



PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

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Abstract

The period of the British Raj in India is bridging over three centuries. The British's initial interaction with India was indirect in search of trading comforts in Asia as ferocious competition with Portuguese and Dutch. Comparatively, the British were latecomers towards colonization in these new rich projects but they were fully aware that they would be involving in a long-term and very lucrative relationship that would ultimately be, "Premier Jewel in their Crown". The British-India's initial phase of the relationship was purely financial and commercial based which passed through an idealist paradigm to gain power. Two undeniable befits were provided to the British by India were, India was an enslaved market for goods of the British and by holding a big size army it could serve their defense requirements also. Basically, British policy was based on expansion, and they wanted to overcome the Indians for their personal gains. Resultantly, the British faced a revengeful mutiny period, post-1857, by the determined natives to maintain the dignity of the Mughal's Kingdom. A reviewing study of the public policy formulation during the



British Raj in India was initiated which explored the major happenings of that era. The purpose of the study is to learn the history of public policy formulation during British Raj. The findings indicate that the planning and policy formation of the British era was mainly based on the theme to prolong their governance in India as India was a vast market to sell their goods and they could get manpower at low rates from there. This paper recommends that through formulation and implementation of sound, optimistic and credible policies, the country can gain the desired level of nation-building and development.

Keywords: Policy, Public Policy Formulation, Pre-Independence, British Raj, Mutiny

Introduction

Initially, The British entered the Sub-continent for trade through the East India Company but afterward, they started to interfere in the matters of local governance. Gradually, they began to set foot in the Indian subcontinent. The period from 1958 to 1947 is considered the period of direct rule of the British over the subcontinent and is called as British Raj. During this period, the administrative control of the Indian subcontinent was taken by the British Government from the East India Company which was the result of the common displeasure and distrust with the leadership of the company.

Research Methodology

This study on public policy formulation in the pre-independence period was exploratory in nature. A qualitative research design was adopted. The data was collected through secondary sources which include research articles published in various journals and available on online sites. Moreover, data was also collected through books written on public policy by some foreign and local authors.

Period from 1612 to 1836

In 1608, the British tried their first commercial entry in Surat. Their attempt was jammed by the court of the new Mughal Emperor Jahangir because of the interference of the Portuguese. The British East India Company acquired permission for the establishment of their first factory in India, in 1612. This initial period of the British in India is considered the period of authoritative and commercial exploitation. In 1690, for the establishment of a colony, founding the future city of Calcutta, nearby the river



Hooghly, Admiral Nicholson used gunboat diplomacy for the help of East India Company.

In 1757, the British East India Company contested with the Des Indus Orientals with (French Company) to handle the conflicts between the local Indian authorities, growth of separatist clashes, and wars of succession (Baber, 1996). After the Battle of Plassey, 1757, and the battle of Buxar, 1764, the full control of Bengal was taken by the British with revenue collection and to establish colonial domination in India (Chatterjee, 1993).

Robert Clive was the first British Administrator in Bengal and pondered as one of the initiators of British power in India. Under his leadership, by succeeding the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the French ambitions were ruined and the company was strengthened. The victory of the British in the Battle of Plassey opened the door of the British in India comprising upon two centuries. The grip of the British was strongly confirmed in India after the defeat of Mughal Emperor Allam-II in the Battle of Buxar (Bihar) in 1764 (Welch, 2011). Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India in 1772. His period is considered the period of benevolent coherence in Anglo-Indian civilization. Indian literature, commandments, and holy manuscripts were translated into English during his period.

The council of six commissioners was created by the Indian Act, 1784 consisting of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary of State for India which was founded in London as per directions of the Company (BlaCKWell, 2008). The armed and political control and mercantilism were the dynamic forces of the British behind the colonial expansion in the Indian Subcontinent (Lloyd, 2008)

The British Empire kept the Indian Subcontinent colonized for the coming two hundred years after the defeat of India in the Battle of Plassey on June 23, 1757 (Iyer, 2010). The direct involvement of the British was established in India after the India Act, 1784. In the beginning, East India Company (EICs) activities were brought under the direct supervision of the British Parliament. Through Charter Act 1813, the separate territorial and commercial jurisdiction for the EIC and complete colonial administration was executed (Chaudhary, 2009). The amalgamation of British colonial control and the decrease of the Mughal Empire was due to structural, conjectural, external, and internal factors (Baber, 1996).

