. However, we have still managed to present distinct insights into the motivations and mentality of perpetrators of communal and family violence, including sexual attacks, and into the behaviour of criminals and militants.

The stories have further confirmed how quickly violence can escalate with some young people responding disproportionately to the slightest provocation. This multiplies the impact of violence – a topic that we turn to in chapter 3.

# 3

# BROKEN LIVES

## The impact violence has on young people

“I am from Neelum Valley in Kashmir. There used to be a constant presence of fear in our house due to crossfire at Line of Control. Security situation also affected mine and my siblings’ education since our school was destroyed in an attack. Forced by ever deteriorating security situation and constant fear, my family moved. My siblings and I could not continue our education, and I was forced to attend a Madrassa. The situation in my hometown not only cost us our privileged status in terms of family property, but also minimised and virtually eliminated our access to quality education. There are times when I remember my friends and peers from back home, and I worry about their safety. Even today, I often have nightmares of bombing and crossfire. I had to migrate away from my hometown at a young age and have missed it ever since. The depression of being away from your own town stays with you for the rest of your life.”

*Social worker (male), age 25 from Azad Jammu and Kashmir*

# 3 BROKEN LIVES

## The impact violence has on young people

In this chapter, we explore the physical, economic, and social impact of violence on young people.

Death and injuries are, of course, the most immediate and visible consequences of violence, with young people telling us stories of those who have died and the lasting disability many of them have suffered. While accurate data are not available, it seems likely that violence is a leading threat to the health of young people, with mental illness (see chapter 4) further adding to the burden that violence imposes.

The economic cost of conflict and violence cannot be accurately estimated and some are not captured by our research (for example, the impact of a loss of investment on a young person's job prospects, or the diversion of scarce government revenue from health and education to security). However, we provide a series of insights into the direct economic costs of conflict and violence and, in particular, into the loss of opportunity for young people to make the most of their lives.

Finally, we explore the impact that violence has on the social fabric of a young person's life, looking at its impact on their families, relationships, and status. We also explore the experiences of those who are now in prison, some for violent crimes that they admit to, and some who believe their liberty has wrongfully been taken away.

### Physical Impact

Slightly more than half of the stories lead to a serious physical consequence.

For example, one or more people lose their lives in 375 stories. Some of the killings are especially brutal. Seven stories describe a person being beheaded. A woman tells the story of her cousin who eloped with a man who abused and then beheaded her. Another describes the kidnapping of her father-in-law, a respected policeman, by the Taliban. His body was found 7 months later with the head and arms cut off. A third talks about the destruction wrought on her community in FATA, after a neighbouring Madrassa was bombed in a drone attack ('blood and body parts were scattered everywhere') and the Taliban began to kill members of the community, woman in particular (she remembers one woman whose head, feet, and hands were cut off). Mutilation of bodies after death is described by a number of young people, often by burning or through the use of acid.

Fire and acid are also used as weapons against the living, with women mainly the victims. A young graduate met a woman from her community in hospital who had been doused with petrol and set on fire by her new husband. He was angry that her family had not been able to pay the dowry (a motorbike) they had promised. Another tells of a woman she knew who, just four days

earlier, was set on fire by her husband in a domestic dispute. Her burns were so serious she died in hospital.

Unsurprisingly, given the common nature of the phenomenon in recent years, there are a number of stories of acid attacks. A teacher describes hearing screaming from a neighbouring house, where a singer had had acid thrown over her by a producer whose marriage proposal she had refused. As nobody else was prepared to help, she got her brother to take the injured woman to hospital. Another says she is still being treated after four men threw acid over her and her 10 year-old daughter after a dispute. A third woman says her husband threw acid on her when she refused him money to buy drugs. Men are not immune to this kind of attack. A young man from Punjab says his friend was disfigured by acid on the day of his wedding by a rival for his fiancée's affections. He is now blind and although the storyteller continues to provide support to his friend, his wife berates him for this because she is scared that he too will now be attacked.

Other stories tell of incidents that have led to permanent disability. A student says he tried to avoid becoming involved in the student wings of political parties, but was beaten so severely when he refused to give one of them a donation that he is now deaf in one ear. A man in rural Punjab was shot when strangers, employed by his landlord, came to turn another man off the land he farmed. His life was saved after an operation, but doctors were forced to amputate his leg. He worries that he will not be able to support his parents in their old age.

The stories also remind us of the terrible toll terrorism and armed conflict exerts on its victims, long after their cases have ceased to be newsworthy. A bus conductor was blown up by a car bomb when his bus was returning to Pakistan from Afghanistan. He, and the other dead and wounded, lay in the road for an hour before help arrived. During a long and expensive stay in hospital, his fingers were amputated, leaving him and his family destitute as he is unable to work. Another lost his leg after stepping on a landmine in the mountains. His life became a living hell, he says, but he faced his troubles with fortitude and now earns his living as a tailor.

## Economic Impact

The economic consequences of violence come across strongly, with 234 stories involving financial loss; 84 where violence leads to unemployment, an inability to work, or forced change of career; and 181 stories in which there is a reduction in educational opportunities.

Even accidents can have a very serious impact on a family's livelihood. A rickshaw driver, for example, failed to receive any compensation after being hit by a motorbike, breaking both his legs, and being left disabled. "I can't do anything to provide for my children," he says, "and this feeling kills me every day." A factory worker describes the cycle of physical and verbal abuse that he suffered from his employer, which culminated in his leg becoming caught in a machine during an argument. The leg was torn from his body and, from being his family's main breadwinner, he is now jobless and left in a state of 'mental distress' that has distorted his personality.

Fights also lead to economic loss, as does crime. In Balochistan, a woman recounts the story of her brother, a minibus driver who was disabled after a fight with a rival driver, which left him with two broken legs and, again, unable to work. A man was shot when dacoits[iv] attacked their home to steal his sister's dowry shortly before her wedding. He had planned to join the army, but his disability made this impossible and he is now a teacher. Another man says that due to loadshedding in the day, he was forced to open his jewellery shop late at night. This left him vulnerable to theft and eventually he was robbed at gunpoint. "That night I remained awake and that was like a doomsday night for me," he says. "I lost everything that I earned my whole life."

Young people do not have to be physically harmed themselves for insecurity to constrict their opportunities. Tribal conflicts, and land and resource disputes – which feature in many stories – often have a negative economic impact on all parties. A man describes a tribal conflict over a piece of land in which his family killed one member of a related family and seriously injured another. A Jirga initiated a reconciliation, in which the family handed over land and, notably, four women in compensation. The peace was only temporary, however, and further incidents of destruction of life and property, and theft of

[iv] Bandits

# Left in the Dark

For many storytellers, the loss of educational opportunities is one of the most serious consequences of violence and instability. One man says he was forced out of school to work in a hairdressing shop because his family was short of money. Another says he came from a relatively prosperous landowning family that became poor due to his father's drug addiction and multiple marriages. He left school and became first a labourer and then a driver, supporting the education of his brothers and sisters at the expense of his own.

Violence within school can also curtail an education. A man remembers how he performed poorly at primary school due to bullying by the elder cousins he attended with. Moving onto lower secondary school, he found that there were no proper classes, so he transfers to another school. Unfortunately, he was then savagely beaten by a teacher because his previous schooling had left him far below the required standard in the English language.

"I was unable to stand up," he remembers. "Even, bleeding started when I would go to the bathroom. I was laid in bed for 15 days." He left school as a result, he is now a day labourer: "I am daily wager because of physical punishment of a teacher." A woman was abused in her Madrassa when she missed a day's schooling due to her mother's illness. Her teacher cut her hair off in front of the rest of the students. After that, she refused to return. "My life was dropped in the darkness of illiteracy," she says. "I rejected the education forever."

In around 60 stories, women have told us how they have been prevented by their family or community from receiving an education. For example, a woman from rural Punjab says that girls' education was not seen favourably in her community, but she and six friends managed to persuade their parents to allow them to go to college. However, one of the friends disappeared on the way to college and is yet to be found. As a result, all the girls had to leave the college and none from the village will be allowed to enter higher education in the future.

Another woman, also from rural Punjab, lives in a household which includes her father's six brothers, all of whom she describes as deeply conservative and opposed to education for women ("they think that if the girls study a lot, they get spoilt"). Her parents, however, supported schooling for her and her sister. Subsequently, the sister eloped with a boy from the neighbourhood in order to avoid marriage to one of her uncles' sons. The family has been humiliated as a result. The storyteller's education is at an end and she is restricted from leaving the house.

Some women tell stories of how extremists have prevented them receiving an education. One says she was allowed by her parents to go to school ("being a girl that was an unusual privilege to get"). One day, however, she had just left school when it was hit by a bomb planted by the Taliban, trapping one of her friends. "I rushed back towards the school to locate my friend," she says. "The building had turned into rubble. The scene inside was horrible. The pieces of flesh were scattered everywhere." She is now in a refugee camp, a loner who does not like to go outside or to socialise. "This event has totally changed my life," she says.

cattle, ensued. A second settlement also went against the man's family, leading to a loss of property and starkly reduced opportunities for employment, education, and healthcare. The man hopes his family can become powerful enough to vanquish their opponents so that he can gain a proper education. In another story, a man from rural Sindh describes how, after his father's death, his family lost their land to the family of his father's other wife. His family are now labourers, because 'those powerful people' have ruined their lives.

Life in a conflict zone leads to a marked reduction in young people's opportunities. A man says his father used to earn enough to educate his entire family by working on his land in FATA. However, when conflict escalated in the area in 2008, the family's village was surrounded by the army, leading to the death of one of their servants, the destruction of their property, and the loss of all the father's income. The family fled to Peshawar, where – as the eldest son – the storyteller works to try and support sixteen family members. A man who worked for an NGO in Balochistan describes how the organisation was forced to close after it was targeted by the Taliban who kidnapped four of its employees, killing two of them and torturing the others over a six month period.

Other stories tell of the direct impact of terrorism – and the war on terror – on their livelihoods. A woman, who used to work in a garment factory in Karachi reflects on how her life was forever changed, when she was hit by a bomb blast while buying vegetables. Four months later, she is still unable to walk or use one of her hands. Although the government is helping her to pay her medical bills, she does not expect to work again. A man from FATA says that he is 'doomed to live in poverty and misery' after he was injured in what he believes to have been a misdirected mortar strike by the army. He can no longer work as a carpenter. His house was destroyed and others in his family injured. One mistake by the authorities, the man says, has destroyed many lives.

Discrimination also has an economic impact, with members of various communities suffering the consequences. A Christian woman says that "due to religious prejudice my future has been ruined and I have become a burden to the society." She was fired from her job as an administration assistant because her manager hated non-Muslims. A Shia man tells a similar story of leaving his job after his manager discriminated against him for religious reasons. Another Christian says he was threatened with an accusation of blasphemy during a dispute over a second-hand car. As a result, the whole family had to leave their homes and jobs, and the man now plans to emigrate to Dubai to try and find work.

A Punjabi teacher has been posted to a school in Balochistan, where he says he faces constant discrimination. "Native of area give us biased look and always ask that we are Punjabi, why we have come here?" he says. "Their thoughts are critically negative and bitter." After being threatened on a bus, and in fear of his life, he is now considering giving up his job. A Sunni family (also mentioned on page 10), meanwhile, lost their breadwinner as he and his brother were murdered for sectarian reasons due to their financial support of local mosques and Madrassas. The target killers, who have been convicted, were Shias. A journalist, finally, tells of the discrimination he has faced because people believe he favours his fellow Hazara in his writing. He has lost one job as a result.

## Social Impacts

Violence has a number of social consequences. In chapter 5, we explore the broader impact on Pakistani society, but storytellers have also told us about how their own relationships and social standing have been transformed by violence. In this section, we discuss family breakdown and displacement, and the cases of those young people who tell stories about both rightful and wrongful imprisonment.

Violence or abuse lead to divorce in 87 stories. In many cases this is a positive outcome, allowing the storyteller (usually a woman) to escape from an otherwise hopeless situation. A teacher says she finally freed herself from a marriage where her husband beat and sexually abused her. Another woman says she divorced an abusive husband who turned to drugs and alcohol, losing his job as a result. A third woman had recently separated from her husband, but he kidnapped her daughter and said he would only return her

# Locked Away

Some stories end in prison. One woman admits that she helped her husband kill another man who had been a rival to marry her. They are being prosecuted for murder. A man says that, after being forced to leave school and work as a child in a furniture factory, he fell into bad company, started using drugs, and "was involved in sexual abuse." As an adult he secured a job in the police force. "I did not give up my bad deeds," he admits, "and was caught in harassment case and was sent to jail."

A man describes how his uncle received a long prison sentence after he shot a 15 year old boy who drew a gun on his son. Another says his aunt and uncle fell out over whether their daughter should be married into her or his family. Enraged, the aunt attacked the uncle with an axe while he was sleeping, killing him. She is now serving a sentence for murder and their children have been left without parents or proper means of support. Another's father lost control in an argument with his brother over a piece of land, killing him in the subsequent fight. He is now in prison, leaving the family suffering from great financial insecurity.

Many prisoners claim that they have been falsely accused, although for obvious reasons, the veracity of these stories is hard to assess, especially where their case is yet to be decided. For example, one man says he was falsely accused of domestic violence by his wife who called the police and "tore her cloths and started crying badly, [telling] the police that we had tortured her."

Another says his brother, a brick kiln labourer, was falsely accused of terrorism and has now been imprisoned for more than two years. A third says he and his brother were beaten by the family of a man they had argued with and were then falsely accused of murder. The man's parents are in Afghanistan and he worries about his sisters who are left at home without any protection.

In another accusation of murder, a man says he spent nearly three years in prison but has now managed to secure bail. "Now I have no source of income and my everything has been ended because I lost everything during case in court," he says. A woman was abandoned by her husband who was working in Germany and stopped contacting her when she was unable to have children. She agreed to marry another man, but he tried to take her to Kabul against her will. In the ensuing row, he used his contacts at a police station to register a false accusation against her and she has now languished in prison for eight months. "There is no value and respect of woman in our man-dominated society," she says.

if he was allowed to marry the woman's sister, with whom he appears to have been having an affair. She feels obvious relief to have escaped the marriage and to have regained her daughter. Years have passed, but she has resisted pressure from her parents to remarry, but she asks, "When my daughter's real father did not accept her, then how come a stepfather will give [her] love and respect?" she asks.

Some regard their divorces with frustration. A man was married to his cousin in a cross-marriage, (his sister married the cousin's brother). The sister's new husband had repeated affairs and then married another woman, so she divorced him. "As a tradition I have to [also] divorce my wife which destroys two homes," the man says, saying he remains a 'widower' and has become 'mentally weak' as a result. Divorce can lead to a pronounced loss of self-esteem. A woman says her husband's family took her jewellery and money immediately after the wedding, leading to her parents demanding that he give her a divorce. She now feels guilty that her parents spent money on a wedding and feels keenly her loss of status. "The episode has turned my life upside down," she says. "I have to endure condescension and taunts of others."

Young people can also be forced to divorce against their will. A woman was married at 15 years old and lived a miserable life. She was beaten regularly by her husband and not allowed sufficient food. She was then divorced without her knowledge or consent, and is separated from her children who remain with her husband and his family. Another tells the story of a man from his village who refused to grant his wife a divorce. She left him and went to live with her parents, who used their influence with a local landlord to end the marriage. The landlord kidnapped the man and beat him until he allowed the divorce to go through. "Wounds were everywhere on his body," the storyteller remembers, with the man having no legal recourse against a powerful local figure.

In order to understand more about young women who escape from abusive relations, we gathered some stories from women in shelters.

A woman explains that, although she lives a precarious and lonely existence as a maid and sweeper in a strange city, this is better than the home she ran away from at the age of 18, where her stepfather used to rape her on a weekly basis. We have already referred to the young woman who was raped by her father (page 8). She and her sister, also a victim of rape, have escaped to a shelter, with the woman saying that her life is shattered and there is no-one she is now able to trust. Another woman was forced into a shelter by her parents, who rejected her when she was sexually molested by thieves who broke into their home.

One woman, however, feels liberated in her life in a shelter, where she has been able to restart her education. Her parents forced her into a marriage at a young age, but she ran away from her new home when her in-laws refused to allow her to attend middle school. She gained a divorce, but her troubles were far from over. "Even after the verdict, I could not go to my house," she says. "My family members were not supporting me. My in-laws had threatened my family that if she comes to your house, we will shoot her. She is our enemy." Thanks to a group that shelters women against violence, however, she finally feels secure and supported. "I am a student of Matric at a school and live in the hostel," she says. "I love to study… My wish is fulfilled as I am studying, but to achieve this wish I have lost my whole family."

A number of young people have told us of their experience in refugee camps. A man from a Hindu community has bitter memories of his family's experience of the 2010 floods in Sindh. He says his landlord, a politician, failed to provide any support when his family's home and harvest were destroyed and their cattle lost their lives. The family fled to a camp in Karachi where they experienced religious discrimination both from others in the camp and from government and NGO workers. He says he will never forget the humiliation of being in the camp. A refugee from Afghanistan says he and his fellow refugees lived in a camp as third class citizens, exposed to extreme temperatures and without safe drinking water. Some of their families are so poor that they had to sell their daughters to survive. A woman says she and her husband delayed fleeing conflict between the Taliban and the army, because they had two disabled daughters. Her husband tried to persuade her to leave the girls behind, but she refused. In the end, they were

forced to carry the children through the night to safety. She is now in a refugee camp where she suffers from constant depression.

## Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, young people can lose their lives, their health, their livelihoods, and their homes due to violence. The physical impact of conflict can be considered the most visible one, whether it results in death, disfigurement or disability. The knock-on effect however, is far less visible – the financial distress due to health care costs, the loss of income because the person is no longer capable of working, the loss of social contact and isolation.

Financial instability, whether it is due to increased costs or loss of income, is a frequently mentioned consequence of violence. It can lead to a self-perpetuating cycle of lost opportunities which, in turn, drives further conflict. It is not just young victims of violence who are affected, but the local economy and the economic potential of the nation as a whole.

Social isolation can erode one of Pakistan's strongest assets: the resilience of its communities. Some of the young people who have talked to us have lost their families or their homes. Many, too, feel they have lost their futures. This sense of hopelessness has long-lasting psychological consequences. It is to this we turn in chapter 4.

# 4

# A TROUBLED MIND

## The psychological consequences of trauma

“I have been living a happy life. My husband was on job and two children were filling colours to our lives at home. But after sometime, militancy and lawlessness started increasing in our area. And then on that unfortunate day, covered people equipped with the weapons entered our house and kidnapped my husband. This painful event made me crazy. I could not step out of the house because of the fear. I locked up my kids in a room and even closed the ventilators with clay so that no one could see us. I used to scream after seeing police or army in their uniforms and get fainted. After this painful period of about one and half year, I am now improving. My husband is now released and I have been provided psychotherapy by an NGO. I pray to God that no one should suffer in life as I have suffered.”

*Homemaker (female), age 27, from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*

# 4 A TROUBLED MIND

## The psychological consequences of trauma

As well as being physically and economically damaging, violence has a profound psychological impact on young people.

Scientists suspect that repeated exposure to violence has a neurological impact on the brain, leading to cognitive impairment, increased levels of stress, anxiety and aggressive behaviour, an inability to form normal emotional attachments, and greater vulnerability to future episodes of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and other psychological disorders.[17] As one review of recent scientific findings has concluded, "early exposure to consistent, moderate stress can result in resilience, while exposure to unpredictable or chronic stress results in functional deficits and vulnerability to future stressors."[18] Some studies have even suggested that adults who have experienced a violent childhood may be left with brains that are less developed in areas associated with learning and memory, having been damaged in a way that is no longer reversible.[19]

In this chapter, we analyse stories that describe the stress and depression that the next generation experiences due to conflict and violence. In the worst cases, psychological trauma can lead to suicide – as a violent act takes a life not immediately, but after a delay of days, months or years. We also focus on a psychological condition that is directly tied to violence. According to the World Health Organization, post-traumatic stress disorder stems from "exposure to a stressful event or situation (either short or long lasting) of exceptionally threatening or catastrophic nature."[20] While this causes manageable distress for some people, others experience nightmares and flashbacks or become locked into a cycle where they try to avoid anything that reminds them of their trauma.

Those who are affected by PTSD may experience marked changes in the way they react to the world, losing interest in life, for example, becoming distrustful of others, or seeing all events in a negative light, and they may become easily startled and roused to anger, and have difficulty concentrating and sleeping. Most victims of PTSD also suffer from other psychological disorders, such as depression, and are more likely to abuse alcohol or drugs, and to attempt suicide.[21] Our quantitative findings demonstrate that PTSD is an extremely serious problem for the next generation while its characteristic symptoms recur in the stories young people have told us.

We also demonstrate how psychological trauma helps create a vicious cycle where violence begets more violence.

### Stress and Violence

Stress is a concept used by researchers to denote situations in which environmental pressures exceed a person's capacity to adapt and respond.[22] The term is also a concept in common

parlance, often used by people when they feel they are struggling to cope with threats to their well-being or obstacles that life throws in their path.

Take the story of a young student who is woken up in the middle of the night by a fellow student calling desperately for help. Although the incident happened some time ago, the woman still remembers it vividly. "I woke up from a deep sleep when I heard the yelling of a girl," she says. "She was shouting 'save me, save me' I was half awake and I came out of my room. When I looked up, I saw that a boy was dragging a girl and that girl was holding that railing tightly and she was continuously screaming." As more students were alerted, the attacker ran off and was never apprehended, but his actions led to the students being gripped by fear, sheltering in locked rooms and going to the washroom together in groups. This was exacerbated when they discovered that there had been no security guard in post that night. The storyteller says she experienced a powerful *physical* reaction for the next month. "My shoulder muscles were stiff and tense because of shock and stress," she remembers.

Or consider another night time attack, where a man says he woke up to find that twelve armed intruders had entered his family's home. Male family members were tortured by the gang, who then went through the house stealing everything of value. "They threatened to kill all the males in case we tried invoking neighbours or police for help," the man says, isolating the family at a time when it most needed to reach out to others for help. "This incident has left all the women, children and even males of our family scared. We are constantly under stress after facing death threat so closely."

For many young people, stress is intensified by the fact that they face constant danger in the place where they should be safest – their homes – and from the people who should love and protect them – their families. A woman remembers the psychological disturbance she experienced when she was married as a child and then left isolated by her new husband who worked in another city. She still mourns her lost childhood. Another woman tells a similar story. She was married to her cousin, a farmer who was subsequently in a bomb attack on the market where he sold vegetables. Rather than support her at a time of bereavement, her in-laws bullied her even though she worked all day for them in the fields. Eventually, they forced her out of the home, but refused to allow her to take her young son and daughter. "I continuously cried that I can't go without my children but no one heard me," she said. She now feels utterly isolated and is also dependent on her brothers for support. "I am not empowered to move ahead in my life and to support myself," she says.

Men also describe the stress they experience due to breakdown in their families. One says his marriage was happy, but their home was destroyed in the 2005 earthquake and they went to live with relatives. His wife began an affair with his first cousin and threatened to kill herself when he confronted her. She began to beat him and eventually slapped and abused him in front of the Jirga. After a divorce, he remains under treatment for the depression this caused him. Another man explains how he lost everything in the 2010 floods and his wife moved back to live with her family, taking the children who he did not see for three years. When he tried to persuade his wife to come back and live with him, her brothers beat him brutally. Although he says his physical injuries were serious, he describes the psychological trauma as having a greater long-term impact on his life. Another man describes a litany of misfortunes which have led to a breakdown of relations with the rest of his family. "I was the most loved child in the family," he says, "and now no-one talks to me."

Young people also complain about the stress that economic insecurity causes them. One says that misfortune and calamities will always befall an illiterate and poor man like himself. He says he will never forget the impact of the recent economic downturn, which "made my nerves very stretched and made me sick physically and mentally." A young woman is the daughter of a family that lost everything during the war in Afghanistan. Now living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, she is lucky to eat once a day and is distressed by the look of pity people give her when she goes to fetch water.

Others suffer at work, either due to bullying or because of sexual tension. One worked for

a man who had been kidnapped and took his depression and anger out on his staff, leading to a series of increasingly bitter arguments. A woman in an NGO was harassed by a driver who then threatened to blackmail her when she rejected his advances. Facing intolerable stress, she was forced to leave her job and is now unemployed. Another woman was sexually abused by the elder brother of some children she gave private tuition to. Depression left her unable to work for a year and she still is unable to trust anyone.

## From Depression to Suicide

In 141 stories, the storyteller describes clinical depression (as opposed to transitory feelings of unhappiness). Mostly this appears to be untreated, though a handful of respondents say they are under medical care.

A man saw a student shot dead during a fight between the student wings of political parties, for example, leading to a sustained period of depression at the thought that his university had become a 'slaughterhouse.' A kidnap victim says he was 'mentally disturbed' for a long period after being ransomed from those who held him, while another man was also mentally disturbed when his cousin was killed in a tribal conflict. A woman describes the depression that has gripped her niece after she was caught up in an explosion at a woman's university in Balochistan. The niece was not hurt herself, but two of her friends were killed and the severed head of another girl was blown towards her.

Unsurprisingly, under sufficient pressure, some young people have suicidal thoughts or attempt to kill themselves, with nearly 100 stories including successful suicides or young people with suicidal tendencies. A young woman lost her mother at the age of six and briefly lived happily with her aunt. However, her father gained custody of her and she has since suffered constant abuse from her stepmother. She has now been promised in marriage to a man who has been jailed twice and who is rumoured to have killed his last wife. "I am sick of life," she says, "and have tried to commit suicide two times."

A young man tells the story of a friend of his who was a poor student and whose father had told him he would be thrown out of the family home if he failed another exam. Despite studying hard and believing he had passed, the result went against him. Rather than go home, he disappeared and killed himself. Another self-described average student failed his exams, but took fake results home to his parents. On being discovered, his parents did not punish him but simply stopped talking to him for three months. He became so depressed that he made a failed suicide attempt. It was only then that he was reconciled with his parents and went on to have a successful academic career.

In most stories, however, suicide is associated with love or relationships. A woman remembers a classmate who slit her wrists after a boy who she talked to on her mobile phone rejected her. She survived. A man tells a similar story of a boy who took poisoned tablets when the girl he loved refused to answer his calls to her mobile phone. He died in hospital. Another woman says her younger sister committed suicide after a relationship that went wrong with a fellow student. In another case, a young couple eloped but were brought back home by the girl's father. The father killed her in the name of honour, but was released from prison after only two weeks. The boy committed suicide.

