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Article should contain conclusion and complete list of references.

Figures and tables should be numbered consecutively in Arabic numeral (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, and Fig. 3). Do not incorporate colorful figures and graphs in the article.

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Editorial Note

Welcome to the eighth issue of the International Journal of History and Social Sciences, (jhss) the research journal of Department of History, University of Karachi. In this issue we have selected four papers for publication which focuses on various fields of Social Sciences.

Ghazal Khawaja in her article, 'Performance Challenges for the Civil Service of Pakistan' discusses the reasons for the incompetence of the civil servants in Pakistan. She considers the continuous political interference, inadequately trained staff, non-merit promotion and posting and no incentive for good performance as the main causes of ineptitude. Furthermore, she asserts that the motivation of prospective candidates to join Civil service is not for service delivery but to gain access to power and social status in Pakistan. She recommends the devolution of power, introduction of new policies, curbing of corruption for the improvement in governance in public sector.

The research article of Dr. Hina Khan is an interesting study of the correlation between the concept of welfare state and the initiatives taken by the civil society for welfare works in Pakistan. This paper presents a comprehensive account of the concept of welfare state and also traces the history of civil society’s welfare work especially during the early three decades of Pakistan. By countering the neo-liberal perspective that rejects the need of a welfare state, the author accentuates the significance of the welfare state and civil society partnership in today’s world. Moreover, this research intends to highlight the hurdles in the way of civil society welfare work with the increasing limitations of the concept and working of welfare state, generally across the world and particularly during the early days of Pakistan.

Brundaban Mishra in his article ‘State Formation in Early Modern Orissa [India]: Ecology and Geopolitics in Sambalpur Kingdom’ studies the political disruption of Gajapati Empire in Orissa which resulted in the establishment of kingdom of Sambalpur. The main emphasis of the author is on rich ecology and geo-political situation of Sambalpur kingdom led to continues power struggle between the rulers of
Sambalpur and western Orrisa and Eastern Chhatisgarh. Mishra has explored the richness of the area and develops a case that not the political but economic interest of the rulers was the main reason behind the power struggle.

Tayyaba Zarif’s (et. al.) article ‘Risks in Globalization by Under Develop Country and Tools for Managing Risk: An Analytical Point of Views for India – Pakistan Trade Relation’ analyse the reasons of trade deficits between India and Pakistan and its impact on Pakistan. Authors conducted a survey of individuals and businessmen which inferred that security risks, brand recognition, unemployment, trade deficit and inflation are the major impacts on Pakistan’s economy.

I hope that our readers will be benefited from these studies and will further research various issues of social sciences.

Jhss is currently accepting manuscripts for upcoming issues based on original qualitative or quantitative research regarding topics related to Social Sciences. Please direct any manuscripts and queries, to jhss@uok.edu.pk

Dr. Nasreen Afzal
Editor in Chief
Performance Challenges for the Civil Service of Pakistan

Dr. Ghazal Khawaja Hummayun Akhtar *
Sumrin Kalia**

Abstract

Bureaucracy is crucial to any government. Pakistan’s fundamental problems of governance are political in nature and are not due to lack of technical expertise. Performance is hugely compromised due to power rift between different political and military segments of the country resulting in poor quality of service delivery and slow growth. The vested interests of these elements hinder any major reform efforts as maintaining the status quo is their priority. The civil servants are also extensions of these power circles and they too have no inclination of bringing about any major change in the structure. This paper analyses the role of civil services in Pakistan’s failure as a welfare state and discusses the causes of their inability to perform well.

Key words: Bureaucracy, Power Rift, Vested Interests, Welfare State

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Civil Services as a Key Players

Civil servants play a crucial role in governance by being key participants in policy formulation and policy implementation in all sectors of the government and in all parts of the society. The extent of the role of civil service in the policy process is diverse largely dependent on historical, cultural, political and economic conditions of a country. Civil services are responsible to translate public demands into actions. They are not only implementers but are also policy makers. It is therefore essential that civil servants get properly trained in the field of public policy and administration. Good public policy is the backbone of good governance in any political system. There is broad agreement among policy makers throughout the world that an efficient and professional civil service is a necessary, though not sufficient, requirement for good governance in any country1.

It would be accurate to state that the world has moved beyond the old idea that civil service is for people with mediocre intellect while business and industry or science and technology is where talent is needed. These people need not only be highly skilled in their field of work but must also posse’s leadership, motivation, negotiation, and conflict management skills. Unfortunately, in Pakistan the concept of a mediocre civil services still seems prevalent. Today Pakistan's civil services attract a pool of candidates which is at an average level of intellect. Most talented and highly educated people tend to prefer private multinational firms which promise higher pays, consistent advancement of career and are based on meritocracy. The persistent interference of bureaucracy by military and political elites has left the civil services in Pakistan as a less desirable career choice. This decline in intellectual standards of civil services is a cause of little contribution from civil servants in any policy change in the country.

Pakistan’s bureaucracy, although not large by international standards, suffers from structural weaknesses and progress in civil service reforms has been quite limited. Efficiency, neutrality, objectivity and attitude towards common citizens of bureaucracy in Pakistan no longer meets the standards. The significant social development gap and stark inequities despite impressive macroeconomic performance in Pakistan provide ample testimony, to the inadequacy of the governance structures in place and the failure of delivery of basic public services to the poor and non-elite

classes. Pakistan's civil service should evolve towards a more streamlined structure, characterized by well-trained officers with strong transferable skills, who can effectively multi-task and regularly deliver objectives to set standards.

The strong emphasis on the quality of civil services requires that the state reforms and rebuilds its public institutions. While a Civil Service Reform Unit (CSRU) has been created to initiate and oversee the implementation of reforms, there has been little progress in civil service restructuring, with the politically difficult issues involved, future reforms are likely to be thwarted. Despite the increased autonomy of the Federal and Provincial Public Service Commissions, ensuring merit-based recruitment into the bureaucracy continues to remain a challenge. In 2008 the National Commission for Governmental Reforms (NCGR) developed a comprehensive report on intended reforms, but the implementation remains hindered by political unwillingness. It is crucial that reforms are transparent and must be executed with caution as there is a need to strengthen the bureaucracy without maintaining the status quo. Meritocracy, fair play and capacity to change are the major components of a successful bureaucracy in today's dynamic world.

**Determinants of Public Service Motivation in Pakistan**

In fields such as public administration, public management, and political science, public service motivation is used to refer to mechanisms unique to public institutions that energize and direct behavior.

In subsequent analysis of public service motivation and government effectiveness, Rainey and Steinbauer offer a more global definition of public service motivation. They associate the construct with altruism by defining public service motivation as "**General, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind**".

The Rainey and Steinbauer definition is similar to Brewer and Selden who defined the concept as "**the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful...public, community, and social**

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service”, emphasizing its behavioral implications and applicability beyond the public sector”\(^3\).

Recent evidence shows that in Pakistan situation seems to be different as most of the time the public servants are using their power and abilities for self interest rather than community service. This has been triggered by a dismal pay package. Adjusting for job security, the pay package of a senior federal secretary is half of what is earned by an MD in a domestic corporation. This Report reaffirms this finding and in addition points out that the “Problem of low wages is further exacerbated by limited availability of official accommodation and other facilities. Many officers end up paying almost their entire salary for house rent”\(^4\).

The low salary structure, in turn, leads to low morale, poor performance and sets incentives for heightened corruption. There could also be second-order effects of low pays, which have not been empirically measured for Pakistan, such as, non-corrupt individuals opting out of the civil service because of the dis-functionality of the salary structure.

Another major impediment in efficient service delivery in Pakistan is dominance of Clientelism which is usually defined as an informal relationship between two actors enjoying asymmetrical socioeconomic power where the patron has the upper hand because he or she controls the kind of resources that his or her clients pursue but often cannot receive. Clientelism also entails reciprocity in the form of self-regulating and mutually beneficial exchanges of favors of unequal magnitude (i.e., clients may receive jobs, contracts, permits, pensions, cash payments, and other, more basic goods in return for votes).

Prior studies show that there is substantial theoretical and empirical evidence showing how clientelism is most entrenched in polities where resources are scarce and controlled by entrenched political cliques; a condition prevalent in Pakistan. Wilson, Manzettil and Carole argue that there is an increasing body of literature empirically

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showing that clientelism and weak government institutions are strongly related.\(^5\)

In Pakistan as Cheema and Sayeed note that the ability of officials to retain key posts is based on political influence and not on an objective set of institutional rules. Similarly, appointments and promotions are not based on specified ‘rules’ but on the ability of individual officials to sustain political protection. It is, therefore, rational for officials to accommodate ‘clientelist patrons’ offering the highest short-term payoffs, even if this means undermining ‘rules’, policy objectives and social welfare.\(^6\)

A study conducted on performance of civil servants concludes that enforcement of rules in the department, transparency of decisions in the department; meritocracy, high wages and honesty with job regarding public service delivery have positive impact on public sector employees. Whereas, politicization of decision in the department and lack of employee’s voice in the decisions of top management have negative effects on the performance of public sector employees.\(^7\)

Most recent study by the World Bank noted that low incentives and opaque selection and promotion processes, which generally favor less qualified people with connections over trained educated and hardworking candidates, has led to a steep decline in the service’s ability to attract and retain qualified and talented personnel.\(^8\) This has severely compromised the performance and efficiency capacity of the civil services of the country leading to poor governance. Motivation to enter the civil services in Pakistan, has remained confined to gaining access to power circles and corruption opportunities without any consideration of service delivery.

**Civil Service Reforms and New Public Management**

Pakistan’s civil services still have a bureaucratic employment policy which is similar to the operation of Weberian practices and principles of rule-governed rational action. The administrative

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system is subjected to a bureaucratization of procedures to ensure that decisions and actions are consistent, formalized and systematically addressed activities through a pre-defined application of rules and processes. The reform activities in any country require a careful consideration of many factors including its history, geography, culture, political system, and civil society. With increasing globalization and competition for services, capital, and other resources, each nation of the world needs to develop government systems that can respond to the fast changing economic environment internationally. Several reform initiatives have been proposed in Pakistan however none appears to have been implemented so far. Governance requires that public-sector resources are maintained under some degree of political control and strategies that sustain the government’s capacity to act are developed. The New Public Management involves application of physical, financial and human resources to realizing government objectives. It is a more “flexible, market-based form”. It embodies multitasking, restructured career paths, abolition of seniority as a basis of promotion and greater emphasis on equity considerations. Adoptability of NPM-based HRM reforms has an inherent challenge of policy transfer. This challenge is greater in Pakistan particularly as the public enterprises enjoy less flexibility and autonomy in management of human resources than the private sector due to centralizing tendency.

As noted earlier NCGR proposed guidelines for HR policies that need to be implemented consistently with the devolution plan. However, those were not given any consideration by the governments in Pakistan. Dr. Ishrat Husain in his article points out the importance of government reforms pointing to the leakages of resources due to an incompetent rigid governance structure. He states:

“Studies have shown that, of the central government’s budget allocation for running a school, the actual amount that reaches the school after passing through various government channels is only a tenth of the original allocation. Exclusive preoccupation with expenditures on education and health while ignoring the myriad problems of the governance of these sectors at all levels is palpably wrong. Reforms in the governance structure of the public sector and regulation of the nongovernment sector will have a much stronger

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impact on the quality of these services and on access to them by the poor.“11.

A study conducted on HR practices in Public enterprises in Pakistan noted that although private sector HRM practices are introduced but there are inconsistencies/ gaps between formulated and operationalized HR practices, indicating that the formulated HR practices as rhetorically believed by HR managers are not yet implemented. The study also revealed presence of mimic isomorphism of modern HRM practices in public enterprises. It implies that mere mimicry of modern HR practices cannot help in improving performance of public enterprises until the reforms become reality in public sector12.

Implementing these reforms requires strong political will and takes both leadership and building consensus. Powerful individuals and well-organized interests will continue to avoid changes.

**Accountability as a form of Performance appraisal**

Patterns of accountability vary from country to country depending upon the social and political context. Sometimes citizens hold governments accountable through actively contacting the policymakers either individual or collectively in form of interest groups or through two channels: first, through actively contacting policymakers, either individually or collectively in the form of interest groups, with specific demands, sometimes backed up with financial contributions; and second, through the ballot box by voting out officials who were unable to satisfy these demands.

Politics is about the creation and distribution of power and governance is the mechanism which controls the relationship between the two extremes - the governed and the governors. The political process lies at the core of governance. This can be efficient only if elections are free and fair the elected are accountable; authority is divided between the legislature, the bureaucracy and the judiciary; and, power is decentralized. Unfortunately, Pakistan does not meet all of these criteria. The lethal combination of powerful personalities or families linked together by familial and economic

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interests, on the one hand, and weak institutions, on the other, has resulted in the subversion of law which lacks accountability, creates processes which are largely personal and informal and allow rulers to operate outside established institutional frameworks. Democracy in Pakistan is confined largely to the ballot (purchased or coerced) box - and that too for the legislatures only. Political parties do not hold elections for office. Decision-making is controlled by the powerful elite. Sovereignty is equated to powerful governments, not free citizens. Democracy has not been translated into visible benefits for the poor. Pakistan's people continue to remain, perhaps, the least well endowed amongst Asians generally with respect to literacy, health, incomes, and freedom.

Despite having extensive institutional setup for accountability, Pakistan has severe accountability constraints. Direct government interference in matters of accountability institutions affects their autonomy. Implementation is also hampered due to outdated laws, cumbersome procedures and opaque rules as the general public is either unaware of the laws or unable to interpret the rules, rendering enormous discretionary powers to the officials. Ismail Zafar noted in his paper that the new incumbents of the senior bureaucracy, the higher judiciary and the military, are "encouraged" to seek a career, implicitly to protect their elders from the ravages of law. Thus they control the economy, deny access to social services to the disadvantaged segments of society, and the benefits of growth have accrued to them disproportionately.

