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# **Quetta Cafes: An Indigenous Tea Cafes Chain** in Twins Cities

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#### BACKGROUND

The trend of Quetta Cafes (QCs) strongly relates to the drought in Balochistan; historical and climatological records prove drought is an indefinite natural issue for Balochistan. Moreover, the precipitation data reveals that 18 drought events with an interval of 3.3 years were recorded between 1950-2010, with the most significant and catastrophic drought, lasting 10 years, recorded between 1945-1955.

The most recent dry spell lasted from 1997 to 2003 (Durrani, et al. 2018). Consequently, the drought in the province had several knock-on effects, such as inflation in affected areas, food shortages, adversely affected livestock rearing and reduced agriculture productivity by almost 80 percent—all key indicators in a rural economy. Moreover, one of the critical outcomes of the drought was a massive migration from rural areas to towns and cities to seek livelihoods (PDMA, 2003). Predominantly people migrated to Karachi and began setting up Quetta hotels. These hotels gradually spread across the city.

Over time, Quetta hotels started taking over Chaiye Khanas and other tea-related businesses in Karachi, soon acquiring a monopoly of the tea and paratha business. However, things took a different turn when Karachi fell prey to ethnic conflicts. In the first decade of the 2000s, Mohajir and Pashtun ethnicities were at odds with each other (rferl, 2011). Though the conflict was more political than ethnic (Budhani, et al. 2010), many Pashtun traders fell victim to ensuing violence. They had to leave their businesses and migrate to different cities. The country was also facing severe internal security challenges in all provinces. However, Punjab was more resilient to these issues.

Additionally, in Punjab, there was no animosity towards Pashtuns from locals, and there was a vacuum which the Pashtuns from Quetta rushed to fill. Thus, many former Karachi traders chose Islamabad and Rawalpindi as new business destinations. Among them was Ahmed Ullah Khan of Quetta, who ran various restaurants in Karachi. In 2007 he had to move to Rawalpindi and started a café named Quetta Café in the commercial market. Soon the Café became the favourite public sphere for students, business people and tea lovers.

## INTRODUCTION

Cafes represent the public sphere in the modern world; no society is complete without having a formal or informal public sphere dominated by places like cafes. For Habermas, cafés are essential for forming and encouraging public discourse (Singh, 2012). However, café culture has evolved from a public space to a place to meet friends and acquaintances in the present era. Modern societies are becoming café societies because cafes dominate the city centres (Sohrabi, 2015).

Cafes are essential for connectivity and networking; others have attributed them as third space. These places are not home, not work and study but provide an environment to

connect with others. The cafes in the South Asian context sell tea because it has become a social drug during the preceding centuries.

Milk tea has achieved a status of heritage in Pakistan, and QCs in Rawalpindi and Islamabad are perfect places to enjoy an excellent cup (Hamid, 2007). Pakistanis have a long tradition of drinking tea; no social gathering is complete without having a cup. There are several reasons why Pakistanis have always romanticised tea. The most prominent is that tea suits every mood regardless of occasion or weather. It is the most hospitable of drinks and a social drug that no one opposes. And finally, it is the most economical drink to have and serve.

Quetta Cafes in the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad are places that offer the nation's favourite drink. They usually operate as a single shop; they do not have a designated space for a separate kitchen. Everything they have is in that shop and the open space in front of the cafe. Another thing unique and similar in all QCs in twin cities is their decor and chairs. They usually use red chairs and tables and, when asked, proudly say; these chairs are made by Boss company on special order. Similarly, their décor is also unique; the colour green is the most prominent as it symbolises the owner's love for Pakistan. Another homogeneity is their utensils; every QC uses similar utensils to make tea, parathas, with similar-style cups.

As mentioned previously, QCs are public spaces that provide the nation's favourite drink. They are economical and allow customers to talk freely. They have become a major source of public opinion and discourse formation. The objective of this study is to critically analyse QCs as providing employment and entrepreneurship opportunities. Moreover, this study briefly discusses the transaction costs of QCs triggered by regulatory bodies. And finally, this study explains the tea culture in Pakistan.