While these stories concern romantic relationships that were frustrated or failed for other reasons, arranged marriages also lead to suicide. A shepherd tells of his unhappiness in a marriage that was arranged by his grandmother when he was still a young child. After a dispute with the wife, he is beaten by her family and then punished in front of the other villagers by his Mir[v] for abusing the wife (an allegation he denies). Due to the shame this causes, he tries to kill himself, firing a bullet into his own shoulder. Although alive, he is now disabled, unable to work, and remains separated from his wife. A young woman says that a fellow villager swallowed pesticide the night before her forced marriage, killing herself because she wanted to continue her education.

Sexual and physical abuse is also a trigger for suicide, as young people attempt to escape from intolerable situations or their feelings of shame and guilt at what has happened to them. A woman tries to kill herself by jumping into a well after years of abuse from her husband. Badly injured, she was then divorced by her husband. "Nobody is prepared to marry me now," she

[v] Tribal leader

says, "and the family members also look at me with disdain." After being kidnapped and held for three months, another young woman felt that her community looked at her with a 'hideous eye,' tempting her to commit suicide. Another man was the subject of an attempted gang rape by fellow students. He attempted to kill himself when they were readmitted to the university.

In an especially distressing incident, a young man tells the story of a woman from his village who was repeatedly teased and harassed by a man, often in front of others. "Just because she belonged to a poor family and did not have any influence, no-one from the community or neighbourhood stood up to defend her," he says. Eventually, she killed not only herself, but her mother and the three sisters she lived with, feeding them all a meal of poisoned food.

## Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

In the condition known as post-traumatic stress disorder, a traumatic event leads to a level of psychological disturbance that persists long after the original event has passed. It is a psychological condition that can *only* be diagnosed after a violent event has occurred and we therefore discuss it in detail in this section.

Short-lived psychological symptoms are common after violence has occurred and are part of the normal human reaction to a distressing event. But while many people will experience flashbacks, or an inability to sleep, or emotional disturbance after being exposed to violence, some will see these symptoms last for considerable periods of time and, in the worst cases, come to dominate their lives.[23] Their ability to function normally becomes severely impaired. They are suffering from one of the world's most common anxiety disorders.

Our research suggests that PTSD is a common problem for young people. The quantitative survey is not intended to provide a clinical diagnosis, but instead provides an estimate of the incidence of symptoms associated with PTSD using a recognised international scale.[24] Our evidence suggests that 41% of young people, who have experienced major traumatic experiences, suffer symptoms consistent with PTSD. In all, 7% of all young people, that's equivalent to three times the population of Islamabad, currently suffer from multiple PTSD-related symptoms.[25] These levels are consistent with international experience (see box on page 40) and may be an underestimate, given the likelihood that violence is underreported in our survey.

The stories offer further evidence for the finding that PTSD is an extremely serious threat to young people's wellbeing, with storytellers describing the flashbacks, avoidance of situations that remind them of a traumatic event, and hyper-arousal that are characteristic of this serious psychological condition.

A story told by a young mother is characteristic of many others. She had been living a happy life with her husband until the security situation in her neighbourhood deteriorated, causing her to become increasingly worried for her family's safety. One day, armed men broke into her house and dragged her husband away, while she and her children shouted in vain for help. The woman describes her powerlessness and her feeling that other members of her community were enjoying the family's predicament.

"This painful event made me crazy," she says. "I started behaving oddly. I could not step out of the house because of fear. I locked up my kids in a room and even closed up the ventilators with clay so that no one could see us. I used to scream after seeing police or army in their uniforms and get fainted." The husband has now been released by his kidnappers and the woman says that, after eighteen months, her symptoms began to abate, aided by the psychological treatment she was offered by a local NGO.

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) sets out a standardised set of criteria for diagnosing PTSD (see figure 5).[26] While we are not attempting to diagnose any individual, the above story and others we have collected demonstrate long-lasting and serious reactions to violence that include *intrusion symptoms* such as intense memories and flashbacks; *avoidance*, where a person attempts to avoid places, people, and thoughts that remind him or her of the traumatic event; *negative alterations in cognition* and mood, such as a loss of interest in life, a feeling of alienation, or an excessive mood of negativity or blame of self or others; and *alterations in arousal and reactivity*, where people find it hard to sleep or concentrate,

are easily startled, or become aggressive and take excessive risks.

In the rest of this section, we use these symptoms to demonstrate how PTSD is affecting the lives of a significant proportion of the young people who have been exposed to one or more violent events.

### *Intrusion Symptoms*

Many young people say that, long after experiencing violence, they struggle to prevent memories from the past from affecting their ability to live normal lives.

Victims of violence say they suffer from flashbacks and nightmares that can last for years after an event. A man from the Neelum Valley, close to the Line of Control, says that 'fear and trepidation' is now permanently etched into his mind and that he often has nightmares of bombing and crossfire. Another man provides an extremely vivid account of what it is like to be gripped by intrusive memories. He worked as a security guard at a mosque and rushed to help when it was hit by a bomb explosion. "I could clearly see the human body parts spread out," he says. "People were crying for help. Those who were injured were moaning with pain. That day I saw a lot of people panting and then dying in front of my eyes. After some time, there was blood in the courtyard which was similar to rainwater and corpses and [body] parts drowned in this blood. I can never forget this my whole life."

One particular image comes repeatedly into his mind, of the severed head of a young child.

| Traumatic Event: Death, Serious Injury, Sexual Violence | Direct exposure | Witnessing | Close relative/ friend affected | Repeated indirect exposure through work |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Signs and Symptoms | *Intrusion*<br>Disturbing memories<br>Traumatic nightmares<br>Flashbacks, intense distress when exposed to memories of the event<br>Physiological reactions (raised heartbeat, sweating, etc) | *Avoidance*<br>Avoiding thoughts and feelings associated with the event<br>Avoiding people, places, conversations, activities and objects that bring back memories of the event | *Cognition/Mood*<br>Amnesia<br>Negative beliefs<br>Distorted blame of self or others<br>Negative emotions, e.g. fear, horror, anger<br>Decreased interest<br>Alienation<br>Unable to feel positive emotions | *Arousal and reactivity*<br>Irritable or aggressive behaviour<br>Self-destructive behaviour<br>Hyper vigilance (always on high alert)<br>Easily startled<br>Can't concentrate<br>Can't sleep |
| Duration | Persistence of symptoms for more than one month | | | |

Source: US Department for Veteran Affairs: DSM-5 Criteria for PTSD

Figure 5. Diagnostic Criteria for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

# Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder – A Global Perspective

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was first widely recognised as a serious disorder in 1980, when it was included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders.[27]

Its origins lie in the study of the impacts of war. Soldiers had long been known to sometimes reach a breaking point, due to the level of stress that combat imposed on them. During the First World War, more than a billion rounds were fired in a conflict that dwarfed all that had preceded it; soldiers began to suffer breakdowns that rendered them incapable of performing their duties. [28]

According to Charles Myers, an English psychologist who wrote the first scientific paper on the phenomenon in 1915, the men had reached a point where "the tolerable or controllable limits of horror, fear, anxiety, etc., are over-stepped."[29] Many had become so worn out by battle that even a slight further disturbance could tip them into a state of mind where they could no longer function normally. After the war, the study of how individuals responded to 'extreme emotional stress' was extended to include civilians as well as military subjects.[30]

PTSD is now a widely recognised condition but data on its prevalence remains weak. It is estimated that 6.8% of American adults will suffer from the condition at some time in their lives, while 3.5% are currently suffering from it or have done so in the past year.[31]

PTSD incidence tends to be substantially higher, for obvious reasons, in communities or countries that suffer from high levels of crime, domestic violence, conflict, or some combination of the three. One study, for example, surveyed communities from Algeria, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Gaza and found lifetime PTSD rates from 15.8-37.4%,[32] with the findings confirming that repeated exposure to trauma is associated with an increased risk of PTSD.

Our research suggests that at least 7% of young Pakistanis are suffering from multiple PTSD–related symptoms today, indicating lifetime rates that are likely to be well above those of the United States and in line with the experience of other conflict-affected countries.

Evidence from other countries sheds light on the types of violence most likely to lead to PTSD. Rape, for both men and women, is the single biggest factor, while combat exposure, childhood neglect and abuse, and sexual molestation are also associated with high PTSD incidence for both sexes.[33]

Women are also at heightened risk if physically attacked or threatened with a weapon.[34] They are also thought to be twice as likely as men to develop PTSD when exposed to a similar level of trauma.[35] Women appear also to be more likely to be blamed for the traumatic event by friends and family, with stigma and a lack of social support exacerbating their experience with PTSD.[36]

People with PTSD are much more likely to suffer from other mental disorders, with women four times and men seven times more likely to suffer from severe depression. In one study, one in five people with PTSD had attempted suicide.[37] Treatment of PTSD should therefore be part of a broader attempt to tackle trauma-related mental health issues.

"Whenever I hear the news of a blast," he says, "then I do not know why in my mind, same pictures, blood, many parts come and I feel very worried and fearful when I remember it."

Witnesses describe similar symptoms. A woman is gripped by intrusive memories after a friend, who was being sexually and physically abused by her stepfather, drank acid. Another says she witnessed a horrific hit-and-run car accident at the age of six and remembers seeing blood, and even organs, on the road. Eighteen years later she continues to suffer from nightmares where she sees the scene in haunting detail and is being treated for mental illness. A man saw three men 'slaughtering' a man in a field. His nightmares became so bad that he dropped out of education and only recovered after two years of psychological treatment.

Another man, who saw body parts scattered on the road after a bomb blast, describes concisely the impact flashbacks have on his life. "Suddenly that scene comes before my eyes and a burden develops on my mind," he says.

### *Avoidance*

It is natural for someone who has been exposed to violence to want to avoid placing themselves in similar circumstances which could allow them once again to be harmed. For those suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, however, avoidance becomes much more entrenched and far reaching than this.

For example, a man caught on the fringes of a bomb explosion found he could no longer live in Lahore. He now says that he is trying to leave Pakistan because he doesn't feel safe anywhere in the country. Another man was held up in his car, had his wallet and mobile phone taken, and was then shot at. He now avoids leaving the house and is especially scared to drive along any road that resembles the one in which he was robbed. A third man says he is now frightened of any isolated parked car, after being involved in a double car bomb, while a fourth says he is now frightened of toy guns after being shot in an attack on his truck. The young mother whose story we told quoted on page 38 provides a further example. After witnessing her husband being kidnapped, she experienced a severe breakdown which included fainting whenever she saw a man in uniform.

A story told by another man illustrates how this behaviour goes beyond a normal desire to avoid danger. He will no longer go to marriage parties after he attended one where a man was accidentally killed by a gun that had been fired into the air. This behaviour persists even though his village has banned all firing at these events and fines offenders. In part, he may be protecting himself from witnessing a *future* accidental death, but more importantly, he is avoiding situations that remind him of the trauma that he witnessed in the *past*.

### *Negative Alterations in Cognitions and Mood*

Many young people described changes to the thoughts and emotions that derive from their experience of violence.

Withdrawal is a common reaction. A man says his life was destroyed after he went to identify the body of his nephew killed in a bomb explosion. He had wanted to be a doctor but lost all interest in his studies, learning that "a single incident could change the direction of our life and ultimately lead to standstill." A woman is consumed with hatred for a father who violently opposes her education and says she has lost all interest in work. A tailor says his heart was broken after his brother was killed due to a land dispute that had continued for two generations. Now he says that whenever a memory of his brother comes into his mind, he leaves his work incomplete and goes home in despair.

Some storytellers say they have been socially isolated and alienated from their communities. A woman tells the story of her cousin who was arrested on a false charge and humiliated by police while in detention. On her release, she was "mentally disturbed and remained mostly isolated." She later killed herself. Another woman suffered appalling abuse from her husband and mother-in-law, including a physical assault so severe that she aborted a child, while her husband attempted to prostitute her to his friends. She has given up hope of a better life and spends as much time as possible alone in her room. A man tells a story of the repeated humiliation of his cousin by the cousin's wife, who has come to believe that he is a weak person and avoids all company as a result. A labourer, displaced by floods in 2007, was beaten by four

more influential men in a fight over access to food distributed by a relief agency. He received no help and has since withdrawn totally from the world, abandoning all socialisation.

Others speak of emotional withdrawal, such as the woman who struggles not to hate the daughter who reminds her of the husband who doused her in petrol and threatened to burn her alive. Another man says that he is so inured to the violence he witnesses in Waziristan that unless the death count is especially high, he barely pays any notice to a new incident. He has noticed that other people around him also no longer empathise with the suffering of others.

Professionals are affected by their experience of violence. A woman who works in a shelter was so shaken by a story told to her by a 17 year-old woman who had been raped and made pregnant by her father that she became suspicious of her own male relatives. "The distrust has become so intense that I don't remain alone at home and also do not let my sister remain alone at home," she says. "I recoil with horror when my father or brother touches me even to express their tenderness."

Some cognitive symptoms are especially severe. A young woman says she was forced by her husband to abort her third child. "This episode turned me into a mentally disturbed person," she said. "I used to weep all day, pull my hair, slap my kids and tear their clothes." She has now secured a divorce and recovered. Trauma-related amnesia is another extremely distressing symptom. A man was arrested for being a member of a Baloch student organisation and says he was hung upside down and tortured over a long period of time. He was left for dead but succeeded in recovering. However, he says that he now sometimes loses all sense of who he is and wanders away from home for days at a time.

A woman who was held for 15 days by kidnappers and badly beaten explains how profoundly violence can change a personality. "I lost my mentality level," the woman says. "I forgot my name even."

### *Alterations in Arousal and Reactivity*

A common feature of post-traumatic stress disorder is that sufferers experience changes in their reactions to everyday events, becoming more irritable and jumpy for example, or losing their ability to relax or to sleep.

Many young people say that they have suffered from chronic insomnia after being exposed to violence. A man who was a victim of a bomb attack says he is unable to sleep after he saw bodies "falling down like rain." Another, who was shot in the leg by terrorists, says he is unable even to close his eyes at night without seeing flashbacks. A third man who says he was wrongfully arrested and tortured has now lost his appetite and is unable to sleep, while a kidnap victim says he can never sleep peacefully, despite psychiatric treatment. A woman, woken by a gunfight in her neighbourhood that left five people dead, can't sleep and is haunted by images of dead bodies.

Some storytellers have become highly sensitive to noise and are easily startled. One man says that, after a bomb explosion, he becomes terrified when he hears even "a very small thud." Another was seriously sexually harassed by a group of drunken men. She is now afraid of the dark, dreams of the incident in "vivid clarity," and fireworks and other loud noises send her into a "terrible paralysis." A man says he is followed by fear wherever he goes after a series of battles across the Line of Control in the Neelum Valley. "Whenever I hear the sounds of a firework, it frightens me," he says. A man injured in an attack by a suicide bomber says that now, "even a small sound such as of crackers, makes me shudder with fear."

Other young people say that they have become more aggressive as a result of the violence they have been involved in. Around one in five storytellers say that the primary emotion they feel in response to the events they have recounted is some form of anger or frustration (most of the rest say they have been left sad or depressed). Sometimes this anger is hard to control. A man in Karachi says that repeated experiences of crime have made fear and terror an everyday part of his life and he spends his time dreaming of revenge.

A disabled woman, says that she was no longer in control of her moods when at her lowest ebb. "I became very irritable and quarrelsome," she says. Another man tried to stop a fight between two groups, but they turned on him, joining

together to beat him badly. "After this fight I have developed anger," he says. "Otherwise I never used to fight. Now I feel like fighting." A second man describes how an argument at a bus stop escalated into a major fight between a bus driver, his friends, and two passengers, with the passengers beaten until they were unconscious. "Whenever I recall this incident I get a desire to have a fight too, so I can beat someone" he says. "Although my conscience questions me, but the truth is I really want to fight like this."

In one final story, a man talks movingly of how violence has taken over his life and the impact this has on vulnerable members of his family. He says he was taken out of school by his father at the age of 12 and sent out to work. The father beat him if he played with other children when he could be earning money. "Due to all this, my mind was badly affected," he says. "Now I'm too sensitive and have grown irritation. I get furious on petty things and beat the younger brothers and sisters."

## Conclusion

When violence occurs, it is easy to focus on physical injuries and damage to property – these are what we see on our television screens and in the photos carried by newspapers.

Mental trauma is less visible than a physical injury, but the psychological consequences of violence are extremely serious. It can leave young people suffering in ways that leave them unable to function normally. They may be unable to go to school, to work, to participate in family life or to enjoy time with their friends.

The psychological trauma can be long lasting, with an unstable childhood impairing cognitive development and increasing future vulnerability to depression and aggression.[38,39] Impacts may be felt far beyond the individual, as economic potential and social cohesion are reduced.[40] This is one route through which violence shapes society, a topic we turn to in chapter 5.

# 5

# COMMUNITIES UNDER ATTACK

## How violence changes society

“Our three families used to live in a single home. My uncle’s sons started fighting with us and demanded us to leave the home. My father was ill. Once my cousins gathered some party workers and started a fight within the home. We all were tortured physically and got injured. People living nearby gathered and my uncle demanded us to leave the house. He even promised over the Holy Quran. We all got worried. If our blood relations could do this to us, what could we expect from others? Who would provide us protection and security? We have no trust over our relative. There is no law. Anyone could snatch anything in this kind of a society where people are selfish.”

*Student (female), age 18, from Sindh*

# 5 COMMUNITIES UNDER ATTACK

## How violence changes society

In previous chapters, we explored young people's experience of violence, as victims, witnesses, and participants, and the physical, economic, social and psychological impact it has on their lives. We now turn to a broader question: how conflict and violence affects the communities in which young people live and the society in which they grow up.

As evidence from our quantitative survey demonstrates, young people see violence as a significant source of division within Pakistan as a whole, and also in their own community. Only a quarter of young people believe that Pakistanis from different ethnic and religious communities live together in peace, while one in five believe that ethnic and sectarian violence is now so serious that it has become a threat to the country's future. Young people are also often dismayed by the bitterness of the disputes that characterise politics, regarding political rivalry as the most important driver of conflict within Pakistan (see figure 6).

Within communities, three issues are identified by young people as the most important drivers of conflict: land disputes, domestic violence, and honour. Each of these corrupt the ties that bind a community. Land disputes pit family members against each other. Domestic violence means that young people are not even safe in their homes. And honour is both a significant cause of violence against women and a broader reflection of the lengths that people go to when they feel they have been dishonoured in the eyes of their community.

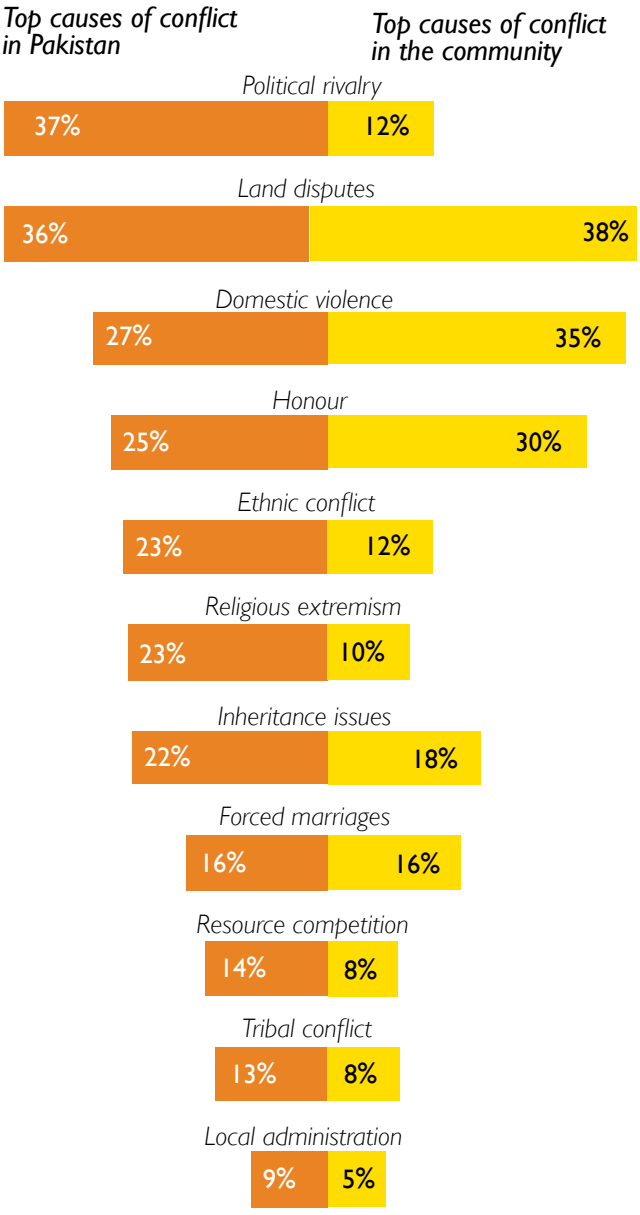



Figure 6. Causes of Conflict

The relationship between any community and violence is a complex one. On the one hand, a community will discourage and sanction certain kinds of violence, while turning a blind eye to or encouraging other violent acts. The tolerance of violence also varies from community to community, and over time. On the other hand, violence itself erodes trust and resilience within communities and makes it harder for a community to play a positive role in tackling violence.[41]

It also stands to reason that, when a community has a high percentage of people experiencing the psychological symptoms described in chapter 4, it will find it more difficult to function normally. According to a senior academic who we interviewed for this research, violence seems a rational response, if you have grown up in a world where "everything that surrounds you is conflict or war related." A psychologist, who works with young people who live in conditions of great insecurity, makes a similar point. Neither men nor women are taught to deal with the stress that constant exposure to violence brings, she says. Young men tend to externalise their aggression, with violence leading to further violence, while women are more likely to turn inwards and to 'accept whatever comes their way.'

As a result, violent behaviour, and tolerance of this behaviour, is normalised. As experts and practitioners told us, in interviews conducted for this research, the result is the growth of a 'culture of violence,' which has become entrenched across large parts of the country and at all levels of society.

In this chapter, we use evidence from the stories to explore the impact of violence on levels of trust in communities, focusing primarily on families. We then explore young people's experience of various institutions including the government, the judiciary, and the police force: an institution that is both critical to responding to violence and one that is broadly distrusted by the young. Finally, we turn our attention to political violence, through stories where political parties play a role and also those that concern incidents of violence during the 2013 elections.

## Violence and the Family

Family is a central institution in any society and is a particularly important in Pakistan, where extended families play a dominant role in the lives of most young people, particularly in rural areas and especially for women. Three quarters of young people say they spend large portions of their life with their family, many more than say they spend a lot of time with friends. This is especially true for young women, only a small minority of whom have access to a network of friends outside the family.

As a result, violence within the home has a shattering impact on young lives. In a quarter of the stories we have collected, a member of the immediate family is classified as an 'aggressor' and in another 15% of cases, the aggressor comes from the extended family. Some storytellers question whether they can ever feel safe within their own houses or ask whether family bonds any longer have real meaning. "If our blood relations could do this to us, what could we expect from others?" a woman asks, after being tortured over a land dispute. "Who could provide us protection and security?" Another woman says her family is involved in a violent property dispute which she expects to last for the rest of her life. She complains that this has led to a loss of mutual respect within the family, and especially in the respect younger people owe family elders.

Another woman expresses a similar sentiment after she feels her relatives exploited her desperate need for money for a ransom for her young son, using it to take a valuable piece of land from her. "After this incident I have learnt not to trust anyone under any situation," she says. "Our relatives should be there with us in such difficult times." One young woman describes the breakdown of her relationship with her parents, after her father stopped her education without warning and married her against her will to a man without education or a job. She is always upset in her new home, but no longer likes to visit her parents' house.

Distrust of the family can translate into a broader unwillingness to form relationships or contemplate marriage, with women in particular likely to tell stories in which they say that they have lost trust in marriage as an institution. One

woman says she witnessed domestic violence in her family after a dispute over a marriage. She says she suffered mental disturbance as a result of the realisation that women are systematically oppressed because they are seen as weak. "I started hating men," she says. "I don't feel like working with men and I don't want to marry any man."

Another woman says her aunt was beaten and starved. "All my trust vanished from men," she says, "and I have begun to hate marriage." A third woman is divorced from a man who treated her with great brutality and is determined never to marry again. A fourth says she will not get married after witnessing the everyday 'humiliation' of her mother by her father. A man, meanwhile, says his sister was stuck in an abusive relationship with a heroin addict and later vanished without trace. He now hates the idea of marriage, he says, especially early marriages of the kind that ruined his sister's life. "I have this fear in life that I will also experience something bad in this relationship," he says. "So I have made up my mind that I will never get married."

Some men, however, resolve to change attitudes. One describes seeing a woman being severely beaten in the street by her husband and was struck by her inability to help. "I took a pledge that I will take care of every woman at home and I will never let anybody harm a woman," he says.

## Trust in Institutions and Politicians

The quantitative research shows that trust in institutions among young people is now low, especially when it comes to government, political parties, and the police force (see figure 7).[42] The stories we have collected demonstrate the role that endemic violence plays in undermining this trust, especially where an institution is seen as perpetuating violence or failing in its duty to resolve conflict.

### *The Government*

When the government is mentioned in stories, it is usually for its perceived inability to prevent or respond adequately to violence.

A man, whose wife and son died in a terrorist attack in Karachi, asks why the lives of innocent people have been lost. He feels that "these questions are never answered by the government and they always fail to ensure peaceful environment." A Christian woman recalls her horror and anger when her community was attacked. She says life was already difficult, and fears things are only becoming worse, "I don't trust our governments anymore; they won't do anything for the minorities."

In a smaller number of stories, however, young people acknowledge the government's efforts to tackle conflict. As one young man from FATA tells us the government helped end the two-year conflict in his area, by passing an agreement

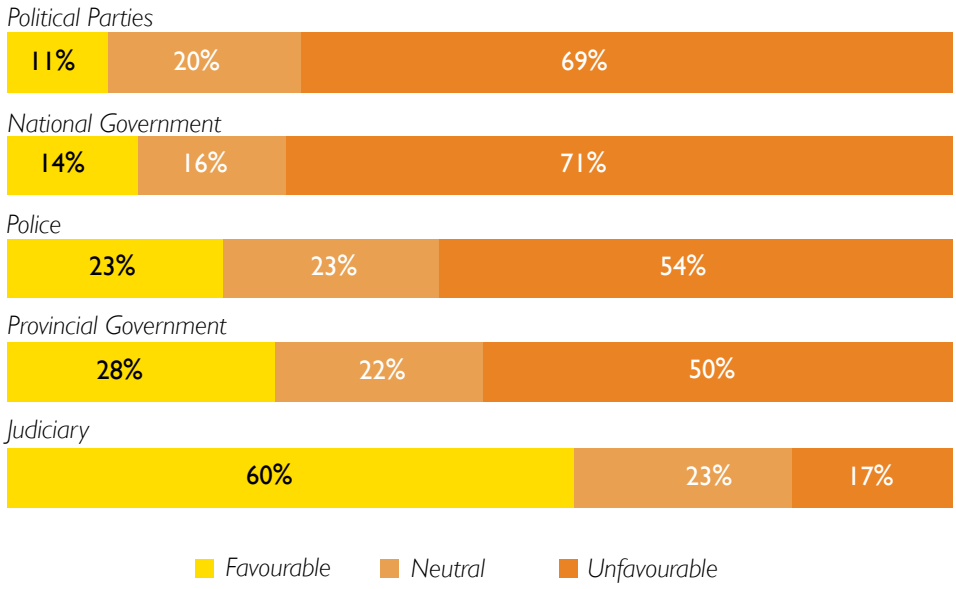



Figure 7. Perceptions of Institutions

together with their community. "From this agreement the situation comes to normal," he says. Another man from FATA acknowledges the financial compensation provided by the government to a victim's family but questions what this family is to do with the relatively small amount of money they have been given.