**Consequences of Political Control**

Political influences on bureaucratic performance have been in debate since years. Huber in his book argued that internal administrative considerations and external political concerns, constrain neutral bureaucrats, but within these constraints, they have the power to shape policy and the political agenda. He suggests that the "ideal bureaucratic posture... bridges the gap between ideal visions of bureaucratic professionalism in implementation and political theories of bureaucratic leadership." Paki\[13\]13

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feudal or tribal in origin has sustained its supremacy. Oriented to more benefit then policy their patronage is essentially about recruiting and managing familial and clan networks. Therefore, when any government in Pakistan comes it initiates a mass level of employments in public sector to fulfill their promises to small parties or individuals or even bureaucrats in return for their political support. This is brutal tampering with the administrative machinery which becomes not only politicized but also highly ineffective.

The historical record of political institutional evolution in Pakistan is quite weak and that has had its toll on the quality of civil service overtime. The boundaries between policy making and execution got blurred, the equilibrium in working relationship between the Minister and Civil Servants remained shaky and uneasy and the sharing of decision making space remained contested and unsettled. The patrimonial state model with its attendant mai-bap culture and patronage dispensation mechanism remains intact in its essence although the form has changed many times over. The broadening of privileged class by the inclusion of military bureaucracy and political elites has only reinforced the patrimonial tendencies. Pressures and compulsions from the political leadership in power push the ambitious Civil Servants into taking partisan positions favoring the ruling party rather than adopt a neutral stance. As a result, the performance of bureaucracy remains compromised at the cost of people. It has become conventional wisdom that the negative effects of politicization tend to be long term, and the benefits immediate.

Conclusion

In recent years the Pakistani parliament has made some landmark achievements such as the 18th 19th and 20th amendments to the constitution. All these amendments along with the 7th NFC Award have strengthened democracy by improving provincial autonomy, strengthening the process of judicial appointments, enhancing independence of election commission and defining rules for appointment of a neutral interim government.

The problem however lies in skill shortage for identifying and enunciating coherent and coordinated policies. The prevailing work ethos discourages officials from ensuring compliance; systems and procedures are cumbersome and outdated; mechanisms to ensure coordination exist but are not implemented - meetings of the

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secretaries’ committees have not been held for years on end; there is continuous interference in day-to-day management by vested interests; staff is inadequately trained because of the very short-term assignment to posts; staff selection, posting and promotions are not merit related; and the incentive structure is designed to penalize the performers.

The possible solution to these problems is devolution of power. The available evidence suggests that the direct accessibility of local policy-makers to citizens is considerably greater than that of provincial and national policy-makers, allowing the public many more channels to communicate their demands to the government. This is primarily the reason why the process of devolution must be continued further to the local governments. Each public service should be provided by the jurisdiction having control over the minimum geographic area that would internalize benefits and costs of such provision, because:

- local governments understand the concerns of local residents;
- local decision making is responsive to the people for whom the services are intended, thus encouraging fiscal responsibility and efficiency, especially if financing of services is also decentralized;
- unnecessary layers of jurisdictions are eliminated;
- inter-jurisdictional competition and innovation are enhanced.

Policies should be designed to improve governance by curbing corruption, achieving political stability, and improving regulatory quality, rule of law, and government effectiveness before dreaming any positive impact of globalization on the living conditions of people in Pakistan.

The Recommendations proposed by NCGR (National Commission for Government Reforms) must be implemented. NCGR states: "The human resource value chain which include recruitment, training, performance management, compensation and benefit, career progression and retirement are all linked together. All these components have been reviewed by the Commission to make comprehensive recommendations for improvement in governance in the public sector."  

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Operational management must conform also to standards and goals. Beneficiary participation in the setting of goals and standards should be assured through a mandatory process of public hearings by elected representatives and nominees of citizens’ rights groups. Participatory planning should be seen as an opportunity.
References


The Welfare State-Civil Society Dilemma During the first three Decades of Pakistan: A Study in Concept and History

Dr. Hina Khan*

Abstract

Welfare state, despite facing severe neoliberal criticism, is still practiced in various forms in many western and eastern countries. Muslims also cherish the welfare state as an Islamic injunction and proudly trace its origin to the early Islamic state of Madina (seventh century CE). On the other hand, the increasing limitations of the state make an equitable supply of welfare to every citizen difficult and hence lead to the entry of civil society which then serves to ameliorate the wants of the marginalized people. In this context, this paper tends to study the concept and working of state-welfarism and its nexus with the civil society’s welfare initiative with particular reference to the first three decades in the history of Pakistan. It further seeks to study how the crisis of welfare state has affected the civil society’s welfare work in Pakistan during those three decades and how it is expected to work in future.

Key words:

Welfare state, neoliberal ideology, criticism of welfare state, market forces, voluntarism, civil society, history of Pakistan

*Dr. Hina Khan is an Assistant Professor at the Department of History, University of Karachi
The Welfare-state ideal has been cherished for a long time. The idea that welfare of an individual is the prime duty of the state has been as old as ancient period and also has a sort of religious sanction in many world civilizations including the Islamic civilization. However, there has been a debate over the capacity of the state to provide basic welfare to maximum number of citizens. Similarly, the consequences of state welfarism have also been questioned. These dilemmas are still discussed in the western socio-political discourse. The idea of welfare state is facing a crisis around the world due to the stark criticism from the neo-liberal ideologues as being a constant burden on national economies and a source of parasitism among lower classes. Soon the idea of welfare state entered the academic and political discussions in many developing countries. On the other hand this debate seldom took prominence Pakistan. Here, regardless of the actual practice, it was generally understood as one basic aim and a religious duty of the state to look after the basic needs of the people. Despite lofty claims, the practice of state-sponsored welfare remained marginal due to incapacity or incompetence (or both) of the state institutions. Hence we see alternating trends in state’s willingness, efforts and expenditures on welfare during various periods. Due to this there has always been a search for an alternative source, either internal or external, to support the state in this regard.

Some governments in Pakistan were lucky enough to acquire international support for development and relief in specific circumstances. But right from the beginning the indigenous civil society offered itself as a partner in welfare administration. Since the late twentieth century, the neoliberal attack on the welfare state has led to the re-emergence of civil society as a major actor in dispensation of welfare to the less fortunate populations. Likewise, civil society sector in Pakistan also witnessed a spectacular growth in its dimensions and range of activities. Yet the concept of welfare state remained popular at least in talks and the civil society could not gain much trust and support either of the state or the people.

In this context, this paper seeks to explore the welfare state-civil society nexus in Pakistan, in the light of the conceptual debate on the efficacy and future of welfare state and the prospects of civil society taking up its role. For this purpose, the paper is organized in three

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1 For instance during 1960s Pakistan’s entry into the western alliance system was rewarded by the west with a shower of economic aid. But the flow of foreign aid for the most part of Pakistan’s history, remained uncertain, insufficient and of course attached to hidden strings of control.
sections: first a conceptual and historical study of the rise and fall of the welfare state in the west and the role of civil society in this context; second highlights the efforts and limitations of Pakistani state in fulfilling the welfare ideal during the first three decades of Pakistan’s history; and the third highlights the role of Pakistani civil society in this respect. The conclusive section tends to reach some possible way out of the dilemma.

Section I:

Welfare State and Civil Society – tracing the nexus

“A welfare state is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions – first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property; second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain ‘social contingencies’ (for example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise to individual and family crises; and third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services.”

The above definition reflects the modern concept of a welfare state as developed in the west. Nevertheless, history bears the evidence that since the ancient times the states have prioritized social welfare in their public policy thanks to religious, social and political compulsions. Charity and social welfare have been guaranteed special rewards in the hereafter in all major religions of the world. Helping the downtrodden fellow-beings has also been considered a noblesse oblige. In addition the political gains accrued through welfare policies have also been a major motive of the rulers. The earliest treatises on politics from Plato’s Republic to Kautilya Chanakya’s3 Arthashastra, contained advices to the kings to maintain a

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3 A renowned Brahman scholar of politics from 4th century BCE, Kautilya was the advisor and minister of the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya. He hailed from the famous ancient university town of Takhasila (Taxila in present Pakistan)
considerable welfare fund for the less fortunate sections of their societies. “The happiness of the subjects is the happiness of the king; their welfare is his.” This was apparently to make sure that the people remain satisfied and abstain from challenging the government. Nonetheless, the welfare of subjects has long been regarded a duty of the state. The rise of Islam in seventh century also underscored the welfare mission of the Islamic state which was deemed responsible even if a dog died hungry near the banks of River Euphrates. Similarly, in the early modern Europe the Utopian models of an ideal state emerged but could not gain much attention and acceptance.

However, in the wake of the French Revolution, the English scholar Thomas Paine in his book ‘Rights of Man’ was perhaps the first writer to present a blueprint of the socio-economic management of a state committed to the welfare of the common people. He complains that ‘the millions that are superfluously wasted upon governments are more than sufficient to reform those evils (poverty, profligacy and wretchedness), and to benefit the condition of every man in a nation…”

The concept was further analyzed and developed by later enlightenment thinkers and the 20th century scholars like T.H. Marshall (1949-50), Asa Briggs, Richard Titmuss etc. Anyhow it took almost a century to transform the thoughts of enlightenment thinkers like Paine into real models of state-welfarism. The earliest traces of welfare states in the west can be traced to the late nineteenth century Germany and early twentieth century England.

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4 Same advice was given to ‘The Prince’ by Machiavelli in fifteenth century Italy.
6 Ali Muhammad as Sallabi, Umar Ibn Al-Khattab – His Life and Times (vol 2), International Islamic Publishing House, p. 393-394
7 Thomas Paine, Rights of Man, London: 1791-92
though a substantive increase in their numbers and scope came in the post-world war II period. The famous Beveridge Report of 1942 advocated that the British state must strive against the five ‘Giant Evils’ of ‘Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness’. That paved the way for the welfare state in Britain in the post World War II period.

Co-incidentally that was the time when most of the third world nations were gaining independence and were imbibing ideas from the western thought. Pakistan achieved freedom with the ideals of a modern Islamic state. Hence the Islamic injunctions of a welfare state emanating from the examples of the classical Islamic state of Madina13 and the modern western notions of welfarism were combined to lay the foundations of an ‘Islamic Welfare State’. Unfortunately that ideal never materialized but remained the cherished goal of every Pakistani leader and constitution.

On the other hand the right and the left views around the world remained critical of the welfare state concept due to various reasons. Since 1970s the neo-
\textit{laissez faire} and monetarist doctrines hailed by the neo-liberals disapproved the welfare state as a burdensome source of infringement of market forces and ‘profit squeeze’. They

\begin{itemize}
\item[13] The state of Madina was established by Prophet Mohammad in 622 CE. With a written constitution called the Charter of Madina. This state was later inherited and run by the four pious caliphs of Islam viz. Abu Bakr, Umer, Usman and Ali before passing on to the posterity. The state of Prophet Mohammad and these four pious caliphs is considered as the ideal Islamic state.
\end{itemize}
also saw it as a cause of parasitism among lower classes. The depleting resources at the disposal of many states led to the idea that welfare expenditure has become a burden to the tax-payers’ money and hence the state should encourage other actors to participate in the provision of basic welfare to the citizens. The Conservatives always criticize the welfare state following the Malthusian dictum of demographic control. On the contrary, the Socialists reject it as a device to stabilize rather than transform the capitalist system. For the capitalists, welfare state is a sheer disincentive to work while for the socialists it is ineffective, inefficient, repressive and misleading for the working class. The rise of neo-liberal economic paradigm by the turn of the century, has not only led to questions on the efficacy of state welfarism but also on its justification in the context of increasing economic crunch in the post-cold war world. The seminal work of Gosta Apen-Anderson brought to light the ’Three worlds of Welfare Capitalism’ wherein he asserts that the size of welfare state is determined by the political order in which it is embedded. He identifies three models of welfare state: the liberal Anglo-American model based on poverty-relief; the German Christian Democratic model inspired by Christianity’s social teachings; and the Scandinavian model of universal insurance. He pointed out that welfare is a task of three entities namely the state, the Corporate sector and the family. Daniel Shapiro critically analyzed one basic characteristic of a welfare state – the government provided insurance and aid for the poor and questions the very justification of the welfare state. Instead, he favors the private compulsory insurance and the assistance and relief provided by the private voluntary agencies, i.e. the civil society.

The role of civil society as provider of welfare independent of the state and the business sectors has been appreciated since the ancient times. Its services in the field of poverty alleviation, relief, rehabilitation, education and healthcare have been substantial in both the western and eastern cultures. In most societies a degree of

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14 Malthus in 18th century proposed that improvement in life standards of the poor would lead to increase in population which will exhaust the resources and hence lead to more poverty. Thomas Malthus, An Essay on the Principle of Population, London: St. Paul Churchyard, 1798.


coordination and interdependence exists between the state and the civil society with respect to the provision of welfare and service delivery. The “nonprofits have often pushed for the expansion of state services and the state has often helped to subsidize, and thus promote the development of the nonprofit sector.”\(^{18}\) However, this nexus may have different dynamics depending upon the historic patterns of socio-economic and political evolution in a country. Salamon and Anheier (1998) and Salamon and Sokolowsky (2002) following Barrington Moore (1966) and Asping Anderson (1990) have identified four different models in the state-civil society nexus each represented by a particular relationship between the government’s spending on social welfare and the size of civil society sector in a country:

- **Statist model** – Low government spending on social welfare and a small size of civil society.
- **Corporatist Model** – High government spending on social welfare and large size of civil society.
- **Social Democratic Model** – High government spending on social welfare and a comparatively small size of civil society, and
- **Liberal Model** – Low government spending on social welfare and a large size of civil society.

The economic recession of 2000s also affected the dwindling economies of the developing countries further marking a prospective diminishing of the welfare expenditures. Pakistan, being a poverty stricken country with limited resources was also badly affected during various phases of its history, wherein its governments had to cut the welfare budgets in order to manage some immediate problems. In this context, the role of an Islamic welfare state and the significance of civil society sector either as a partner or a rival of the state became relevant to the socio-political discourse in the country.

**Section 2:**

**Ideal of Welfare State and Civil Society in Pakistan – One step forward, two steps back**

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\(^{18}\) Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP), Field Guide No. 5, “Historical Background”, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 9 Jan. 1997, p. 5
The ideal of an Islamic Welfare State has been commonly hailed by all governments of Pakistan. This enthusiasm, however, varied during different phases of Pakistan’s history and so did the state-civil society nexus.