Victorian Period from 1837 to 1901



The Victorian period in India is considered compassionate and enlightens which was based on the restructuring of the government which restored the sense of calm which was not long-lasting and interrupted by weak leadership of imprudent Viceroy and cruel Prime Ministers. Disraeli and Lord Lytton enlarged displeasure for Crown policies generally and colonization of Britain particularly.

British colonialism is originated in 1757 with the arrival of British merchants and navy in India whereas India became the Crown colony in 1876 (Iyer, 2010). British attained India from Mughal Rulers during the 1760s (Baber, 1996). The era of Queen Victoria is regarded as the era of the growth of the industrial revolution. The Victorian period had abundant influence in the fields of Railways, Telegraph, and steamship. During this period, the East India Company was dissolved and the British Raj was established. Under the Royal Title Act of 1876, the crowning of Victoria as Empress of India was done and as per instructions of Lord Lytton, Delhi Durbar enclosed the instant future of the coming empire. The industrial revolution brought infrastructural progress but the life of the ordinary Indians was very bad because of two specific reasons. First, the British installed the railway in 1826 in India and supported it by taxes of the inhabitants. The establishment of the Railway untied the Indian subcontinent for trade on an unfair basis. Transfer of machine manufactured goods (made in the factories of London) to the far-flung areas of India became possible whereas the locally manufactured goods could not compete it. Resultantly, the British started to draw the raw material from India which was processed in London, and resold the local inhabitants generating a brutal circle of economic failure. The second most threatening feature was to work openly with the Industrial Revolution, which was a sign of greediness of the British and was fatal for the local industry which enhanced the deprivation of the natives.

The British were fully aware that the Indian region was diverse in the sociocultural. It was important to arouse the public against the princes, Hindus against Muslims to exploit and control the land, increase the class inequality and caste division among the Hindus to annoying one class to another. For example, the Hindu's rules and regulations about the landed property were propagated to and the legitimacy of the governance of Muslim Sultan Tipu was denied (Baber, 1996). To generate enmity between the Muslims and the Hindus, the strategy of "divide and rule" was used by the British (Tharoor, 2017).

Law and Constitutional Reforms during the British Raj

According to Sir Robert Fulton, a well-known official in India, "The foundation of our empire in India rests on the principle of justice, and England retains its supremacy



in India mainly by justice. Without justice, we could not hold India for a moment” (Kolsky, 2010). By initiating the government of India Act 1909, the separate electorate formula was introduced for the Muslims. The reforms are also called Morley-Minto Reforms which were applied to other minorities as well.

“The Government of India Act of 1935 gave all provinces full representative and elective governments, chosen by franchise extended now to some 30 million Indians, and only the most crucial portfolios-defense, revenue, and foreign affairs-were reserved to appointed officials. The viceroy and his governors retained veto powers over any legislation they considered unacceptable” (Wolpert, 2020). The federation of the provinces of British India was also initiated by the Government of India Act 1935. This Act was the product of three sessions of the Round Table Conference.

The Mutiny of 1857

British Indian Army delivered a new kind of rifle cartridge to the Army in 1857. It was the rumor that the new type of cartridge of the rifle is lubricated with the fat of cow and pig which was a disgrace for both main religions of India (Szczepanski, 2020). The mutiny of 1857 was not a simple revolt of the sepoys (native Indians employed as soldiers in the service of Great Britain) as the reaction to greased Enfield magazine incident, as described commonly, whereas it was a result of numerous conflicting circumstances. Most quarrelsome grounds were included the passionate struggle of Christian preachers for converts; issues related to the initiation of land tax reforms and weak policy decisions of Dalhousie under his dishonorable “Doctrine of Lapse” and his Widow Marriage Act.

The mutiny 1857 was the death-toll for the East India Company in the Indian Subcontinent and epitomized the most momentous incident in Anglo Indian relations which made possible the direct commencement of the British Emperor in India Known as the Raj. The fight was continued for around one year and months. Finally, the rebellions were controlled by the British with the help of different Princely states by using strategic alliances, and mutiny was ended formally on July 08, 1859. The government approved the Government of India Act on August 02, 1858, to transfer the British rule over India from the East India Company to the Crown.

After Mutiny, the Indian Army was reorganized and the consultation policy with the natives was started as the foremost result of the mutiny. The Legislative Council of 1853 consisted of the Europeans whereas the Indians were nominated in the Council of 1861.



The programs of public work like telegraphs, railways, roads, and irrigation systems and educational projects were started after some interval.

The British Raj from 1858 to 1947

The East India Company was dissolved by the British government in 1857 because of mutiny 1857 and the direct colonial rule was established in India which is called the British Raj. All powers of the EIC were transferred to the British Crown. The Company's land was directly controlled by the British Crown.