### *Courts and the Judiciary*

Court cases sometimes help resolve conflict, providing a degree of closure, albeit after a long and arduous battle. One woman, forced to marry her cousin at the age of 13, decided to get the marriage annulled after a lawyer informed her that her being underage made the union illegal. Her then husband avoided going to court for two years until finally she was granted a divorce. She describes the whole process as being painful and full of hardship, but one she got through; "God sent an angel for me and redeemed our life back," she says.

Others, describe their inability to even register a case - either because they feel no one is interested or due to the other party's status and influence. A Hindu family's 14 year old daughter was forcibly married and converted to Islam by a policeman. When they went to the court to get her marriage annulled, they were turned away. "They kept saying there as well that their daughter is underage but no one listened to their words," a young woman recalls.

In another case in Balochistan, a young man's cousins aged 13 and 14 were kidnapped and the family was asked to pay a ransom they could not afford. The boy is still missing and neither the courts nor the media appear to care about their case. In Sindh, a young man tells us of his shock at an honour killing that took place in his community and how the killer walked free.

"[The] court released him by accepting bribe," he says. "The state did not dispense justice with the victims."

### *The Police*

Allegations of police corruption occur in 18 stories, with young people saying that they have experienced corruption at the hands of police officers much more often than the representatives of any other institution. This is consistent with findings from the quantitative survey which showed that the police force is the least trusted non-political institution. A man, for example, says that he and his brother were shot by the uncle in a land dispute that flared up after their father died. After the man was released from a long stay in hospital, he claims that the police refused to take action after the uncle paid a bribe. Another says his brother was wrongfully arrested in a murder case and held for eight years, leading to the mental incapacitation of his mother. He grieves at the ruination of his brother's life and feels helpless when he sees his mother's condition. "None of the institutions that are supposed to provide justice seem to be able to help us," he says.

Overall, the police are almost three times as likely to be mentioned in a negative as a positive context. A man says that he discovered that a friend of his had become suicidal. Three boys had sexually assaulted him, videoed the act, and were now blackmailing his father. The incident was reported to the police, but they would not take action because two of the boys had political affiliations. A woman describes how she and two friends were subject to an extremely serious sexual assault, while her brother was beaten unconscious when he tried to protect them. Instead of arresting the offenders and investigating the crime, the police pushed for an informal settlement. After ten days, "my father went out of the house and when he came back there were tears in his eyes. He told me that we were weak and he could not compete against the accused and thus he had reached a settlement with them." The woman is now married to a 'supportive' and 'good' man who knows about the incident, but her life is dominated by symptoms that have the hallmarks of a severe case of post-traumatic stress disorder.

Another man describes an attack on his father's shop in Karachi by some 'boys' from the neighbourhood, which led to a death and two serious injuries. The police have supported the perpetrators, he says, and the family continues to be harassed. A bystander says he made the mistake of complaining when he saw police violently breaking up a student demonstration. Despite having nothing to do with the students, he too was then arrested. The police are also accused of torture by some young people. One

man, for example, says he was beaten ferociously after being taken into custody. He now has a deep-seated fear of the police force.

### *Violence and the Elections*

As stories were collected in the three months following the 2013 election, it is unsurprising that this event was fresh in the minds of many of the young people we talked to. Election-related violence is central to eleven stories. One man, for example, recounts his experience working as a civil society election monitor. He says that members of one party "started beating the security officers and tore off their uniform and threw them out of the polling station." His files and phone were confiscated and he was locked in a room with the station's election officials. The party members then engaged in systematic ballot stuffing until the polls closed. "I have lost my trust for democracy and election procedures and plan not to poll my vote for the rest of my life," he says.

Another man says he was a polling agent for a candidate who lost to a party linked with a powerful local landlord. A few days after the election, he was kidnapped by the landlord's men who beat him in front of a police checkpoint. "I was injured and everybody was watching this but nobody tried to do anything to save me because everyone was scared," he says. Due to his injuries, he can no longer work. A third man says he witnessed a 12 year old boy being fired on by a candidate for chanting the slogans of an opposing party. A fourth says he and his family were harassed after a local party became convinced he had informed on them to the police. "After all this depressing event, I firmly sought not to take part in any political activity," he says.

Some stories tell of the damage that electoral conflict does to families and communities. A man says his landlord evicted him and demolished his house after he refused to vote for the landlord's preferred candidate. He has now lost everything, including the home he used all his resources to build. Another explains how his community was punished for exercising its democratic rights. He and his fellow villagers voted for a candidate who promised to build a road to their land. Their landlord won the election, however, and has now blocked all direct access to the land, forcing the villagers to take a circuitous route to the main road and beating those who fail to comply. "We are using an alternate path which is around six kilometres extra and pass through jungle which is insecure and our expenses also increased," he says. "This has a great impact on our lives and we think that besides our financial loss, we feel that we have no choice to vote [according to] our own wish."

### *Political Parties*

Political parties – the least trusted of all institutions, according to the Next Generation survey – emerge badly from a number of stories.

Often, they are involved in disputes that have no direct connection to politics. For example, a man says his uncle appropriated his father's house and sold it. The new owner came from a political family and this made it impossible to get the police to take action. In a number of other stories, connection with a political party is sufficient for an aggressor to evade justice or gain some other unfair advantage. Sometimes young people suffer because they refuse to be coerced into political activity. A woman, for example, says her husband was beaten up by political activists when he refused their demands to attend a party meeting.

There are also accounts of violent action by the student wings of political parties. Again, this is usually without ideological motive. A man says a fellow student was severely beaten by political activists for pushing into a queue. A woman says her student hostel was closed down after it was attacked by political party workers in the wake of a minor dispute between the hostel owner and one of their members. Another says that he was involved in an attempt by a group with religious links to take control of a university campus. This culminated in the blind firing of automatic weapons in an incident that led to many injuries. In another story, conflict between two political groups blew up over the theft of a mobile phone, leading to a death and a number of injuries in an incident. Students and teachers without political connections were driven from the campus by the violence and the university was eventually closed until the conflict could be brought under control.

Not all stories involving political parties are negative, of course, with some storytellers valuing the sense of identity they bring or the protection they offer during times of great instability.

Sometimes, politics simply offers young men a chance to prove themselves in front of their fellows. One man recalls his pride at the role he played when fighting alongside a large group of political workers in a pitched battle with another party. Even when under fire, he did not run away and felt that that he demonstrated his resolve and bravery.

Political parties can resolve disputes. One story describes how a woman was forced into prostitution by her husband, a drug dealer who also turned her into an addict. Her brother appealed to a local politician who used her influence to have the man arrested and the sister rescued. Another woman says she used her political party connections to reclaim her dowry after a marriage went wrong. In a similar story, a man describes how a man he knew became involved in a dispute with the family of a woman he wanted to marry. The family had links with a political party, so the man joined another political party for protection. Both parties then negotiated and solved the dispute through peaceful dialogue.

## Violence of Pakistan's Professionals

Fizza Malik was 23 years old when she began working as a junior lawyer in a district court in Islamabad's sector F-8. Just a few months later, she was dead, one of 11 victims of an attack in which two men were reported to have thrown hand grenades and fired indiscriminately with automatic weapons.[43]

"For all those who know Fizza, our souls are dim today," wrote one of her friends and colleagues. "Fizza's death is yet another reminder of how close the war is. We can now touch it, smell it. It has flowed from other cities, into ours. The war is in our homes, in our hearts."[44]

The attack on the F-8 court underlines that a growing number of professionals are not just on the frontline of tackling conflict – they are also frequent targets of violence. Those who are already working in these jobs face increased risks every day of their lives and barriers that make it harder for them to discharge their responsibilities effectively. For those who are deciding upon their careers, a safer job in Pakistan – or abroad – becomes increasingly attractive. Pakistan's institutions are not only losing young people's trust because of their perceived inability to deliver – they are also losing the next generation of professionals who can help them deliver more effectively.

Security forces, including the police force and the army are obvious targets, and suffer losses on a regular basis while on duty. It is estimated that more than 5,500 security forces have been killed in the past decade.[45] One former policeman recounts a suicide attack on the police ground just as he was on his way there. The scene at the ground was so horrific, that it affected him psychologically resulting in him being dismissed from duty. Another was physically injured in a firing incident, "one bullet pierced in my knee, one in hand, two in stomach and one at backside." Although he survived, he is yet to regain full function of his knees as he is unable to afford the operation. He is critical of the lack of resources and support for those who are hurt during an attack.

Security guards have little protection from attack and have died in large numbers in recent years; their fate often barely noticed in the media coverage that focuses on what happened to the people or property they were protecting. We collected the story from a man who had worked as a security guard for a NATO convoy and was badly injured when it came under attack. "Suddenly four armed people attacked us with their Kalashnikovs." After escaping, he managed to walk to the border to ask for help, but he was initially refused any assistance from both soldiers and customs officials. Only when he struggled further along the border did he find someone who would take him to a hospital in Peshawar. He now, "plans to work at some where at least where my life is not threatened."

Not all professionals are hurt in the line of duty, many are targeted simply for what they represent. One soldier was travelling home for the holidays together with twelve others, when a rocket aimed at them hit the vehicle behind them. Although he and his fellow soldiers survived, eight passengers died. The army was once almost universally respected, but now he lives in fear when he is off duty. "When we come on vacations, we don't share with anyone that we are working in army because whenever they knew about us, they kills us," he says. With further

risks in the line of duty, this has made the army much less attractive as career than it used to be. "People prefer unemployment instead of joining the army," he says.

Soldiers are, at least, trained to respond to violence, but the same cannot be said for those in the government, civil society, health care and the media, despite being potential targets for violent attacks. One man lost his father, due to a target killing. "My father was a senior lawyer at the high court" he tells us, "he was on the hit list." Another lost an uncle, who was a civil servant in a target killing. "My uncle was more like a father to me. He not only supported me throughout my academic years but also helped me with my professional career."

For health workers engaged in the campaign against polio, life has become increasingly dangerous. In December 2012, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and the Government of Pakistan and of Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa issued a joint condemnation of a spate of attacks on "thousands who work selflessly across Pakistan to eradicate polio."[46] As a result, the polio campaign was briefly suspended. Since its resumption, however, there have been at least 24 deaths in the first three months of 2014 alone.[47] One story we collected provides an insight into the pressure that lady health workers come under as they move about the country under police guard. She says she was verbally abused by a religious scholar, when she went to his house to provide his children with polio drops. "He became much angry to me, he told that this is a plan against our children, you people are not doing a good job," she remembers.

People working in the media also suffer great risks. In the Press Freedom Index, Pakistan ranks 158 amongst 180 countries and is considered "one of the world's most dangerous countries for reporters."[48] More than fifty journalists have lost their lives since 1992 and most members of the profession have had direct experience of violence, have received threats, or know colleagues who have been injured or killed.[49] A cameraman told us of the dangers he faced when covering a protest against the killing of a local parliamentarian. When security personnel attempted to disperse the protest through aerial firing, he fled for shelter, but was injured by a falling bullet. "I learnt the lesson that during firing and any blast we, journalists, should take care so that we should not lose our expensive lives, he says."

With good reason, much attention has been paid to attacks on the media by terrorists and militants, but reporting on crime can also be extremely dangerous. "When I start reporting of criminal activities, some criminal minded and supporters tried to block my way and create hurdles," one young journalist remembers. His news agency was burnt down, in an attack blamed on these gangs, leading to the loss of his job. However, he's keen to stay in the profession, because he believes "what I am doing is right and based on truth."

## Conclusion

Violence has a corrosive impact on institutions. Trust is low in those institutions that the next generation believe should guarantee their security. Many feel ignored or even targeted by the police, and let down by courts, political leaders, and their government. Those who are not even safe in their own homes often have nowhere to turn to, given the central importance of family to young people across Pakistan.

We have collected many stories of institutional failure, and these are backed up by quantitative evidence showing that crucial security institutions, such as the police, enjoy little confidence among young people. But we have also shown in this chapter how violence affects frontline institutions themselves, reducing their ability to discharge their functions and making it less likely that they can attract the workforce they will need in the future. But there is another side to this story, as both communities and institutions stand up to violence, attempt to resolve conflict, and offer help to those who have survived a violent attack. It is to this we turn in chapter 6.

# 6 COPING WITH INSECURITY

## Tales of community resilience

“My cousin used to drive a cab. When one day he was called by his customer to pick him up. That night he was missing and his family started searching for him. The police found an unknown body and we were called to identify the body. Later on with a local Jirga we got to know that 5 people who wanted to snatch his cab, called him and then killed him. This incident left me heartbroken and left me speechless. With the help of the Jirga members we have made committees in neighbouring villages and with the help of the Union Council, a support organisation has been made. Every village presents its problems to this organisation and the organisation helps them out. After this I made a committee of local youths who collect funds and help out poor people and we also help police. We still have not gotten any help from the government. We work on the basis of help yourself ideology.”

*Unemployed man, age 25, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*

# 6 COPING WITH INSECURITY

## Tales of community resilience

The Next Generation research has alerted policymakers in Pakistan to the demographic dividend the country could enjoy if it harnesses the potential of its young population. We have also warned that this potential is far from being realised, with growing evidence that a demographic disaster is unfolding as Pakistan fails its young people and they, in turn, become a force that destabilises their country.

Violence is both a consequence and a cause of demographic disaster. In both our quantitative research and the stories we have collected, we find that the lives of many young people are blighted by chronic insecurity, with violence having a pervasive impact on them, their families, and their communities. "The insecurity has locked me up," says one young person who speaks for many.

Figure 8. Lessons

Unsurprisingly, young people are desperate to escape from violence, this prison. An overwhelming majority believe that the next generation can change Pakistan, though many appreciate the scale of the task ahead. "I would like to change the mentality of the people of my society to serve the humanity," says one.

When we collected stories from young people, we asked them what lesson they had taken away from their experiences of violence. A significant number of responses – around 40% – touched on positive themes such as the need to resolve religious and tribal differences, to ensure equal rights, particularly for women, but also for minority groups such as the disabled; to reform and enforce the justice system; and to build new mechanisms for peacebuilding and conflict resolution (see figure 8) Others call for investment in education, for action to address the political drivers of conflict, and for reform of the criminal justice system.

In this chapter, we explore in more detail what the research tells us about how young people think conflict and violence can be tackled and by whom. We also look at their role in confronting violent behaviour and managing conflict peacefully, as well as how they can increase their own resilience and the resilience of their communities and country.

## Looking for Help

The Next Generation survey shows that young people have a strong preference for resolving conflict within the family, or within the community, rather than using the criminal justice system.

The numbers are striking. For Pakistan as a whole, 43% of young people would turn to a family member for help in resolving a dispute that they had become involved in and 25% would look for a respected figure in their community to help them, or turn to a Panchayat or Jirga (see figure 9). A further 18% would not look for any outside help and would try and solve the problem themselves, while just 13% would expect to be helped by the police or the courts.

These findings are consistent with evidence presented in the previous chapters demonstrating significant levels of distrust in formal institutions, combined with a heavy reliance on family and

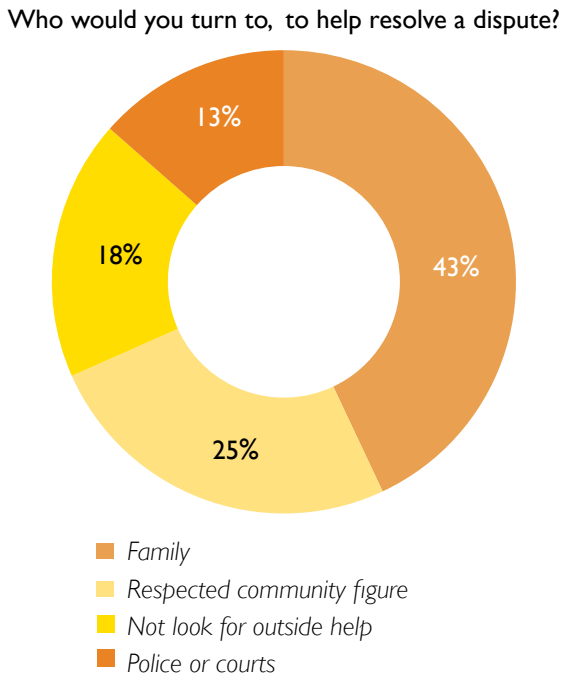



Figure 9. Resolving Conflict

community (in those circumstances when these play a positive rather than a negative role). In theory, formal security and justice institutions exist to protect the fundamental constitutional rights of all citizens and to do so in an even-handed way. But, as discussed in chapter 5, they often struggle to fulfil this role or, in some cases, contribute to the denial of these rights. Reform of these institutions is a long-term project, requiring investment and considerable political will, although there are examples from other countries of effective reform even in difficult circumstances. For example, the police force in Haiti moved from being the country's least to its most trusted institution in just five years, while a number of Latin American countries have rapidly improved their justice systems despite extremely high levels of crime and violence.[50]

Informal institutions of various kinds are often seen as having greater accessibility, being quicker, and being more culturally relevant. These institutions are diverse in their nature, and range from Jirgas and related bodies, that have deep cultural roots in certain communities, and have conflict-resolution as primary role, through organisations such as political parties that have a strong community presence, to local authority figures and neighbourhood groups. While informal resolution mechanisms are often valued, their drawbacks are a lack of accountability,

especially when state institutions are weak, and a failure to represent the interests of powerless and marginalised groups, including women and minorities.[51,52] The importance of the family's role should also never be underestimated, as it enforces rules of conduct within the home, and plays a vital role in resolving disputes in the community.

Finally, young people themselves play an important role in resisting violence and resolving conflict, although there are powerful forces that limit their scope of action. For those who had direct experience of a recent conflict in their community, 41% of the next generation had either already played a role in resolving the dispute or hoped to play a role in resolving conflict in the future. Around the same number say they are not interested in conflict resolution, however, while 19% believe that their community actively excluded young people from playing a role. Perhaps unsurprisingly, women are less likely to believe they can help address conflict. The lives of the vast majority of young people have been shaped in some way by their direct or indirect experience of violence. Some have been left feeling powerless as a result, while others are filled with a determination to be part of building a safer and more resilient society.

## Formal Institutions

While formal institutions often play a negative role in the Next Generation stories, this is not always the case. Even the police, who are often roundly criticised, play a positive role in a small number of stories, indicating that some young people see them as part of the solution to conflict and violence.

A man describes trying to break up a fight between a father and his sons in the street. After the sons turned on him as well, he called the police who successfully intervened. "Due to the police involvement and the neighbours reproving," he says, "the sons apologised from their father and went back peacefully." Another man tells the story of how the police tracked down and killed the members of a criminal gang that operated from another village. "I appreciate [the] role of the police for stepping into curb the menace of drug trade, robberies and murders," he says. "I feel sorry that people died in the encounter, but as they say, only bad things come out of bad actions."

A third man says the police investigated his Madrassa after one of its students was arrested in possession of a suicide jacket. The man left the Madrassa as a result and he wants stronger security action to stop would-be terrorists moving freely around the country. One story provides a dramatic example of a powerless family being saved by police action. A farm worker says that he, and 17 other family members, worked without wages as bonded labourers for their landlord. The landlord kept them in appalling conditions. "Often we had to face hunger and fasts," he says. "They would chain us and they had allotted numbers to us like prisoners. We were compelled to urinate and fulfil natural needs in front of each other in plastic bags." They were eventually freed in a police raid.

In 21 stories, young people say they have received justice through the courts. For example, a woman says she gained financial support for herself and her children after separating from her abusive husband after a lawyer agreed to represent her pro bono in the Family Court. In another story, a man describes how a fellow villager, who was falsely accused of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment, was finally released on appeal.

Another man emphasises respect for the law even after a case went against him and his family. A property dispute had caused serious conflict in his village, but he wants all disputes like this to be settled without further fighting. In a case of false accusation, a man says his friend's wife and her brothers were arrested after the friend was murdered by members of his own family. They were tortured badly while in custody and the family spent large amounts of money defending the case. However, eventually the wife and brothers were freed on bail and, although the man says he would like to shoot those who accused them and killed his friend, he respects the legal system.

Even if justice is imperfect, the man says, he wants no-one to be above the law.

## Community and Informal Institutions

In the stories we have collected, informal resolution mechanisms are most often mentioned for their role in solving land disputes. In one case, the local landlord finds a solution and

compensates the aggrieved party. In another case, tribal elders intervene to solve a dispute, reaching a judgement that is accepted by the storyteller's family even though it goes against their interests.

Their role is, however, much broader. In one story, a violent confrontation has broken out between what are described as 'local' and 'non-local' labourers. Ultimately many hundreds of people were involved in a series of fights and shops and property were destroyed. The conflict was resolved by leaders from both communities who sat together and came to an agreement on how to resolve the issue.

Sometimes, community support networks come to the rescue. A caring professional, for example, can play an important role. A woman describes how a teacher noticed how withdrawn she had become at school after being sexually abused by an uncle. The teacher went to great lengths to convince the girl's mother to take action to stop the abuse. Another man says he was taken in by a neighbouring family after he attempted to hang himself from a ceiling fan. He had been beaten repeatedly by his parents who wanted him to leave school and go out to work.

A Hindu teacher, meanwhile, says he was protected by the integrity of his boss, the headmaster, from attacks by other teachers when he was teaching various theories of the origin of human life in the classroom, including Darwinian evolution. Civil society groups also provide support. A man says his father stopped beating him when an NGO helped the father see the damage it was doing to his mental health. Another reached out to a local group after years of what she describes as torture from her husband. "They filed a case against my husband and they fully supported me in this case," she says. "In the court, my husband asked me for forgiveness and assured that it would not happen again and so we started living peacefully again."

We conducted an in-depth interview with a young man who had told us the story of his cousin, a taxi driver, who was killed by five people who wanted to snatch his taxi. While the man says his cousin's death was shattering for him and his family ("it left me heartbroken and left me speechless"), the murder has had some positive impact, with a group of neighbouring villages founding an organisation to resolve conflicts and offer support services.

"Every village presents its problems to this organisation and the organisation according to its capacity helps them out," the man says. "Our organisation is not supported by anyone, nor is it funded by the government. We work on the basis of a help-yourself ideology." He has also formed a committee of young people who collect funds, help out other villagers, and ensure that any violent incidents are reported to the police. His community is not yet safe, he says, because of a lack of official support, but the people themselves are beginning to take control of their lives.

But it is family that usually offers the most immediate solution for those facing violence. A woman explains how she was helped by her sisters after her father reacted violently when she wanted to marry outside the family. In another case, the parents of a woman from the Hazara community lodged a complaint with the police against her husband when he assaulted her. The dispute, however, was resolved when he swore an oath on the Koran not to harm her again and offered Dua-e-Khair. The woman does not expect her husband to harm her again.

Another young woman was beaten by her father after she went on hunger strike when he refused to allow her to continue her education. Her unmarried aunt helped her to stay in school and she is now a university lecturer. Another woman was abused by her brothers who were drug addicts. They even sold her schoolbooks for drugs. However, her parents continued to support her and she is now a nurse, who describes herself as "a successful, independent girl."

## Individual Responses

Some young people, of course, react to violence with a determination to take independent action to improve their situation and build a better future. A young woman of just 17 years of age (slightly younger than our target age group) says she was beaten by her own family as a child, then forcibly married into another family where the cycle of abuse worsened.

One day she says she heard an advert from woman's rights organisation on FM radio, wrote down their telephone number, and escaped from the house taking her father-in-law's mobile phone. Not knowing how to use the phone or having

been outside in the street for many years, she asked a rickshaw driver to call the NGO for her and thus found refuge. She has turned away from family life ("people say that without a marriage life is not possible, but after marriage, living life is not possible"), but she is resolved to make the most of her new freedom. "There should be a house where a woman can live according to her will," she says. "I will study, become a doctor. I want to stand on my own feet."

Other young people take steps to empower themselves in order to escape from physical or psychological danger. A disabled woman was still a child when her uncle beat up and humiliated her father in an attempt to steal the house she saw as her 'paradise.' Later, the same house was destroyed by the 2010 floods, while she was left helpless waiting for her father to rescue her. These incidents convinced her that she was a burden on her family. Her mother, however, helped her by finding her a place in an adult education school, where she completed primary education and learned to stitch. This allowed her to take control of her life.

Another woman says she was mistreated by her stepmother throughout her childhood, but gained renewed respect when she found work as a bus hostess and was able to help support her family financially. A man, meanwhile, says he came from an 'ultra poor' family that strongly opposed his attempt to gain an education for himself, his brother and sisters (his father beat him, his uncle shot him and he spent two months in hospital). He supported himself and his siblings by working as a labourer, selling stationery, and running a poultry business. He now has a master's degree and a good job. All brothers and sisters are also educated. He has become a force for stability for his entire family.

In other stories, we see that the storyteller has been through a journey of self-discovery. Sometimes the breakthrough is as simple as a changed mind set. One young man, for example, was so disgusted when he drank from a bottle belonging to someone from another (unspecified) faith that he vomited and then attacked the other man. However, his friends intervened and persuaded him that humanity is the greatest virtue for a Muslim. "I realised that I was wrong and I apologised from him and since then we are good friends," he says. Another man tells of his anger when a doctor was slow to arrive to operate on his son who was seriously injured in a road traffic accident. Later, however, he was told by a nurse that the doctor had left the funeral of his own son to come to perform the surgery. Ashamed by his behaviour, he resolved not to be so quick in judging others.

Some bystanders also come to regret their inaction. One woman says she often used to hear screams coming from a house where a wife was abused by her husband. She did nothing to intervene and eventually the wife was beaten to death soon after she had given birth. "The episode has left a great imprint on my mind," she admits. "Whenever we hear screams or calls for help we definitely should not hesitate in playing our role by going there and handling the situation. This way maybe we can save precious lives."