## **METHODOLOGY**

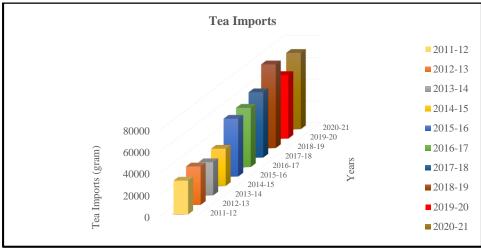
The study has been conducted using a qualitative approach with a descriptive design. Data was collected by applying different sampling techniques, such as purposive and convenience sampling, using semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Moreover, the study includes primary and secondary data from relevant sources. Key informants and participant observation techniques were implied to collect data. Further, a thematic approach using framework analysis was used to analyse the data. The data collection units were the Chairman Rawalpindi-Islamabad Quetta Café Union and owners, managers and workers of QCs. The research locale was Islamabad and Rawalpindi, where QCs are based.

#### TEA CULTURE IN PAKISTAN

Tea is now an integral component of Pakistan's social life (Hamid, 2007), and is an itegral part of social activity in South Asian culture. In Pakistan, tea is Compound as an essential part of life. Offering tea to someone is a token of appreciation and part of the hospitality, which is also taken as a metaphor that means "We like and welcome you". But tea consumption is not limited to this as it has become a mandatory part of the daily life of almost every household in the country. The origin of the tea culture in the subcontinent may be traced back to the world's most renowned tea drinkers; the citizens of the British

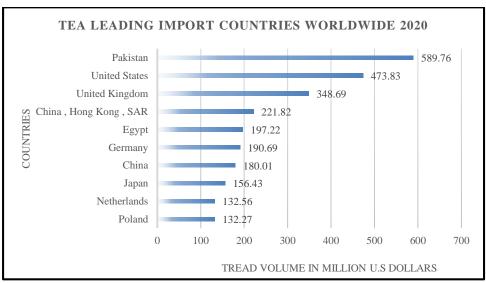
Empire. By the mid-1700s, the Empire had realised the exorbitant costs of its gentry's addiction to tea (Han, 2007).

Pakistan's domestic tea production is 5 tonnes confined only to the district of Mansehra (PCP, 2020). However, Pakistan's local tea production is inadequate to meet market demand, and the country has to import vast quantities. According to the Pakistan Economic Survey (2021), tea is the 9th major import item. The graph below shows that the import volume has augmented consecutively except for the years ranging from 2019-20, indicating the Covid-19 impacts.



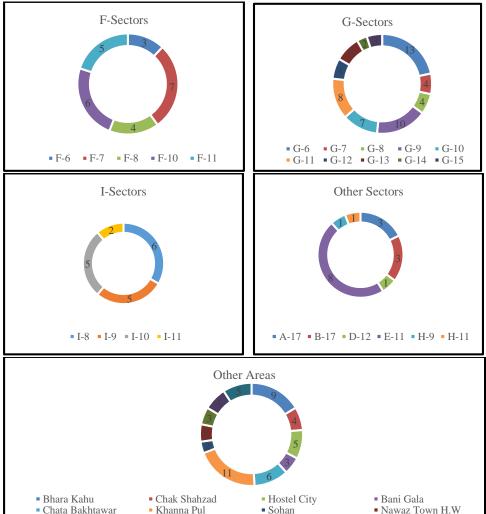
Source: Pakistan Economic Survey.

As shown in the graph, Pakistan was the leading tea importer globally in 2020, with a tread volume worth 590 million U.S dollars, followed by the United States.



Source: Statista.

# **QUETTA CAFES IN ISLAMABAD**

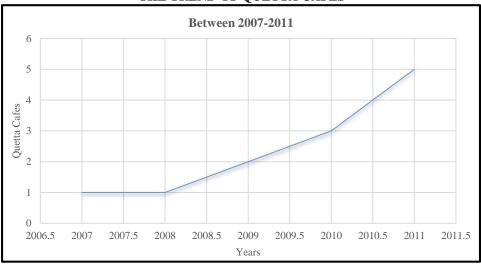


The above graphs depict the number of QCs in different sectors of Islamabad. We have collected this fieldwork data and used Google Maps to verify cafes in big markets. The findings show that the total number of QCs is highest in the G-sector of Islamabad, with approximately 60, mainly in G-6 (including Aabpara and Melody), followed by G-9, where the number of QCs is 10.