Britain's majesty took over the control of India directly in replacement of the East India Company. "Some have viewed Britain's Imperial hold over India as a case of simple plundering, while others, such as Lord Curzon considered it as appropriate political machinations for power during the 'Great Game', a face-off with other powers such as Russia, Germany, Italy France, and other Ottoman Empire" (Welch, 2011). Now, the British were dominant supremacy in the world and its unbeatable navy was controlling the seas. By following their Mughal ancestors, the British were showing the same type of aristocratic splendor as the Mughals. The Delhi Durbar was a demonstration of imperial power and splendor. The British disliked the Indians realizing that they were uneducated and simple-minded. The state of mind of the ethnic supremacy was clear. Due to the incident of the mutiny in 1857, the British were in a situation of hatred and fear as described by Banerjee; "the relationship between British officials and native Indians was hierarchal and charged with racial arrogance" (Banerjee, 2010).

The memorable proclamation of 1885 by Queen Victoria addressed the foremost necessities of the native people. British were committed to hold tightly on the keystone of their empire as they considered that if they lose India they will lose the purpose of the British Empire. Lord Curzon pronounced this concept in 1901 in these farsighted words, "As long as we rule India we are the greatest power in the world. If we lose it we shall drop straight away to a third rate power" (Wilson, 1985).

National Beginnings from 1885 to 1947 – Independence

No one could imagine that a British would be the initiator of the Indian National Congress (INC). Mr. Allan Ovtavian Hume familiarized the nationalist movement in his address at the University of Calcutta which was consisted of intellectuals and lawyers. The first meeting of the INC was held on December 28, 1885. The prime objective of the INC was to raise the voice of Indians for their fortune. Soon afterward the existence of INC, conflict with the British was started due to the partition of Bengal in 1905. British



were forced by the Swaraj through strikes and non-cooperation and non-violent movements for the abolition of the Act of the partition of Bengal. After that, the British started to support the newly established Muslim League. For the reflection of the supremacy of the British Emperor, a number of magnificent buildings were built and the capital of the Empire was shifted to Delhi.

The “divide and rule policies” were created by the British by pitting Muslims and Hindus counter to each other. The Bengal was divided into Hindu and Muslim units in 1905 by the British majestic and was annulled after the protest (Szczepanski, 2020). The Government of India Act, 1935 was introduced to set up the provincial legislatures in India. A Federal Government was also formed for the provinces and princely states. The right to vote was given to about 10% of Indian male inhabitants through the Act. This tactic of giving restricted self-governance to the Indians has paved the way for definite self-determination.

“Increasing contact of India with the dynamic Western, European philosophy and sciences, and the pattern of British political institutions gradually made the benumbed Indian society conscious of the need for reforms in all spheres. Consequently, India was used as a sociological guinea-pig to demonstrate the virtues of the new philosophy, and Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India (1828-1835) was mainly responsible for initiating, directing, and implementing the policy of reforms in India” (Rai, 1979).

Majestic India followed the non-interference policy in religious, social, and cultural life till 1813 under British Rule. The transformation of Indian culture and society was started by Britain after 1813, due to the occurrence of new thoughts and believes through Intellectual Revolution, Industrial Revolution, and French Revolution (Anwar, 2019).



8.1 Various Reforms and Acts introduced By the British in India.

S.#	Act/Reform	Introduced in the Period of:	Significance
i.	Charter Act, 1813		The Company was directed to spend one lakh on the education of Indians.
ii.	Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829	Lord William Bentinck	Hindu reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy supported the Act
iii.	Doctrine of Lapse, 1848	Lord Dalhousie	In case of death of a childless ruler of a self-govern state, the control of the state will be reverted to the sovereign, and Rulers were not allowed to adopt the heirs.
iv.	The Hindus Widows Re-marriage Act, 1856	Lord Dalhousie	Re-marriage of the Hindu widows was permitted.
v.	Indian Council Act ,1861	Lord Canning	Prescribed the relationship between local inhabitants and the rulers at the upper level.
vi.	The Female Infanticide Prevention Act, 1870 (VIII of 1870)		To stop the killing of female newborns.
vii.	Ilbert Bill, 1883	Lord Ripon	To establish equality between European magistracy and local inhabitants.
viii.	Indian Council Act, 1892	Lord Lansdowne	To increase the membership of the Central Legislative Council.
ix.	Morely-Minto Reforms,	Lord Minto-II	Primer of Separate Electorates to enlarge the gulf between Hindus and