For many storytellers, guilt or the disapproval of others is a powerful driver of behavioural change. A man had a fight with a fellow worker and became a figure of fun at work as a result. He says he has now learned to control his temper. Another beat up a bus conductor with a friend in a row over fares. He now regrets his bad behaviour. A third man helped catch a thief who had stolen a woman's purse and then took the lead in beating the man until he was nearly unconscious. "As soon as we handed him over to the police," he says, "I began wondering why we had hit so much. I remained restless for many days as I had hit him the most." He now repents his violence and recently prevented another crowd from taking justice into their own hands. His experience had turned him from aggressor to peacemaker.

Others describe their resistance to getting involved in violence. One young man from a family of landowners with political ties has escaped from participating in his family's transgressions. His brothers," have been involved in narcotics, illegal weapons, land mafia, fighting to grab hold of land illegally and employing child labour…as far as I am concerned, such activities are not acceptable in any society." Refusing to participate he has left his home and studies in a different city. "If one cannot change the

circumstances, one can at least stay away from those who do bad things. I am doing the same." As a further act of defiance, he uses the money his relatives send him to provide education for those who cannot afford it.

## Increasing Resilience

The reform of formal security and justice institutions is an important priority for Pakistan, but so is broader effort to strengthen resilience at an individual, family and community level. As the Next Generation stories have demonstrated, resilience can help a community resist violence. It also helps a survivor of violence recover from the experience and rebuild her or his life.

Resilience is a concept that involves questions of identity and social cohesion, innovation and flexibility, and the values and sense of purpose that provides strength in the face of adversity.[53] According to an analysis of how high and low resilience societies:[54]

- When resilience is high, individuals and groups have a shared understanding of the challenges their society faces and are prepared to work together for a common future. Risks are broadly shared and institutions are seen as fair and trustworthy, while state, private sector, and civil society actors play to their strengths both in normal times and in the wake of an emergency.
- When it is low, in contrast, "risks are felt disproportionately by some groups and responses are inadequate, over-centralised, or both." Confidence in the future falls to very low levels, institutions are widely seen as failing to deliver, and individuals are more likely pursue narrow self-interest than to cooperate for the public good.

In order to try and assess levels of resilience within the next generation, we incorporated the Short Adapted Social Capital Assessment Tool (SASCAT) into our quantitative survey.[55] This provides an assessment of social capital along two dimensions: cognitive (levels of trust, community cohesion, social harmony and perceptions of fairness) and structural (membership of groups, effectiveness of social support, and participation in the community as an active citizen).

The results are striking and provide an insight into young people's sources of strength on the one hand, and the factors that push their communities to a generally low level of resilience on the other (see figure 10). Cognitive social capital is generally quite high, with a large majority of young people saying they trust the other members of their community, feel that most people get along, and that they are part of their community.

This does not, however, translate into the structures needed to support resilient communities. Group membership is very low and below levels seen in other countries where the same assessment has been completed. 2% of young Pakistanis say they are an active member of a community association, political party, religious group, community association, women's group, sports club or other local organisation. This compares to 19% of Peruvians (adults of all ages), 27% of Vietnamese, and 74% of Ethiopians.[56]

Moreover, fewer than one in five young people say they have worked with other community members to solve a problem or a common issue, again substantially lower than adults from other countries. Young people are not totally isolated, however. Almost two thirds of young people say they have received some form of emotional or economic help, or other forms of assistance, in

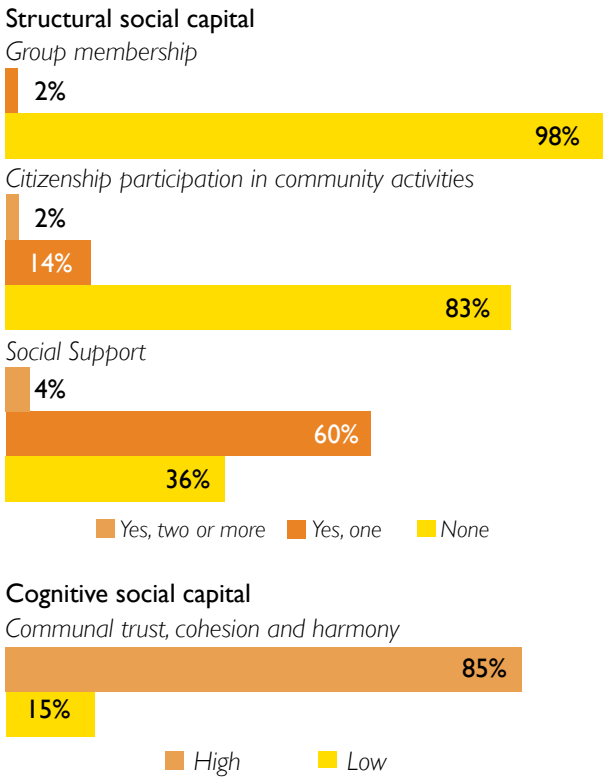



Figure 10. Social Capital

the last 12 months, but this help comes almost exclusively from their immediate family. Only 7% have received help from neighbours, 4% from other community members, 2% from politicians, and even fewer for religious leaders, government officials and charitable organisations.

A significant minority of young people, in other words, show strong signs of alienation from society – the one in seven who do not trust others or feel they belong, or the one in three who do not feel either their family or community offers them help or support. But even the majority who show high levels of trust appear limited in their ability to turn relationships into positive social change. They are not part of broader organisations within which they can work with others when violence threatens them or the ones they love.

This is far from universally the case, of course. Some young people are actively involved in building resilience and in directly countering local incidents of conflict and violence. Often these efforts are informal, as young people work with their friends or family members, reach out to existing community groups or create new ones. Over time, some of these initiatives become more established. We have surveyed a number of civil society organisations that are working to increase grassroots resilience, with figure 11 providing an overview of groups working in areas such as conflict resolution, the rehabilitation of those involved in violence, and community

| | Focus | Description |
|---|---|---|
| *District Steering Committee* | Conflict Resolution | A group of young, multi-political party activists who organise peace dialogues to resolve communal conflicts. |
| *Youth Educational Society* | Rehabilitation | Helps to rehabilitate drug-addicted youth through mentoring and education. Aids local community and police in eliminating local drug gangs. |
| *Citizens Police Liason Committee cplc.org.pk* | Neighbourhood Police | Volunteers from across the community work together with the police to reduce local crime. |
| *CHAYN chayn.org* | Domestic Violence | An online website for women suffering from domestic abuse that provides a platform to share stories and get information about help. |
| *Masoom Rights Development Society mrds.org.pk* | Women's Advocacy | Runs awareness campaigns against sexual harassment. Trains local 'change makers' who pledge they will not commit any domestic violence and encourage those around them to the same. |
| *Women Crisis Cell* | Women's Rights | Provides mediation interventions, counselling and legal aid for marginalised women dealing with forced marriages, land and inheritance disputes as well as divorces. |
| *Al Falah without Walls alfalah.org.pk* | Minority Rights | Provides scholarships for religious minorities who have dropped out of education due to discrimination, poverty and unawareness. |
| *Society for Special People* | Discrimination | A voluntary organisation that advocate against the discrimination of the disabled. Their work includes improving local infrastructure to improve mobility. |
| *Youth for Education, Learning and leadership Facebook.com/YELL.pk* | Youth Advocacy | Young volunteers mentor other young people in their community in the importance of education, health and empowerment through the use of theatre participation and discussion forums. |

**Figure 11. Overview of Civil Society Organisation**

policing, as well as a series of initiatives that aim to protect the rights of groups that are vulnerable to violence.[57]

Many of these groups have emerged spontaneously and fill a gap left by the failure of formal institutions, with a new generation of young activists exploring a range of new approaches to campaigning for change, challenging prejudice and discrimination, and providing services. In some cases, these organisations have developed a productive partnership with state institutions such as the police force, or have been successful in working with political, tribal or religious leaders, or other authority figures. Most initiatives are implemented on a small scale and have limited reach, however. In order to make a sustained improvement in resilience, many more communities will have to be targeted through initiatives that deliver nationwide participation in violence prevention and conflict resolution. We return to this theme in chapter 7.

## Conclusion

In previous chapters, we have seen that family and community members, and representatives of a range of institutions, play a role in perpetuating cycles of violence. This chapter balances that finding, demonstrating that they are also sources of support, guidance, and conflict resolution.

Young people have suffered at the hands of their family members, but they are also likely to turn to them in their hour of need. People's trust in formal institutions may be low, but sometimes the police and courts provide the protection and justice that young people crave. For certain groups, the formal justice system is their only hope. The law may not always work in young people's favour but there is still hope and belief that it can do better in the future.

There are, in other words, positive signs of the resilience of some young people in the face of violence and of the ability of communities sometimes to resist and resolve the conflict that threatens them. We therefore explore how this resilience can be strengthened in the rest of this report.

# 7

# RESILIENT SOCIETIES

## Lessons from around the world

“As I am a non-Muslim, my Muslim brothers used to see me with disgust in their eyes. But one incident broke the roots of this hatred. The sardar’s* mother was very ill. His mother’s blood group was O negative and no one was a match. I was shaking and scared but stepped forward and stated that I am ready to give a bottle of blood. The doctor told me to come and get tested but the sardar interrupted the doctor and told that he will never give a Non-Muslim’s blood to his mother. I got my blood group checked and by fate, it was also O negative. The doctor saw a ray of light to save the old woman but he was helpless in front of the sardar’s stubbornness. Suddenly, his elder sister came forward and while crying she said to me, you please give blood to my mother to save her. After some time, there was presence of life in her. My happiness knew no bounds when a person who never liked to talk to me, today, he hugged me and tears came out of his eyes. He was none other than the sardar. From that day onwards, we eat, drink and sit together.”

*Agricultural worker (male), age 24, Punjab*

*Sardar – local leader

# 7 RESILIENT SOCIETIES

## Lessons from around the world

In previous chapters of this report, we have used the Next Generation research to provide a detailed, and often harrowing, picture of young people's experience of conflict and violence.

Using a rich body of quantitative and qualitative evidence, we have demonstrated the pervasive nature of violence in the home, in schools and workplaces, and in public spaces. We have collected the experiences not just of victims and witnesses of violence, but also of those who have perpetrated violent acts, with some storytellers admitting to horrific and senseless crimes. Throughout, the next generation's 'untold stories' have been reinforced by a nationally representative survey, as well as extensive use of other data sources and the insights gained from expert interviews.

The research demonstrates that for some young people violence is something that they experience at a distance, as witnesses to the suffering of others. For a second group, violence intrudes directly into their lives, but as a one-off event that they may recover quickly from or that may have lasting physical and emotional consequences. A third group live in conditions of profound insecurity. For them, violence is a regular occurrence. They usually have no means of escape and no-one they can turn to or trust to help them.

Looking across the evidence that we have collected, it is clear that **violence is now a binding constraint to realising the potential of the next generation.**[58]

Even for those who are only indirectly affected by violence, their potential is blighted, as scarce resources are diverted to repairing infrastructure and property, paying for healthcare, and investing in expensive security measures.[59] Those directly hit by violence suffer significant physical, economic and social loss, and in the worst cases, this makes normal life impossible, damaging not just individual lives, but whole communities. More broadly, instability shakes confidence in Pakistan's economy, scaring investors away, and erodes trust in its institutions.

**It is time to tackle violence, and the consequences of violence, directly.**

A stable society rests on a robust political settlement, strong institutions, a dynamic economy, and investment in a healthy and educated citizenry.[60] We have tackled elements of this substantial reform agenda in earlier Next Generation reports. But these changes will take time and many young people need action now to protect their right to life, liberty and security of person.[61] There is an equal duty to offer redress for the harm that is caused when these fundamental rights are abrogated. Furthermore, any effort to reduce violence is only likely to be successful if the behaviours, attitudes and assumptions of perpetrators are also confronted. For these reasons, it is not enough just to address

the causes of instability, violence itself – and the culture that allows violence to flourish – must be tackled head on.

**This will require changes at all levels of society.**

As this report has shown, violence leads to more violence. This is about more than individual morality. Most young people believe that violence is wrong, although many are prepared to fight when they believe their family, community, or beliefs are threatened. The next generation, however, has grown up in a society where high levels of violence have come to be seen as normal. Many experience violence in their homes and communities, sometimes on a regular basis, and almost all are exposed to graphic images of violence in the media. Tackling violence requires a political, institutional, and cultural transformation, as well as a personal commitment to resolving conflict and building resilience at a time when Pakistan faces serious internal and external challenges.

But we have also found that **young women and men have the power to be agents of change** and can help build a more stable and peaceful future.

Members of the next generation demonstrate a powerful appetite to be part of building a stronger Pakistan, while many are already engaged in working to increase resilience in their communities. Breaking the cycle of violence will only be possible if the next generation adopts this as its mission. Young men need to turn against violence and become a force for conflict resolution, both in the home and in their communities. Young women are often disempowered by the violence they experience, but are far from being passive victims. As active citizens and young leaders, they have considerable power to influence social change. They are also central to forming the values of the 'next next generation,' given that many are already mothers of growing families.

In this chapter, we explore the challenge of responding to the violence suffered by young people in Pakistan, drawing on international experience to suggest what strategies might be adopted to tackle the chronic insecurity that emerges from the Next Generation research.

## Violence as a Global Challenge

Pakistan is far from alone in experiencing high levels of violence. The world is now more peaceful than it was during the 20th Century, as the major wars of the Cold War era have drawn to a close. In their place, however, we have seen a growth in the number of civil conflicts, some of which persist at low intensity for very long periods of time. These conflicts are often funded by drug smuggling, other forms of organised crime, and widespread corruption, and both spill across borders and are exacerbated by external stresses.

The World Bank estimates that around a quarter of the world's population live in fragile and conflict-affected states, or in countries where violent crime is endemic, or both.[62] According to the World Health Organization, violence kills as many people each day as tuberculosis, and more than those who die from malaria, with 90% of the deaths occurring in low and middle-income countries.[63] Global levels of interfamilial violence are also high, while the World Health Organization estimates that more than a third of the world's women have experienced physical or sexual violence, leading to elevated rates of other anxiety disorders amongst women.[64]

International evidence also demonstrates how entrenched cycles of violence can become. The vast majority of civil wars break out in countries that have already experienced a civil war in the last thirty years.[65] High levels of crime tend to make criminality socially acceptable and provide a signal to both criminals and victims that legal sanctions are unlikely to be applied. Children, who experience violence in their families, are more at risk of being either victims or perpetrators of violence in later life.[66] Indeed, violence can be seen as behaving like a contagious disease. "One of the best established findings in the psychological literature on aggressive and violent behaviour is that violence begets violence," a leading expert argues. "In regions where more war violence occurs, we found more intra-community violence and more intra-family violence which in turn stimulate more youth violence."[67]

As a result, communities can become defined by the trauma they have suffered, with

violence integrated into everyday life, and their populations displaying elevated levels of anger and social alienation, emotional numbing in the face of violence, denial of the experiences of victims of violence, and a resort to self-destructive behaviours.[68] As these behaviours become entrenched, the cycle of violence becomes increasingly hard to escape.

But change *is* possible.

Societies that are relatively peaceful today have endured periods of serious conflict. Europe experienced two catastrophic wars in the first half of the 20th century, with an intervening depression of unparalleled severity, but its citizens have since enjoyed relatively high levels of security. The steep global decline in battle deaths in civil wars, down from 200,000 per year in 1988 to 50,000 twenty years later, would have been impossible if wars were destined never to end.[69] Rwanda, Kosovo, and Sri Lanka provide recent examples of at least partial recovery from serous conflict.[70] Crime rates have also experienced a remarkable fall in many countries over the past decade, with some of the world's greatest cities now safer than they have been in a generation. Women have also seen an increase in their rights and legal protection in some countries, as they have become more educated and better empowered to take action to ensure their own security.

The 2011 World Development Report underlines that the path that leads from violence to resilience is a long one. However, it argues the first step is to make an initial break with the past, through 'quick wins' that restore citizen confidence in the future and allow the long-term task to begin of building trust and transforming institutions. The report calls for the development of 'inclusive enough' coalitions that can start to rebuild confidence, by demonstrating their commitment to peace and security, and delivering early results that will convince others to join them. This will allow a broader package of reforms to be developed to transform the institutions that provide security and justice, while providing a stake in society for all groups including those engaged in violence, and creating economic opportunities for all.

The report also emphasises the responsibility of the international community to support this process, while reducing the external stresses that are destabilising a society. International actors must become a force for building peace, rather than a facilitator of continued conflict.

## Strategies for Tackling Violence

So what does this mean for Pakistan?

In preparing this report, we conducted a review of the experience of countries that have attempted to break cycles of conflict and violence. We focused, in particular, on Northern Ireland, Colombia, South Africa and the United States (see box on page 72). The experience of these countries allowed us to explore conflicts with political and ethnic roots, effective strategies for tackling very high levels of crime, and responses to entrenched gang culture in urban areas. In each case study, the original problems are far from definitively solved and levels of violence remain high. However, important steps have been taken towards building a more peaceful and resilient society, and creating the conditions which support the long process of rebuilding trust and institutions.

From the case studies, we have identified eight lessons we believe are directly relevant to Pakistan. As already discussed, our focus is on psychosocial interventions, and on measures that create personal and community resilience, rather than the broader economic and political reforms that are part of any comprehensive response to instability.

- **The cycle of violence should be treated as a public health problem.** If violence is contagious then it makes sense to tackle it in the same way as other epidemics. According to the Global Campaign for Violence Prevention, which brings together more than 50 international and national organisations, a public health approach encourages systematic and evidence-based attempts to identify and tackle the drivers of violence in a community or across a society as a whole.[71] In the United States, Cure Violence has achieved significant cuts in gang-related violence by pursuing this strategy. "We are violence interrupters," the group says.[72] It treats violence as an infectious disease, detecting and interrupting events that will lead to more violence, identifying and working with the individuals most involved in

# International Case Studies

Many countries have experienced, or continue to experience, high levels of violence. This box provides a brief overview of four case studies from which we draw some lessons for Pakistan in this chapter.

## Northern Ireland

On 10th April 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was signed by Northern Ireland's political parties while the governments of the United Kingdom and of Ireland signed a parallel deal.[73] The agreement was subsequently mailed to every household in Northern Ireland and overwhelmingly approved in a referendum, marking an important milestone in Northern Ireland's recovery from three decades of political violence with sectarian undertones. This conflict is estimated to have left 3,700 people dead and over 40,000 injured, from a population that is roughly the same size as Rawalpindi's – Pakistan's fourth largest city.[74,75] Half the population knew someone who had been killed, whilst 10% have suffered the loss of a family member.[76] Like Pakistan, many of those affected were young people, with one survey of North Belfast suggesting half were directly affected by conflict and violence.[77]

## South Africa

South Africa has gone through multiple cycles of violence, routed in the racial oppression of colonialism and apartheid. Violence was driven by an undemocratic and unrepresentative state. The Truth and Reconciliation Committee, established after apartheid ended in 1994, collected over 21,000 statements recording close to 37,000 gross violations of human rights.[78] The legacy of these human rights violations is persistently high levels of crime, with young people disproportionately involved. According to one survey, more than a third of those aged 12 to 22 years have been victims of crime or violence, and one in ten in this age group has committed a criminal offence.[79]

## Colombia

Colombia also suffers from high crime rates and a shockingly high murder rate. Its youth homicide rate is one of the highest globally.[80] According to the World Development Report, Colombia has experienced peace for only a quarter of its first 200 years of independence.[81] With a history of political violence between different factions, armed conflict between the government, guerrilla groups and paramilitaries, the level of insecurity is high. Although much of this conflict takes place in remote rural areas, crime and other urban violence is facilitated by the chronic insecurity and fuelled by the drug trade.[82] Medellin was categorised as the most violent city in the world in 1991, with a homicide rate of 381 per 100,000 (almost 50 times the current murder rate in Pakistan).[83]

## Inner-City United States

Urban violence due to crime and illegal drug trade is a feature in the United States, which has suffered from inner-city gang violence for decades. The American experience demonstrates the potential for elevated levels of violence to persist in an otherwise prosperous country. In 2012, youth violence was still the second leading cause of death for young people aged between 15 and 24 in the United States, despite a substantial drop in the overall homicide rate since the highs of the 1980s and 1990s.[84] Gang violence is facilitated by easy access to guns and rampant drug markets.[85] It also provides a sense of identity for young people who live in impoverished communities and often come from ethnic groups that have experienced a long history of oppression.[86]

transmission, and changing the social norms in communities where high levels of violence are common.

- **Find entry points to intervene and initiate changes in behaviour.** It is essential to build trust and demonstrate change is possible, while using high profile interventions to challenge existing norms that support violence. Colombia has demonstrated the potential of this approach. In 2002, it initiated the 'Live Colombia, Travel Colombia' (Vive Colombia, Viaja Por Ella) programme to restore security on the country's roads, while launching a major advertising campaign to encourage the public to travel without intimidation.[87] On a smaller scale, the Mayor of Bogota, Antanas Mockus, launched the 'Night for Women', in which the city's male residents were asked to stay home for a night.[88] Around 700,000 women went out on the first of these nights, and as predicted by the Mayor, the levels of violence for that night fell steeply.[89] He had used a political stunt to begin to tackle the violence women faced.
- **Give survivors of violence a voice and remember those who lose their lives.** During the intensive phases of a conflict, it is common to deny the experiences of the victims of violence and to quickly forget both those who have been killed and those who survive attacks.[90] Remembrance plays an important role, as does ensuring that survivors are prominently represented in public life. Northern Ireland, for example, set up a Commission for Victims and Survivors, an official body with a Commissioner who protects the interests of those who have been affected by violence and ensures they are able to argue for a lasting peace.[91] Colombia has a dedicated 'Victim's Day,'[92] while South Africa has a number of physical memorials such as the Apartheid Museum which acts as "a beacon of hope showing the world how South Africa is coming to terms with its oppressive past and working towards a future that all South Africans can call their own."[93]
- **Systematically respond to the mental and emotional health needs of survivors.** As this report has shown, violence exerts a heavy psychological toll, but, whereas we take physical injuries seriously, most mental illness goes untreated. Systematically meeting the unmet mental and emotional health needs of survivors of violence makes a crucial contribution not just to their well-being, but to the entire society. There are a growing number of programmes offering psychosocial counselling around the world. One example, in Northern Ireland, is the work of WAVE, which provides care and support for those traumatised by violence and for those whose loved ones have been killed.[94] In South Africa, the Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture offers psychosocial services to the survivors of crime, political violence and torture, while providing mentoring for the professionals who deal with the consequences of violence every day of their working lives.[95]
- **Create opportunities for young people to 'opt out of violence'.** Young people who have engaged in violence can become powerful advocates for peace, but they need to be given opportunities to turn away from a violent path. Many countries have experimented with initiatives that work with offenders, gang members, and extremists, offering them a second chance and helping reintegrate them into their communities. One such programme is 'Operation Opt Out' initiated by the Long Island Police in the United States. This programme gives gang members the option to disassociate themselves from their gangs and to return to education or find work, with the aid of community sponsors.[96, 97] In South Africa, the 'One Man Can' campaign works with young men to challenge their attitudes to women and recruit them as supporters of women's right. It focuses in particular on sexual violence, in a country that is thought to have one of the highest rates of rape in the world.[98]
- **Work actively with young people to initiate and build peace.** Some programmes recruit young people to act as champions on the fight against violence, while others practice restorative justice, or collaborate with ex-offenders to reduce crime and political violence. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) in South Africa has introduced

a programme that trains young people to become ambassadors against violence.[99] These Safety Ambassadors work as agents of change within their local community, reducing the risk of violence and increasing resilience among the young. In Northern Ireland, YouthAction builds mutual understanding between survivors and young men who have been involved in political violence. The approach is based on the belief that new approaches are needed to keep young men out of trouble, by addressing their mental and emotional well-being and providing opportunities for them to make their voices heard in a positive way.[100]

- **Build resilient communities.** Some interventions bring together the community as a whole. In Northern Ireland, a network of mobile phones, operated by community groups and community workers, has been created to increase communication across lines that are contested by Belfast's Catholic and Protestant communities. The network is especially important at times of crisis, allowing respected community figures to de-escalate tensions rather than allowing tit-for-tat attacks to spread.[101] Another project in Cape Town, South Africa, uses a combination of social engagement and town planning to reduce the impact of crime. By developing safe houses along potentially dangerous pedestrian routes and investing in public spaces for sport and recreation, confidence in a community is restored. By combining this with regular cultural and social events, the objective is to create a sense of 'togetherness' and strengthen social bonds.[102]
- **Promote national reconciliation.** Violence occurs within communities and must be tackled at a local level, but national or provincial efforts are also important. South Africa, for example, celebrates the Day of Reconciliation, which was introduced after the end of apartheid in 1994. Its Truth and Reconciliation Commission, meanwhile, has gained international recognition for its efforts to enable South Africans to come to terms with the legacy of apartheid and to build foundations for a fair and just future.[103] It offered victims a voice, but also provided a platform for those who repented for their violation of human rights in the apartheid years. Its chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, remembers the appearance of one young girl who was asked whether she could forgive the policemen who had murdered her father. "We would like to forgive, but we would just like to know who to forgive," she replied. "How fantastic to see this young girl," Tutu comments, "still human despite all efforts to dehumanise her."[104]

## Conclusion

The Next Generation research has demonstrated how conflict and violence is shaping the lives of young people.

In addressing the impacts of violence, seeking reconciliation, and building resilience, Pakistan has plentiful international experience to draw on. This demonstrates the importance of tackling violence as a public health problem, while offering victims and survivors on the one hand, and perpetrators on the other, a pathway to escape from the trap that insecurity places them in.

In the next chapter, we use this international experience, as well as the lessons of resilient young people and resilient communities within Pakistan, to develop a transformational agenda that tackles violence directly and aims to build stronger communities that will benefit young and old alike.

8

# BREAKING THE CYCLE

## Lifting the burden of violence

“Four years have passed to my marriage. In the beginning our lives were very pleasant but as time passed everything changed and bitterness grew between us. He abused and tortured me both verbally and physically and became very consistent in doing so. One day when he tortured me physically I went to an NGO in our area. They filed a case against my husband and they fully supported me in the case. In the court my husband asked for forgiveness and assured that it would not happen again and so we started living peacefully again. This gave me the biggest lesson of my life which is that unless we won’t speak up for our rights nobody would be our saviour; we need to raise our voices in order to be heard. If we won’t speak up against violence, it would continue to prevail in our society destroying many homes.”