**a. The first decade (1947-1958)**

Since the beginning the welfare role of the state has been projected with forceful rhetoric.

“We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind”.

(M.A. Jinnah on the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, 1 July 1948)\(^{19}\)

Beginning with such an enthusiasm, every new government reiterated the noble goal of the Islamic welfare state. At the initiation of work on the first Five Year Plan, the government claimed to rapidly develop the resources of the country 'to promote the welfare of the people, provide adequate living standards, and social services, secure social justice and equality of opportunity and aim at the widest and most equitable distribution of income and property.”\(^{20}\)

The first constitution of Pakistan (1956) emphasized the wellbeing and better living standards for the common people of all denominations 'by preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few to the detriment of the interest of the common man, ensuring equitable adjustment of the rights between employers and employees, and land-lords and tenants; provision of basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief, for all citizens as are permanently or temporarily unable to earn their livelihood on account of infirmity, sickness or unemployment; provision for all citizens, within the available resources of the country, facilities for work and adequate livelihood with reasonable rest and leisure; provision of social security by means of compulsory social insurance


\(^{20}\) First Five-Year Plan (1955-60), National Planning Board, Government of Pakistan, December 1957, p. 1
or otherwise; reasonable reduction of disparity in the emoluments of the persons in various classes of service of Pakistan; promotion of literacy with free and compulsory primary education, promotion of educational and economic interests of all people including the backward classes and scheduled castes, enabling them to participate fully in all national activities including employment in government services, and assurance of just and humane working conditions for women and children.\textsuperscript{21}

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm, the initial difficulties of the nascent state were a major hurdle in its welfare role as a sole actor. At that time the civil society, though itself limited in size and activity, came in as an amazing partner of the state. In 1947 only 156 voluntary social service organizations existed in Pakistan of which hundred were in East Pakistan. Much needed state patronage was extended to those and the newly emerging organizations through the ministries of Health, Education, Food and Agriculture, Labor, Works and Interior in the form of legislation, planning, coordination and financial support.\textsuperscript{22}

Pakistan inherited some laws governing the civil society from the colonial administration. The most important was the Societies Registration Act – 1860. Others included Religious Endowment Act-1863, Religious Societies Act- 1880, Trusts Act – 1882, The Charitable Endowment Act – 1890, The Registration Act 1908, Indian Partnership Act- 1912, Cooperative Societies Act - 1912 and 1925, Companies Act – 1913 etc. Yet many organizations could not get registered due to lack of information, lengthy procedures or mistrust. After independence some new laws related to some specific requirement were developed. Most of those laws were linked to the welfare role of the state, making it possible to provide support to some disadvantage sections of the society such as the Orphanage Act Punjab (1950).\textsuperscript{23}Hardly any law was aimed at a better regularization of civil society. One rare example is the Charitable Funds (Regulation of Collections) Act (1953) which for the first time clearly defined a ‘charitable fund’ as ‘any fund comprising of donations whether in money or in kind given by way of charity for the benefit of an

\textsuperscript{21} Sections 28 and 29, Directive Principles, Constitution of Pakistan, 1956. This constitution was abrogated in 1958 with the imposition of Martial law by Field Marshal General Mohammad Ayub Khan.

\textsuperscript{22} Rabeya Abbas, Social Welfare Administration in Pakistan, Lahore: Alhamra Academy, 1969, p. 8

\textsuperscript{23} See Ministry of Planning and Development, Government of Pakistan, Survey of NGOs in the Field of Social Services- Pakistan, vol. 1, Survey Report, Lahore: Associates, 1990, pp. 6-8
individual, family or the relief of poverty, sickness or distress or any other educational, religious, or philanthropic purpose.”

In the backdrop of grave compulsions of initial years, it was imperative to delineate a pragmatic social policy to reach a better coordination between the government and the civil society working for social welfare inside the country as well as internationally. The government requested for UN’s assistance as a result twenty seven social work experts were sent to Pakistan. Hence, the first team was formed with the UN and Pakistani officials to coordinate between the state and civil society for welfare work. This team's tasks included training of social workers, identification of social issues around the country and seek possible solutions with the coordination of government and the civil society. National and Provincial Councils for Social Welfare were established. The support of civil society organizations (CSOs) was initiated through a program for providing them advice and grants at federal, provincial and local levels. Housing and rehabilitation of refugees were initially the main concerns. Consultative services and grants-in-aid were arranged for the CSOs with feasible projects. This resulted in a vibrant partnership between state welfarism and civil society wherein the international agencies and experts guided and worked side by side with Pakistani officials and renowned local social activists.

With this encouragement the number of welfare CSOs increased. Dedicated men and women from all religious and ethnic backgrounds came out to serve. The main identified tasks were refugee rehabilitation, poverty alleviation, education, healthcare, relief for workers and peasants, population control and betterment of womenfolk. Many organizations and societies were established


25 In 1951 the then Minister for Health, Labor and Works, Dr. A. M. Malik had made this request to the UN to assist the government in 27 specific fields. Same year Ms. Elmina Lucke arrived as the first UN expert. All the requested persons arrived by 1952. For details see Shireen Rehmatullah, Social Welfare in Pakistan, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 1-10

26 Larger and more demanding goals of poverty alleviation, education and health were not directly included in the social welfare policy but kept as “distant goals in all the efforts which were aimed at improving the quality of life of the people” Shireen Rehmatullah, Social Welfare in Pakistan, pp. 35

27 Ibid, pp. 11-31

28 International experts like Dr. J. F. De Jongh and Mr. Roger ilson arrived to work with the local co-opted workers like Begum Tazeen Faridi of APW. A. See ibid p. 72
across the country by prominent families as well as religious trusts, Parsi, Christian, Hindu, Gujarati, Memon, Punjabi and other communities etc.

Table 1: Some Prominent CSOs of the First Decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CSO</th>
<th>Year of Foundation</th>
<th>Founder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Red Cross Society</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>M. A. Jinnah (through an order)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Volunteer Service</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Rana Liaqat Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi Social Work Group</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Jamshed Nusravanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Women’s Association</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Fatima Jinnah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Pakistan Women’s Association (APWA)</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Rana Liaqat Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Welfare Cooperative Society</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Begum Mumtaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Umer Karamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leprosy Aid Program and Marie Adelaide Leprosy Centre</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Arch Bishop of Karachi and later Dr. Ruth Pfao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Refugee Rehabilitation Society</td>
<td>1958-60</td>
<td>Begum S.A. Hafeez</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonetheless, the ideal of welfare state remained instilled in the minds of government officials and policy makers to whom ‘Increasing the social services available in the country is a major objective of any development plan, although the resources that can be devoted to this purpose are limited…. ‘. Also with their efforts social welfare and security became an integral part of the First Five-Year Plan (1955-1960) in which considerable amounts were allocated to public sector development projects for housing, education, health and social welfare. To achieve these goals a three-pronged strategy was adopted which involved the government to initiate model projects; the local bodies including 34 district boards and 154 municipal committees, to establish a decentralized administration of welfare; and voluntary agencies (CSOs) to assist and supplement government schemes.

While the welfare oriented CSOs got maximum state patronage, some others working for youth and labor protection were also not ignored. As asserted by Ms. Shirin Rehmatullah, well being of labor class was also considered important as the general welfare environment of urban slums was a major goal in welfare policy. Unfortunately, this coordination did not continue for a long time because of the grave economic situation. The official allocations for welfare as well as for the support of welfare-oriented CSOs fell with the fall in the GDP growth rate from 3.4 to 3.1 percent. Furthermore, the political upheavals diverted the attentions and energies of the government officials away from social welfare. By 1958 most of the earlier schemes were virtually abandoned.

The second decade (1958-1969)

Imposition of the first Martial Law in October 1958 substantially altered the state’s outlook on the welfare administration and the respective role of civil society. Political and security issues got the main attention of Ayub Khan’s military government whereas social welfare got a backseat. Further, being a part of the American sphere of influence, the economic policy was also altered according to the western advices. While the ideal of a welfare state was still paid lip-service, social welfare was left more or less to the private sector. The capitalist agenda was in full force:

“It has long been one of the cardinal policies of the government to allow free enterprise full play in the development of the country. Experience has fully justified the governments in private enterprise as is evident from the progress Pakistan has made in the field of commerce and industry. The government proposes not only to maintain this policy but reinforce it and try to give it still greater scope, for we are satisfied that private enterprise can under appropriate conditions bring the greatest good to the greatest number.”

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31 Shirin Rehmatullah in an interview with the author in 2003.
32 Pakistan had joined the American military alliances and was enjoying substantial economic support along with ‘pro-capitalist economic advices of the Harvard Group of Economists’
33 President Ayub cited in Ishrat Hussain, “Economic Policies under Shaob”, delivered as the 19th Shaob Memorial Lecture, organized by the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants, on 18 August 2009, p. 2
According to the new economic policy, agricultural and industrial development was prioritized and was expected to automatically bring general welfare to the country. Replacement of the ‘corrupt’ political leadership with the civil and military bureaucrats proved helpful in controlling corruption and rise in economic growth indicators. However, as pointed out by Dr. Ishrat Hussain, neglect of social sectors with low investments in education and health, was a ‘glaring legacy’ of Ayub era wherein the economic growth was not reflected in the human development indicators.\textsuperscript{34} The Second Five-Year Plan was more focused on modernization of agriculture and industry and urban development while social welfare was to be taken care of by the private sector and civil society following the age-old principles of self-help and participatory action. For this an amount of Rs. 9.289 million was allocated for the support of CSOs. Further, the introduction of Basic Democracies decentralized the social welfare and community development responsibilities to the district and village levels.\textsuperscript{35}

In this scenario, the work of CSOs became more important as a partner of the state. However, the military regime showed equal distrust of the civil society. In 1961 the Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control) Ordinance was promulgated as a much awaited legislation to regularize the civil society though it also provided an efficient tool to the government for the monitoring of the ‘unreliable’ CSOs. Hence the welfare responsibility of the state which could not be fulfilled due to heavy investments in economic development was only reluctantly entrusted to the civil society. In this context, the Ordinance entailed a long list of welfare works delegated to the civil society. The list included, welfare of child, youth, women, physically and socially handicapped, juvenile delinquents, prisoners and education as the major fields of the CSOs activities.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, p. 9
\textsuperscript{35} ‘Basic Democracies’ was a multi-tiered system of semi-representative institutions of which the lowest but most important level was the union councils which were to some extent responsible for the social welfare in their regions. According to 1962 Constitution the Basic Democracies became the electoral-college for the President and the national and provincial assemblies. See R. L. Mellema, ‘The Basic Democracies System in Pakistan’ Asian Survey, Vol. 1 No. 6, August 1961, pp. 10-15)
\textsuperscript{36} Voluntary social welfare agencies (Registration and Control) Ordinance 1961 (original document), \url{http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/81785/88956/F1282834913/PA81785.pdf} accessed 2-03-2012.
Unfortunately, the spectacular economic indicators of Ayub era started dwindling due to the 1965 Indo-Pakistan War followed by the arms embargo and economic sanctions. Much of the allocated money could not reach the development projects envisaged in the Five-Year Plan. Defense became the top priority and the apparently active social welfare state turned into a national security state. Social welfare received very low allocations out of which hardly 25 percent was actually spent. Meanwhile, the burden was shifted to the civil society which showed a growth in the number of CSOs reportedly from 200 in 1955 to 4000 by 1968. Yet the distrust of CSOs and excessive bureaucratic controls proved stifling for their existence and activities. The CSOs and their proprietors and social workers had to show their unconditional and unflinching loyalties to the government before getting grants and freedom to work. Apart from the old CSOs who had already established their credibility such as Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam and APWA, some new organizations joined the field. West Pakistan Society for the Welfare of the Crippled, Children’s Home, Al-Shifa Trust, Behbud Foundation, Rangoonwala Foundation, Aga Khan Foundation added to a large number of community and faith-based organizations all working for one or the other field of social welfare.

Meanwhile the deteriorating political and law-n-order conditions (East Pakistan crisis) severely damaged the welfare role of the state. The Third Five-Year Plan also had lofty goals particularly of ‘reaching more people’ and getting them involved in the social welfare plans with a reassertion of state’s responsibilities. Fields like child-welfare, village aid, support of handicapped, school social work and social work research were especially underscored. Unfortunately, this plan also could not work because of the East Pakistan situation and heavy defense expenditures. Many plans were either stifled or shelved. Community trusts and charity funds which collected religious charities like zakat, khairat and sadaqat were mobilized to support many welfare schemes while nonprofit welfare organizations were encouraged to take up the welfare work left by the state. In fact the only role of the nonprofit sector as perceived by the military government was philanthropy and social welfare while advocacy and rights organizations were discouraged. Meanwhile with the ensuing tragedy in East Pakistan (1971) in the form of

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violence, war, misery and human displacements, relief and rehabilitation became the top priority in the endeavors of both the state and the civil society.


The civil war in East Pakistan leading to Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 shattered all the planning and promise for a welfare state. The post-dismemberment Pakistan needed nothing but reconstruction both in material and spiritual sense. The Fourth Five-Year Plan (1970-1975) was an attempt to restore normalcy. The democratic government of Z.A. Bhutto which had won the 1970 elections in West Pakistan (now the remaining Pakistan) on the promise of Islamic Socialism now tried to reach a synthesis between the Islamic and the Socialist concepts of socio-economic welfare as the foremost and almost exclusive duty of the state.