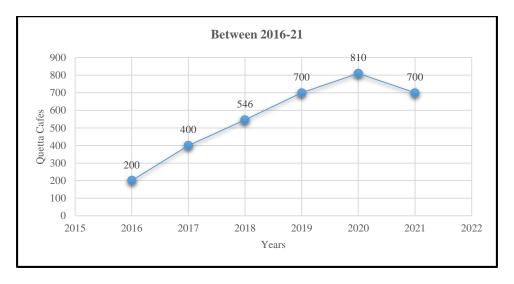
Moreover, the Quetta cafes have captured the F-Sectors of Islamabad, where the total number of QCs are 25 in total. Among the sectors, the number of QCs is highest in F-7. Additionally, the total number of such cafes in I-sectors is around 18. The graph titled as other sectors shows the QCs in sectors including A-13, B-17, D-12, E-11 and H-sectors.

Finally, the last graph shows the number of QCs in Islamabad, including Bhara Khu, Chak Shazad, Hostel city, Bani Gala, Chata Bakhtawar, Khanna Pul, Sohan and Nawaz Town High Way Islamabad. The finding shows that the number of QCs is more in Khanna Pul (11), followed by Bhara Khu (9).





The graph shows the trend of the first five years QCs in Islamabad and Rawalpindi since 2007. The trend reveals that only one QC named "Quetta Commercial Café" existed initially. However, the number of QCs increased over time. The graph shows that for the first year, the growth was zero but showed constant growth between 2008 and 2010. The number increased at an increasing rate between 2010-2011.



This graph shows the trend of QCs between 2016-21. According to the data, the total number of QCs during 2016 reached 200 in twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Moreover, the trend exacerbated till 2020. The growth is increasing at a decreasing rate and reached its peak by 2020. However, the number fell to 700 by 2021 owing to the Covid-19 crisis. As a result, more than 100 cafes closed owing to the lockdown and the owners' inability to cover the rent and other costs.

# QUETTA CAFES AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Table 1
Quetta Cafes and Employment Opportunities

No	% Cafes	% Cafes	Average	Average	Average	Total	Total	Total
Quetta	Ownership	Ownership	Employees	local	employees	(Local)	(Balochistan)	
Cafes	Local	Balochistan		employees	(Balochistan)			
700	11	89	14	2	12	1400	8,400	9,800

The above Table 1 shows the total number of QCs and the job opportunities they have created both for the residents of Balochistan and locals (Punjab and KPK). The total number of cafes is 700 in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Around 77 cafes are owned and operated by the locals, with around 623 cafes owned by residents of Quetta and adjacent districts like Qilla Abdullah. Thus, 11 percent of the owners are local, and 89% are residents of Balochistan. Moreover, each café employs around 14 labourers (on average 2 local and 12 Balochistan residents). To sum up, 9800 labourers are employed by QCs.

## Price Determination and Price Variation:

The free market price is determined by the market forces of demand and supply. However, in the case of QCs, food prices are determined by their union. Prices are higher in sectors F-7 and F-10 than Bharakahu and other areas. Moreover, the prices vary with the location of the cafes owing to cafes' rent and customers' willingness to pay.

# MAJOR PRODUCTS BEING OFFER

Table No.2 shows the list of products Qs offers. However, their specialty of QCs is tea and parathas.

Table 2

Quetta Cafes Menu

Chai	Paratha	Others
Normal Chai (Tea)	Sada Paratha	Anda Parahi
Special Chai (tea)	Anda Peaz Paratha	Anda Amlate
Kawa Ch (Green/ Black)	Chicken Paratha	Chana
Malai wali Chai	Alo Paratha	Chiken Korma
Gur Wali Chai	Alo Cheaz Paratha	Dal Mash
Choclati Chai	Malai Paratha	Sabzi
Kashmiri Chai	Bae B Q paratha	Alo Gosth
	Chini wala Paratha	Salad

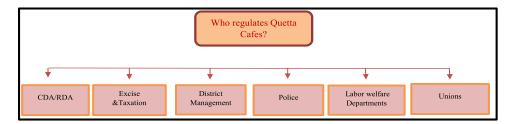
#### REGULATORY BODIES INVOLVED

Regulation, like many other political concepts, is complicated to define because the concept and objectives of regulation are subjective and different people perceive it differently (Back, 2002). Moreover, the term is highly contested. For some economists, it's a strategic mechanism used by the private and special interests to exploit the majority (Priest, 1993). However, there exists variation in the conceptualisation of regulation among economists. In fact, for institutional economists, regulation might be a constative element

of the market which sees regulation as a tool that constitutes property rights (North, 1990) or even a means of competition (Jänicke, 2008).