*Homemaker (female), age 21, from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*

# 8 BREAKING THE CYCLE

## Lifting the burden of violence

In this report, we have argued that Pakistan has entered a cycle in which multiple forms of violence, crime and political instability feed each other, and in which external stresses exacerbate internal stability. As the 2011 World Development Report warned, these cycles of conflict and violence create an economic, social and human burden that can last for generations.[105]

For many young people, violence is now part of everyday life. This has had a corrosive impact on institutions and communities, weakening their ability to prevent violence and, in many cases, creating social norms that sustain violence and transmit it from generation to generation.[106]

Breaking the cycle of violence requires an improvement in education and employment opportunities, better access to healthcare, improved law and order, stronger governance, and the empowerment of women.[107] But a political and economic transformation is not enough, it is also time to systematically respond to the needs of survivors of violence, helping them cope with and recover from the trauma that they have experienced.

Action must also be taken to tackle the norms and values that perpetuate violence, while addressing the causes of aggressive and violent behaviour. And a broader attempt is needed to restore confidence in the country's future, while rebuilding trust and helping communities become more resilient to conflict.

Taken together, this approach involves a switch from focusing *solely* on the long-term causes of conflict towards an approach that *also* directly and urgently confronts the 'culture of violence' that holds many communities in its grasp.

The rest of this chapter is structured around four interlinked conclusions that stem from the Next Generation research.

- First, it is time to *accept the reality* of conflict and violence within Pakistan society and its impact on young people.
- Second, more needs to be done to give *survivors of violence a voice.*
- Third, greater priority must be given to *tackling the trauma exposure to violence causes.*
- Fourth, we must simultaneously work to *increase the resilience of families and communities* to violence.

We also make an argument that cuts across all four conclusions: *new interventions must be delivered to scale.* There are already a number of projects that tackle violence, but they do not have sufficient reach to make a difference to the next generation as a whole. Greater ambition is needed, backed up by new partnerships, where necessary, and by the financing needed to deliver large-scale change.

## Accepting the Reality of Violence

Violence in Pakistan is both serious and entrenched.

Many individuals, families, and communities experience levels of insecurity that make normal life difficult or impossible. The drivers of conflict, oppression and abuse are complex and deep-seated. According to a review of the experience of other states, even the best performing countries take 20-30 years to attain political stability, improve bureaucratic quality to acceptable levels and bring corruption under control, with the task of fully eliminating terrorism taking as long, or longer.[108]

Even in the best case scenario, in other words, it will be some time – at least a generation – before young Pakistanis can expect to live their lives in predominantly peaceful conditions. For many of today's young people, instability will be an inescapable part of their experience of adulthood.

Denial of the reality of this experience remains a common – and understandable – reaction to current events in Pakistan (as the poet, T.S. Eliot wrote, "humankind cannot bear very much reality").[109] This report provides overwhelming evidence of the chronic insecurity that characterises the lives of many young people. Read the 'untold stories' that we have collected and you cannot fail to be struck by the extent to which the next generation is suffering or by the yearning of young people for peace and security.

It is not just the seriousness of violence that must be accepted; a new willingness is needed to address the trauma that results from exposure to violence. As discussed in chapter 7, there is a growing international understanding of the need to tackle the contagious aspects of violence, respond to the mental health needs of survivors, and challenge the values and norms that allow violence to flourish. As yet, we lack the consensus needed to apply this knowledge within Pakistan.

It is therefore time to confront denial. This does not require sudden agreement on the contentious issues that define the debate about Pakistan's future, but it does require unity and leadership from those who are prepared to put their political differences aside in order to stand against violence. Their task is to confront those who continue to deny the toll that violence exacts on young people in Pakistan and to help put survivors and victims of conflict and violence at the centre of a new attempt to achieve peace and stability.

## Giving Survivors a Voice

When we began this research project, we were concerned that it would be difficult for young people to share their experiences of violence. This fear was unfounded. We succeeded in collecting a large number of stories that provide an extremely detailed picture of how conflict and violence shapes young lives.

Although some were reluctant to talk to our field workers, many young people were eager to tell their stories. Some said they were talking about incidents for the first time. "I couldn't just tell anyone anything due to the fear," said one young man who had been sexually abused by older men. "No-one knows this. It's still a secret. Just sharing here." "This incident made me feel so threatened that I didn't share it with anyone," says a young woman. "I left for home after finishing my job and never shared this incident to anyone," a young transgender victim told us.

Reports from research partners confirmed that many respondents welcomed the chance to talk. According to a partner from Balochistan: "All of them wanted to share their stories with other fellows but they never found platform to share. Many factors have been there: lack of trust, shame, fear of being joked and isolated from the family and friend's company, and other hurdles that never allowed them to share these stories."

The experience of victims and survivors of conflict and violence is not *entirely* eclipsed, with a number of groups trying to keep it in the public eye. *Naming the Dead*, for example, is a crowd-funded project that aims to "identify those killed in CIA drone strikes on Pakistan."[110] Other groups exist to provide a voice for victims from particular communities, such as *Hazara.net* which publishes regular and detailed lists of Hazara victims of terrorism in Pakistan, or who have suffered particular forms of violence, such as those supporting those who have survived acid attacks.[111] *Christians in Pakistan*, meanwhile, is a non-governmental organisation that has set up an online memorial for the All-Saints Church victims, which includes a picture of 74 of those

who died.[112] A recent initiative is the March for Missing People, held by families whose relatives have disappeared in Balochistan.[113]

These efforts notwithstanding, most of those who survive violent attacks still suffer the consequences in silence. Even those caught up in highly visible terrorist attacks are quickly forgotten by the media (see box on page 82), while scant attention is paid to the suffering of victims of family disputes and domestic violence. As a result, survivors have little chance of influencing policy or creating pressure for their human and constitutional rights to be respected. This weakens the justice system, allows perpetrators of violence to act with impunity, and enables those who deny the reality of violence in Pakistan.

Concerted action is needed to amplify the voices of survivors and the family and friends of victims, allowing them to play a greater role in confronting the culture that allows violence to thrive. For example, a Commission for Survivors and Victims could be established using models developed in other countries, while both a day and book of remembrance could be created to ensure that those who have lost their lives are not forgotten.[114]

More generally, groups that represent survivors need support to get their message across in their media, while survivors themselves can be trained to act as advocates. A new approach should also be developed to work with media organisations and journalists to increase the coverage given to victims and survivors of violence, not just in the immediate aftermath of a violent event, but in the months and years that follow.

## Tackling the Trauma Caused by Violence

When there is a major outbreak of infectious disease in Pakistan, there is immediate pressure on the federal and provincial governments to respond forcefully. After a natural disaster, relief efforts are mounted for the affected communities, supported by both public and charitable funds. But conflict and violence, despite its prevalence and impact, has not been taken as seriously. That must change.

Part of the answer is to treat the consequences of violence in the same way as other public health problems. According to the World Health Organization, violence is so pervasive that it is often seen as a 'fact of life' or a natural part of the human condition. It is also considered as purely a law and order or security issue, leading to a neglect of the conditions that lead to insecurity, and the implications for human health when levels of violence are high. The World Health Organization has called for determined efforts to "challenge the secrecy, taboos and feelings of inevitability that surround violent behaviour,"[115] allowing for the development of a comprehensive approach both to preventing violence and to meeting the needs of victims. This approach should focus not on individuals alone, but on the health of communities and the population as a whole.

So what would a public health approach entail?

The first priority is to understand the scale and nature of the problem. An independent unit can be established, with public support and financing, to publish robust and objective statistics on victims of violence and to report them regularly to governments, parliaments, and the public. This is not about reinventing the wheel: existing data should be used where possible and existing statistical agencies should be part of a partnership that aims to improve and standardise coverage.[116, 117] Disaggregated data is needed on levels of exposure to violence, its consequences for human health, and on the economic impact of these consequences for individuals, communities, and the wider society.

The second priority is to tailor services for victims of violence who are suffering from PTSD or other long-lasting psychological conditions that result from the trauma to which they have been exposed. Mental health interventions need to target women in particular, as they are more likely than men to develop PTSD following traumatic experiences.[118] Currently few victims receive any meaningful psychosocial support, even though there is plentiful evidence to show that the mental health impacts of violence can be treated both successfully and cost-effectively. Cognitive behavioural therapy has been demonstrated to be effective in treating PTSD, depression, and other disorders that are related to violence.[119] It offers a flexible approach that can be tailored to the cultural context of Pakistan's ethnic and

# Gone and Forgotten

Even after major terrorist attacks, victims are quickly forgotten.

Take the spate of three attacks in Peshawar at the end of September 2013, as an example. In an attack on the All-Saints Church, more than 80 people were killed and 130 were injured. Five days later, 19 government employees were killed when a bomb exploded on their bus, with another 44 people injured. Two days after that, 38 people were killed and over 100 people injured when a car bomb was detonated in the Qissa Khawani Bazaar.[120]

Our analysis of the media coverage from these attacks shows that:

- *There are no confirmed lists of victims.* A full casualty list was only released for one of the attacks and that was an unofficial one, compiled by the hospital that treated most of the victims. It has partial names for many of the victims and has not been updated to include anyone who subsequently succumbed to their injuries.[121]
- *Eye witness accounts focus only on the immediate event.* We learn a little about some of the victims and how they died. Haroon Rashid, for example, was a school teacher who was killed in the bus blast on the day he had collected compensation for the injuries he had suffered in another attack. The mother of a 16-year old girl, who died in the Church bombing, says that her daughter hoped to become a nurse or an air hostess. Details, however, tend to be scant and the human dimension underplayed.[122]
- *There is little follow-up after the attacks.* The country does not tend to actively remember the victims of terrorism, with little ongoing media coverage of the impact that violence has had on those injured or the families of those killed. A rare story, for example, briefly reported that a bureaucratic hitch had delayed compensation to the family that lost 18 of its members in the Qissa Khawani bazaar blast.[123] It provided few details of how their devastating loss had affected the survivors, however. We seldom, if ever, find out what has happened to survivors or next-of-kin months or years after an act of violence.

One important step would be a voluntary code of practice, developed by and for the media, to change the way violence is reported.

At present, news coverage of violent events can be sensationalist, with little regard for the wellbeing of victims and survivors.[124] A new code could encourage more balanced coverage of the way that violence is changing lives and shaping communities. It could also address the display of graphic images of violence and of intrusion into the grief of families.

The existing Pakistani Electronic Media Regulatory Authority code of conduct provides a starting point for a new code, although its enforcement and implementation has been questioned.[125] We therefore urge the leaders of major media organisations to come together to explore this issue.

religious communities, while offering the potential to combine mental health approaches with spiritual counselling and religious teaching.[126,127] A new legislative framework is needed, at provincial level in light of the 18th amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, with Sindh currently being the only province to have legislation in place.[128, 129] This provides an opportunity to place the needs of survivors of violence at the heart of a new legislative framework.

Third, significant additional funding is needed to engage perpetrators of violence, both those who have been convicted of crimes and those whose violent acts have not been subject to any official sanction. Building on current small-scale projects, tailored interventions are needed for political extremists, terrorists, gang members and other violent criminals, as well as for those responsible for domestic and violent abuse, and for bullying and anti-social behaviour in schools, universities and the workplace. Interventions would tackle deficits in areas such as anger management, problem-solving, and social skills, while raising awareness among perpetrators of the impact of violence on their victims.[130]

Finally, these efforts should form part of a broader prevention strategy that aims to make violence socially unacceptable, while reducing secondary exposure to violent images and content through the media. This would require the development of sustained public information campaigns, as well as violence prevention programmes in educational institutes and the workplace, and through community and religious groups. Links would also need to be built to programmes that aim to rebuild community policing, strengthen the criminal justice system, and provide enhanced economic opportunities for young people at risk of violence.

## Supporting Resilient Communities

"Many who live with violence day in and day out assume that it is an intrinsic part of the human condition, but this is not so," Nelson Mandela wrote a decade ago. "Violence can be prevented. Violent cultures can be turned around. In my own country and around the world, we have shining examples of how violence has been countered. Governments, communities and individuals can make a difference."[131]

But as Mandela warned, security does not happen on its own. Resilient communities need to be fostered over time, through action that can come from the grassroots, from leaders, or from a combination of the two.[132] There are two main objectives:

- First, to enable communities to resist violence more effectively and to support the resolution of conflict in non-violent ways, rather than tolerating, or actively supporting, a culture of violence.
- And second, to increase their capacity to provide support to victims of violence, ensuring both the victim and the community itself 'bounces back' in the face of violent attack.

The family must be a primary focus for these efforts. It emerges from the Next Generation research as a driver of conflict, but also as the most important source of conflict resolution. Action is needed to help more families become places of safety, while ensuring that young people have alternatives when their families are chronically insecure. Families can also play a central role in responding to the challenges of young people who are engaged in criminal or extremist behaviour. They can spot signs of alienation, challenge values and norms that support violence, and offer an alternative direction to those young people who are prepared to renounce a life of violence.[133]

We would like to see the implementation of a strategy – which could be implemented by many different stakeholders – that would aim to make *every family a sanctuary against violence*. In particular, we would recommend targeting young mothers and fathers, because of the influence that they will have on the values of their children. A concerted effort to build a network of *parents against violence* could pay a substantial and long-lasting dividend, as could interventions that help 'at risk' parents acquire the life skills they need to strengthen their families.

We would also like to see the development of gender-sensitive approaches that address the needs of young men. This is a priority for three reasons. Young men bear a very heavy burden of violence. They are the age group most likely to perpetrate violent acts. And the way they

interpret their own masculinity, at a time of rapid social change, will have a decisive impact on future levels of violence, both within the home and in their communities. We therefore call on organisations that are working to reduce violence to review their strategies and programmes from a gender perspective that takes into account changing male roles, responsibilities and rights.[134]

Resilience must be increased outside the family as well. Young people should be able to find sanctuary from violence in schools, universities, workplaces, community centres, and shelters. Religious groups could play an especially important role, given the importance of religion in young people's lives.[135] A study of survivors of the 2005 earthquake has linked resilience to the presence of faith, with 72% of the participants reporting "coping by requesting God to forgive their sins."[136]

Technology also offers new possibilities for providing support for those who suffer from violence. We have heard from young people who have received enormous benefit from being able to access a telephone helpline, while groups such as *Chayn* are experimenting with online services and social media self-help groups.[137] There is also untapped potential to use mobile phones or tablets to deliver mental health and counselling services to large numbers of survivors or violence, either directly or using professionals who are not mental health specialists as intermediaries (teachers, health workers, etc.).

A strategic approach is needed to maximise the potential of technology and to strike a balance between innovation and ensuring sufficient investment in a portfolio of services that have nationwide recognition and reach. An innovation fund could help support both early-stage ideas and those that are ready for an ambitious roll-out.

Finally, we believe it is important to support the development of professionals who are trained to respond to the needs of survivors and address the behaviour of perpetrators of violence, while winning back the confidence of communities in formal institutions. As new entrants to these professions, this is an area where young people have an especially important role to play. We would like to see the development of programmes to create the next generation of legal professionals, health workers, teachers, police officers, prison warders, and civil servants, etc. A commitment to confronting violence in all its forms could be required on entry to these programmes, which would provide members with access to the expertise they will need to be leaders in their profession during the course of their careers.

## Delivering to Scale

Given the entrenched nature of conflict in many communities and the seriousness of violence affecting young people, any response needs to be implemented with urgency and ambition.

We need much more than a pilot project or two. Instead, it is time to be bold and to launch a flotilla of new initiatives that will allow experimentation, but that also has the scale needed to offer a realistic chance of decisively breaking the cycle of violence.

The biggest prize would be the emergence of a mass movement that brought together a network of groups dedicated to confronting violence, providing support to survivors and the families of victims, and building community resilience. Given simple training, an extremely broad programme of interventions could be implemented, including psychosocial interventions, which international experience suggests can effectively be delivered in group settings and at a large scale.[138]

This cannot primarily be about money. Take Alcoholics Anonymous as an example of what is possible from a social movement that aims primarily to spread its influence rather than becoming too focused on raising funds. When it emerged in the 1930s, it was given moral and some financial support by the Rockefeller family, but they refused to shower it with money, believing it should be spread through one member carrying its message to the next.[139] The organisation now has nearly 2 million members worldwide, spread across over 100,000 groups.[140] Using the same model, there are now a number of similar movements including Narcotics Anonymous and Nicotine Anonymous.[141]

It is also important that we don't encourage approaches that are too expensive to be delivered at scale. Any new intervention must be cost effective and feasible to implement in communities that have little public or mental

health infrastructure and where both formal and informal institutions tend to be weak. Simple, low cost activities must be given priority over those that can only be run for a handful of people in just a community or two.

What is needed is *smart finance*. Funders – whether they draw their resources from public, private, philanthropic, or international sources – are likely to find that there is a compelling strategic case for interventions that tackle violence directly, given the physical, economic, and social costs of conflict and instability.

In order to deliver large-scale change, funders should consider:

- *Financing results.* Interventions need to reach very large numbers of people, many of whom are from areas or groups that are hard to reach (or from both). While there is plentiful international experience to draw on, there are no definitive answers as to which approaches make the most difference to survivors, perpetrators, or communities. In many cases, therefore, it may make sense to fund an outcome (e.g. recovery from a violence-related mental illness or reductions in levels of reoffending amongst criminals), with independent auditing of whether this outcome has been delivered.[142] This would allow a coalition of funders to support a variety of competing approaches to delivering change, while directing their money to those whose success can be verified.
- *Financing innovation.* We have already suggested that an innovation fund could be used to pilot new approaches, especially those that exploit the emerging power of technology to respond to the mental and emotional health needs of those affected by conflict and violence. Online support groups, telephone counselling, and mental health 'apps' all have potential to reach large numbers of people at acceptable cost, and to reach those women who spend a large proportion of their lives in the home. In many cases, investment can be focused on the customisation of technologies that have been used elsewhere in the world, rather than inventing new services from scratch. The PTSD Coach, for example, can be used on most smartphones and has been downloaded more than 100,000 times by users from 74 countries.[143]
- *Financing individuals*. Entrepreneurs and committed campaigners will both be needed if significant progress is to be made in tackling violence in Pakistan. We have called for a completely new approach to the new problem, and this will rely on the energies of exceptional individuals who are committed to dedicating many years of their lives – and perhaps their entire careers – to this challenge. Instead of just financing a series of projects of various kinds, funders could consider supporting these individuals directly, with the aim of giving a small number of champions the latitude to develop and implement solutions, whether in the public or nongovernmental sectors, or through existing or new organisations. External funding could also be used to support new positions that would aim primarily to facilitate and encourage the actions of others – for example, a champion for action against violence in the private sector, among religious groups, in the education and health system, in the media, etc. These could be developed in partnership with sectoral bodies, such as the Pakistan Business Council, for example.[144] We have also proposed broader targeting of individuals through a programme to develop next generation professionals who are committed to building more effective and fair institutions in Pakistan.
- *Finance fund-raising.* We believe there will be substantial public support for supporting the survivors of conflict and violence and that finance for new initiatives could be 'crowd sourced' if this is done in a structured way and with full accountability for results. Funders could therefore set up an umbrella organisation that draws on Pakistan's powerful philanthropic tradition and offers Pakistanis, including members of the diaspora, the opportunity to respond to the needs of survivors of violence or to invest in community resilience.

## Conclusion

In this chapter of the report, we have argued for action to tackle violence directly, provide a platform for the victims of violence, and increase the resilience of communities in the face of conflict and violence. These steps are designed to deliver immediate results and to create conditions in which the underlying drivers of conflict can be addressed over the long term.

This kind of programme would, of course, need to involve Pakistanis of all ages, but young people would be both primary targets and probably the most important agents of change. It would need to be delivered at scale and over a period of a decade, at the very least, if lasting change is to be achieved.

So how ambitious should we be? We believe the ultimate goals should be to:

- Screen all survivors of serious violence for symptoms of PTSD, depression and other related conditions, in order to offer all those who would benefit from it access to a treatment that has proven efficacy.
- Target perpetrators of political, criminal and domestic violence through interventions that challenge their behaviour and attitudes, while addressing their behavioural and skills deficits.
- Launch high-profile public information campaigns that provide a platform for victims, challenge the norms and values that underpin a culture of violence, and encourage young people to resist violence and contribute to conflict resolution.
- Engage a growing number of communities in combating violence, while involving leaders from all levels of society, and professional networks such as female health workers, teachers, security forces and lawyers, as well as networks of young people.
- Benefit from national and international expertise and investment, through a call to action to those prepared to bring fresh resources, knowledge, and energy to an emergency that has been neglected for too long.

With these goals in mind, we use the final chapter of our report to issue a call to action to those, who have been convinced by this report that it is their duty to join a campaign against conflict and violence in Pakistan. We also set out some immediate priorities for getting such a campaign under way.

# 9

# A CALL TO ACTION

## Tackling violence head on

I take action
*Student (male), age 22, Sindh*

Government should implement strict actions
*Homemaker (female), age 27, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*

Courts should take urgent action
*Unemployed man, age 25, Punjab*

Hospital should take action
*Homemaker (female), age 21, Punjab*

The judicial should take action
*Student (male), age 25, Balochistan*

Police should have to take action
*Homemaker (female), age 23, Punjab*

Human right activists should take action
*Student (male), age 24, Balochistan*

Authorities should take action
*Student (female), age 22, Sindh*

One should strive to be just and fair in their actions
*Businessman, age 29, Punjab*

# 9 A CALL TO ACTION

## Tackling violence head on

Pakistan is gripped by an epidemic of violence, but this epidemic is largely a silent one. The immense human, social and economic cost of violence is seldom acknowledged, either within the country or by the international community. This report has broken the silence – allowing young people to tell their stories about the unstable lives they lead.

But talk is not enough, the next generation demands action.

Our evidence shows that seven issues consistently matter most to the young: employment, inflation, poverty, education, healthcare, energy and water, and security. Together, they define the territory on which governments build their policies for the next generation, and from which political parties must fight for the hearts, minds, and votes.

In this – our third report – we have focused on security, an element of the next generation policy agenda that underpins the delivery of all other dimensions.

We have described high levels of violence as a binding constraint to realising the potential of young people and have set out the major elements of a strategy for breaking the cycle of violence and addressing the needs of those who have survived violent events.

We have also emphasised the importance of delivery to scale, through interventions that reach sufficient numbers of people to mark a decisive break with the past and to build confidence in a more stable future. Our main recommendations are summarised in the box on page 92.

We now call on all stakeholders to engage in an open and honest debate on the conclusions of this report and to form a coalition to develop, implement, and fund a new agenda.

In particular, we call on governments and political leaders to act now to provide young people with the security they yearn for and to support a programme to rebuild the young lives that have been shattered by violence.

### Create a Guiding Coalition and Vision for Change

A campaign against violence does not need to be centrally planned. Quite the reverse: the more that activity and messages spread virally, the greater the grassroots impact. A core group of stakeholders, however, is needed to catalyse the inputs of others, and to perform key functions such as:

- Developing a vision and delivery plan.
- Performing outreach that will persuade larger organisations to mainstream action against violence into their strategies and programmes.
- Building a network of smaller organisations, offering them access to best practice, training, and other forms of support.

# Delivering a New Agenda

## Main Conclusions:

It is time to accept the seriousness of the impact of conflict and violence on young people.

More needs to be done to give survivors of violence a voice.

Greater priority must be given to tackling the trauma exposure to violence causes.

We must work to increase the resilience of communities to violence.

Interventions must be delivered at scale, given the sheer numbers of young people who suffer serious violence on a day to day basis.

## Key Recomendations

- A nonpartisan coalition that will reach across political divides to confront violence.
- A Commission for Survivors and Victims, alongside a day and book of remembrance, to give a voice to those affected by conflict and violence.
- A voluntary code of conduct, developed by and for the media, to moderate the coverage of violent events.
- A large scale programme to address the mental health needs of survivors of violence and the families of victims.
- A similarly ambitious programme to tackle the behaviours of those who perpetrate violence. Support for families, educational establishments, community centres, shelters, and workplaces to become sanctuaries from violence.
- Public campaigns to address the values and norms that allow a culture of violence to flourish.
- Investment in the next generation of professionals to rebuild confidence in Pakistan's institutions.
- Greater use of technology to provide support to those vulnerable to violence, and to deliver cost effective mental health interventions.
- Funding models that that will encourage innovation and the delivery of transformational change.

- Increasing the availability of resources, both in terms of finance and expertise, and from government, international, private sector, and philanthropic sources.
- Monitoring activity and evaluating impact.

The first step is to build on evidence collected by this report through a systematic survey of all relevant activity and groups.

A systematic survey would:

- Create a directory of formal organisations actively working in this area, whether government or nongovernmental.
- Assess the activities, capacity, and resources of these organisations.
- Perform a census of informal groups in a number of communities across Pakistan, as well as online, in order to gauge the potential role that could be played by grassroots organisations.
- Assess opportunities to scale up existing activity, and also identify gaps in provision, especially those in hard to reach areas and for vulnerable groups.
- Explore the future role of the legal profession, health workers (especially those such as Lady Health Workers who are active in communities), teachers, the security forces, the media etc.

A guiding coalition would then be formed by a group of stakeholders who are prepared to commit to this endeavour for a decade or more. We would expect involvement from government at both federal and provincial levels, civil society and faith groups, philanthropists and foundations, and the business community. It is, of course, essential that this coalition has members of the next generation at its core.

## Create a Knowledge Base

During the course of this research, we have completed an initial analysis of interventions that are likely to be effective in breaking the cycle of violence. There is, however, a need for a systematic and rigorous review of best practice in Pakistan and internationally. Research questions might include:

- *Impacts:* What is known about the physical, economic, social, and psychological impacts of conflict and violence, and how these impacts can be mitigated?
- *Psychosocial interventions:* Which interventions have been shown to be effective in meeting the needs of survivors of violence and addressing the behaviour of perpetrators of violence? Are these interventions culturally appropriate to Pakistan's diverse communities and can they be implemented cost effectively and to scale?
- *Community resilience*: Which interventions have been shown to be effective in helping communities become more resilient in the face of conflict and violence? Are these interventions culturally appropriate to Pakistan's diverse communities and can they be implemented cost effectively and to scale?

The aim would be to develop a 'toolbox' for the new campaign, with guidance on implementation, and on relative costs, benefits and risks.

Investment will be needed in better data, providing us with a more robust understanding of the nature, prevalence, and impact of violence in Pakistan. In particular, it is vital to establish a baseline through a proper household survey that would be repeated on a regular cycle. This survey would:

- Ask people about their experiences of conflict and violence, developing indicators of exposure to violence that could be tracked over time.
- Include questions that would allow the mental health burden related to conflict and violence to be assessed over time.
- Explore attitudes to violence and to groups that are vulnerable to violence (women, children, ethnic and religious minorities, disabled people, etc.)

Better data will generate indicators that make it possible for finance to be offered on the basis of results, building on international best practice in funding behavioural outcomes.[145] Given that it will not be possible to offer support to all those who need it in the early years, randomised controlled trials should also be considered.