The left of the center tilt of the ruling Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) and Prime Minister Bhutto had a profound impact on the public policy. The populist slogan of ‘roti, kapra aur makan’ (food, clothing and shelter) attracted the masses more than ever. The socialist policies included measures like nationalization of industries, banks, insurance companies and various financial and education institutions as well as many nonprofit organizations. This brought a considerable magnification of the public sector investment on not only in the development projects but also on social welfare initiatives. The state more than ever, took the responsibility of providing relief, rehabilitation and welfare to the people affected by the recent war and dismemberment. The size of public sector investment increased to above seventy percent of the expenditure on capital formation. Those expenditures covered agriculture, industry, hydropower projects and infrastructure as well as the health, education and sports fields. Further, new initiatives of National Development Volunteer Program (NDVP) and the People’s Works Program (PWP) aimed at generating fresh employments and other investments on poor housing and sanitation, population control etc. reflected government’s commitment to welfare. Less developed provinces of NWFP (presently Khaiber Pukhtunkhwa) and Baluchistan received more increases from the national

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40 Other pro-socialist policies included the land reforms and labor policy both to benefit small farmers and labor class respectively. See Pervez Hasan, *Pakistan’s Economy at the Crossroads*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 208
41 Pervez Hasan, *ibid*, p. 208
exchequer. Unfortunately, most of those schemes proved to be more populist than substantial and could not transform into long-term growth programs mainly due to financial embezzlement and leakages. Hence the welfare role of the state remained limited regardless of the substantive expenditures.

The private sector also suffered the crunch due to arbitrary decisions and centralized policies. To the critics most of the government projects were politically motivated. The international economic situation with respect to Pakistan was also appalling. The post-dismemberment crunch was multiplied by Pakistan’s withdrawal from the western alliances and economic and arms embargos in the backdrop of Pakistan’s efforts for nuclearization. Further, the influx of Bihari population from previous East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) further took a toll on the economy. Hence, by 1976 the economic retardation became obvious with the private sector discouraged and resentful of nationalizations and state control on economy while the poor still not reaping the fruit of socialist reforms.

Accordingly, the impact of these policies on the nonprofit sector was not unexpected. Since the government had taken over the responsibility of social development and welfare, and for that purpose had considerably expanded the public sector investment, it was in no mood to continue the earlier participatory approaches in this context. The existing voluntary organizations, though allowed to work independently, had to do so without much of the state’s patronage. Particularly the welfare and service oriented organizations suffered due to two reasons:

- First, the so-called Islamic Socialist orientation of the government led to a centralization of social welfare administration with complete state control. Hence the government’s investment for the promotion of NGOs (or CSOs) during the Fourth Five Year Plan period (1970-75) and the subsequent no-plan period (1975-78) fell to Rs. 12.032 million as compared to Rs17.280 million of the Third Plan period (1965-70). See the table No. 2

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42 Investment to Annual Development Program in these provinces increased by 582 percent as compared to that in Sindh and Punjab’s increase of 463 percent. Ibid, p. 217

43 Total Public Sector Development spending (including industry) increased from Rs. 2.7 billion (or 4.7% of GDP) in 1971-2 to Rs. 17.5 billion (or 11.7% of GDP) in 1976-7. See Pervez Hasan, Op.Cit. p. 216
Second, the nationalization drive had hit a number of education and social service institutions hitherto run by the nonprofit sector. For instance, the renowned and respected Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam alone lost about 12 institutions, their buildings and assets.

Interestingly though, the advocacy and rights oriented organizations were not stifled and there was a rise in the number of trade unions, students’ organizations and also some women’s rights organizations like Women’s Front and United Front for Women’s Rights. The number of registered NGOs did increase.\(^{44}\)

**Epilogue:**

The democratic political government of Z.A. Bhutto was overthrown with a military coup staged by another military dictator, General Zia-ul-Haq. Political parties and politics were rendered defunct but the ideal of Islamic welfare state was trumpeted with full force though with more emphasis on ‘Islamic’ and less on ‘welfare’. The left of center ideologies were also defunct. Once again the ideas from the west were imbied with a neo-liberal tilt. Denationalization, deregulation and laissez faire were the economic principles adopted garnished with a pinch of Islamic economics. From that time onwards, the welfare state more than ever became a slogan to repeat but not to follow. The noble job was delegated to the civil society which got a new impetus thanks to the foreign aid pouring down to Pakistan in the wake of Afghan War. The welfare state gave way to a national security state. Since then the welfare oriented CSOs were encouraged and facilitated by every new government as partners of the state yet, the civil society as a whole remained exposed to discouraging criticism, periodic crackdowns and perpetual trust deficit.

**Table 2: Financial Allocations for Social Welfare and Promotion of CSOs under 5-Year Plans issued during the First Three Decades of Pakistan:\(^{45}\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Year Plans</th>
<th>Annual GDP Growth Rate (%)</th>
<th>Allocation for Social Welfare Programs (Rs. Millions)</th>
<th>Governmental Investment for the Promotion of NPOs(Rs. Millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\(^{44}\) The number of trade unions increased from 2522 to 6551 between 1970 and 1980.

\(^{45}\) Adapted from the Survey Report from Ministry of Planning and Development, Survey of NGOs in the field of Social Services in Pakistan, Vol. 1, Lahore: HRH Associates, 1990 and the various 5-year Plans of Pakistan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>General Administration, Defence and Debt Servicing</th>
<th>Community, Economic and Social Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Plan (1955-60)</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>32.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Plan (1960-65)</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>84.71*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Plan (1965-70)</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>90.322*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Plan (1970-75)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>82.26~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Plan Period (1975-78)</td>
<td>6.6 (between 1975-1980)</td>
<td>12.811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The figures include allocations for the Centre, as well as the East and West Pakistan.

~ The figures include allocations for the Federal as well as the four provincial governments.

Figure 2: Wither welfare state: Share of selected public and non-public services in total expenditure (%)\(^{46}\)

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\(^{46}\) Social Development in Pakistan, Annual Review 2004, p. 89
Towards Conclusion:

Welfare state or civil society: Must we choose?

The ideal of welfare state has remained one of the most cherished but least practiced goal in Pakistan. The present study focused on the first three decades of Pakistan’s history to analyze the working of welfare ideal of the state and the complimentary role of the civil society in this context. Following the Salamon and Anheier social origins theory, it can be inferred that the first decade of Pakistan history (1947 -1958) shows more or less a corporate model of relationship where the state expenditures on social welfare as well as the number of economically active people employed in CSOs both show relatively high percentages. An efficient partnership between the state and civil society was the result. During the second decade (1958 – 69) the Ayub Era restrictions on civil society and lesser premium on state-sponsored welfare resulted in somewhat ‘statist’ model where the public expenditures on welfare and the size of civil society both show low figures. As far as the third decade was concerned (1969 – 1977) a clearly ‘social-democratic’ model is revealed with more public expenditures on social welfare and a comparatively small civil society size and activity. After the third decade a more or less ‘liberal model’ was seen with each government spending less on social welfare and an increasingly large size and scope of civil society till present.

All governments, rightist or leftist, have tried to allocate substantial amounts of funds to welfare projects. However, due to factors like poor governance, corruption, inflation, internal upheavals and perceived external threats those funds had to be directed to other more urgent matters. Successful achievement of welfare goals was never possible. Pakistan’s failure in public sector investment in social welfare has often been complained by the international donor agencies. Despite rhetoric, various governments of Pakistan have invested least in the education, health and other welfare fields thus resulting in world’s worst indicators in these areas. The five evils of Beveridge viz. want, idleness, disease, ignorance and squalor persist in Pakistani society with all ugliness.

It must be also noted that there was only one government viz. that of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1972-77), which due to its socialist stance, endeavored to command the major part of the economy including

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Kevi n W atki ns , O xf am  Pover t y Repor t ,  O xf or d:  O xf am  Publ i cat i ons ,  1995,  p.  81
the nonprofit sector under the state’s machinery and monopolize the welfare regime. As a result, a number of nonprofit organizations were nationalized and the remaining ones suffered from a fall in the government’s patronage and financial support. However, all the other regimes welcomed the welfare and service oriented nonprofit sector as a partner in their welfare agenda. In fact the post-Bhutto regimes reverted quite drastically to the liberal model and contented themselves by depending more and more on the voluntary or nonprofit sector for the welfare business while themselves paying lip service to the welfare state ideal. This confused position hindered the growth of a genuine state-nonprofit partnership.

Last but not the least, the neoliberal critique of welfare state advocating a complete withdrawal of state-sponsored welfare, needs serious rethinking. Despite the full bloom of neo-liberalism, the western welfare states have survived. The state in Pakistan is burdened with tremendous financial burdens and despite willingness it seems impossible for it in near future to take up the welfare responsibility alone. The civil society can and does play the role of a bridge in this context. Even in countries like USA where a selective welfare system works for the benefit of most needy, the services of civil society as a partner in welfare goal are indispensable. The Scandinavian states on the other hand present a good example of social-democratic model. There the welfare agenda of the state is universal (for all) rather than selective, but the responsibility is shared by heavy state inputs and equally large nonprofit contribution.

Hence the question of choosing between the two – welfare state or civil society as a solution to the welfare issues seems problematic. A better solution would be a collective and cumulative effort involving both as partners. The potential of such a partnership is revealed from the study of the first three decades of Pakistan’s history.
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State Formation in Early Modern Orissa [India]: Ecology and Geopolitics in Sambalpur Kingdom

Dr. Brundaban Mishra

Abstract

This paper aims to find how ecological and geopolitical potentiality of Sambalpur region played vital roles in the formation of state in early modern Orissa. The study also endeavors to inquire how the state has taken a leaf out of the pan-Indian Empires, which were passing through a series of political crises, to establish the formidable Sambalpur kingdom. The findings of the study suggest that the state had systematically gained control over the productive land, natural resources and geo-political strategic positioning of western Orissa. The state had also take advantage of the on-going political crises of the period to penetrate into the wider ecological region of western Orissa and eastern Chhattisgarh.

Keywords: Ecology, State, Mughal, Afghan, Gajapati, Chauhan, Sambalpur, Western Orissa, Diamond, Kosalananda Kavyam, Jaya Chandrika.

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Introduction

With the onset of 16th century, great and mighty empires of India like the Delhi Sultanates in the north, Vijayanagaram Empire in the south and Gajapati Empire in the east collapsed. Political crises of spectacular scale, which accompanied this sudden change of circumstance, had brought some major reshuffling in the historiography of India. The Mughals had ably and strongly populated the vacant political landscape of northern India, where they established a far more stronger and powerful empire than their predecessors had. The Afghan raiders emerged not only powerful but successful among all contenders to dominate eastern India, which was up for grab after the disappearance of the legendary Gajapati Empire. Similarly, the Muslims of Deccan proved their mettle in the southern part of the country, where they successfully established their sway. Although the Afghan raiders dominated the eastern part, their control was lose, which made the coastal tracts of Orissa a virtual battleground of turf war for the Mughals and Afghans on the one hand and among the subordinate chiefs of erstwhile Gajapati Empire on the other. For the Afghans, capturing Orissa would translate into further strengthening of their position in the eastern part of India. For the Mughals Orissa hold strategic value as it was a thorn in the body politic of Mughal empire through which passes the vital Mughal troop’s route from Bengal to Nizam of south India. For the petty local rulers capturing of Orissa would be of immense value as their victory automatically delegate them the legitimacy of royalty and inheritance of the rich legacy of the illustrious Gajapatis of the province. The local powers not only failed to take advantage of the raging Afghan-Mughal power struggle for the possession of Orissa but also unable to align politically with either of the two to overtake Orissa. Rather the Orissan rulers in general and the coastal Orissan rulers in particular acknowledged the two outside powers as their sovereign lords. Curiously, far from the midst of the crisis zone, the local powers of the hinterland of Orissa had taken great advantage of the political flip-flop of coastal tract and established new kingdom. Geographically isolated from coastal tract, the politically insignificant parts of western Orissa did not fascinate either the Afghan or the Mughals to cultivate a rigorous approach. They were more conscious about the significance of the politically important coastal parts of Orissa. Free from external invasion, the local power exploited the situation to establish a kingdom in the western tract of Orissa. However, from 12th century onwards western Orissa had been under attacks from the Haihaya powers of Ratnapura kingdom of Central India, who were trying to
establish their control over the ecological resources of the region. The region had been a bone of contention for the Gajapatis of Orissa and Kalachuris of Chhattisgarh up to the middle of 16th century. In the middle of 14th century, amidst the ongoing struggle, the Chauhan house of western Orissa successfully established themselves as a minor political power center at Patnagarh in the southern part of western Orissa. Politically the Chauhans were associated with the Gajapati though geographically they used to live next to the Kalachuris of Chhattisgarh. They had successfully resisted and checked the political influence of Kalachuris of Chhattisgarh in western Orissa. The decline of the Gajapati Empire, which was followed by a series of Muslim invasions, convinced the Chauhans of Patnagarh that it was essential to acquire further ecological resources and exploit the available geo-political advantage in the region of western Orissa to establish greater and firm control on the region. Balarama Deva, the Chauhan scion of Patnagarh, in the middle of 16th century established the kingdom of Sambalpur on the bank of river Mahanadi in the western part of Orissa. He had the power and ability to capitalize on the prevailing political flip-flop of coastal tract of Orissa.

Ecological Division of Orissa:

The present day Orissa province is located in the eastern coast of India in between 17.49’N and 22.34’N latitudes and between 81.27’E and 87.29’E longitudes. The province is surrounded by Bay of Bengal in the east, Chhattisgarh in the west, Andhra Pradesh in the south and West Bengal in the north. The total area of the state is approximately 155,820 kilometers with a length and breadth of 800 kilometers and 500 kilometers respectively. Based on physiographical character, Orissa could be divided into five major morphological regions: the Orissan coastal plain in the east, the mountain and highlands region in the middle, the plateaus at the centre of the province, the rolling uplands in the west and the major

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1 In the beginning of the 14th century the last Chauhan ruler of Garh Sambar, Visala Deva was killed in a battle by a Yavana. After this Visala Deva’s queen Jayanti Devi, who was pregnant and belonged to the princely Rajput Chauhan clan of Mainpuri of Uttar Pradesh, fled with some her followers to Patnagarh in western Orissa. She sought asylum from Bhinjal tribal headman Barha of Ramod village, which was located at the present sight of Tureikela block of Bolangir district of western Orissa. While availing the asylum of Barha, the queen delivered a baby boy who was named asRamai Deva. A local Brahman fief holder or Mallick named Chakradhara Panigrahi adopted the boy. As the boy entered his adulthood he shown his royal prowess and once he killed a ferocious tiger with his axe to relieve the terror-stricken people. Out of gratitude, they raised him to the throne which was lying vacant and whose administration was taken care of by eight ministers. For more detail see Brundabana Mishra, The Mirror Reflection of Sambalpur State through the Courtly Chronicle called Kosalananda Kavyam The Journal of Orissan History, (Bhubaneswar: Vol. XXII, 2009), p. 244
flood plains [See Map I]. The eastern part or costal tract that was extended from the river Hooghly in the north to the river Godavari in the south constituted as the nucleus zone of medieval Orissa. These tracts are tapered in the north, broadest in the middle, and open in the south. From north to south, a chain of seven-river system represented these tracts in the following order – the Kansai, the Suvernarekha, the Burabalanga, the Vaitarani, the Brahmani, the Mahanadi and the Rushikulya. Besides the river system, it was also represented by a sizeable part of mountain range.