	1909		Muslims.
x.	Diarchy, 1919	Lord Chelmsford	Introduction of a dual system of government.
xi.	Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919	Lord Chelmsford	Annihilation at Jallianwala Bagh by General Dyer in Amritsar.
xii.	Rowlett Act, 1919	Lord Chelmsford	Astonishing authorities were given to General Dyer to overpower the independence movement.
xiii.	Simon Commission, 1928	Lord Irwin	Diarchy was endorsed in the provinces and India to be instituted as a federation.
xiv.	Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 1931	Lord Irwin	The agitation was called back by the Congress and decided to join the Second Round Table Conference.
xv.	Communal Award, 1932	Lord Willington	The Public representation of miserable classes of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs was <u>planned</u> and a system of separate electorates was introduced.
xvi.	Government of India Act, 1935	Lord Willington	Federal type of Governance was introduced.
xvii.	Cripps Mission, 1942	Lord Willington	After World War- II, the dominion status was suggested for India.
xviii.	Indian National Army Trial, 1945	Lord Wavell	Courts-Martial of the officers of the Indian National Army was started at Red Fort, Delhi and <u>Bhula-Bhai Desai</u> protected them.



xix.	Wavell Plan, 1945	Lord Wavell	Predicted the constitution of the Executive Council to give representation to all main communities of India.
xx.	Lord Wavell ,1946	Lord Wavell	The Constituent Assembly was designed to structure the constitution.
xxi.	Lord Mountbatten Plan, 1947	Lord Mountbatten	Plan for the partition of India.
cxii.	Independence Act, 1947	Lord Mountbatten	India was partitioned into two sovereign states and achieved independence.

Source: *Compiled by Author*

Social Policy

The British came into India as traders and had become sovereigns. They gradually affected the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the Indians. The non-interference policy was followed by them till 1813 however; the changes took place in different fields of social life i.e. education, the caste system of Hindus, and the condition of women.

The British assimilated India from Mughal sovereigns during the 1760s (Baber, 1996). In 1876, India converted into the Crown colony, however, the roots of British colonialism are found in 1757 with the first arrival of the British navy and merchants (Iyer, 2010). The amalgamation of Britain's colonial power and the end of the Mughal Kingdom occasioned from the joint external and internal, speculative, operational, and historic reasons (Condos, 2015).

Lord Macaulay was considered a dominant member of the council of the Governor-General. He suggested the English education for the Indians and made the subsequent annotations which describe the royal originality of Britain as follows: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in



taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class, we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population” (Macaulay, 1835).

During the era from the 1820s to 1850s, the British struggled hard for the change of social institutes of India and to westernize the people. They eradicated the ritual customs of Sati (burning of widows) and infanticide. They tried to eliminate slavery and remove dacoits (religious thugs) from the roads. The remarriage of widows was legitimized by them and they permitted that the Hindus adopt Christianity would be able to claim their share in the property of their joint family. Steps were taken by them for the initiation of the penal code on the basis of Britain law which was introduced in 1861 to instruct the thoughts of equivalence.

The sea passage was shortened after the completion of the Suez Canal in, 1869 and the transport strength was enlarged which reduced the travel period amongst the India and British from three months to approximately three weeks (Britannica.Com, 2020).

Economic Policy by British

“Economically, it was an era of increased commercial agricultural production, rapidly expanding trade, early industrial development and severe famine. The total cost of the mutiny 1857-1859 which was equivalent to a normal year’s revenue was charged to India and paid off from increased revenue resources in four years. The major source of government income through out that period remained the land revenue” (Britannica.Com, 2020).

Conclusion

The British ruled over the Indian subcontinent for almost 300 years. Therefore, the impact of the British can be felt and observed in all fields of life of the people of the sub-continent. In the field of education, architecture, medical services, the courts of laws, revenue, social clubs, and almost all walks of life, the impacts of the British era cannot be denied. Pakistan got independence from the British in 1947 and till the formation of the fresh constitution, the Indian Act, 1935 with amendments and Independence Act, 1947 was adopted for the functioning of the government. The policies of developing countries are less responsive as compared to the policies of developed countries. Particularly, in Pakistan, support from society as input for decision-making is less significant. This was



because of the inheritance of colonial rule in which social institutions and state policy were used as an instrument of domination to extend power. Every situation was alleged as a law and order problem which could disrupt the revenue collection by the state apparatus. The long years of master subject relationship with little sharing of authority with people have resulted in a psyche that has become intolerant, short-tempered, and confrontationist (conflict). These trends run through in all the aspects from politics to family life. Therefore, there is a need for reliable and dependable policy formulation for all fields.



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