## Ensure Appropriate International Support

The international community is increasingly aware of the need to work in a coordinated fashion to tackle violence.

The UN Secretary-General has made a personal commitment to this agenda through his priorities for his second term in office (2012-2017).[146] He has promised to increase support for peacebuilding and conflict resolution, and to promote a preventative approach to abuses of human rights. He has underlined the importance of strengthening national judiciaries and scaling up efforts against terrorism and organised crime. And he continues to work for an end to violence against women and to champion the role that young people play in strengthening their societies.

The World Health Organization runs the Global Campaign for Violence Prevention which aims to assist countries in implementing the recommendations of the World Report on Violence and Health. Its priorities include supporting the creation, implementation, and monitoring of national action plans for violence prevention; supporting research into, the causes, consequences, costs and prevention of violence; and promoting interventions of the kind that we have recommended in this report.[147]

In the 2011 World Development Report, meanwhile, the World Bank called for a 'paradigm shift' in the international community's response to violence and conflict, through a concerted effort to prevent "repeated cycles of violence by investing in citizen security, justice and jobs."[148] In particular, it has committed itself to working to create partnerships between UN agencies, regional institutions, multilateral development banks, and bilateral and other relevant actors in order to support countries as they tackle violence.[149]

In Pakistan, the international community should act with the same urgency and resolve that it brings to a natural disaster or public health emergency. For polio, for example, the Global Emergency Plan, which targets three countries (Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Nigeria) has clear objectives that have been by national governments and international actors, supported by a budget that exceeds $2 billion.[150] This commitment is many orders of magnitude greater than anything that has yet been attempted for conflict and violence.

We therefore call on the international community to live up to its own commitments and policies on violence, and to support a national campaign to reduce the burden of violence on Pakistanis, while actively working to reduce the external stresses that fuel conflict.

## Answering the Call

The untold stories of Pakistan's next generation reveal the unstable lives that many young people live, but also their resilience and the strength of their longing for a more secure future.

We call on everyone who reads this report to listen carefully to the next generation's voices and to answer the call that young people are making.

A political response to the underlying drivers of conflict and violence is essential. Institutions must be created that young people trust to deal with them fairly and provide them with justice. Economic progress is needed to provide opportunities for all.

These objectives are vital but will take a decade or more to deliver. The survivors of violence cannot wait that long, nor can tomorrow's victims. We must seek long-term solutions. But we must also take *immediate* action to lift the burden that violence has placed on the shoulders of the young.

Annex 1

# The Story of the Research

## Background

In this section, we set out the design for this research.

The underpinning question for the research is: *How are conflict and violence changing the lives of the Next Generation?*

Although we have commissioned a number of background papers on Pakistan's overlapping conflicts, our objective is not to produce new insights into the origins, causes, and evolutions of these conflicts. Instead, our objective is to focus on the personal experiences of those affected by conflict and violence, whether as victims, participants, witnesses, or responders to violent events.

We begin from the assumption that the voices of those most affected by violence are often least likely to be heard by others in their society.

There are obvious reasons for this. Within conflict-prone areas, little research is done, whereas the need for research is highest, as "research can play an important role in countering myths and stereotypes, identifying information blockages and giving voice to the suppressed."[151] Access is threatened due to security issues and high levels of personal risk, especially for researchers who are unfamiliar with the area and unknown to the local community. Discussion of conflict and violence can be considered taboo or be politically risky due to the possibility of retribution or, in some cases, legal sanction. Those who are victimised within their own homes or communities are especially likely to be silenced.

The research was therefore designed to minimise risks, both to research participants and to the researchers themselves, while ensuring that benefits are maximised for participants and for the communities in which they live. At the same time, we made it a priority to target marginalised voices, aiming to minimise as far as possible the exclusion of people whose experience is least likely to be captured by traditional research tools. Finally, we wanted to try and build as broad a picture as we could of the impact of conflict and violence on young people, attempting to reflect both Pakistan's size and diversity, and the many types of conflict and violence that are shaping the next generation.

In light of these considerations, it was clear that no single research tool would meet all of our objectives. In particular, a purely quantitative approach would exclude people in precisely those areas that are most affected by conflict. For example, even the best quantitative surveys of the FATA are unable to reach a third of the population due to security concerns.[152] Moreover, population surveys are likely to underestimate the prevalence of violence within a society, due to an understandable unwillingness to talk to interviewers about sensitive subjects.

As a result, a mixed methods survey approach was adopted, combining quantitative and qualitative elements. The quantitative research has been used to provide a representative snapshot at national and provincial levels, albeit with limitations in terms of coverage and under-reporting. Qualitative tools are then used to focus on the experiences of those most affected by conflict and violence. Expert interviews and studies provide further context, allowing for an enriched interpretation of both quantitative and qualitative elements.

The research design relies extensively on working through trusted intermediaries in order to benefit from their relationships with communities and groups affected by violence. This maximises our ability to hear the voices of young people who could not be reached through other research tools, while reducing the risks to both respondents and researchers.

# The Ethics of Carrying Out Research on Conflict

The Helsinki protocol states, "research should be carried out only if the importance of the objective outweighs the inherent risks and burdens to the subject."[153] This requires understanding the ethical challenges, especially when researching sensitive topics such as conflict and violence.

The three most important ethical considerations are minimising risks, respecting the emotions, norms, and values of those involved, and ensuring informed consent.

## *Minimising risks*

Here, the problem is a lack of access due to security issues and high levels of personal risk. This risk increases where researchers are unfamiliar with the area in which they are working. Having people on the ground who speak the local language and understand the local relations – be it political, religious or ethnic – is essential to minimising the risk for both researcher and participant.

Anonymity is crucial. All those who have experienced conflict and violence may still be at risk, and talking to them may potentially endanger them further. As people are often interviewed within their family home, or within other communal environments, family members or neighbours may try to observe the interview.[154] It is important to judge the situation as it develops and make sure the respondent is comfortable at all times.

Anonymity also needs to be maintained when the results are published. Names must be disguised, but it may also be necessary to omit "the victim's age, the number of children, and so on – details that do not compromise the veracity of the story."[155] Not only do researchers need to be aware of the consequences and risks for the respondents, they also need to understand their own risks. If they feel unsafe, they should feel able to stop and move to a place of safety.

## *Maintaining respect*

Remembering and revisiting traumatic experiences can result in re-traumatisation or emotional harm.[156]

It is important for researchers to know when to stop or to change the subject. Understanding the local perceptions regarding conflict and violence is important as, "some subjects may be taboo because they are too risky while others, though sensitive, may be approached indirectly."[157]

Here too, it is important that the researchers are sensitive to the local culture and its norms and values.

## *Obtaining informed consent*

Informed consent is when, "(i) all information is conveyed to the survivor and truth is not withheld; (ii) all possible pros and cons of the situation are discussed; (iii) it is given voluntarily without any stress or coercion; (iv) it is obtained by an individual that the survivor is comfortable with; and (v) it is taken in a place where the survivor is comfortable."[158] Information is often seen as a collective good. Consent therefore may need to be given by multiple members of a community, including parents, spouse or the local leader(s). A respondent should also be clear about what will happen with their shared information, and their personal consent should be obtained, be it verbally or in written form.

Moreover this, approach has allowed us to draw on the experience and insights of organisations across Pakistan, and to ensure that the research responds to, and is informed by, the local context and sensitivities

## Research Design

The research has six main elements:

- *Desk research* – a review of published sources, both peer-reviewed and grey literature, with a focus on the social and psychological impacts of conflict and violence on young people, and on existing studies of conflict and violence in Pakistan that enrich our analysis and conclusions.
- *Research papers* – a series of research papers that deepen key elements of our research, commissioned from eminent academics and intellectuals, which enrich our understanding of conflict in Pakistan, its impact on young people, and both formal and informal responses.
- *Quantitative survey* – a poll of young people aged 18-29 years, representative at national and provincial levels, for men and women, and for urban and rural respondents, that aimed to estimate the incidence of conflict and violence amongst the next generation, their attitudes towards violence, its psychological impact on their development, and levels of social capital and resilience that allow communities to respond to conflict and violence.
- *Qualitative research* – an innovative, ambitious, and broad-ranging piece of participatory research that has collected and analysed the stories of young people from across Pakistan who have been affected by conflict and violence, drawing on the networks and expertise of local groups and researchers.
- *Mini life histories* – a set of life histories that provide a more detailed insight into how the lives of young people are shaped by conflict and violence and, in particular, how they have responded to the threats and challenges they face.
- *In-depth interviews* – a set of interviews with members of relevant professional fields, including professionals working in NGOs, the government, the judicial system, police, religious institutions and media.

Figure 12 shows the contribution made by each element of the research, along with its strengths

| | | Strengths | Limitations |
|---|---|---|---|
| Desk research | A literature review | Theoretical overview of subject area | Information is not always available or may not exist |
| Research papers | 7 commissioned papers | Tailored information on critical topics | Secondary not primary research |
| Quantitative survey | A national survey with a sample size of 5,271 young people | Representative findings | Under-reporting and restricted access |
| Qualitative research | 1,800 stories | Rich accounts of experiences | Not representative |
| Mini life histories | 8 in-depth interviews narrating a chronological account to an incident | Deeper understanding of personal responses over time | Not representative |
| In-depth interviews | 25 in-depth interviews with experts in the field | Deeper understanding of response mechanisms | Not representative |

Figure 12. Research Design

and limitations, while the rest of this chapter provides more detail on each element of the process.

### *Desk Research*

An extensive search of published sources was conducted including both peer-reviewed and grey literature.

The literature review aimed to deepen understanding of how conflict and violence can be defined and it also explored the political, economic, social, psychological and physical impacts of violence, both from a national perspective and globally.

Multiple reports on personal and communal resilience, including literature on social capital, were included to evaluate potential interventions.

A full list of papers can be found on the website **www.nextgeneration.com.pk.**

### *Research Papers*

Seven papers were commissioned to inform the report. Four of these are on general topics, and three are case studies that provided a description of the causes and evolution of regional conflicts.

The latter provide vital context. Much has been written on Pakistan's diverse conflicts, and as previously noted, this report does not attempt to provide new insights into their origins and causes. Nonetheless, recognising the underlying complexity is crucial to understanding the cyclical experience of violence within the country. In some cases (e.g. Balochistan, Karachi, Gilgit-Baltistan, and Azad Jammu and Kashmir[159]), we used existing studies. In others, we found it necessary to commission new research.

1. Imtiaz Gul: *'Conflict and Violence in Pakistan'*

This paper provides a review of existing data sources on the nature, extent, and scale of conflict and violence in Pakistan, including an assessment of the availability and quality of data.

2. Saroop Ijaz: *'The Criminal Justice System'*

This paper provides a description of formal and informal criminal justice institutions and mechanisms in Pakistan, and how they address crime and political violence and/or attempt to reduce or resolve conflict.

3. Zabia Sarfraz: *'Psychosocial and Psychological Impact of Conflict and Violence'*

This paper explores the impact on young people of one-off or repeated exposure to different forms of conflict and violence, drawing on international theoretical perspectives and evidence, and of the drivers of violent behaviour.

4. Hina Junejo: *'Case Studies Illustrating Hope through Youth and Community Empowerment'*

This paper identifies best practice based on 15 projects in Pakistan that aim to build resilience. Areas covered include drug addiction, crime, female education, disability discrimination, sexual harassment, minority and women's rights.

The following case study papers were commissioned:

1. Imtiaz Gul: *'Conflict in Southern Punjab'*

Discusses the evolution of extremism in Southern Punjab.

2. Naveed Shinwari: *'Case Study of Political Conflict in FATA'*

Explores the history of conflict in this border region between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

3. Naveed Shinwari: *'Case Study of Political Conflict in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa'*

Analyses the rise of sectarian-based conflict and terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

### *Quantitative Survey*

A survey instrument was developed that included 110 closed and 8 open questions. It had the following sections: (i) socio-economic classification (14 questions); (ii) education and work (14 questions); (iii) political and voting behaviour (16 questions); (iv) priority issues/future of Pakistan (16 questions); (v) identity, trust and social capital (30 questions); and (vi) experience of conflict and violence (28 questions). Where possible, standardised questions and scales were used to allow comparability with national and international studies.

The survey was translated into both Urdu and Pashto. As other local languages are primarily used in the vernacular, translation for Sindhi, Balti, and Brahwi was oral rather than written.

AC Nielsen was commissioned to conduct field work amongst Pakistanis aged 18-29 years. A total

| | Total | MoE | Rural | MoE | Urban | MoE | Male | MoE | Female | MoE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pakistan | 5,271 | 1.35 | 3,480 | 1.66 | 1,791 | 2.32 | 2,651 | 1.90 | 2,620 | 1.91 |
| Punjab | 1,477 | 2.55 | 856 | 3.35 | 621 | 3.93 | 753 | 3.57 | 724 | 3.64 |
| Sindh | 897 | 3.27 | 343 | 5.29 | 554 | 4.16 | 447 | 4.64 | 450 | 4.62 |
| Balochistan | 767 | 3.54 | 503 | 4.37 | 264 | 6.03 | 384 | 5.00 | 383 | 5.61 |
| Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 768 | 3.54 | 576 | 4.08 | 192 | 7.07 | 383 | 5.01 | 385 | 4.99 |
| FATA | 597 | 4.03 | 549 | 4.18 | 48 | 14.15 | 300 | 5.66 | 297 | 5.69 |
| AJK | 384 | 5.00 | 320 | 5.48 | 64 | 12.25 | 193 | 7.05 | 191 | 7.05 |
| Gilgit-Baltistan | 381 | 5.01 | 333 | 5.37 | 48 | 14.15 | 191 | 7.09 | 190 | 7.11 |

Table 1: Sample Breakdown

of 5,271 face-to-face interviews were conducted, for a sample that is nationally representative at a 95% confidence level with a 1.35 margin of error. The field work was conducted from 13 December 2012 to 3 February 2013, with some data for the survey released in March 2013 in the Next Generation Goes to the Ballot Box report.

A disproportionate sampling strategy was chosen to ensure a statistically significant sample at provincial/area level. Oversampling was used to reduce the margin of error for smaller sub-populations. The sample was post-weighted to make it proportionate to national representation by province. A breakdown of the sample is shown in Table 1.

At the provincial/area level, a multi-stage random sampling methodology was applied. Urban areas were divided into three strata and rural areas into two strata. This allowed for an adequate representation of all geographical clusters.

- Urban stratum I: cities with a population greater than 1 million.
- Urban stratum II: cities with a population between 0.1 and 1 million.
- Urban stratum III: cities with population less than 0.1 million.
- Rural stratum I: villages with a population greater than 3,000.
- Rural stratum II: villages with a population less than 3,000.

Within urban localities, one starting point was chosen and six interviews were held around it, by skipping two households after every successful interview. In rural areas, a village was divided into four hypothetical quarters, and a starting point was chosen. Three interviews were conducted around each starting point, skipping either five or three households (depending on size of the village) after every successful interview. Households were selected through Right Hand Rule (RHR) for female interviewers and Left Hand Rule (LHR) for male interviewers. The selection of respondents within the household was based on the Kish method.[160]

The response rate for this study was 40%, the drop-out rate was mainly influenced by respondents either being unavailable or ineligible. The respondent was only substituted after the interview failed to establish contact three times. At this stage, a different respondent was chosen within the same locality and on the basis of similar demographics, same gender and same age group.

AC Nielsen has an experienced fieldwork department, which includes interviewers educated to a minimum education level (grade 10), and who are both proficient in Urdu and their regional language. Interview teams consisted

of both male and female interviewers, with the males interviewing male respondents and the females interviewing female respondents. Interviewers were trained during sessions held in Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Quetta, Multan, Faisalabad, Lahore, Peshawar and Rawalpindi. A question-by-question briefing was held, and all interviewers were given a detailed interviewing guide. In addition, all interviewers carried out practice calls under the direct supervision of a fieldwork supervisor prior to the fieldwork.

AC Nielsen has an independent quality control department which back checks data from the field. For this survey, 10% of the fieldwork was checked through an independent audit, which included attending field work briefings, monitoring all quality markers, and reporting any quality loss and non-conformance. Data coding for the closed questions was checked and edited for all questionnaires by the field work supervisors. Coding for open-ended questions was checked on a random sample of 10% of all questionnaires. Subsequently a data-cleaning programme checked all entries for logic errors. At all phases, each questionnaire was traced back to the field to cross-check any errors. If the error could not be resolved, the questionnaire was discarded.

Although the required sample size was achieved in all areas (see table 1), there were challenges that needed to be managed. The fieldwork in Sindh and Balochistan was delayed due to local strikes. In addition, fieldwork was on hold for two days in Balochistan due to the local annual event, Chelum of Imam. The fieldwork in Gilgit-Baltistan experienced delays due to the local weather conditions.

Within Balochistan, FATA and Gilgit-Baltistan, the interviewers first visited local elders and other important influential figures to gain their backing and endorsement. None the less, in some areas, security problems limited access for researchers. This was a problem in FATA, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Respectively, it was estimated that 35% of the geographical area in FATA, 18% of Balochistan and 4% of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa could not be accessed due to security threats. In total, it was estimated that 1% to 2% of the national population could not be included in the sampling process due to security considerations.

### *Qualitative Research*

At the heart of this report are the untold stories that we have collected from the next generation.

As we have explained at the beginning of this chapter, we made the decision to use quantitative and qualitative research methods in order to gain deeper insights into the impact that conflict and violence have on the lives of young people. While the quantitative data provides evidence that is

| | Punjab | Sindh | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Balochistan | FATA | AJK | Gilgit-Baltistan | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total number of contacts made | 5,062 | 2,596 | 1,997 | 1,303 | 930 | 600 | 741 | 13,229 |
| Total number of completed interviews | 1,477 | 897 | 768 | 767 | 597 | 384 | 381 | 5,271 |
| Number of respondents unavailable at home | 2,420 | 1,120 | 935 | 371 | 196 | 185 | 229 | 5,456 |
| Number of refusals on contact | 247 | 276 | 96 | 12 | 99 | 6 | 59 | 795 |
| Ineligible | 915 | 303 | 198 | 153 | 38 | 25 | 70 | 1,702 |
| Total interrupted interviews | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 |

Table 2: Regional Response Rates

representative at national and provincial levels, the qualitative research is designed to provide a full picture of how young people experience conflict and violence, what impact it has on them, and how they have responded to the violence they face.

Standard qualitative tools suffer from some of the same limitations as an opinion survey, however. It is hardest for professional researchers to interview those young people that we most want to hear from, due to security concerns. Furthermore, it is then difficult or impossible for those young people to talk openly and honestly about painful personal experiences when being interviewed by someone they have never met before and do not trust.

In addition, focus groups and in-depth interviews are expensive to conduct. It would be possible to build a detailed picture of the lives of a small number of people using these tools (and we have conducted some life histories for this purpose). A different approach was needed, however, if we were to fulfil our ambition of building a broad picture of the impact of conflict and violence on young people, while also making sure that we paid particular attention to those voices that are not heard using standard research techniques.

We needed a qualitative research design with the following characteristics:

- Capable of reaching large numbers of young people across the country, especially those in conflict-affected areas and from groups that have a distinct experience of violence (prisoners, for example, or those living in refugee camps).
- Able to be conducted by non-professional researchers, with appropriate support, who have existing networks within target communities and who would be able to use their reputation and relationships to enable young people to speak openly about their experiences.
- Structured to allow young people to speak about the experiences that are most meaningful to them and to tell us in their own words the stories of the impact conflict and violence has had on their lives.

We therefore developed a participatory storytelling methodology, drawing on the experience of the GlobalGiving Storytelling Project and adapting its approach to our needs. This project has collected over 50,000 stories, over a period of two years from community members, asking them to "tell us about a time when your person or an organization tried to change something in your community."[161]

We developed a simple template in which young people were asked one main question – to tell a story in their own words of how conflict or violence made a difference to their lives (see figure 13). No pre-set definition of conflict or violence was given – this was instead driven by the interpretation of the storyteller. This allowed us to understand how conflict and violence is understood and defined by young people across Pakistan. In addition, we gathered demographic and descriptive data on that story. If they felt comfortable enough, the young person was asked to share their phone number so that their story could be verified.

The stories were collected from a range of young people, based on a non-exhaustive list of profiles. These included:

- Young people of all social classes and educational status, male, female and transgender – whether still in education, working, or at home. They could be single or married, or even divorced or widowed.
- Young people from across the country, both rural and urban areas, including areas which are isolated due to high levels of insecurity. Young people who are living in refugee camps (which included young people from neighbouring countries), in shelters, prisons, or on the streets.
- Victims or perpetrators of terrorist acts, criminal or gang violence, domestic and interpersonal violence, religious conflicts, political or state violence and land and communal conflicts.
- Vulnerable groups, including minority groups, disabled, refugees, (bonded) labourers, domestic workers and sex workers.
- Young people who are exposed to violence in their professional lives, including police, military, healthcare workers, security guards, teachers, religious leaders/scholars, transportation workers and media personnel.

1 *Please tell me a story about a time when conflict or violence made a difference to your life.*

2 *What role did you play in this story?*
*You were:*
A. A victim
B. A participant
C. A witness

3 *How did this change your life:*
A. Made it better
B. Made it worse
C. No change

4 *This story makes you feel:*
A. Happy
B. Sad
C. Angry
D. Other (please specify)

5 *When did/does this story take place?*
A. It is still happening
B. Less than a year ago
C. More than a year ago

6 *What would you like to change the most as a result of this incident:*

7 *How old are you?* _ _ _ _ _

8 *Are you:* *A. Female* *B. Male* *C. Transgender*

9 *What is your level of education:*
A. Uneducated
B. Primary school
C. Matric
D. Intermediate or vocational training
E. Graduate or above
F. Religious education

10 *What is your occupation:*
A. Homemaker/Housewife
B. Student
C. Unemployed
D. Working, please specify your job:
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

11 *Are you:*
A. Unmarried
B. Married
C. Widow/divorced

12 *May we know your mobile number?* (In case we want to ask you a few questions about your story.)
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

13 *May we know your first name?*
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

14 *Where do you live:*
A. Village
B. Small city
C. Big city

15 *Name of village/city*_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

16 *Province/region*_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

17 *I agree that my story can be used for this research as long as it does not reveal my name or contact number.*
Signature/thumbprint: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

18. Fieldworker's mobile number: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

19. Fieldworker's organisation: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

21. Other information: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

20. Fieldworker's name: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

**this version of the form has been compressed to fit on one page*

Figure 13. Story Collection Form

- Young people who work with people affected by violence, including social workers, lawyers, and psychologists.

Our aim was to maximise the diversity of stories collected, ensuring we had at least one story for as wide a range of respondents and experiences as possible.

The template was tested and refined after an initial pilot run amongst 25 young people from across the country during a workshop in Islamabad. It was then distributed to 100 civil society organisations, as well as others who were already in direct contact with young people (see annex 2), particularly those vulnerable to experiencing conflict or violence. Each organisation was briefed on the nature and objectives of the research, and provided with guidance on how to conduct the research, including ethical considerations.

They, in turn, recruited 400 field workers who collected stories from all corners of the country. Fieldworkers were selected because they knew the people in their area, knew the language, the local customs and relations, and had the necessary contacts to gain access. Each fieldworker was provided with a guide that explained the methodology, how stories were to be collected and set out ethical standards. Fieldworkers were asked not to judge the stories or the storyteller, to ensure the young person's safety (as well as their own) and their anonymity, and to stop the research if a young person no longer felt able to continue.

The stories were collected, over a period of two months (from June to July 2013), in the respondent's mother tongue and then translated by the organisation into English. They were then uploaded online in order to ensure that hand written forms were transcribed in the field. The hard copy was saved for verification. The following verification procedure was then conducted:

- Duplicates and incomplete stories were removed.
- Stories were fact checked if they mentioned a newsworthy event. For example, if there was a mention of a bomb blast, relevant news reports were consulted to ensure the blast had indeed taken place. Notable arrests, target killings, and protests were verified in a similar manner.
- An additional 5% of all stories were then selected for further verification, with 3% selected randomly and 2% selected because they made extreme claims or appeared questionable in some other way.
- During the verification process, either the fieldworker or the storyteller was interviewed by phone and asked to confirm that the story had taken place and to confirm details such as age, gender and occupation. The purpose of this verification was to ensure that the fieldworker had not fabricated or changed the story, not to challenge the veracity of the young person's story.
- All stories discussed in this report were further verified by comparing the uploaded data against the original hard copies. Any inconsistencies that may have occurred during the uploading were corrected.

The verification process demonstrated that the storytelling methodology had provided us with a body of evidence that was generally reliable. In only 5% of the cases we were unable to verify the story or the researcher was unable to remember it. These stories were removed from the data list, resulting in a total of 1,800 accepted stories.

Stories were then uploaded into Dedoose, a piece of software for performing qualitative analysis. Every story was read by at least two members of the research team and each story was coded according to a scheme that included codes on the causes, types of conflicts, violent and non-violent actions used, people involved, impact, and consequences. The codes were developed based on the content of the stories, but also drew on internationally recognised typologies on types of violence and impact.

During the analysis phase, the coding allowed us rapidly to select subsets of stories based on more than 250 criteria. For example, we could select stories that:

- Were told by people with no education, or those told by men from Balochistan.
- Involved a robbery, or where someone lost consciousness or fell into a coma, or where the victim was a doctor, or a police officer, or a member of the media.

- Had resulted in insomnia or addiction, or left people feeling disrespected or repentant, or where they had become unemployed as a result of violence, or changed their views on what they wanted society to deliver.

Analysis was informed by structured feedback from 22 of the organisations that helped conduct the research, each of which gave feedback in writing on the research process (how they approached young people, how they reacted, etc.) and also provided their own interpretation of the stories based on their knowledge of the local context and environment.

Organisations were also invited to a workshop where the research was discussed. Their insights proved invaluable in preparing the report.

### *Mini Life Histories*

To gain a deeper understanding of how young people experience and respond to experiences of conflict and violence, we selected 10 storytellers for an in-depth interview. Storytellers were selected based on the following criteria:

- They were 'main character' stories – story about the teller him/herself, including victims, participants and active witnesses (supporters).
- They covered a range of types of conflict and violence.
- All sexes were covered (male, female, and transgender – although as men's experience of violence is more diverse, there are more male life histories than female or transgender)
- They came from different regions, as far as possible given previous criteria.
- They helped us understand responses to violence, and individual and community resilience.

The methodology used was an in-depth interview lasting three to four hours in total. This was either done in a single interview or in multiple sessions, depending on the circumstances such as the availability of the respondent and the safety and comfort of the surroundings. Two of the respondents declined to participate due to personal circumstances.