MAP-I

http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/orissa/orissaphysical.htm

The present western Orissa or the western rolling uplands popularly known as South Koshala was previously under the administrative

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3 The present costal region of Orissa is extended from West Bengal border or from the river Subarnarekha in the north to the river Rushikulya in Andhra Pradesh in the south.
control of Central Province of British India. The areas of South Koshala was situated in between Amarkantaka in the north to Kanker in the south, and the Wen-Ganga valley on the west to the middle of the Mahanadi valley in the east. This region was broadly divided into two parts: the western part, comprised of the present districts of Bilaspur, Raipur, Durg and Raigarh of Chhattisgarh and the eastern part, broadly formed out of the erstwhile Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi districts of Orissa. The eastern part of South Koshala, which represents the present western Orissa, has a different geographical disposition. The hill ranges of the southern part of western Orissa belongs to the eastern Ghata mountain ranges while the hill ranges of the northern part of western Orissa is a rough extension of the Chota Nagpur mountain system, which also resemble the Vindhya range. This area forms the northeastern slope of the Deccan plateau. Four mighty rivers criss-cross through the heart or the central part of the region with Mahanadi River being the principal among all. The other rivers are Indravati, which run in the western side; Tel, which stream from the southwestern to central area, and Brahmani, whose course run through the north to south at the northeast corner of the province.

**Ecological Resources of Sambalpur Region**

In British India, the region of Sambalpur was comprised of 4919.9 square miles out of which Bargarh Tahsil constituted 832.8 square miles, Sambalpur Tehsil was made of 749.8 square miles, Chandrapur-Pandampur zamindari was 293.5 square miles and Malkhroad zamindari was comprised of an area of 29.1 square miles. Apart from this 17 obscure Zamindaris of Sambalpur were having 2659.7 square miles of land under their control and the rest 355.0 square miles was government forest. The surface of the region is undulating and the drainage channel in every direction start from the hills and falls into Mahanadi. A major portion of the region is ravine ground, which is too broken to be mounded up into rice fields and full of broad sandy ridges that are agriculturally of very little usage. However, the land around Sambalpur, especially the area starting from the north bank of the Mahanadi to the foothills of

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4 South Koshala was roughly formed by part of modern western Orissa and part of eastern Chhattisgarh.
7 Ibid., Sir Bampfylde Fuller, (1893) p. 2
Bilaspur district of present Chhattisgarh has been more suitable for rice cultivation. The soil of Sambalpur, which is generally consists of the debris of crystalline rock and lights sandy soil with abundant presence of mango groves and palm trees, is distinct in character from the soil of Chhattisgarh region.

The Sambalpur region could be divided into five ecological divisions:[See Map-II]

1) Bargarh plain: it is not a horizontal alluvial tract but a stretch of undulating tract sloping down from the Barapahar hills in the north to the Mahanadi valley in the east. 2) Phuljhar and Borasamber: Phuljhbar is completely surrounded by hills but chiefly comprised of a central flat plain which has black alluvial soil that is ripe for cultivation. Borasambar was marginally larger than Phuljhbar and bounded by high hills in its north and south and its western portion is a mass of hills and glens. Known for its timber forest, the region was mostly inhabited by the aborigines. The state of cultivation in this area can be segmented as backward. 3) Ambabhona and Lakhanpur valley: these regions situated on the north of Bargarh tehsil precisely in between the Bara Pahar range and the Mahanadi River. The former is a fairly level tract, sloping down from the hills to the river with shallow soil and outcropping sandstone rock, which is good for cultivation. The Lakhanpur valley lie in the midst of hills, glens, valleys and riverbank. The small portion of soil available in this area is rich for cultivation. 4) Sambalpur tehsil: it is smaller in size compare to Bargarh. Its core area of cultivation lies along the Mahanadi riverbank and around the Valley of Ib River. One of the important differences in the topography of Sambalpur and Bargarh is the distribution of hills and forests. In the case of Bargarh, all hills and forests lies in the north whereas in Sambalpur, those hills and forests not only scattered all over the north, east and south but these forests supply a good amount of vegetable silt that wash down annually into the fields. 5) Chandarpur and Padampur: these areas lie in the north of Mahanadi River and endowed by the rich deposit of silt from the adjoining forests. The land is comparatively flat and therefore considered as the best-cultivated land of the kingdom.

According to the land revenue settlement report of Sambalpur (1885-1889), agriculture of that period was mostly based on local requirements and rice used to occupy 77 per cent of the cultivated

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8 Ibid., Sir Bampfylde Fuller (1893) p. 2
9 For more detail see, F. Dewar, Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District (1906), Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908, p.2
land. Among the five ecological zones rice transplantation was found only in Sambalpur division, which was probably unknown to the neighbouring divisions such as Raipur and Bilaspur of Chhattisgarh. Area wise, cultivation of rice was followed by pulses locally called as *mung* [PhaseolusMungo], *biri* [PhaseolusRadiatus], *kulthi* [DolichusBiflours], collectively occupying 13 percent of cultivable land mostly in the upland area that was only at the mercy of direct rainfall. Other agricultural products such as cotton and *til* or sesame used to occupy four and five per cent respectively. Til or sesame was second major harvesting crops in the Bargarh plain, peas was second major crop in Sambalpur belt and Borasamber region had the distinction of producing good quality maize. *Mung* was commonly a rotational crop grown with sugarcane and cultivated far more than the amount of *biri* and *kulthi*. The inhabitants of forests used to produce little rice as their principal crops was *kulthi* millet locally known as *gulji* and for the purpose of sale they used to grow sesame.

According to the 1906 land revenue settlement report of Sambalpur, the five ecological regions were covered with wild forests with abundance of fruit trees. Excluding the government-reserved forest, the total area of big tree jungles as measured in the report was 124 square miles, whereas, the total area under the cover of scrubs was 333 square miles. Most of the forests were found in the east side of the river Mahanadi. For the supply of timber, people of Bargarh plain were mostly depended on the Barapahar hill range. The single most important forest supply for the people was bamboo, which had immense utility for a variety of purposes including for the wattling of house-walls and roofs, for screens, for baskets and mats, and for fencing of vegetable gardens as well as cane fields. Apart from forestry, the region was known for various forest products, such as *mahua*, *char*, *harra*, honey, wax, mangos, lac and myrabolams that the tribal used to collect for livelihood. The most important jungle

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11 For more detail see, F. Dewar, *Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District (1906)*, (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908) p.17
12 Ibid., F. Dewar, (1908), p.5
13 Bamboo was in abundant in forest and most of the Zaminadars of Sambalpur whose estates were near the railway had in the past acted on the principle that "timber is an excrescence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts". For more detail see: For more detail see, F. Dewar, *Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District (1906)*, (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908), p.5
14 The riyat or the free peasant has freely run to the jungle to collect fruits of any quantity and they were allow to sell within the estate if they like and if they had paid their *halpatti* or *chulhapatti* [a kind of tax paid by the peasant for using the forest products. Halpatti was paid by the agriculturists and Chulhappati was paid by the landless peasant]. For export of any jungle
product was *mahu* [*Bassialatifolia*] from which the tribal used to extract thick oil, which was used as lamp oil. Palms usually found on the banks of drinking-tank and the most common were *tal* and *khajur* or date palm. The *tal* was allowed to ripe in the tree or even ripen artificially by putting raw *tal* in grass wrapper. Once it is ripen, the inhabitants used to take out its thick reddish gel from the kernel to be mixed up with rice flour, which in turn used to prepare various kinds of local cuisines including tasty cake. The date palm was grown almost horizontally and toddy was being made only in some villages situated in the east of the Mahanadi. Among other fruits, guava was found abundantly on the banks of rivulet in many villages of the Bargarh plain, while tamarind and jujube were fairly common.

**MAP-II**


Apart from the productive land and forest products, since ages these regions were famous for diamond mines. The first reference about diamond mine was found in the writing of Ptolemy. He stated that Sambalaka was a city in the country of Manadalai, from where the finest diamonds of the world is produced. Barahamihira in his work *Brihatsamhita* also talk about the diamond mine of Koshala (*Belataṭe Biśuddhaṃ Śiriṣakusumopaṃ CaKausālakam*).

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Saurāṣṭrakamātāmṛakṛṣvām Sauparakam Bajram.) Gibbon stated that, “as we can compare ancient with modern geography, Rome was supplied with diamonds from the mine of Sumelpur in Bengal.” Tavernier, who visited India in the 17th century, in his account elaborated that:

I now come to the third mine, which is the most ancient of all, and is situated in the Kingdom of Bengal. You may call it by the name Soumelpour, which is a large town near to which the diamonds are found, or rather by the name Gouel, which is that of the river in the sand of which they are found . . . The Raja lives half a league from the town, in tents set upon a fair rising ground, at the foot whereof runs the Gouel . . . usually in December, they stay all January till the river be clear, by reason that by that time in some places it is not above two feet deep, and in several places the sand lies above the water. About the end of January or the beginning of February, there flock together out of the great town, and some others adjoining, about eight thousand persons, men, women, and children, that are able to work. They that are skilful know by the sand whether there be any diamonds or no, when they find among the sand little stones like to those we call “thunderstones.” They begin to make search in the river from the town of Soumelpour to the very mountains from whence the river falls for fifty leagues together.

Local tradition suggest that one large diamond, which was found during the Maratha occupation of Sambalpur has weighed two tolas and two mashas (ten mashas equal to one tola) which would be about 316.2 grains troy or 99.3 carats and apart from that the royal house itself possessed a diamond of 45.35 carats. The large diamond of Sambalpur that fell into the hands of the Maratha agent weighed 672 grains troy. In 1850, after the British occupation of Sambalpur they decided to lease the right to mine diamonds and in an 1856 notification in the Gazette, the prospect of diamond mining and lease conditions were described in glowing terms. The diamond mining area had been leased out for two hundreds rupees per annum. Similarly, when the British occupied Sambalpur they too had found diamond of 84 grains and a good many diamonds still lying in the hands of native wealthy people. In 1818, the diamond acquired

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16 Barahamihira, Brihatamsamhita, Quoted by S. P., Das, Sambalpur Itihasa, (in Oriya), (Sambalpur, 1962), p.154
19 Ibid., V. Ball, (1881), p.31
by the British was stated to be 5,000 rupees.\textsuperscript{20} The following table shows the history of the diamonds found in Sambalpur, which was under the Chauhan rule during the period starting from 1804 to 1818.\textsuperscript{21}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mashas</th>
<th>Ruttis</th>
<th>Grain troy</th>
<th>By whom receive by finder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>Rani Ruttun Coher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>672</td>
<td>Chanderji Bhunsla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.1/2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sacca Ram Gopal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1/2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Chanderji Bhunsla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahadeo Rae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>6.1/4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textbf{Historical Conflict for Ecological Resources of Sambalpur}

The above historical facts and British account described the ecological resources of Sambalpur region. The geo-political location and ecological resources of Sambalpur had attracted the feudatories of Orissa and Chhattisgarh to the region to establish their dominance. When the Gajapatis were fighting with the Muslim rulers of Bengal in the north, the Kalacuri king of Ratnapura captured Sambalpur. The Kalacuri then assigned the territory to their feudatory chief the Barman who had starting ruling this vast territories from their Boudh and Sonepur headquarters. Finally, in the year 1238 Gajapati king Anangabhima Deva defeated the king of Ratnapura and recaptured Sambalpur. During the entire 13\textsuperscript{th} century, Sambalpur became a bone of contention in between the Gajapatis of Orissa and the Kalacuris of Ratnapura. In the 14\textsuperscript{th}

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, V. Ball, (1881), p. 33
\textsuperscript{21} In Sambalpur, Masha is equal to nearly 14 grains troy and a Ruti means a fraction under two grains.
century the Chauhan ruler of Patnagarh, Baijal Deo (1361-1374) advanced to Chunderpoor and forcibly dispossessed the ruler of Ratnapura and Bastar. Although the chief of Bastar retaliated against this invasion, he bought peace with Patnagarh through a matrimonial alliance. In the latter part of the 14th century Rudranarayana, the king of Bamara, with the help of the ruler of Sarguja declared independence from the Chauhan rule of Patnagarh. Similarly, feudatory states like Banai, Boudh and Bamara that were situated in the eastern frontier of Chauhan territories and closer to Sambalpur division, had declared their independence [See Map III]. Due to the presence of the strong Gajapati kingdom in the western part of the state of Boudh and Banai and the existence of the kingdom of Kalacuri of Ratnapura in the western part of the Sarguja, these three powers could never be able to spread their territories in the western stretch. The house of Sarguja situated in the north of Sambalpur; the Bhanja rulers of Boudh, who were ruling from the south of Sambalpur; and the house of Banai that was existed in the east of Sambalpur, were also competing to exploit the region. In the 15th century the western frontier of Chauhans of Patnagarh faced invasion from the Haihaya king Kalyan Shah of Ratnapura. The Haihaya King claimed himself as the lord of 48 garhs, which included Patna and Sambalpur as well. He had an eye on Sambalpur and it was believed that he was exacting tribute from Sambalpur. Therefore, the territories of Sambalpur became cynosure for these three political powers. The holding of Sambalpur region could prove advantageous for all the feudatories who in turn could explore her ecological resources.