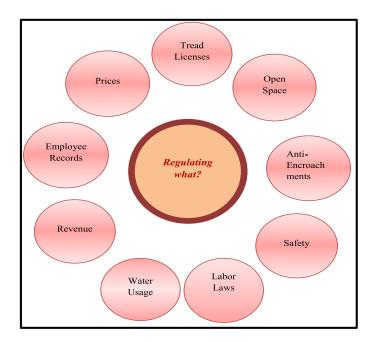
As far as the regulatory bodies or agencies are concerned, they are independent governmental bodies formulated by the legislative act, which mainly decides the set of standards or rules in a particular field of activity or manoeuvre in the economy's private sector. Furthermore, regulatory agencies are responsible for implementing the standards or rules set for each economic or non-economic activity. In Pakistan, around 20 regulatory bodies monitor their relevant field or activities. However, in the case of QCs, around five governmental organisations regulate their operations.

The list of regulatory agencies is given below:



The owners of QCs revealed that the Islamabad's Capital Development Authority (CDA), the Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA), Punjab, the department of excise and taxation, district management (AC's, DC's), the Police, the Punjab Labour Welfare Department and Unions (Rawalpindi Islamabad Markazi Restaurant Association) are involved in regulating the cafes.

But the question is: what do these agencies regulate in the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi?



The regulatory agencies look after different aspects of QCs business, including trade licencing for the establishment of QCs, the banners, Open space latter, Anti-enrolments, Safety measures, cleanliness, labour laws, revenue or taxation, complete record of employees and the product prices, food quality and smart lockdown SOP's.

# Capital Development Authority (CDA)

The Capital Development Authority (CDA) was formulated as an autonomous entity of the Government of Pakistan according to the CDA ordinance, 1960. It was designed to undertake the responsibility of the planning, developing and constructing the Capital City. Later the ambit of CDA augmented to perform a municipal function in the urban setup of Federal Capital (CDA Final Report, 2002). However, this study shows that different departments of CDA have a significant role in commercial activities, including "Quetta Cafes". The CDA issues Trade licences and signboard licences, the provision of open spaces or outdoor settings (open space latter).

Additionally, the CDA ensures safety measures such as using Gas Calendar (the CDA fails to ensure such rules) and water management. Unfortunately, the respondents (owners of QCs) reported that the CDA is killing business activity in different ways, such as the transaction cost of the licences required for the operation of a business and frequent visits, which compel the owners to clear open spaces. According to the cafe owners, the CDA has always contested the rights to open spaces.

#### Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA)

The Rawalpindi Development Authority is a sister organisation of the CDA, with a mandate of working in Rawalpindi. Its objective is similar to the CDA; however, its role is slightly limited compared to the CDA. The vision of the RDA is to be a public-friendly principal planning, development and improvements organisation in Rawalpindi city, the aim of the Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA) is facilitating and enabling provision and continuously improving metropolis-wide development works, facilities, services, and incentives of acceptable and Modern World standards for Residential and Commercial outlets in Rawalpindi city.

# **Punjab Food Authority**

Punjab Food Authority (PFA) ensures food quality, cleanliness, and hygiene in QCs in Rawalpindi. Primarily, the PFA's role is to ensure a surveillance mechanism for quality maintenance in Quetta cafes. Apart from quality and standards, the PFA issues licences to food outlets.

# **Police and District Management**

This study shows that the police and other law enforcement agencies such as the district management (ACs & DCs) are also involved in regulating QCs. Respondents revealed that the police and other law enforcement agencies visit to get details of the owner and labour working in cafes. Sometimes other law agencies also seek similar documents and verifications. Many QC owners and managerial staff complained of harassment by the police and other departments. According to them, they demand tea, parathas and other

items free of cost, which seriously impacts business. Inspectors of District Management also engage with QCs to ensure lock down SOPs, vaccination of employees, polythene bags, food quality and cleanliness.

#### **Excise and Taxation Department**

The Excise and Taxation Department, Islamabad (Islamabad Excise) is part of the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) administration. The department's key functions are collecting tax revenue and excise duties for the Government of Pakistan, facilitating tax taxpayers and accelerating government tax revenue. However, some respondents complained that the department are damaging the tax culture, for very minimum amount of Rs 5000 per month from each Q. However, compared to other departments, they rarely visit the cafes. Thus, it has little role in the operation of commercial activities such as Ouetta Cafes.