The interviewers were asked not to judge the stories or the storyteller, to ensure the young person's safety (as well as their own) and their anonymity, and to stop the research if a young person no longer wanted to continue. The interviews were conducted in the local language and note taking was done in Urdu. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject, interviews were not recorded. The narrative was subsequently translated into English. The analysis was again informed by written feedback from the interviewers as well as an analytical report from the intermediary organisation Rozan, entitled Next Generation Voices Research – Life Histories.[162]

### *In-depth Interviews*

Twenty five in-depth interviews were held with experts and practitioners including NGO workers and activists, psychologists, government officials and politicians, police, judiciary and lawyers, religious leaders, academics, and media (see annex 2).

The interviews were carried out by a senior researcher from AC Nielsen, following a topic guide that included the following questions:

- What types of conflict and/or violence do you come across during your work and how does the threat of violence to people in your line of work affect you?
- What are, in your opinion, the main drivers for conflict/violence and how have things changed over time?
- In your opinion, how effective are people in your line of work in responding to the needs of young people; can you describe some of the challenges you come across in their work?
- Describe your working relationship with other institutions, both formal and informal as well as the local community.
- What steps can be taken at community/ provincial or national level to address conflict and violence more effectively?

## Results

No research design is perfect, but we believe that this methodology provides a unique and balanced picture of the impact of conflict and violence on young people in Pakistan. The evidence collected is extraordinary in its richness and diversity. Our analysis has tried, as far as possible, to do justice to it by allowing people to speak for themselves.

Annex 2

# Contributors

## Contributing Organisations

ABAD, Alfalah Development Foundation, Aman Development Foundation, Azat Foundation Balochistan, AIM, Anwar Jannat Foundation Pakistan, Akhuwat, Advocacy Research Training and Services Foundation, Aware, Awaz Community Development Services, Bedari, Bhandar Sangat, Blue Veins, Better Opportunities for Leadership, Bhittai Social Watch and Advocacy, Creative Approach for Development, Chanan Development Association, Cholistan Development Council of Pakistan, Child and Labour Rights Welfare organisation, Community Motivation & Development organisation (CMDO), C.M.P, CSO Union Council, College of Youth Activism and Development (CYAAD), Dost Welfare Foundation, Entrepreneurship and Community Development Institute Pakistan (ECDI), FC College, Farmers Friend Organisation, Green Rural Development Organisation, Goth Seengar Foundation (GSF), Human Development Initiative, Hunger Free Foundation, Hijra, Human Rights organisation, HUJRA, Integrated Community Development Initiative,IDSP/UCD,Insan Foundation Trust, Integrated Rural Awareness and Development organisation (IRADO), Jinnah Welfare Oranization, Khandokor, KhwendoKor, Literate Masses, Lending Life A Hand, Mint of all Human Rights, Mukhtar Mai Women organisation, Mountain Youth Pakistan, National Commission for Justice and Peace, Noor Education Trust, Protection and Help of Children Against Abuse and Neglect (PACHAAN), Pattan, Peace and Development Foundation (PDF), Post-Earthquake Health Promotion, Progressive Education Network, Press For Peace, Pakistan Lions Youth Council (PLYC), PRISE, Pakistan Rural Workers Social Welfare organisation (PRWSWO), Pakistan Village Development Program, Participatory Welfare Services (PWS), Roshni Helpline, Rozan, Roznama Dawn, Rights Research and Development Foundation, SACDAD, Sayya Founadtion, Shaheed Benazir Bhuto Women Center and Shelter Home Khuzdar, Sindh Community Foundation, Sahara Development Foundation, Sewa Development Trust Sindh, Society for Empowering Human Resources (SEHER), Sindh Haari Porhat Council, School of Leadership, Sustainable Peace and Development organisation (SPADO), Strengthening Participatory Organisation, Sungi Partner organisation, Society for Rights and Development, Shadab Rural Development organisation, Sindh Radiant organisation (SRO), Sarhad Rural Support Programme (SRSP), Sindhi Sangat, Samaj Sudharak organisation, Save the Children, Special Talent Exchange Programme (STEP), Sudhaar Society, Simorgh Women Resource and Publication Center,Thar-Nara Development Society, Tipu Foundation, Tag Welfare and Development organisation, Umeed Welfare Foundation, Visionary Foundation Pakistan, Welfare Association for New Generation (WANG), Women's Rights Association (WRA) Multan/Punjab, Women Resources And Publication Centre, Women Welfare Society, Youth Action for Pakistan (YAP), Youth Commission for Human Rights, Youth Development organisation, YES Network Pakistan.

## Researchers

Aabad Muhammad Khan Durrani, Aajaz Ahmmad, Aamna Baloch, Aasma Riaz, Abbas Ali Shar, Abdul Ghafoor, Abdul Hakeem, Abdul Mateen, Abdul Qadir, Abdul Salam Kakar, Abdul Sattar, Abdul Shakoor, Abdul Yaseen, Abdullah Buriro,Abdulmateen, Abid Ali, Abida Junejo, Abrar Khan, Adeel Aalim, Adnan, Adnan Bashir, Afghan Ali, Afia Zaheen, Ajmal Khan, Akhtiyar Ali, Akraam Ullah, Aksa, Ali, Ali Akbar Advocate, Ali Imran, Ali Mehdi, Ali Raza, Alyas Rahmat, Ameer Bakhsh, Amir Raza, Amjad Ali, Anam Gill, Anila, Anila Usman, Anwar Hassan, Aqila Khadim, Aqsa Sultan, Arbab Khatoon, Arshad, Arshad Iqbal, Arshad Sarwar, Asfandiyar, Asfandyar, Asghar Ali, Ashfaq, Asia Kanwal, Asif Khan, Aslam Joiya, Asma, Atif Fayyaz, Atta Ullah Qasmi, Aun Raza, Ayaz Chandio, Ayesha, Ayesha Naseer

Chaudhry, Ayma Malik, Azadi Ali, Azam, Azhar Iqbal, Azra Parveen, Babar Ali Chandio, Babar Khan, Badil Malik, Basharat Masih, Behram Khan Lehri, Bilal Muhammad, Bilqees Ismail, Cornelius Asghar, Danish, Daud Shah, Dhan Raj, Dolat Khan Afridi, Emran Ghazi, Erum, Fahad Usman, Faiza Yousaf, Faizan, Fakhar, Falak Sher, Farhan, Farhan Kambhar, Farhan Umar, Farida, Farooq Ahmad, Farzana, Fatima Lodhi, Fauzia Yaqub, Fayyaz Hussain, Fazal Mehsood, Fazila Muhammad Khan, Fazila Shairdil, Fiaz Hanif, Fidan Faran, Fozia, Ghalib Khalil, Ghulam Shabbir Anjum, Ghullam Server Tunio, Gul Nabi, Gul Meena, Habib Ullah, Hafiz Ahmed, Hafiz Muhammad Ahmad, Hamal Amin Baloch, Hannah Janvarious, Hassan, Hassan Arshad, Hayat Ullah, Himayat, Hina Izaz, Hosh Muhammad, Ibrahim Abbas, Idris Katpur, Ijaz Ahmad, Ikram Amina, Ikram-Ullah, Ilyas, Imam, Imran Iqbal, Imran Khan, Imran Ullah Khan, Iram Atta, Irfan, Irfan Ali Samoon, Irfan Hussain Shaikh, Isma Hina, Jabbar Khan, Jahangeer Kalhoro, Jahanzaib Baloch, Jahanzaib Khan, Jalal-ud-Din, Jameela, Jamila Shaheen, Jamroz Khan, Janziab Baloch, Javed Ahmed Junejo, Jawad Ali, Jehangir Khan, Kalim Ullah, Kamal Jan, Kamran, Kashif, Kavi Shankar, Khalida, Khuram, Khurshid, Kiran Fida, Kiran Khan, Kiran Nawaz, Laila Shah Nawaz, Latif Ur Rehman, Lisan Uddin Afridi, M Aun Raza, M. Hassan Hingoro, M. Saleem, M. Talib Jakro, M. Yasir Khan, M.Saleh, M.Sarfaraz, Maanchand, Mah-e-Zaman, Mahjabeen, Maimoona Ejaz, Majid Mangi, Majid Qureshi, Maliha Khan Bilal Ayaz, Malik Mir Afridi, Manoj Kumar, Mansoor Haider, Mansoor-ul-Hussain, Maria Hina, Marvi Zaur, Maryam Amjad Khan, Mazhar Ali, Meerab, Mehboob Ali, Mehjabeen, Mehmood Ilyas, Mehnaz, Mehnaz Khan, Mehnaz Wahid, Mehreen, Mehtab, Mehwish Arshad, Mian Muhammad Aashir Naeem, Mir Ahmed Sami Baloch, Miraj, Misbah, Misbah Baksh, Misbah Khalid, Mohammad Baseer, Mohammad Idris, Mohammad Yasin Awan, Mola Baksh, Mona, Moon Alam, Mubashir Abbas, Muhabat Ali, Muhammad, Muhammad Arif Shaikh, Muhammad Aslam, Muhammad Azam, Muhammad Ilyas, Muhammad Imran, Muhammad Murad, Muhammad Pervaiz Khan, Muhammad Rizwan, Muhammad Tafeel, Muhammad Usman Khan, Mujahid Ali, Mujtaba Ahmed, Mujtaba Makhdoom, Mukesh Kumar, Mukhtiar Ahmed, Mukhtiar Ali, Mukhtiar Hashmi, Mukhtiar Umrani, Musanif Shah, Mushtaq Ahmed, Muzahira Khatoon, MuznaKazi, Nabeela Khalid, Nadia, Naeem Afridi, Naeem Gill, Naheed Manzoor, Naheed Shoaib, Naimat Khan, Naseeb Ullah, Naseer Paleh, Naveed Khan, Naveed Sadiqui, Nazakat Zahida, Nazeer Malookhani, Nazia Afzal, Niaz Ali Baloch, Nida, Nighat, Nisar, Nisar Ahmed, Nitraj Kohli, Noor-ul-Ain Chandio, Nouman Afridi, Noushad Ali, Pari Gul, Parveen, Penha Tahir, Pervez Ahmed Khaskheli, Qasim Ali, Qazi Junaid, Qumber Ali, Qurban Halo, Qurrat ul Ain, Rabail Liaquat, Rabail Tanveer, Raja Dahar, Raja Wasim, Rajesh Kumar Soni, Rameez James, Rana Shahzad Ahmad, Rao Salman, Rashid Hussain, Razia, Razia Kareem, Riffat Aslam, Riffat Hussain, Rizwan Ahmad, Robina, Rohidad Khan, Romana, Romana Bashir, Roohi Khan Babar, Rubina Zehri, Saad Dogar, Saba Baloch, Saba Saleem, Sabahat Mushtaq, Sadaf, Sadaf Kousar, Sadam Bukhari, Saddam Hussain, Sadia Ashraf, Sadia Kiran, Sadia Rahim, Saeed, Saeed Ahmad, Saeed ur Rehman, Safi Pirzada, Safia, Safi-Ullah Khan, Sagar Kumar, Sagheera Zaib, Sahar Faheem, Saifullah Channa, Saima Aslam, Saima Haider, Saima Inayat Khattak, Saira Amir, Saira Baloch, Sajida Akhtar, Sajjad Ahmad, Salma Bashir, Saman Rukh, Sameet Mohan, Samia Aslam, Samina Aslam Alvi, Samina Sadiq, Samina Saleh, Samina Seher, Samira Qurashi, Samreen, Sana Rauf, Sana Sohail, Sanzar Khan, Sara, Sehrish, Sha Zaman, Shabir Ahmmad, Shabnam, Shafaq Ahmed, Shafia Anees Abasi, Shafqat Aziz, Shagufta Naz, Shah Khalid, Shah Mehmood, Shah Mehmood Khan, Shahana, Shahana Farooq, Shaheen Akhtar, Shaheena Shaheen Baloch, Shahid Ali Junejo, Shahid Gul, Shahida, Shair, Shaista, Shakil Ahmed, Shakira Rehman, Shameem, Shamsa, Sharif Shambezai, Sharukh Aman, Shaukat Naz Baloch, Shazaman, Shazia, Shazia Azam, Shazia Khan, Shazma, Shehbaz, Shehla Imtiaz, Shehla Mumtaz, Shehnaz Shabeer, Shehzadi Aman, Sheikh Asad, Shoib Ahmmad, Shumaila, Shumaila Yasmin, Sibgha Kanwal, Sidra Ali, Sidra Khan, Sobia, Sobia Pervaiz, Sohail, Sohail Rathore, Sonia Naz, Sujata Swami, Sumaila, Sundus Ahson, Sunhera Qureshi, Sunil Kumar, Syed Ali Mahdi, Syed Mubashir Shah, Tabasum, Tahira Khuman, Taj ud Din, Tehreem Zafar, Tilawat Hussain, Ubaid Malik, Ufan, Umar Farooq, Umer Farooque, Uris Narejo, Usman Arain, Uzma Ubaira, Verda Asif, Wagma Feroz, Waheed, Wali Muhammad, Wali ur Rehman, Waliullah, Waqas Younas, Yasir, Yasmin, Yousaf, Zaheer Ahmad, Zaheer Khan, Zaheeruddin Babar, Zahid, Zahid Ali, Zahid Dahot, Zain Ullah, Zainab Khan, Zaka Malik, Zakia Tariq, Zarmand Asfand Jalal, Zia Nawab, Zia-ur-Rehman, Zulkarnain Hader.

## Interview Participants

Dr Kamran Ahmad, Psychotherapist and Counsellor, UNHCR

Mr Shehzad Ahmad, Country Director, Bytes for All

Mr Sibtain Ahmad, District Commissioner Ghizer, Gilgit-Baltistan

Mr Waheed Ahmad, Advocate High Court Secretary Human Rights Watch Committee; Lahore High Court Bar Association; Coordinator Capital Punishment Project Middle East Citizen Assembly; Legal Aid Commissioner International Criminal Court

Maulana Tahir Ashrafi, Chairman Ulema Board, Member of the Islamic Ideology Council; General Secretary Madrassa Dinya Council

Mr Zia Awan, Lawyer, Pakistan Bar Council; Founder Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid

Dr Yaqoob Bangash, Chairperson and Assistant Professor, Department of History, Forman Christian College

Mr Raziq Faheem, Executive Director, College of Youth Activism and Development

Mr Nadeem Ghazi, Director General and Founder, World Learning Grammar

Mr Ghazanfar Hashmi, Journalist; Socio-political Analyst, Duniya Group

Mr Akhjar Hayat, Ex-DIG Police Malakand (KPK)

Mr Bashir Jan, General Secretary, Awami National Party Pakistan

Ms Zehra Kamal, Clinical Psychologist

Dr Parveen Khan, President, Dost Welfare Foundation

Dr Saba Gul Khattak, Development Activist; Researcher on issues regarding violence, governance, gender, security and peace

Dr Khawar Mumtaz, Chairperson, National Commission on the Status of Women

Mr Asad Munir, Analyst on Terrorism, Ex-Military

Ms Yasmeen Rehman, Ex Member of the National Assembly, Pakistan People's Party; Former Advisor to PM of previous Government on Women's Affairs

Mr Zia Ur Rehman, CEO, Awaz Foundation-Centre for Development Services

Mr Ikram Sehgal, Defence Analyst and Security Expert

Mr Krishna Sharma, Executive Director, District Development Association Tharparkar

Mr Ali Shahzad, Assistant Commissioner Manshera (KPK)

Dr Muhammad Shoaib Suddle, Retired Pakistan Police Service Senior Member with positions in Federal and Provincial Governments; Criminal Justice, Counter Terrorism and Police Reforms Expert; Public Policy Analyst

Dr Osama Siddique, Associate Professor, Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS): Expertise Law and the Justice System

Mr Sarmad Tariq, Motivational Speaker; Organisational Consultant

## Participants at the London Roundtable held in December 2013

Sara Batmanglich, Senior Programme Officer Policy Research and Advocacy, International Alert

Jamie Buchanan-Dunlop, Director, Digital Explorer

Prof Neil Ferguson, Professor of Political Psychology at Liverpool Hope University

Kit Lawry, Development officer, Basic Needs

Caroline Moser, Independent Consultant and Expert, Emeritus Professor at the University of Manchester; Research Fellow, Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, American University DC

Robyn Munford, Senior Technical Advisor, International Rescue Committee

Farjad Nabi, Pakistani Filmmaker/ Director

Laura Southerland, International Project Manager, Royal Society of Arts

Paul Steinheuer, International Programmes Offices, Peace Direct

Andy Thornton, Chief Executive, Citizenship Foundation

Sue Wallace Shaddad, Member of Management Group, Education and Society, British Council

Simon Weatherbed, Programme Director, Responding to Conflict

# Stories Index


## A

Accident 26, 41, 61
Acid attack 7, 8, 9, 25-26, 41, 80
Addiction 19, 26, 27, 28, 29, 53, 60
Aggression 25, 42-43
Amputation, see Disability
Army, see Military
Avoidance 41

## B

Beheading, see Mutilation
Blasphemy 28
Bomb attack 3, 25, 26, 27, 28, 36, 39, 41,42
Bribery, see Corruption
Bullying 6, 27, 36

## C

Civil society 6, 28, 30, 34, 38, 51, 60, 61, 78
Communal conflict 8, 14, 17, 19, 26, 27, 28, 37, 60
Community leaders 17, 60
Compensation 26, 56
Corruption 18, 50
Court 17, 29, 50, 59, 60, 78
Criminal violence 14, 18-19, 26, 42, 41

## D

Depression 6, 24, 31, 36-37
Disability 7, 9, 26, 30, 37, 42, 61
Discrimination 28, 30, 68
Displacement 9, 15, 24, 28, 30, 41
Domestic violence 2, 7, 8, 26, 28, 29, 30, 36, 37, 41, 48-49, 78
Drone attack 10, 20, 25

## E

Earthquake, see Natural disasters
Education 6, 7, 8, 17, 24, 27, 30, 37, 41, 48, 60, 61
Elections 51
Ethnic conflict, see Communal conflict

## F

Faith 20, 50, 61
Flood, see Natural disasters
Forced conversions 8, 50
Forced marriages 2, 6, 17, 28, 37, 50

## G

Government 3, 28, 30, 49-50, 53, 56

## H

Harassment 9, 20, 29, 37, 38, 50, 51
Health workers, see Polio campaign
Honour 6, 17
Honour killings 37, 50

## I

Insomnia 42
Isolation 18, 26, 36, 41, 42

## J

Jirga 17, 26, 36, 56
Justice 46, 50, 51, 59, 61

## K

Kidnapping 8, 14, 17, 19, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 50, 51

## L

Land-based conflict 9, 17, 20, 26, 28, 29, 41, 48, 50, 51
Landlords 9, 26, 30, 51, 59, 60
Lawyers 19, 50, 52-53, 59

## M

Madrassas 9, 24, 25, 27, 30, 59
Media 53
Militancy 10, 19-20, 34
Military 8, 10, 17, 19, 20, 28, 30, 34, 38, 52-53
Minorities 6, 8, 28, 30, 49, 50, 60, 68
Murder 9-10, 15, 17, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, 37, 41, 54, 50, 59, 60
Mutilation 25

## N

Natural disasters 30, 36, 41, 61
Non-governmental organisation, see Civil society

## P

Panchayat, see Jirga
Police 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25, 41, 50-51, 52, 56, 59
Polio campaign 53
Political parties 51-52
Political party student wings 9-10, 20, 26, 37, 51
Political violence 9-10, 51-52
Politicians 28, 51, 52
Post-traumatic stress disorder 38-43
Prison 14, 17, 19, 29, 37
Protest 7, 8, 53
Psychological trauma 34, 36, 50
Psychological treatment 34, 36, 38, 41, 42

## R

Rape, see Sexual abuse
Reconciliation 26, 37, 60, 68, 78
Refugees 7, 27, 30
Refugee camp 27, 30-31
Religion 8, 20, 30, 53
Religious conflict 3, 8, 9-10, 20, 28, 30
Reputation 6, 7, 19, 24, 30, 48, 61
Resource-based conflict 17
Respect, see Reputation

## S

Sectarianism, see Religious conflict
Separation 2, 28, 30, 36, 37, 42, 49, 50, 59
Sexual abuse 8-9, 17, 18, 28, 29, 30, 37, 38, 41, 42, 50, 60, 80
Shelters 30, 42
Social media 6
Social work/activism 56, 60, 61-62
Socio-economic deprivation 6, 9, 26, 27, 28, 30, 36, 61
State/institutional violence 8, 10, 24, 28, 30, 41, 42, 50-51, 52
Status, see Reputation
Stress 35-36
Suicide 2, 6, 37-38
Suicide attack 3, 42, 52
Suicide bombers 20, 59

## T

Taliban 8, 18, 20, 25, 27, 28, 30
Terrorism 3, 10, 20, 26, 29, 30, 42, 49
Torture 8, 9, 36, 42, 48, 59
Transgender 9, 80
Tribal conflict, see Communal conflict
Trust 30, 37, 42, 46, 48-53

## W

War on terror 10, 28, 36
Work 6, 9, 19, 20, 26, 28, 36-37, 39, 42, 52-53, 61

# Endnotes

[1] British Council (2009), Pakistan: The Next Generation. Islamabad: British Council. Available at www.nextgeneration.com.pk

[2] British Council (2013), Next Generation Goes to the Ballot Box. Islamabad: British Council. Available at www.next-generation.com.pk

[3] Own calculations – United Nations Population Division (2014), 'World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision'. Available at http://esa.un.org/wpp/

[4] BBC (2010), 'Pakistan Mourns as Lahore Bombing Toll Rises to 31', 2 September 2010. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-11161486

[5] BBC (2010), 'Triple Bomb Blasts hit Lahore Shia Procession', 1 September 2010. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-11152128

[6] Vision of Humanity (2013), 'Global Peace Index'. Available at http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/indexes/global-peace-index

[7] Institute for Economics and Peace (2012), Global Terrorism Index: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002-2011. Available at http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2012-Global-Terrorism-Index-Report.pdf

[8] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013), 'UNODC Homicide Statistics.' Available at http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/homicide.html

[9] The News (2013), 'Crime Report of Five Years Issued', 29 March 2013. Available at http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-21913-Crime-report-of-five-years-issued

[10] Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2013), 'Crimes reported by type'. Available at http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/tables/Crimes%20%28website%29.pdf

[11] National Institute of Population Studies (2013), Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2012-2013 – Preliminary Report. Available at http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/FR290/FR290.pdf

[12] Human Rights Watch (1999), 'Crime or Custom? Violence against Women in Pakistan, Report of Human Rights Watch'. Available at http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/pakistan/Pakhtml-01.htm#P160_8127

[13] Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2013), 'HRCP's Concern over Rising Violence against Women', 18 September 2013. Available at http://hrcp-web.org/hrcpweb/hrcps-concern-over-rising-violence-against-women/

[14] The Constitution of Pakistan (1947), 'Chapter 1 – Fundamental Rights: article 9'. Available at http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html

[15] Vice (undated), 'Karachi Kills Vice – A Scene Report from the Most Insane City in Pakistan'. Available at http://www.vice.com/en_uk/read/karachi-kills-vice-0000209-v19n5

[16] Geo TV (2013), 'Karachi: 1,726 Fall Prey to Target, Sectarian Killings in Six Months' 16 July 2013. Available at http://www.geo.tv/article-109548-Karachi-1726-fall-prey-to-target-sectarian-killings-in-six-months

[17] B. D. Perry (2001), 'The Neurodevelopmental Impact of Violence in Childhood'. Chapter 18: In Textbook of Child and Adolescent Forensic Psychiatry, (Eds., D. Schetky and E.P. Benedek) Washington DC: American Psychiatric Press Inc. pp. 221-238. Available at http://projectabcla.org/dl/NeurodevelImpact.pdf

[18] Ibid

[19] J. Douglas Bremner, Penny Randall, Eric Vermetten, Lawrence Staib, Richard A. Bronen, Carolyn Mazure, Sandi Capelli, Gregory McCarthy, Robert B. Innis, and Dennis S. Charney (1997), 'Magnetic Resonance Imaging-Based Measurement of Hippocampal Volume in Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Related to Childhood Physical and Sexual Abuse—A Preliminary Report', Biology Psychiatry, 41(1): 23-32. Available at http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3229101/#!po=60.5263

[20] World Health Organization (1993), The ICD-10 Classification of Mental and Behavioural Disorders: Diagnostic criteria for research. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at http://www.who.int/classifications/icd/en/GRNBOOK.pdf

[21] Bradley D Grinage (2003), 'Diagnosis and Management of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder.' American Family Physician, 68(12):2401-8. Available at http://www.aafp.org/afp/2003/1215/p2401.html

[22] Sheldon Cohen, Ronald C Kessler, and Lynn Underwood Gordon (1995), Strategies for Measuring Stress in Studies of Psychiatric and Physical Disorders. Available at http://www.psy.cmu.edu/~scohen/Cohen,%20S%20et%20al%20(1995).pdf

[23] Anke Ehlers and David M Clark (1999), 'A cognitive model of posttraumatic stress disorder.' Behaviour Research and Therapy, 38 (2000) 319-345. Available at http://biomagnet.uni-muenster.de/PDF_library/005829.pdf

[24] Kipling Bohnert and Naomi Breslau (2011), 'Assessing the Performance of the Short Screening Scale for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in a Large Nationally-Representative Survey', International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research 20(1): e1-e5.; N Breslau, E Petersen, R Kessler and L Schultz, (1999), 'Short Screening scale for DSM-IV PTSD', American Journal of Psychiatry, 156:908-911

[25] Own calculations – Population Census Organisation (1998) 'Islamabad District at a Glance' Census 1998, Government of Pakistan. Available at www.census.gov.pk.

[26] Matthew J. Friedman (undated), Trauma and Stress-Related Disorders in DSM-5. National Center for PTSD, Geisel School of Medicine at Dartmouth. Available at http://www.istss.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=Expert_Training_ISTSS_Conferences&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=5910%20

[27] J.P. Wilson (1994), 'The Historical Evolution of PTSD Diagnostic Criteria: From Freud to DSM-IV.' Journal of Traumatic Stress, 7(4) 681-698.

[28] Eef Meerschman, Liesbet Cockx, Mohammad Monirul Islam, Fun Meeuws and Marc Van Meirvenne (2011), 'Geostatistical Assessment of the Impact of World War I on the Spatial Occurrence of Soil Heavy Metals', AMBIO 40: 417-424.