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23 B. B. Mishra, *Dakshina Kosala (PaschimaOdisha) Sankshiptalithasa* (in Oriya), (Sambalpur, 2003), p.68

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MAP-III Map of Feudatory States of Western Orissa and Eastern Chhattisgarh.

Establishment of Sambalpur Kingdom

The above discussion proved Sambalpur's geo-political and ecological importance, which often led to the incessant struggle among the feudatory chiefs for the domination of this significant region. Evidently, as the above analysis indicated, from 12th century to 16th century it was important for the feudatory chiefs to get hold of the natural resources and fertile land of Sambalpur region to establish their sway in western Orissa and eastern Chhattisgarh. However, there was not a single powerful political entity during that period that could win the region to establish control. Therefore, the region becomes a common ground for external raids on regular interval. After the collapse of Vijayanagaram and Gajapati Empires, Balarama Deva realized the significance of Sambalpur region. The fall of the two mighty empires in Orissa and down south forced Balarama Deva to be politically conscious to establish a fortified kingdom. By using his personal power and ability and capitalizing on the prevailing circumstances, he declared independence. After the collapse of Gajapati Empire, the Chauhans of Patnagarh under the leadership of Balarama Deva declared themselves as sovereign rulers. Balarama was a powerful general of Patnagarh, who even assisted the Gajapati army along with his father when the Gajapati Empire was under Muslim invasion. Earlier, Gajapati king Ramachandra Deva had deputed his minister Purushottama Mishra to seek military support from Koshala [Patnagarh kingdom] when Gajapati empire faced Muslim invasion (Bhutvā Mukundadevasya Daibāt Sva Nagare Stitaḥ, Yabanāmbudhinā Krānte Deśa Yastuta Dotkale . . . Puruṣotama Miśrātat Tata Śrutograṃ Supriyaṃ Nṛupah.)27. Balarama Deva and his father Hiradara Deva gladly offered military aid to the distressed Gajapati king and marched towards coastal Orissa with an army of 32,000 foot soldiers, 300 elephants and 700 horses to bail Ramachandra Deva out of the crisis (Dvātriṃśatā Sahasrāṇāṃ Padātināṃ Tribhīḥ Śataiḥ, Gajānāṃ Saptabhiḥ Prītyā Hayānāṃ Śaḍhabalai Yrutaḥ.)28 In the middle of 16th century, to establish control over all the small and petty principalities surrounding his kingdom Balarama Deva defeated the chief of Bastar, whose territories were laying adjacent to Patnagarh kingdom. Balarama Deva was instrumental in achieving

27. Gangadhara Mishra, Kosalananda Kavyam, Trans. In English MSS. By Lingaraja Mishra, (Bhubaneswar: Orissa State Museum, Account no SMS 12, 13, 1945), Canto XII, Verses 43-45
independence from the Vijaynagarm Empire during the first half of 16th century.29

Contemporary court documents like the 17th century Sanskrit monograph Kosalananda Kavyam, and the 18th century Lariya monograph Jaya Chandrika, on whose edifices the Chauhan history of Sambalpur stand, has a vivid narration about the personal power and ability of Balarama Deva.

The Kosalananda Kavyam described

Swaśaijya Niṣhāsita Bairi Sanhitih, Nijasya Rupeṇa Samorateḥ Patih Babhuba Bhumitala Śita Dyutiḥ, Balonntih Śrī Balarāma Bhupathiḥ. [Balarama Deva, the legendary lord on the earth has a stunning appearance, which resemble Kamadeva, the lord of love and beauty. His bravery and power, with which he uprooted his enemies ruthlessly, is unmatched. With such admirable capabilities, it was natural that his power and strength was bound to spread over the earth.]

BihayaYupaṃ Narasiṅgha Magrajam, Suputra Poutraṃ Nrupamatta Paṭṭanam

Cakāra Bijyoṇa Yaṣaḥ Sarobaram, Mahimahendraḥ Sumano Manoharam.

[By bestowing the insignia to Narasingha Deva as lord to rule over the vast subject of Patnagarh, this elegantly fine-looking lord of the entire earth has reiterated his extraordinary valour and by doing so he generated an ocean of goodwill.]

Nimagnnamābīkṣha Sa Yābanāmbhudho, Tamukulaṃ Deṣamaṃṣa Bhābanaṃ Camumamāṇa Manayada Yamakṣayaṃ, Mudā Samāruhya Mahārayaṃ Hayam

[The very sight of Yavana dominance over and above the fabulously prosperous and finely organized Utkala realm has enraged this overlord. Riding on an equally angry and wayward horse, this lord brought despair to the enemy camp and sent innumerable invading soldiers of the enemy to hell.]

29 It was in the beginning of 16th century that Prataprudra Deva, the Gajapati king of Orissa, was defeated at the hand of Vijaynagaram King Krishna Deva Raya and forced to hand over the Koshala territory along with Bastar to the Vijaynagaram Empire. For more detail see, H. Mahatab, Odisha Itihasa (in Oriya), (Cuttack, 1952), p.175
[By character, quality and strength, this lord is an inborn eponymous. In the battle of dedication and sacrifices, he is fragrance of incense to the core. For unfortunate mass of enemy kings, he is nothing short of a sharp, agile and unfailing dart destined to rip their heart. With such hugely unmatched valour, vigour and vitality, there is nothing, which could hinder him and the power of his great arm spread horizontally over the earth.

The above historical narration is nothing short of empirical evidence about Balaram Deva’s capability and vision. Furthermore, his strength and effectiveness could be judged from the fact that his brother Narasingha Deva had assigned the territory of Sambalpur to him for his courageous service, though Narasingh Deva had no direct control over the region. This episode is corroborated in a popular legend. During the month of Sravana (rainy season) Narasingha Deva’s chief queen, who was pregnant, developed labour pain. The mid-wife, in charge of the queen’s care, was staying on the other side of the river Mayabati and on that day she was absent from the queen’s service. Nobody was willing to cross the flooded river to bring the mid-wife back for the service of the queen. Under such circumstance, the queen’s brother-in-law Balarama Deva personally crossed the river and brought the mid-wife back to the service of the queen. The queen gave birth to a son who was named as Hamir Deva. Impressed with the bravery of his younger brother, King Narasingha Deva offered Sambalpur territory to Balarama Deva as a reward for his service. Narashingha Deva had profound love and affection for his courageous brother. Jaya Chandrika explicitly narrated the love and affection existed in between the two brothers. It states: Sapatniko Bāndhaba Duyo Rāmadeva Balarāma, [Not born from the womb of same mother, Ramadeva and Balaramadeva are the offsprings of two different queens of the king.] Rāma Lakhana So Abatarau Karau Supurana Kāma, [Their acts and deeds match with Rama and Lakshmana as if the two descend on the earth as incarnations of Lord Rama and Laxman]

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30 J. K. Sahu, and D. Chopdar, (eds.), Kosalananda Kavyam, (Canto XVIII, Verses 1,2,6,8, 2000), pp.200-201
Hirādhara Bhupati Ke Lālana Ramadeva Balarama,
[Ramadeva and Balarama are the loving and caring sons of Hiradhara, the mighty king on the earth.]

Rāje Rāma Lakhana Sama Dou Sabaguṇa Puranadhāma
[Endowed with the wisdom of scriptures and canonical text, they possessed all the charm, appeal and nature of Lord Rama and Laxman]

Ṭikayita Rāmadeva, Paṭṭāyite Hai Śubha Balarāmakumārā
[Ramadeva’s incarnation as Lord Rama is unquestionable. Balaramadeva is the sign and symbol of auspiciousness.]
Bhibhupa Paṭṭno Ko Agraj Rāmadeva Janapyārī
[Ramadeva loves the town of Patna, the land around it and its people before anything.]
Anuja Par Santai Hita Rakhe Rāmalakhan Par Jaise.33
[His care and love for his younger brother is like the most famous affection and care of Rama for his younger brother Laxman.]

According to an old theory, the kingdom of Sambalpur was established in order to avoid future family dispute.34 Although the two brothers had cordial relations yet their mother sought a promise from Balarama Deva not to invade the territory of his brother in future. The Jaya Chandirka says:
Matā Sahita Āpahi Rājā Pahuñcābata Ko Āye,
[Accompanied by the mother, the king arrived at the royal palace.]
Nadī Brahmani Se Nṛupamātā Putra Hā Satya Karāye,
[The mother brought the son to the sacred river bank of Brahmani (identify as Ang river) to obtain a vow from him.]
Nadī Nāki Jo Simā Capale Suno Putra TumaDoi,
[O’ my two noble sons, carefully pay attention and listen to my word that the river will act as the boundary in between your two empires.]
Mero Haran Doṣa So Paihai Bacana Dāgagiyaijoi,
[Breaking of the promise by either party would tantamount to a sin equal to that of killing of your mother.]
Bhṣtramṣṭta Dou Ko Bande Cale Deba Balarāma,
[After paying due homage to brother and mother, brave Balarama bid farewell and moves on.]

33 Prahlad Dubey, Jaya Chandrika. Also see S. P. Das, Sambalpur Itihasa, (1962), pp.221-222
34 Satyabadi Mishra in his Oriya manuscript had advocated this theory. It was quoted by S. P. Das, Sambalpur Itihasa, (in Oriya), (Sambalpur, 1962), p.223, which states that Narasingha Deva assigned the region of Sambalpur to Balarama Deva for some specific work. Balarama Deva was not obedient to Narashingha Deva as they were step brothers. In order to avoid any kind of direct clash between the two brothers the queen mother made an arrangement and extracted a promise from Balarama Deva on the bank of the river that he should never invade Patnagarh in posterity after her death.
The question that arises here is whether the allocation of Sambalpur by Narasingha Deva to Balarama Deva and the subsequent pledge sought by their mother from the duo not to interfere in each other’s territory were intended to safeguard Patnagarh from the interference of the ambitious and powerful Balarama Deva or whether these arrangements were general royal settlement only to dissipate rift in between the two brothers? Apparently, the allocation had never been a reason to alley possible fear of Balarama Deva’s invasion of Patnagarh rather it was an act of shrewdly delegating rich resources by the elder brother to the younger but powerful brother with the explicit intention of expanding the influence of the family. The region had abundant diamond and Balarama Deva repetitively pleaded for the control of the region to his mother. He was also well aware of the fact that the region remained beyond the notice of the Afghans and Mughals. Thus, he wanted to utilise the potentially ripe region of Sambalpur to build a strong kingdom and never intended to subjugate Patnagarh. Rather Sambalpur was on the prying eyes of the feudatory chiefs of the region. Furthermore, contemporary sources like neither the Kosalananda Kavya nor Jaya Chandrika has shed any light on the internal feud for the throne of Patnagarh in between the two brothers. Rather Balarama Deva had always rendered help to Narashingha Deva at the time of need. The fear of his mother for any internecine feud faded when Balarama Deva, after the death of Narasingha Deva, used his power and ability in a positive way to safeguard Patnagarh. Had there been any rift, Balarama Deva would have never helped his brother during the time of crisis. It was Balarama Deva who provided political support to Narashingha Deva in the latter’s effort to crush the growing influence of neighbouring states like Boudh, which was situated in the western side of Patnagarh. Balarama Deva directed the royal prince Hrudayanarayan Deva to govern the state of Patnagarh for a short period before handing over the throne to Pratap Deva, when the latter had come of age. The kingdom of Sambalpur never interfered or subjugated the kingdom of Patnagarh but rather always provided useful support to Patnagarh. Both states remained independent in the vast geographical zone of western Orissa.

35 Prahallad Dubey, Jaya Chandrika. Also see S. P. Das, Sambalpur Itihasa, (1962), pp.221-223
Possession of the Ecological Resources:

The region, which Balarama Deva received from his brother, was extended from river Mahanadi in the north to river Anga in the south and from river Surangi near Phuljhar in the west to the village Huma on the bank of Mahanadi or mouth of Kuakai in the east (Simba Bandhesi Uta Raŋgani Ita Purba Kakai Muhâna Me.)\(^{36}\) The region more or less represents Sambalpur district of British India for which there had always been fighting among the feudatory chiefs. It was situated along the eastern boundary line of Raipur and Bilaspur divisions of the present Chhattisgarh, which is endowed with a series of hills in north and broad line of forests in the south. By seeking the region of Sambalpur, which was strategically situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi and famous for its diamond mines; Balarama Deva had demonstrated his farsightedness and proved his political prowess. He understood very well the utility of the available rich ecological resources in Sambalpur to establish a kingdom. The Jaya Chandrika, which was written in the year 1781 by Prahallad Dubey, the court poet of Sarangarh state that:

\[Ek\ \text{Din} \ \text{Kachu} \ \text{Sebâ} \ \text{Mom} \ \text{Eijhe} \ \text{Pharamâye} \ \text{Nirabaise}\]
[On an insignificant normal day after his very admirable service, Balarama Deva became ruminative and happily engaged his brother into a chat.]

\[Mâgo \ Bhrâta \ Cita \ Hiṅ \ Ābe \ Mai \ Tumoko \ So \ Daihom\]
[An elated and happy King reassured safety and asked his brother to seek a boon fearlessly from him for his unfilled desire.]

\[Kaha \ Balarâmâ \ Mâtu \ Soṃ \ Bujho \ Bahrî \ Ān \ Se \ Kaihom\]
[In the presence of his mother, the Royal Lady, Balaram evoked his brother for the fulfilment of his wish.]

\[Bujha \ Jâi \ Āpa \ Nija \ Mâtâ \ Hiṅ \ Râmadeva \ Faramai,\]
[Ramadeva was elated and after hearing the mother, he prayed to the king.]

\[Humâ \ Deśa \ Mâgum \ Suta \ Bhrâta \ Hiṅ \ Paiho \ Khuba \ Rajâi,\]
[Your Lord, your brother is desirous of Huma Kingdom and that is the prize he sought from you.]

\[Citrotpalâ \ Bahata \ Jahiṃ \ Nadi \ Hai \ KośalaKe \ Tîrā,\]

\(^{36}\) Prahallad Dubey, Jaya Chandrika. Also see S. P. Das, Sambalpur Itihasa, (1962), pp. 232-233
[On the edge of Kosala empire, where Chitrotpala [Mahanadi] river flowing.]
Punya Kṣetra Saritā Tata Jáme Upaje Kañcana Hīrā.