## **Labour Welfare Departments**

Two labour welfare departments are engaged in regulating QCs. In the ICT, it is the Islamabad Labour Welfare Department, while in Rawalpindi Punjab Labour Welfare department regulates commercial establishments. In the capital territory, all the commercial establishments are supposed to be registered with Labour Welfare Department, ICT Administration), in line with the 1969, West Pakistan Shop and Establishment Ordinance. Thus, the QCs operating in the capital territory are supposed to register with the Islamabad Labour Welfare Department. They require the CNICs of owners and managers (if any), a complete list of workers working within business setups and the site address. Similarly, the Punjab Labour Welfare Department performs the same activity in Rawalpindi.

However, the respondents have revealed that the Labour Welfare Department visits to ensure the labour laws, minimum wages, child labour, and cleanliness. But most of the respondents reported compline regarding Labour Welfare Departments that they are miss using the authority, which adversely affects their business.

#### Union Itself works as a regulatory body

In both Islamabad and Rawalpindi, QCs have unions. In Islamabad, their representative is Ali Ahmed Khan, while in Rawalpindi, it is Ahmed Ullah Khan. Initially, there was a single union in twin cities, but since 2016, it has been divided into two unions. The union's primary objective is to safeguard restaurant owners' rights, workers' rights, and customer satisfaction (or quality control), work as a problem resolution centre and have an active role in handling government departments. Moreover, the unions have some role in price determination; they set selling prices, which are considered a base price for every QC. However, prices vary according to the location and the site of the café. Thus, both unions act as self-regulators, on the contrary government agencies have command and control over various operations.

# **Cost of Non-Compliance**

This section shows the cost associated with non-compliance with rules and regulations set for entrepreneurship, such as QCs in the twin cities. According to

"Ponemon", the "cost of non-compliance" is the cost which occurs when a firm/company or entrepreneur fails to meet the rules, regulations, agreements, and responsibilities set by the regulatory agencies. Indeed, there are some rules and regulations the QCs fail to comply with properly. As a result, they have to pay the cost in the form of corruption, provision of free goods, or offering goods or services to inspectors of regulatory bodies at low prices. The details of the cost of non-compliance the QCs pay are given in Table 3.

Table 3
Quetta Café's Cost of Non-Compliance

			Annually	No of	Total in
		Monthly	Payments	Quetta	Million
Sr. No.	Departments	Payments	12*MP	Cafes	700*YP
1	CDA/RDA	20,000	240,000	700	168
2	Excise and Taxation Department	5000	60,000	700	42
3	Law Enforcement Agencies	10,000	120,000	700	84
4	District Management Departments	15,000	180,000	700	126
5	Labour Welfare Departments	10,000	120,000	700	84
	Aggregate	60,000	720,000	-	504

Note: (The information mentioned in Table 3 is based on the complaints of some QC owners. Based on the information, the researchers have generalised it for QCs operating in Islamabad and Rawalpindi).

- Table 3 shows the Cost of Non-Compliance with the rules and regulations set by different government departments.
- They pay the cost of violating the rules and regulations in the form of cash and free good and survives (free food) to regulatory agencies inspectors.
- Five prominent stakeholders look after business activities.
- CDA is the regulating body in Islamabad and the RDA in Rawalpindi.
- In Table 3, "Monthly Payments" indicates the monthly amount each QC pays to different departments and "Annually Payment "shows the annual payments.
- On average per month, each QC owner pays approximately Rupees 60,000 an annual figure of Rupees 720,000.
- The last Column of the table shows the total payments in millions (Rupees)
- To summarise, Quetta cafes in both cities pay Rs 504 million annually as corruption money to evade rules and regulations.
- In other words, the concerned departments are using the rules to get money or free food from QCs.

#### **Quetta Cafes SWOT Analysis**

SWOT is well known four-box strategy analysis and development agenda. The initialism of SWOT is derived from

• S: Strengths

• W: Weaknesses

• O: Opportunities

• T: Threats

Industries, banks, commerce, voluntary agencies, and charitable organisations have used this development strategy for decades. In academia, SWOT analysis is taught in business studies and applied to business or entrepreneurship analysis (Saraby, 2016). Therefore, we have adopted this development strategy for Qs.

The strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats are given in the boxes below.



SWOT analysis of Quetta cafes reveals that these have more strengths than weaknesses:

- \*Quetta Cafes remain open 24/7, making them unique for those who want to use them as a public sphere and attract more customers.
- The quality with reasonable prices also attracts customers and makes them loyal to these particular cafes.
- Their unique décor makes it easy for anyone to identify Quetta Café anywhere in Rawalpindi/Islamabad. The neighbourhood location selected by QC owners is unique; they usually target the lower middle class, either blue/white collar employees or students. They get their favourite beverage at low prices
- Open spaces also make QCs unique and attractive for people, as most tea lovers like open spaces.

