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CONTRIBUTORS

01. Muhammad Abid Rana, Information Officer, Directorate General of Public Relations (DGPR), Govt. of the Punjab, Lahore.

02. Nasira Jabeen, Assistant Professor, Department of Administrative Sciences, University of the Punjab, Quaid-e-Azam Campus, Lahore

03. Liaqat Ali, Assistant Professor, Hailey College of Commerce, University of the Punjab, Quaid-e-Azam Campus, Lahore

04. Waseem Anwar, Assistant Professor, Government College, Lahore

05. Muhammad Azhar Ikram Ahmad, Director, Institute of Business Administration, University of the Punjab, Quaid-e-Azam Campus, Lahore

06. Safia Rahim Farooq, Assistant Professor, Institute of Art & Design, University of the Punjab, Allama Iqbal Campus, Lahore.

07. Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Professor and Chairman, Department of Business Education, IER, University of the Punjab Quaid-e-Azam Campus, Lahore.

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Political Economy Media Theory: A Bibliographic Essay

Muhammad Abid Rana

In the following research article, more or less 21 entries including books and research articles have been reviewed; of course, this work is not all-inclusive but a bibliographic essay, and work has been done on the material to which author has the excess. However, this basic source guide may be of importance to the researchers who wish to conduct their studies on this topic. Hopefully, it would provide the researchers with starting point from which to carry out further research in the areas of their interest.

In International Encyclopaedia of Communication (1989), we can see that two principal themes have emerged, therefore in Marxist discussion of the communication of ideas, values, and attitudes: the dependence of mental life on the "relations of production" consisted by the ownership of productive force and the consequent class relations, and the (relatively) independent role of mental life in the reproduction or transformation of a form of social life. Thus in the structuralism Marxism of French philosopher Louis Althuser a society, or social formation, is conceived as hierarchy of structures or practices - economics, political, ideological, and scientific - in which the economic is causally primary or determining only in "the last instance" (in Engles phrase) and the other structures have a large degree of autonomy.

Althuser (1969) says that in reaction against the classic Marxist explanation of the role of the mass media. We are offered an elaboration of the relative autonomy of the superstructure and within the superstructure of the ideological and political levels. All such theories in their effort to reject economism or, as he puts it, 'the idea of a" pure and simple non over determined contradiction, to a greater or lesser extent' have also removed economic determinacy, i.e. as he again puts it, in such theories 'the lonely hour of the last instance' never comes.

Commercial media organizations which are not exposed to the demands of different constituents through any formal channels may nevertheless pursue a variety of goals. Lane (1970) and Tunstall (1970) have pointed to the way in which publishing houses and newspapers pursue non-economic as well as economic goals. There is a formal difference between these two types of goal: Where economic goals are sought there may be conflict over the means to achieve them, but there will be a high degree of unanimity over both the definition of the end and the operationalisation of that definition whereas 'acute cognitive disagreements arise over both ends and means if the sought goals are cultural'.

Murdock and Golding (1977) opine that the voices lacking economic power or resources… the under lying logic of cost operates systematically consolidating the position of groups already established in there main mass-media markets and excluding those groups who lack the capital base required for successful entry. Thus the voices which survive will largely belong to those least likely to criticise the prevailiñg distribution of wealth and power. Conversely, those most likely to challenge these arrangements are enable to publicise their dissent or opposition because they cannot command resources needed for effective communication to a broad audience.

Smythe (1977) concludes that a weakness of the political-economic approach is that elements of media under public control are not so easy to account for in terms of the working of the free market. While the approach centres on media as an economic process leading to the commodity (content), there is an interesting variant of the political economic approach which suggests that media really produce audiences, in the sense that they deliver audience attention to advertisers and shape the behaviour of media publics in certain distinct ways.

Garnham (1979) states that German ideology neglects both the specific effects of subordinating cultural production and reproduction to the general logic of capitalist commodity production and the specificity's of the varying and shifting relationships between economic ideological and political levels within actual concrete historical moments. Moreover, ideological forms can never be simply collapsed into a system of exchange values, i.e. the specifically capitalist mode of production, precisely because ideological forms, from of consciousness, are concerned with difference, with distinction; they are by definition heterogeneous (as Marx himself remarked when discussing the limited possibilities for the subsumption of ideological production under capitalism, I want the doctor and not his errand boy) whereas exchanges value is precisely the realm of equivalence.

Curran (1977) recognises that there is a decisive relationship between the growth of the mass media and everything that we now understand as characterising "monopoly capitalism" but at the same time reuses an analysis of this decisive relationship claiming that these aspects of the growth and expansion of the media historically have to be let to one side by the exclusive attention given here to media as "ideological apparatuses" One of the key features of the mass media within monopoly capitalism has been the exercise of political and ideological domination through the economic. Marx's own central insight into the capitalist mode of production stressed its generalising, abstracting drive; the pressure to reduce everything to the equivalence of exchange value. Before going on to the examine the economic level and its specific articulations within the cultural sphere, let us look at the relationship between the material conditions of production (not, as we have seen to be confused with the economic far less the capitalist modes of such production, which are specific forms) on the one hand and ideological forms on the other. That is to say how do we relate Williams' correct stress, within the limits indicated, upon the materiality of cultural production to Marx's famous distinction between the material transformations of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political or philosophic-in short-ideological-forms in which men become conscious of the conflict and fight it out. That is to say the process of consciousness and of representation for instance, language, are real processes by which human beings socially appropriate their environment (nature) which pre-exist and continue to exist within specifically capitalist modes of ideological production and indeed upon which these capitalist modes rest.