[29] C.S. Myers (2012), Shell Shock in France, 1914-1918. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p26

[30] J.P. Wilson (1994), op cit

[31] R.C. Kessler, P. Berglund, O. Delmer, R. Jin, K.R. Merikangas, and E.E. Walters (2005), 'Lifetime Prevalence and Age-of-Onset Distributions of DSM-IV Disorders in the National Comorbidity Survey Replication', Archives of General Psychiatry, 62(6): 593-602; R.C. Kessler, W.T. Chiu, O. Demler, K.R. Merikangas, and E.E. Walters (2005), 'Prevalence, Severity, and Comorbidity of 12-month DSM-IV Disorders in the National Comorbidity Survey Replication.' Archives of General Psychiatry, 62(6): 617-627.

[32] J.T.V.M. de Jong, I.H. Komproe, M. van Ommeren, M. El Masri, N. Khaled, W. van de Put and D. Somasundaram (2001), 'Lifetime Events and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in 4 Postconflict Settings', Journal of the American Medical Association, 286 (5).

[33] Ronald C. Kessler, Amanda Sonnega, Evelyn Bromet, Michael Hughes, Christopher B Nelson (1995), 'Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in the National Comorbidity Survey', Arch Gen Psychiatry, 52:1048-1060. Available at http://mres.gmu.edu/pmwiki/uploads/Main/C3T3.pdf

[34] Ibid

[35] Charles B Nemeroff, J. Douglas Bremner, Edna B. Foa, Helen S. Mayberg, Carol S.North, Murray B. Stein (2006), 'Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: A State-of-the-Science Review.' Journal of Psychiatric Research 40:1-21.

[36] Ibid

[37] Bradley D Grinage (2003), op cit

[38] Scott Johnson (2014), 'The New Theory that Could Explain Crime and Violence in America', Matter. Available at https://medium.com/matter/945462826399/

[39] B. D. Perry (2001), op cit

[40] RAND (2008), 'Invisible Wounds of War, Psychological and Cognitive Injuries, Their Consequences, and Services to Assist Recovery', Rand Corporation, Santa Monica.

[41] Zabia Sarfraz (2013), 'Psychosocial and Psychological Impact of Conflict and Violence.' Paper commissioned for this report.

[42] Please note this reflects data collected in December 2012 and January 2013, prior to the elections in May 2013.

[43] BBC (2014), 'Fizza Malik: Face of Pakistan's Latest Tragedy', 4 March 2013. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-26440147; The Express Tribune (2014), 'Fizza Malik: A Life Snuffed Out', 4 March 2014. Available at http://tribune.com.pk/story/678623/fizza-malik-a-life-snuffed-out/; The Express Tribune (2014), 'Firing Ensues in District Court', 3 March 2014. Available at http://tribune.com.pk/story/678286/firing-ensues-in-district-court-in-islamabad/

[44] Dawn.com (2014), 'Fizza Malik: Beyond the Death Toll', 5 March 2014. Available at http://www.dawn.com/news/1090984/fizza-malik-beyond-the-death-toll

[45] South Asia Terrorism Portal, see: http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm

[46] World Health Organisation and UNICEF (2012), 'WHO and UNICEF Condemn Attacks on Health Workers in Pakistan', 18 December 2012. Available at http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/statements/2012/polio_worker_killings_20121218/en/

[47] Figures from: BBC (2014), 'Pakistan Polio Workers Shot Dead in Karachi.' 21 January 2014. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-25823154; Daily Times (2014), 'Bomb Attack on Polio Security Team in Charsadda Kills Seven', 23 January 2014. Available at http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/national/23-Jan-2014/bomb-attack-on-polio-security-team-in-charsadda-kills-seven; Kathy Gannon (2014), 'Pakistani Polio Strain Threatens Global Campaign', 17 February 2014. Available at http://www.journalgazette.net/article/20140217/NEWS10/140219392/1005/NEWS10; BBC (2014), 'Suspected Militants Attack Pakistan Polio Protection Team', 11 March 2014. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-26527440.

[48] Reporters Without Borders (2013), World Press Freedom Index. Reporters Without Borders. Available at http://fr.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/classement_2013_gb-bd.pdf; Latest figures from World Press Freedom Index 2014, available at https://rsf.org/index2014/en-asia.php

[49] Figures from Committee to Protect Journalists, available at https://cpj.org/killed/asia/pakistan/

[50] World Bank (2011a), World Development Report 2011. Washington DC: World Bank. p153, 155

[51] Saroop Ijaz (2013), 'Criminal Justice in Pakistan.' Paper commissioned for this report.

[52] For a perspective on Jirgas, see: Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme (2012), 'The Jirga: Justice and Conflict Transformation', Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme. Available at http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/The%20Jirga%20justice%20and%20conflict%20transformation.pdf

[53] D. L. Coutu (2002), 'How Resilience Works', Harvard Business Review, May 2002

[54] Alex Evans and David Steven (2009), 'Risks and Resilience in a New Global Era', Renewal, 17.1. Available at http://globaldashboard.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/Renewal_resilience_article.pdf

[55] Mary J De Silva, Sharon R Huttly, Trudy Harpham and Michael G Kenward (2007), 'Social Capital and Mental Health: A Comparative Analysis of Four Low Income Countries.' Social Science & Medicine, 64 (1); Anirudh Krishna and Elizabeth Shrader (1999), Social Capital Assessment Tool, Prepared for the Conference on Social Capital and Poverty Reduction, The World Bank, Washington DC, June 22-24 1999

[56] De Silva et al (2007), op cit

[57] Hina Junejo (2013), 'Case Studies Illustrating Hope through Youth and Community Empowerment', Paper commissioned for this report.

[58] The phrase 'binding constraint' was coined by George Turkington. See Sir Michael Barber (2013), The Good News from Pakistan – How a Revolutionary New Approach to Education Reform in Punjab shows the Way Forward for Pakistan and Development Aid Everywhere. London: Reform. Available at http://www.reform.co.uk/resources/0000/0688/The_good_news_from_Pakistan_final.pdf

[59] Skaperdas, Rodrigo Soares, Alys Willman, and Stephen C Miller (2009), Cost of Violence. Washington DC: World Bank. Available at http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2009/03/11304946/costs-violence

[60] Molly Elgin-Cossart, Bruce Jones, and Jane Esberg (2012), Pathways to Change: Baseline Study to Identify Theories of Change on Political Settlements and Confidence Building. New York: Center on International Cooperation¸ New York University; Department for International Development (2010), Building Peaceful States and Societies: A DFID Practice Paper. Available at http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON75.pdf

[61] The Constitution of Pakistan (1947), 'Chapter 1 – Fundamental Rights: article 9'. Available at http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html

[62] World Bank (2011a), op cit

[63] World Health Organization (2008), Preventing Violence and Reducing its Impact: How Development Agencies can Help. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2008/9789241596589_eng.pdf

[64] World Health Organization (2013), Global and Regional Estimates of Violence Against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-Partner Sexual Violence. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/85239/1/9789241564625_eng.pdf

[65] World Bank (2011a), op cit

[66] World Health Organization (2007) 'The Cycles of Violence: The Relationship between Childhood Maltreatment and the Risk of Later Becoming a Victim or Perpetrator of Violence.' Available at http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/98783/E90619.pdf

[67] L Rowell Huesman (2011), The Contagion of Violence: The extent, the processes, and the outcomes. Available at http://rcgd.isr.umich.edu/aggr/articles/Huesmann/2011.Huesmann.The%20Contagion%20of%20Violence.NAS%20Press.pdf

[68] Eyad Halluq (2003), 'An Epidemic of Violence', Palestine-Israel Journal, 10(4). Available at http://www.pij.org/details.php?id=59

[69] World Bank (2011a), op cit

[70] World Bank (2011a), op cit; The Economist (2010) 'Sri Lanka's Post-War Recovery: Rebuilding, but at a Cost.' August 19, 2010. Available at http://www.economist.com/node/16847146; Isobel Coleman (2010) 'Rwanda: Road to Recovery', Council of Foreign Relations. Available at http://www.cfr.org/rwanda/rwanda-road-recovery/p21853; North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (2013) 'NATO's Role in Kosovo.' Available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48818.htm

[71] World Health Organization (2014), 'The Public Health Approach'. Available at http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/public_health/en/

[72] Cure Violence, see http://cureviolence.org/about/

[73] The Northern Ireland Peace Agreement (also known as the Good Friday Agreement), see: http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IE%20GB_980410_Northern%20Ireland%20Agreement.pdf

[74] Eve Binks and Neil Ferguson (2007), 'Legacies of Conflict: Children in Northern Ireland.' In A.A. Hosin (Ed.), Responses to Traumatized Children (pp. 228-246). Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

[75] Own calculations – Population Census Organisation (1998), 'Population Size and Growth of Major Cities' Census 1998, Government of Pakistan. Available at www.census.gov.pk/MajorCities.htm; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (2012), Census 2011: Key Statistics for Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. Available at http://www.nisra.gov.uk/Census/key_report_2011.pdf

[76] Eve Binks and Neil Ferguson (2007), op cit

[77] Northern Ireland Policing Board (2005) People's Attitudes and Experiences of Policing, Violence and Community Safety in North Belfast. Institute for Conflict Research. Available at http://www.community-relations.org.uk/fs/doc/North_Belfast_Youth_Survey.pdf

[78] The Truth & Reconciliation Commission (1998), Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Vol 3, p3. Available at http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/Volume%203.pdf; for additional information see: David Abrahams (2010), 'A Synopsis of Urban Violence in South Africa', International Review of the Red Cross, 92(878). Available at http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/irrc-878-abrahams.pdf

[79] Patrick Burton (2006), 'Easy Prey: Results of the National Youth Victimisation Study', SA Crime Quarterly No. 16, Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention. Available at http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/CQ16Burton.pdf

[80] World Health Organization (2002), World Report on Violence and Health. Available at http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2002/9241545615_eng.pdf

[81] World Bank (2011a), op cit, p113.

[82] Alejandro Gaviria (1998), 'Increasing Returns and the Evolution of Violent Crime', Department of Economics, UCSD. Available at http://escholarship.org/uc/item/6x42726z#page-14

[83] Own calculations – United Nations Population Division (2014), 'World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision'. Available at http://esa.un.org/wpp/; World Bank (2011a), op cit, p113.

[84] National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Division of Violence Prevention (2012), Understanding Youth Violence: Fact Sheet. Atlanta: Center for Disease Control and Prevention. Available at http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/yv-factsheet-a.pdf

[85] Alfred Blumstein (2003), Youth, Guns and Violent Crime. Princeton: The Future of Children. Available at http://futureofchildren.org/futureofchildren/publications/docs/12_02_03.pdf

[86] John M. Hagedorn (2005) 'The Global Impact of Gangs.' Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 21(2):153-169. Available at http://www.gangresearch.net/Archives/hagedorn/globalimpact.pdf

[87] World Bank (2011a), op cit, p15

[88] Rachel Eloise Berney (2008), The Pedagogical City: How Bogotá, Colombia, is Reshaping the Role of Public Space. Ann Arbor: ProQuest LLC. p77

[89] Yvonne Riano (2011), 'Addressing Urban Fear and Violence in Bogotá through the 'Culture of Citizenship': Scope and Challenges of a Unique Approach.' In: Martin Butler, Jens Martin Gurr, Olaf Kaltmeier, (eds) EthniCities: Metropolitan Cultures and Ethnic Identities in the Americas, Bilingual Review Press, Arizona State University and Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier. p209-226.

[90] For more on the experience of denial, see E. Cairns and R. Wilson (1984), 'The Impact of Political Violence on Mild Psychiatric Morbidity in Northern Ireland', The British Journal of Psychiatry, 145: 631-63; Tom Bartlett (2013) 'The Science of Hatred', The Chronicle of Higher Education, Available at http://chronicle.com/article/The-Science-of-Hatred/143157

[91] Commission for Victims and Survivors, see: http://www.cvsni.org/

[92] North American Congress on Latin America (2012), 'Colombians Commemorate First Official Day Honoring Conflict Victims (photo essay)', Available at http://nacla.org/colombians-commemorate-first-official-day-honoring-conflict-victims-photo-essay

[93] Apartheid Museum, see: http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/

[94] Wave Trauma Centre, see: http://www.wavetraumacentre.org.uk/about

[95] The Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture, see http://www.trauma.org.za/

[96] Signal Tribune Newsletter (2013), 'LB City Prosecutor Says Work to Reduce Gang Activity has Helped Put a 'Dent' in Violent Crime', 24 May 2013. Available at http://www.signaltribunenewspaper.com/?p=19607

[97] For additional information on second-chance programs, see: David Wilson, Catherine Gallagher and Doris MacKenzie (2000), 'A Meta-Analysis of Corrections-Based Education, Vocation and Work Programs for Adult Offenders', Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 37(4): 347-368

[98] One Man Can campaign, see: http://www.genderjustice.org.za/projects/one-man-can.html

[99] National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders, see: http://www.nicro.org.za/interventions/school-and-community-interventions/

[100] Youth Action Northern Ireland (undated), 'Young Men & Violence Project.' Available at http://www.youthaction.org/dynamic/programmemain.aspx?Author=YM&prog=167&ParCat=22&pid=5

[101] Neil Jarman (2002), Managing Disorder: Responding to Interface Violence in North Belfast. Belfast: Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, Research Branch. Available at http://www.ofmdfmni.gov.uk/managingdisorder.pdf

[102] Open Architecture Network (undated) 'VPUU: Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading.' Available at http://openarchitecturenetwork.org/projects/dlygad2_vpuu

[103] Truth & Reconciliation Commission, see: http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/

[104] The Forgiveness Project, see: http://theforgivenessproject.com/stories/desmond-tutu-south-africa/

[105] World Bank (2011a), op cit

[106] C. Steenkamp (2005), 'The Legacy of War: Conceptualizing a 'Culture of Violence' to Explain Violence after Peace Accords.' The Round Table 94 (379).

[107] World Bank (2011a), op cit

[108] Lant Pritchett and Frauke de Weijer (2011), Fragile States: Stuck in a Capability Trap? Washington, DC: World Bank. Available at https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/9109

[109] T S Eliot (2001), Four Quartets. London: Faber & Faber

[110] Naming the Dead (undated), 'About.' Available at http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/namingthedead/about/?lang=en

[111] See hazara.net; and organisations such as acidsurvivorspakistan.org/

[112] Christians in Pakistan (undated), 'Pictures – All saints Church Kohati Gate Peshawar pictures of Martyr.' Available at http://www.christiansinpakistan.com/pictures-all-saints-church-kohati-gate-peshawar-pictures-of-martyr/

[113] The Express Tribune (2013), 'Balochistan missing persons: Families on March for Their Relatives', 14 December 2013. Available at http://tribune.com.pk/story/645477/balochistan-missing-persons-families-on-march-for-their-relatives/

[114] For other models, see: Northern Ireland - Commission for Victims and Survivors, available at http://www.cvsni.org/; South Africa - The Truth & Reconciliation Commission, available at http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/

[115] World Health Organization (2002), World report on violence and health: summary. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at http:www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/summary_en.pdf

[116] For examples of existing statistical agencies, see: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, http://www.pbs.gov.pk/, Provincial Bureau of Statistics – Punjab, http://www.bos.gop.pk/; Sindh, http://sindhbos.gov.pk/; Balochistan, http://www.balochistan.gov.pk/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=1274&Itemid=677 ; Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/Departments/BOS/

[117] For examples of existing surveys, see: Labour Force Survey, http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/labour-force-survey-2012-13-annual-report, Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement, http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/pakistan-social-and-living-standards-measurement and Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, http://www.nips.org.pk/PDHS_-_2012-13.htm.

[118] Nemeroff et al (2006), op cit.

[119] Nilamadhab Kar (2011), 'Cognitive Behavioural Therapy for the Treatment of Post-Traumatic Disorder: A Review', Neuropsychiatr Dis Treat., 7:167-181. Available at http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3083990/; Scott N. Compton, John S. March, David Brent, Anne Marie Albano, Robin Weersin, and John Curry (2004), 'Cognitive-Behavioural Psychotherapy for Anxiety and Depressive Disorders in Children and Adolescents: An Evidence-Based Medicine Review', J. Am. Acad. Child Adolesc. Psychiatry, 43(8):930-959. Available at http://www.sci.sdsu.edu/chaamp/compton_weersing_2004.pdf; National Institute for Clinical Excellence, (2005), 'Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD): The Management of PTSD in Adults and Children in Primary and Secondary Care', National Institute for Clinical Excellence. Available at http://www.nice.org.uk/nicemedia/live/10966/29769/29769.pdf

[120] Figures from: Dawn.com (2013), 'Death Toll from Peshawar Church Bombing Rises to 81', 23 September 2013. Available at http://dawn.com/news/1044846/death-toll-from-peshawar-church-bombing-rises-to-81; The Express Tribune (2013), '19 Killed in Peshawar Van Attack', 27 September 2013. Available at http://tribune.com.pk/story/610166/two-killed-10-injured-in-peshawar-blast/; Dawn.com (2013), 'Traders Announce 3-day Mourning over Qissa Khwani blast', 30 September 2013. Available at http://dawn.com/news/1046450/traders-announce-3-day-mourning-over-qissa-khwani-blast

[121] The Express Tribune (2013), 'Peshawar Church Blast: Names that Came to Nought', 24 September 2013. Available at http://tribune.com.pk/story/608221/peshawar-church-blast-names-that-came-to-nought/

[122] The Express Tribune (2013), 'Victim of Peshawar Blast: Inmate gets Last Glimpse of Daughter who Died in Peshawar Blast', 26 September 2013. Available at http://tribune.com.pk/story/609278/victim-of-peshawar-blast-inmate-gets-last-glimpse-of-daughter-who-died-in-peshawar-blast/; The Express Tribune (2013), 'A Dream that Didn't Come True', 28 September 2013. Available at http://tribune.com.pk/story/610589/a-dream-that-didnt-come-true/

[123] The News (2013), 'Compensation Cheques in the Name of the Dead', 15 October 2013. Available at http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-208377-Compensation-cheques-in-the-name-of-dead

[124] Media Commission Review (2013) 'Negative facets of news media' Available at http://mediacommissionreview.org/negative-facets-of-news-media/#.UwYHm_l_uSo

[125] Ibid; Usman Manzoor (2013), 'SC May Decide Deadline for Media Code of Conduct', Pakistan Press Foundation Available at http://www.pakistanpressfoundation.org/front-page/71980/sc-may-decide-deadline-for-media-code-of-conduct/

[126] Bridget Murray (2002), 'Psychology takes a tenuous hold in Pakistan', Monitor on Psychology, 33(1), American Psychological Association. Available at http://www.apa.org/monitor/jan02/pakistan.aspx

[127] Wahiba Abu-Ras, Ali Gheith, and Francine Cournos (2008), 'The Imam's Role in Mental Health Promotion: A Study at 22 Mosques in New York City's Muslim Community', Journal of Muslim Mental Health, 3(2). Available at http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15564900802487576#.Utf9SBDV9AE

[128] Dr Muzaffar Husain (2012), 'Law making: Mental Health Legislation in Pakistan', Dawn Inpapermagazine, September 2012, Available at http://www.dawn.com/news/751254/law-making-mental-health-legislation-in-pakistan/1

[129] Sindh Mental Health Act 2012, Government of Sindh –Available at http://www.pamh.org.pk/Compiled%20Sindh%20Mental%20Health%20Sindh.pdf

[130] David B. Wilson, Leana Allen Bouffard, and Doris L. Mackenzie (2005),' A Quantitative Review of Structured, Group-Oriented Cognitive-Behavioural Programs for Offenders', Criminal Justice and Behaviour, 32(2):172-204. Available at http://www.moral-reconation-therapy.com/Resources/ReviewOfCognitiveBeh.pdf; Sandra Jo Wilson & Mark W. Lipsey (2007), 'School-Based Interventions for Aggressive and Disruptive Behaviour: Update of a Meta-Analysis', Am J. Preve Med., 33(2 Suppl): S130-S143. Available at http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2246021/

[131] World Health Organization (2002), op cit.

[132] Ibid

[133] Women Without Borders (2010), Mothers for Change – a SAVE Research Project. Available at http://www.women-without-borders.org/projects/underway/38/

[134] Ian Bannon and Maria C Correia (eds) (2006), The Other Half of Gender. Washington DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank. Available at https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/7029/365000Other0ha101OFFICIAL0USE0ONLY1.pdf?sequence=1

[135] For examples of projects working successfully with religious groups, see: Ali Mohammad Mir and Gul Rashida Shaikh (2013), 'Islam and Family Planning: Changing Perceptions of Health Care Providers and Medical Faculty in Pakistan', Global Health: Science and Practice, 1(2): 228-236; Mary K. Burket (2006), Advancing Reproductive Health and Family Planning through Religious Leaders and Faith-Based Organisations. Pathfinder International.

[136] Kausar Suhail, Farah Malik, Iftikhar Ahmad Mir, Syeda Salma Hasan, Abida Sarwar and Samra Tanveer (2009) 'Psychological Health of Earthquake Survivors in Pakistan', Psychology Developing Societies, 21:183.

[137] Chayn, see: http://chayn.org/

[138] Judith K. Bass, Jeannie Annan, Sarah McIvor Murray, Debra Kaysen, Shelly Griffiths, Talita Cetinoglu, Karin Wachter, Laura K Murray, and Paul A Bolton (2013), 'Controlled Trial of Psychotherapy for Congolese Survivors of Sexual Violence', The New England Journal of Medicine, 2013; 368:2182-2191.

[139] Alcoholics Anonymous, (1984) Pass it On: The Story of Bill Wilson and How the A.A. Message Reached the World. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services Inc.

[140] Alcoholics Anonymous (2014), The Big Book Online: Foreword to Fourth Edition. Available at http://www.aa.org/bigbookonline/en_f4e.cfm

[141] Narcotics Anonymous, see: https://www.na.org/; Nicotine Anonymous, see: http://www.nicotine-anonymous.org/.

[142] William D Savedoff and Katherine Douglas Martel (2011), 'Cash on Delivery Aid for Health: What Indicators Would Work Best?' Working Paper 275. Washington DC: Center for Global Development. Available at http://international.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1425135_file_Savedoff_Martel_cod_health_FINAL_0.pdf

[143] US Department of Veterans Affairs (2014), 'Mobile App: PTSD Coach.' Available at http://www.ptsd.va.gov/public/materials/apps/PTSDCoach.asp

[144] Pakistan Business Council, see: http://www.pbc.org.pk/

[145] The Development Impact Bond Working Group (2013), Investing in Social Outcomes: Development Impact Bonds – The Report of the Development Impact Bond Working Group. Washington DC and London: The Center for Global Development and Social Finance. Available at http://www.socialfinance.org.uk/sites/default/files/cgd-sf-dibreport_online.pdf

[146] United Nations (undated), 'Fact Sheet – Secretary-General's Priorities for 2012-2017'. New York: United Nations. Available at http://visit.un.org/wcm/webdav/site/visitors/shared/documents/pdfs/FS_SG_BanKimoon_Priorities_2012-2017.pdf

[147] The World Health Organization (2014), 'Violence and Injury Prevention: The Global Campaign for Violence Prevention.' Available at http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/global_campaign/en/index.html; Objectives for the campaign are taken from: Etienne G Krug, Linda L Dahlberg, James A Mercy, Anthony B Zwi, and Rafael Lozano (eds) (2002), World Report on Violence and Health. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2002/924154561 5_eng.pdf?ua=1

[148] World Bank (2011a), op cit

[149] World Bank (2011b), 'Operationalizing the 2011 World Development Report: Conflict, Security, and Development', paper prepared for the April 26 2011, Development Committee Meeting. Washington DC: World Bank. Available at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEVCOMMINT/Documentation/22884392/DC2011-0003(E)WDR2011.pdf

[150] Governments of Nigeria, Pakistan and Afghanistan (2012), Polio Global Emergency Action Plan 2012-2013: Action to Stop Polio Now in Nigeria, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at http://www.polioeradication.org/portals/0/document/resources/strategywork/eap_201205.pdf

[151] Jonathan Goodhand (2000), 'Research in Conflict Zones: Ethics and Accountability', Forced Migration Review 8. Available at http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR08/fmr8.4.pdf

[152] Naveed Ahmad Shinwari (2012), Understanding FATA: 2011 – Attitudes Towards Governance, Religion & Aociety in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Volume V. CAMP: Islamabad. Available at http://www.understandingfata.org/uf-volume-v/Understanding_FATA_Vol-V-11.pdf

[153] WMA Declaration of Helsinki – Ethical Principles for Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (2013) Available at http://www.wma.net/en/30publications/10policies/b3/index.html.pdf?print-media-type&footer-right=[page]/[toPage]

[154] Lisa Aronson Fontes (2004), 'Ethics in Violence Against Women Research: The Sensitive, the Dangerous, and the Overlooked', Ethics & Behavior, 14 (2), 141-174. Available at http://www.academia.edu/515157/Ethics_in_violence_against_women_research_The_sensitive_the_dangerous_and_the_overlooked

[155] Ibid

[156] A. B. Zwi, et al. (2006), 'Placing Ethics in the Centre: Negotiating New Spaces for Ethical Research in Conflict Situations', Global Public Health, 1(3). Available at http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~chaser/readings/Armed%20conflict%20and%20Uganda/ethical%20research%20in%20conlfict%20situations.pdf

[157] Jonathan Goodhand (2000), op cit

[158] Rozan (2009), Guidelines for the Protection of Dignity and Rights of the Survivors of Violence. Islamabad: Rozan. Available at https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDQQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.rozan.org%2Fmediapdf.php%3Fid%3D44&ei=tEh6Uq7rEMuqhAeJo4HADA&usg=AFQjCNEm57A8B1s9kF1HEIIlcA2Bov0meQ&bvm=bv.55980276,d.ZGU

[159] Izhar Hunzai (2013), Conflict Dynamics in Gilgit-Baltistan. United States Institute of Peace Special Report. Available at http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/SR321.pdf; Huma Yusuf (2012), Conflict Dynamics in Karachi. United States Institute of Peace Peaceworks. Available at http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW82-Conflict%20Dynamics%20in%20Karachi.pdf; Center for Research & Security Studies (2011), Balochistan's Maze of Violence. Center for Research & Security Studies. Available at http://crss.pk/downloads/Reports/Research-Reports/Balochistan's-Maze-of-Violence/Final%20Report.pdf; Kashmir Initiative Group (2012), Background to Kashmir Conflict: Challenges and Opportunities. Kashmir Initiative Group. Available at http://www.c-r.org/sites/c-r.org/files/BackgroundtotheKashmirConflict_KIG_Sep2013.pdf

[160] Leslie Kish (1949), 'A Procedure for Objective Respondent Selection within the Household', Journal of the American Association, 44(247). Available at http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/2280236?uid=3738032&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21103264235 61

[161] Globalgiving (2013), 'Globalgiving Storytelling Project'. Available at http://www.globalgiving.co.uk/stories/

[162] Rozan (2013), Next Generation Voices Research – Life Histories Research Report. Islamabad: Rozan.