- The name Quetta (Brand) is too attractive, and customers believe that all the Quetta Cafes have the same taste.
- ♦ Most of the workers in QCs have enough experience in their field and skills to meet customers' desires.
- Finally, establishing a QC does not require a hefty investment; an investment of 1 million rupees is more than enough to cover all expenses.

# Despite this, QCs do have some weaknesses:

- Most owners and employees are illiterate, with little awareness of their brand. Consequently, they have no marketing strategies because of having no formal knowledge.
- ❖ Many government departments regulate QCs, but most cafes are working informally. As a result, they must pay the cost to all the stakeholders.
- They are unable or have no advertisement strategy. However, marketing and advertisements are the keys to success in today's business world.
- Moreover, most of the QCs follow the traditional model of entrepreneurship. Very few owners are adopting the modern approach to running their businesses.

However, being a success story, QCs have an opportunity for their business to flourish.

- ❖ There are still places in twin cities where QC have not yet penetrated.
- Employees of QCs can be trained to adopt new techniques to meet the market demand.
- Moreover, they can train employees in modern hotel and hospitality industry work ethics.
- A feature of QCs is their limited menu; however, they can also upgrade their menu and start online selling.

Every business is prone to a threat, and QCs are no exception.

- \*With the expansion of cafes to every market and street, QCs may soon have competition from each other. Previously The union of restaurants had a rule that when a QC is set to open, the owner has to ensure that his shop must be at a distance of at least ten shops. But due to disagreements, the rule has been abolished.
- In our field work, we witnessed cafes operating next to each other, affecting both customers' businesses. However, competition is always good for quality products and prices.
- Another threat, especially in times of economic shocks, is high rents. Each QC owner revealed that they pay higher rents than other rentiers. However, the union chairman said it is because QC has emerged as a brand and property owners wish to earn more. For instance, a bank or franchise of a famous brand usually pays higher rent, which is the case with QC.

#### DISCUSSION

Indigenous entrepreneurship models appear to be incompatible with so-called mainstream theories. Pashtuns own the majority of QCs from northern Balochistan (as

revealed by data). The Pashtun community is an indigenous group which sees work as the essence of human existence. A trait which is not peculiar to Pashtuns rather different tribal and indigenous societies share (Dana). Right from a very young age, children are introduced to work, seen as the only antidote to poverty.

QCs have special techniques for doing business; however, their approach is limited to specific products, both a weakness and a strength. They have confined their business to selling tea and parathas. However, their quality is unmatched by any other tea cafe. They use a particular brand of tea (Tarab Tea) from Karachi, and import green tea from Afghanistan. Their tea-making technique is also unique; they use special pots made up of Gillet, handle cups, and Kashmiri Piyalas.

The business approach of owners and workers at a QC is indigenous. A unique and essential aspect of indigenous entrepreneurs of QCs is the reliance upon kinship ties for workers as well as customers. The study revealed that most cafes employed their kin as waiters, cooks, etc. They can trust their kin and do not need extra pennies to pay them. The sense of belonging among Pashtun ethnicity and nationals attracts more customers to a QC rather than local tea stalls. One of the owners of the café responded that with the rise of Pashtuns in Islamabad, QCs also grew. The Pashtun internal migration directly impacts the rise of QCs in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

The majority of the QC workers are young. The early exposure to work helps them get the experience they later use to establish their businesses. However, child labour also persists in these establishments, which is alarming. Despite this, QCs are significant entrepreneurship initiatives which provide employment opportunities for marginalised people in Balochistan.

Apart from this, locals are also getting jobs in QCs. The data shows that 89 percent (8,400) of the employees belong to Baluchistan, while 11 percent (1400) of them are locals. The trend points to enormous growth now and in the future. Despite such fast growth, QCs have not yet reached their equilibrium.

#### CONCLUSION

Quetta Cafes are an excellent platform as public spaces in cities. Cities, which are getting congested and have no meeting places for citizen's cafes, emerged as an alternative. After the demolition of *khokhas* in Islamabad, QCs filled the vacuum, and proved to be a classic success story of indigenous entrepreneurship ideas over more than ten years. However, the data shows the many leakages which are negatively affecting businesses. With better regulation, QCs could grow more. Growth is only possible if there is competition in a market with effective regulation by government agencies. However, their overregulation is costing QCs heavily and discouraging new small-scale investors.

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