[On the bank of the river present the pious land. So fertile is the land where yielding of diamond in abundance is even a normal affair.]
Mātā Hukum Māni Man Mauje Māṃge Deba Balrāmā
[After consenting and obliging to the command of the revered mother, Balaramadeva joyfully said]
Humādeśa Dijiye Rājan Hai Mero Tahin Kāmā
[O Honourable King, bestow me the Kingdom of Huma. My purpose and desire is intrinsically involved in it.]
Sura Śrī Rāmadeva Nṛupa Dihneu Humādeśa Ke Pānā
[The bravest of the brave, the honourable King Ramadeva offered Huma country with pride.]
Bhāi Māṃgiloho Tum Sīr Sunddī Bhisīmānā37
[If an occasion is arise where if the brother seek my life, I would never hesitate to cut off my head to offer it in the service of my brother.]

The trudges of Balaruma Deva’s influence, which was extended from Patanagarh to Sambalpur, as reiterated in the available empirical evidences of about the period proved, he ably utilized the ecological and geo-political resources available in the region to consolidate his kingdom. In due course of time, among the five ecological divisions, the state of Sambalpur had successfully retained control over the four productive zones i.e. [Bargarh, Ambabhana-Lakhanpur, Sambalpur and Chandarpur-Padampur] and took full advantage of the available human resources of one of the primitive agricultural zones that was Borasamber. The Bhinjhal community that was controlling the region of Borasamber was designated as a special community and its chief was bestowed with the special role of coronating the new king of the kingdom of Patnagarh. During the coronation of a new king, it was the special honour for the Bhinjhal chief to take the king on his lap and place the turban, a symbol of royalty and an insignia of head of state, on the head of the new king. Though, the Bhinjhal chief used to act as the king maker of Patnagarh kingdom, on the ground he was actually a feudatory chief of Sambalpur kingdom. The Bhinjhal chief of Borasamber always acted as a protector of Chauhan territories in the northwest frontier of Sambalpur kingdom.

37 Prahallad Dubey, Jaya Chandrika. Also see S. P. Das, Sambalpur Itihasa, (1962), pp.221-223
Sambalpur state had systematically established control over the four ecological zones of the regions. Balarama Deva initially established his capital at Bargarh on the bank of river Zira [See Map IV]. He defeated the local Sabara and Gond tribes of the locality and seized their land. After that, he distributed the seized lands among the Brahmans of the surrounding areas like Ambapali, Dumerpali and Brahmachari. In this way, Balarama Deva able to create a support base for his kingdom, which helped him establishing his control over the region. The soil of Bargarh thasil was inferior compare to the soil of Sambalpur and Barapahars. Not only that, the rain fall of Bargarh region was lighter than that of Sambalpur Thasil. As the area where Balarama Deva established his kingdom fell under the comparatively low producing zone among the five ecological divisions, he shifted his capital to Naugarh that was surrounded by twelve mountains and endowed with comparatively higher productive area. The new capital was situated in the close proximity of Ambabhana-Lakhanpur valley. Balarama Deva constructed a fort and built a temple at Nuagarh from where he heralded his brief rule. Soon he decided to shift his capital to Chaurnpur village near Huma in Sambalpur thesil on the right bank of river Mahanadi, which was situated at an approximate distance of 40 miles from Nuagarh. The new capital territory was considered as one of the most productive zones known for its fertile land and various agricultural products particularly rice and peas. Within no time, he established control over the neighbouring villages namely Huma, Bulpunga, Dhatukpali, Gangadharpali and Mahle, which were famous for rice cultivation. Gradually, he established his sway in the area and controlled considerable portion of agricultural resources of the region.

Apart from agricultural resources, the state exploited geo-political potentiality of the region. Because of its strategic central location and attractive diamond mines, Sambalpur became the permanent headquarters of the state. The new headquarter was surrounded by forests and jungles on three sides and Patna [his parental state] on one (southern) side. On the outer sphere in the North West side, Sambalpur was protected by Gandhamardhan and Barapahar mountain ranges and its south east side was covered by Khajuria.

38 The rainfall of two tashils of Sambalpur and Bargarh from 1870-71 to 1874-45 was 55.1 Inches and 46.5 inches respectively. Similarly, the rainfall of the said two Tahsils from 1875-76 to 1879-80 were 56.9 Inches and 55.9 inches respectively. For the period starting from 1880-81 to 1884-85 and from 1885-86 to 1889-90 were 70.2 Inches and 58.6 inches and 63.1 Inches and 46.9 Inches respectively. For more detail see. Sir Bamplyde Fuller, Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District of the Central Province (1885-1889), (Bombay: Education Society Stem Press, 1893), p.5.

Pradhnpat, Pawri and Ushakoti mountain ranges. In the inner sphere, the north of Sambalpur was adorned with Jharghati mountain range with its series of broken ranges running analogous with river Mahanadi towards south. Apart from Jharghati mountain range, the province was bestowed with other small mountain ranges and isolated hills, which includes the Sunari range running south east of Sambalpur; the Gotwaki and Guja hills standing in the north west of the province; and Maula Bhanja range that existed in the west of the kingdom. The river Mahanadi, which flows from the east to southeast along with the Barapahad or twelve mountain ranges, provided natural protection to the state from possible external invasion, especially from Chhattisgarh. To further fortify his kingdom, Balarama Deva constructed a fort at Sambalpur. According to Tavernier.

Soumelpour is a great town, the houses where of are built of earth, and covered only with branches of coconut trees. All these 30 leagues (i.e., from Rhotas to Soumelpour) you travel through woods, which is a very dangerous passage, as being very much pestered with robbers. The Raja lives half a league from the town, in tents set upon a fair rising ground, at the foot where of runs the Gouel, descending from the southern mountains, and falling into the Ganges. In this river they find the diamonds. For after the great rains are over, which is usually in December, they stay all January till the river be clear, by reason that by that time in some places it is not above two feet deep, and in several places the sand lies above the water.40

The establishment of capital at Sambalpur brought the ownership of diamond mines under the direct control of the Chauhans [See Map IV]. In 18th century, Lord Clive sent T. Motte to Sambalpur with the specific instruction to undertake discreet reconnaissance of the diamond mines and to purchase diamonds. In 1766, Motte stated that:

The mountains abound with gold and diamonds: but the native deterred from working the mines by their indolence and fear of the Mahrattas, to whom their riches would only point them out as a more desirable prey. They, are therefore, content to wash the sands of the rills which descend from them: nor is the quantity of gold they procure thereby despicable ... I answered that the diamond had been valued by the vakeel at 3, 500 rupees, which sum I was ready to pay. He insisted on 6,000 rupees, and went away disgusted ... I set out

with Mr. Raby, and a few servants, the 16th July. We travelled that day ten miles on the banks of the Maha Nudée river, in which I frequently saw rocks peeping above the water and halted at night at the foot of the hills. The next morning, having marched three miles, we passed the side of a rock which projected into the great river, and come to the mouth of the river Hebe, where the diamond are found. A servant of the rajah, who had charge of the rich spot, met us with only three attendants... He told me it was his business to search in the river Hebe, after the rains, for red earth, washed down from the mountains, in which earth diamonds were always found. I asked him it would not be better to go on the mountains and dig for that earth. He answered it had been done, until the Mahrattas extorted a tribute from the country; and to do so now would only increase that tribute. He showed me several heaps of the red earth, some pieces of the size of small pebbles, and so on till it resembles coarse brick-dust, which had been washed, and the diamonds taken out... at parting he [king of Sambalpur] presented me with a rough diamond set in a ring [16.1/2 carats].

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Map- IV: Different capitals of Balarama Deva and Diamond mine near Sambalpur

After he established himself in Sambalpur, Balarama Deva started subjugating feudatory chiefs ruling the surrounding region of Sambalpur. The state had opted a proactive policy towards those feudatory chiefs who were eying on the rich agricultural resources and diamond mines of Sambalpur kingdom and dealt sternly with them. Feudatory provinces like Patna, Khariar, Bastar, Bindrugarh, Phuljhar, Sarangarh, Raigarh, Sarguja and Jasipur, Udipur, Gangapur, Bonai, Yamatangi, Raidhakhol, Sonpur, Boudh, Athamallik and Bamra were particular interested in the resource rich province of Sambalpur and Balarama Deva left no stone unturned to subdue those provinces. [See MAP-III]. Geographically, those feudatory provinces were situated in the present western Orissa and eastern Chhattisgarh. These regions are surrounded with mountains and hills and had intersections with various rivers such as Mahanadi, Brahmani, Jira, Ang, Tel, Rahul, Suketal, Junk, Ib, Bheden, Manda, and Keol etc. The bed of these rivers opens with irregular shapes and brings small oases of alluvia deposits into the cultivated land. The soils of the regions are friable loam varying in colour from brown to
red, which were derived from underlying crystalline rocks. Most part of the regions had been widely cultivated and according to the 1909 central province gazetteers report, rice constituted as the main crop followed by pulses and hemp. The important pulses were mung [Phaseolusmungo), urad [Phaseolusradiatvs], hirwan [Dolichosbijiorus], and til [Sesamumindicicum]. Nearly 50 percent of the tract were under the cover of forests with thick vegetation, where excellent quality of bamboo used to grow. Sal [shorearobusta], bija [petrocarpusmarsupium], saj (Terminaliatomentosii), tendu[Diospyrostomentosa], khair [Acacia Catechu], harra [TerminaliaChehuld], rohina [Soymidafebrifuga) and palas [Buteafroindosa] formed the principal timbers in the region. Various forest products such as honey, wax, yams, lac, arrowroot, catechu, mango and tamarind were plentifully available. The tribal of the tracts had mostly been depended on cultivation after the meager income from the timber of the hills,42 Balarama Deva [1540-1556] had successfully driven out the chief of Gangapur who acknowledged his authority without any fighting. This has resulted in the controlling of the Chandarpur-Padampur region that was adjacent to Gangapur. The chief of Gangapur was forced to marry his daughter to Balarama Deva and in return the latter granted the former the right to come to the royal court under his own royal canopy. Secondly, Balarama Deva marched his army to Sarguja where he defeated its ruler, who was forced to sign a humiliating treaty and compelled to buy peace by way of giving his daughter in marriage to Balarama Deva.43 Thirdly, Balarama Deva defeated Raghunath Deva, the king of Bamra and appointed his nominee Ramachandra Deva as the king of the newly conquered province.44 Fourthly, the kingdom of Banai acknowledged the authority of Balarama Deva without a fight and agreed to maintain matrimonial alliance with the Chauhans of Sambalpur.45 The process to control western Orissa that was started by Balarama Deva finally ended with the conquest of Boudh by Baliara Singh (1617-1657), the fourth Chauhan monarch of Sambalpur. Baliara Singh established full control over the region and declared himself as the lord of Atharagarh (AṣtādasaGaḍaSebāKarai, DaṇḍapāṭTerahaAnusarai).46 After that the very intention of the state to control the ecological and geo-political potential of the region came to an end and since then all the successors of Balarama

42 E.A. Brett, Central Province Gazetteers: Chhattisgarhs Feudatory States, (Bombay, 1909), p.241
46 Prah halluc Dubey, Jaya Chandrika. Also see S. P. Das, Sambalpur Itihasa, (1962), p.266
Deva styled themselves as the lord of 18 forts and Hirakhanda Chhatrapati Maharaja i.e., the great lord of the country of diamond.47

Conclusion
From the above empirical analysis it is concluded that the kingdom of Sambalpur was established by the scion of Patnagarh state immediately after the downfall of Vijayanagaram Empire and Gajapati Empire in the middle of 16th century to explore the geopolitical potentiality of the region and to utilise the available ecological resources in the kingdom. The 17th and 18th centuries’ literary works like Kosalananda Kavyam and Jaya Chandrika have empirically narrated the founder’s strategic vision. As Sambalpur was an unnoticed area for the Afghans and Mughals, the state had adequately explored the opportunity to take a serious note against her competitors. Free from external invasion from the costal Orissa, the state had ruthlessly dealt with the neighbouring feudatory chiefs. Indeed, there had been fighting among the feudatories of Orissa and Chhattisgarh for the abundant diamonds of the region. The state had sternly dealt with its opponents and established her sovereignty successfully over the rich ecological and geo-politically strategic region of western Orissa and eastern Chhattisgarh. Thus, the rulers of the state had pompously designated themselves as the overlords of 18 forts and the country of diamond.

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Abstract

The basic purpose of the study is to know the point of views of individuals, business community and the related personnel regarding trade between Pakistan and India with perspective of single side country that is Pakistan. Secondly, the study aimed to record the behavior of participants regarding trade deficit due to this trade. We conducted primary research contain closed end questionnaire filled by 200 respondents from Pakistan and the historical data of India Pakistan Trade transactions of a decade from 2001 to 2010. Furthermore, we checked the relationship among variables through regression and correlation by using SPSS. We knew that the loss and risks at the side of Pakistan whereas contrary at the side of India. There is risk of security, Brand Recognition, Inflation and Unemployment, as reflected the significant results whereas historical data reveals the trade deficit of Pakistan. These indicators are the clear symbol to restrain the trade between Pakistan and India. This study would contribute as identification of risks from India-Pakistan trade and provide the effective and efficient tools for measurement of trade risks which never found empirically. This research may take a part in studies of risks in trade and effective measurement tools as well.

Keywords: Risks in Globalization, Globalization, and Globalization in under develop countries, Managing Risk, Pakistan India Trade. Trade Relation of Pakistan and India

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Introduction

India and Pakistan was the single nation and country before dissolution of British Raj in 1947, whereas after the separation it still contains some unresolved issues including the Kashmir dispute. The relationship between two countries remains inconstant due to different issues. The Trade Relation between India and Pakistan is also been prohibit in different times. However, scenario of overall trade relation of India with Pakistan based on the higher exports as compare to the imports that is more profitable for India and affect contrary for the economy of Pakistan. The major exports of India include Sugar, Cotton and Organic chemicals whereas highlighted imports are Fruits, Minerals and Salts.

The trade analysis between India and Pakistan that has been argued in various platforms with criticism because the historical trade between India and Pakistan reflects the Trade Surplus with increment of positive trend year to year for India but on the contrary, it endured the trade deficit by the same trend with reverse direction for Pakistan. Considering the deficit situation in Pakistan where already deficit occurs yearly while trading in rest of the world, I intended to conduct research to explore the risks due to trade relation with India and to evaluate the managing and measuring tools of impacts.

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<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Trade Map, International Trade Centre, Geneva

The trade relation between India and Pakistan is the best example of Globalization to analyze the risk and find the tools for managing risk. However, Pakistan has scared resources for producing the competitive goods whereas the countries from rest of the world provide the goods in cheap prices with the better quality that
ultimately collapsed many industries and reducing production units frequently. This situation further impacts negatively to high trade deficit, unemployment, poverty and ultimately weakening the economy.

Table 2: India’s Top Ten Exports to Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugars and sugar confectionery</td>
<td>61.91</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>6.37</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>81.68</td>
<td>12.47</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>61.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>52.61</td>
<td>44.96</td>
<td>10.73</td>
<td>319.66</td>
<td>313.69</td>
<td>135.67</td>
<td>32.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manmade filaments</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>17.78</td>
<td>111.42</td>
<td>414.34</td>
<td>30.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic chemicals</td>
<td>28.54</td>
<td>41.97</td>
<td>56.19</td>
<td>19.16</td>
<td>19.88</td>
<td>27.71</td>
<td>387.19</td>
<td>467.36</td>
<td>295.51</td>
<td>25.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residues, wastes of food industry, animal fodder</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>19.32</td>
<td>42.39</td>
<td>47.77</td>
<td>66.75</td>
<td>89.08</td>
<td>102.94</td>
<td>82.64</td>
<td>75.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edible vegetables and certain roots and tubers</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>28.34</td>
<td>53.68</td>
<td>68.95</td>
<td>95.47</td>
<td>74.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee, tea, mate and spices</td>
<td>7.76</td>
<td>8.88</td>
<td>11.82</td>
<td>13.06</td>
<td>22.94</td>
<td>17.84</td>
<td>63.49</td>
<td>33.04</td>
<td>67.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber and articles thereof</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>14.42</td>
<td>14.95</td>
<td>27.69</td>
<td>40.17</td>
<td>37.99</td>
<td>49.08</td>
<td>49.93</td>
<td>34.14</td>
<td>46.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil seed, oleagic fruits, grain, seed, fruit, etc.</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>11.47</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>20.33</td>
<td>18.39</td>
<td>30.65</td>
<td>45.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sectors</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edible fruit, nuts, peel of citrus fruit,</td>
<td>27.34</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>22.06</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>71.69</td>
<td>59.12</td>
<td>34.93</td>
<td>44.82</td>
<td>49.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral fuels, oils, distillation products,</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td>8.69</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>97.03</td>
<td>62.01</td>
<td>154.04</td>
<td>44.15</td>
<td>37.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic chemicals</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>7.24</td>
<td>34.83</td>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>29.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt, sculpture, earth, stone, plaster,</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>8.96</td>
<td>74.37</td>
<td>37.38</td>
<td>28.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lime and cement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td>28.03</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>48.06</td>
<td>46.66</td>
<td>34.94</td>
<td>19.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead and articles thereof</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>25.39</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>7.87</td>
<td>12.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw hides and skins (other than fur skins)</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>11.52</td>
<td>13.04</td>
<td>7.93</td>
<td>10.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and leather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastics and articles thereof</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>9.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Trade Map, International Trade Centre, Geneva

Table 3: India’s Top Ten Imports from Pakistan (US $ million)
Risks in Globalization by Under Developed Country and Tools for Managing Risk: An Analytical Point of Views for India – Pakistan Trade Relation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inorganic chemicals, precious metal compound, isotopes</th>
<th>0.2</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0.1</th>
<th>0.0</th>
<th>0.0</th>
<th>0.0</th>
<th>0.6</th>
<th>6.2</th>
<th>8.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wool, animal hair, horsehair yarn and fabric thereof</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Trade Map, International Trade Centre, Geneva

This study would contribute as identification of risks from India-Pakistan trade and provide the effective and efficient tools for measurement of trade risks which never found empirically. This research may take a part in studies of risks in trade and effective measurement tools as well.

I- Literature Review

Trading between countries contributes in development of the economy but on the contrary, this is also in the vogue that big fishes capture the smallest one. So there is possibility of financial outperformed of domestic organizations due to the stronger multinationals that force small businesses to either wind up or merge. Most of the time powerful and stronger organizations are more powerful in under developed counties by dictating the political terms to the government of the countries.

Trading internationally is more costly as compare to produce domestically. The number of costs abandon by manufacturing locally like tariffs, cost of delay, cost related to difference in legal system, in currency exchange rate. Factors of production are more mobile while producing locally as compare to internationally. Encouragement is limited for only exchange of goods and services against the international trade but exchange of factors of production may be more beneficial for the countries in certain scenario. The evaluation of risk due to international trade plays a vital role while intending the payment terms against the settlement.

---

The chairman of Pakistan Association of Automotive Parts and Accessories Manufacturers warned all the car parts manufacturer in Pakistan with the statement of expected loss significantly due to trade liberalization with India. The automobile industry of Pakistan is already moving with negative growth trends and has no credibility to compete with Indian industry. He is further of the view that waits at least ten years before lowering tariff lines of the industry.

Agricultural interests are also not willing to trade with India. The Foreign Policy Report of year 2012 revealed that farmers of Pakistan are unhappy with the trade relation of Pakistan with India. The farmers of Pakistan believes that India may provide the better quality and cheaper food stuff to Pakistan whereas the same report reflects the food stuff is easily available from the markets of India in more cheapest prices. Furthermore, the agriculture concern believe that indian market of food stuff will flood the Pakistani agricultural sector by exporting expanded quality of bananas and oranges that already producing in Pakistan.

Dr. Ishrat Hussain, Dean of IBA also wrote that agricultural producers are worried for that they will failed to compete the Indian agriculture counterparts because they are already benefiting in shape of subsidies for electricity and tube wells. Furthermore he stated car parts manufacturers are anxious that Indian parts “will flood the Pakistani market and decimate the local industry,” and that Pakistani exports will suffer because Indian car makers prefer domestically manufactured parts. Husain also reports unease within the pharmaceutical and chemical/synthetic fiber industries.

Dr. Ishrat Husain also disclosed that elements behind such opposition are the risk that derailing the Pakistan-India trade regime. Initially the opposition of political parties in India and Pakistan contain extremist elements that may harm the trade situation that may pressurize the capitals of the countries to support the low support friendly policies.

---

The India Pakistan trade is not only the trade of goods and services but the opportunity that dealt through United States, signed by Hillary Clinton at his last visit to India that based on the capturing the route of Afghanistan. This trade agreement is only for the betterment of India and United States to approach and control their destination. Furthermore, there is possibility to capture the Pakistani geographically as it already practiced before 63 years through the same strategy of trade by East India Company.

The trade with India may be beneficial that is not currently considered by the ministry of commerce. The rates of tariff are highly decreased due to the MFN Status, but the same tariff may be profitable for the Pakistan that may contribute in income of the country. On the contrary this is also fact the Pakistani industry including the automobile, pharmaceutical, agricultural and technological will suffer. The unemployment will increases with the trend of imports. The previous record between India and Pakistan trade shows the trade deficit for Pakistan. This decision of the trade agreement will not support the industries and economy of the Pakistan but quite beneficial for the India only. However, it may be beneficial for the Pakistan as well by considering the other factors like hike in duties and tariff and availability of variety of goods through local production by providing the subsidies to local manufacturers.

**II- Theoretical Framework**

![Diagram of Trade Impacts on Pakistan]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impacts on Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I- Security Risk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II- Brand Recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III- Unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV- Trade Deficit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V- Inflation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


III- Main Research Questions / Hypothesis

H₁: There is positive influence of Security Risk to Pakistan due to trading with India
H₂: There is negative relationship between Brand Recognition of Pakistani Products and trade with India
H₃: The Unemployment of Pakistan has positive relation with trade between India and Pakistan
H₄: The Trade Deficit in Pakistan is due to the trade with India
H₅: Trade relationship between India and Pakistan contributes in surge of Inflation of Pakistan

IV- Research Methodology

In this study, we are exploring the risk and measuring tools for globalization that is suitable with exploratory research design whereas this research is quantitative by nature and primary by data collection methodology that would actually focus on the close ended questionnaire as the instrument of the research and will fill by the two hundred residents of Pakistan including businessmen, top management, government personnel and the citizens of the country. Furthermore, to check the relationship of variables with India Pakistan trade, we used the regressions and Pearson’s correlation through SPSS 20 edition.

V - Results and Discussion

The primary research by collecting the data for Trading between India and Pakistan and checked the relationship of Trade with Security Risk, Brand Recognition, Unemployment, Trade Deficit and Inflation through SPSS. The results of the data revealed the impacts by the views of Pakistani related community where all the variables and the model are expectedly significant.

Overall model revealed the significant results with 2.825 Durbin Watson. However, the model explained maximum part with 91% R Square whereas the standard error is nearly 14%. The adjusted R Square of the model is 0.908.
**H1: There is positive influence of Security Risk to Pakistan due to trading with India**

The results from individuals reflect that more than 50% of Pakistani believes that there is risk of security due to Pakistan, India trade, whereas few believes controvert. The perception behind this point of view is exemplary of the similar insecurity occurred before partition of these countries, where a British organization charged the operations of the country that initially started with the trade businesses.

The relationship of Security Risks with Indian Trade is quite significant with positive 1.596 Beta with the 6.019 t statistics, whereas the Pearson's correlation reflects the 91.3% dependence of India Pakistan Trade on Security Risk.

**H2: There is negative relationship between Brand Recognition of Pakistani Products and trade with India**

Nearly half of the selected population believes that there is risk of brand recognition of Pakistan made products with trade of India, because India is producing more cheaply goods as compare to the Pakistan. The reason for cheap cost production is the availability of resources on minimum amount as compare to Pakistan.

The results of regressions are significant at 1% and reflect the negative relationship between Brand Recognition in the cities and India Pakistan Trade with -0.174 whereas slope of the relationship is -1.663. Additionally, the Pearson's correlation reveals the 91.12% positive relationship.

**H3: The Unemployment of Pakistan has positive relation with trade between India and Pakistan**

Almost 80% of the Pakistan national respondents are of the view that unemployment increases due to trade with India whereas only 3% respondents believes that there is no relationship of unemployment with indo Pak trade.

This hypothesis also tested through same methodology and results revealed the positive relationship with 0.411 whereas t statistics reflects the 2.611. Furthermore, the relationship is significant with 0.011 levels.
Furthermore, another relationship tool, the correlation reflects the 87.37% positive relationship between Trade and Unemployment.

**H₄: The Trade Deficit in Pakistan is due to the trade with India**

Only 5% population believes that there is trade deficit with trade relation of India and Pakistan whereas 95% reject this question. On the contrary, the historical data of India and Pakistan trade transactions reflects the trade deficit with Pakistan whereas surplus at the side of India.

This relationship is also the significant with 0.264 levels with positive beta 0.124 whereas t statistics reveals the 1.125 relationship. Furthermore, the correlation also reveals the 82.60% positive relationship. It means that Trade with India influence the Trade Deficit in Pakistan with 12.4% efficiency.

**H₅: Trade relationship between India and Pakistan contributes in surge of Inflation of Pakistan**

Less than 50% agree with that there is relationship with inflation and trade with India whereas rest of the respondents either refuse this or expose the unknown symbol.

This hypothesis also reflects the expected relationship with 0.023 levels of significance whereas beta of the relationship is positive 0.112 that slope is 2.310. Furthermore, the correlation of the relationship also revealed the positive relationship with 24.44% results.

**V- Conclusion and Recommendation**

Most of the indicators and point of views of individuals and businessmen as well as the results of relationship of variables with India trade with Pakistan reveals the loss and risks at the side of Pakistan whereas contrary at the side of India. There is risk of security, Brand Recognition and Unemployment, as reflected the results whereas historical data reveals the trade deficit of Pakistan. These indicators are the clear symbol to restrain the trade between Pakistan and India.

Furthermore, I suggest extending the study with the opinions of same population of Indian Nationals, including the students, laymen as well as the businessmen of the country.
References


www.wtopunjab.gov.pk/articles/trade_with_india.doc

VI- Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
<th>Durbin-Watson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.957a</td>
<td>.916</td>
<td>.908</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>2.825</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Security Risk, Brand Recognition, Unemployment, Trade Deficit, Inflation

b. Dependent Variable: Trade
## ANOVA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 Regression</td>
<td>.173</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>115.718</td>
<td>.000b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.189</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent Variable: Trade  
b. Predictors: (Constant), Security Risk, Brand Recognition, Unemployment, Trade Deficit, Inflation

### Results of Regression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coefficients</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (Constant)</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>.620</td>
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<tr>
<td>Security Risk</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>.265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brand Recognition</td>
<td>-.174</td>
<td>.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>.411</td>
<td>.157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Deficit</td>
<td>.124</td>
<td>.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>.049</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent Variable: Trade

### Results of Correlation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Security Risk</th>
<th>Brand Recognition</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
<th>Trade Deficit</th>
<th>Inflation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100.</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7th
Risks in Globalization by Under Develop Country and Tools for Managing Risk: An Analytical Point of Views for India – Pakistan Trade Relation

Brand Recognition 91.1 99.21
on 2% % 100.00%
Unemployment 87.3 96.85 100.00%
Trade 82.6 92.53 100.00%
Deficit 0% 93.18% 98.27% 0%
Inflation 4% 7.82% 14.08% 23.06% %

Summative Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Don't Agree</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Influence of Security Risk due to trade with India</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Relationship between Brand Recognition of Pakistani Products and trade with India</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Unemployment of Pakistan has relation with trade between India and Pakistan</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Trade Deficit in Pakistan is due to the trade with India</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Trade relationship between India and Pakistan contributes in surge of Inflation of Pakistan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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