The culture industry, the most rigid of all styles, proves to be the goal of liberalism, which is reproached for its lack of style. Not only do its categories and contents derive from liberalism - domesticated naturalism as well as operetta and revue - but the modem culture monopolies from the economic area in which, together with the corresponding enterpreneurial types, for the time being some part of its sphere of operation survives, despite the process of disintegration so where.

Adorno and Horkheimer (1982) elaborate that in the culture industry, the individual is an illusion not merely because of the standardisation of the means of production. The peculiarity of the self is a monopoly commodity determined by society; it is falsely represented as natural. The bourgeois whose existence is split into a business and a private life, whose private life is spilt into keeping up his public image and intimacy, whose intimacy is split into the surely partnership of marriage and the bitter comfort of being quite alone at odds with himself and everybody else, is already virtually a Nazi, replace both with enthusiasm and abuse; or a modem city-dweller who can now only imagine friendship as a 'social contact; that is, as being in social contact with others with whom he has no inward contact. The only reason why the culture industry can deal so successfully with individually is that the latter has always reproduced the fragility of society. Culture is a paradoxical commodity. So completely is it subject to the law of exchange that is no longer exchanged, it is so blindly consumed in use that it can no longer be used. Therefore, it amalgamates with advertising. The more meaningless the latter seems to be under a monopoly, the more omnipotent it becomes.

O'Brien (1984) says that having better access to and control of information in a negotiating situation is an important factor of power; having poor access to information tends to incur present and future costs for the more parties.

Mc Quail (1987) explains that political - economic media theory is an old label that has been revived to identify an approach which focuses more on economics structure than on ideological content of media. It asserts the dependence of ideology on the economic base and directs research attention to the empirical analysis of the structure of ownership and to the way media market forces operate.

Severin and Tankard (1988) are of the opinion that modern society is nearly unimaginable without the mass media: newspapers, magazines, paperbacks, radio, television and film. The mass media are many things to many people and serve a variety of functions depending on the type of political and economic system in which the media function, the stage of development of the society, and the interests and needs of specific individuals. The purpose of the study of political economy of mass communication links to examine several views about how mass media actually function in several types of societies. Industrial revolution made itself felt in almost every field including publishing and latter, broadcasting. As technology made possible ever-faster and ever-wider distribution of newspaper, the economics of mass production became more and more important. Large newspapers began buying out or merging with smaller newspapers until today very few cities have competing newspapers. The caused thoughtful individuals, both inside and outside the media, to question the degree of usefulness of media in a democratic society. It was argued that with fewer and fewer voices, it was becoming more and more difficult for significant and unpopular view to gain a hearing.

Developing an analysis along these lines means avoiding the twin temptations of instrumentalism and structuralism. Instrumentalists focus on the ways that capitalist use their economic power with a commercial market system to ensure that the flow of public information is consonant with their interests. They see the privately owned media as an instrument of class domination. This case is vigorously argued in Edwards S. Herman and Noam Chomsky's Work (1987).

Schiller (1989) points out that critical political economy is also necessarily historical, but historical in particular sense. Four historical processes as particularly central to a critical political economy of culture; the growth of the media; the extension of corporate reach; commodification; and the changing role of state and government intervention. Corporations dominate the cultural landscape in two ways. Firstly, an increasing proportion of cultural production is directly accounted for by major conglomerates with interests in a range of sectors, from newspapers and magazines to television, film, music and the parks. Secondly, corporations which are not directly involved in the cultural industries as producers can exercise considerable control over the direction of cultural activity through their role as advertisers and sponsors. The financial viability of commercial broadcasting together with a large section of the press depends directly on advertising revenue. Whilst more and more of the of the other 'sites where creative work is displayed' such as museums, galleries and theatres have been captured by corporate sponsors and enlisted in their public relations campaigns. Murdock and Golding (1989) narrate that the extension of corporate reach reinforces a third major process the commodification of cultural life. Commercial communications corporations have always been in the business of commodity production. Hence, the audience's position as a commodity serves to reduce the overall diversity of programming and ensure that it confirms established assumptions more often than it challenges them. The main institutional counter to the commodification of communicative activity has come from the development of institutions funded out of taxation and oriented towards providing cultural resources for the full exercise of citizenship. The most important and pervasive of these have been the public broadcasting organizations, typified by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). At the same time, the corporation has also come under intensified political pressure, particularly in the areas of news and current affairs. The history of the modern communication media is not only an economic history of their growing incorporation into a capitalist economic system, but also a political history of their increasing centrality to the exercises of full citizenship. In its most general sense, citizenship is 'about the conditions that allow people to become full members of the society at every level'.

Most critical discussions of the political economy of culture have taken as their starting point with Marx's famous comment that:

> "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal. has control, at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those

> who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The vital issues concern how this control is established. How exactly does a ruling class establish control of the cultural realm?"

He summarises the options that are open in a capitalist society, and writes:

> "Under developing capitalism the means of cultural production may be provided either in commodity form as part of the accumulation process, e.g. records, or as part of the realisation process of other sectors of the capitalist economy, e.g. advertising or directly out of capitalist revenue, e.g. arts patronage or through the State".

All commodities have two fundamental features; they have an exchange value (that is, they are worth something and can be exchanged in the market place) and they have a use-value (that is, they do something that makes them useful to human beings).

Jhally (1989) inquires that what is the use-value of a cultural commodity? And then replies himself that its function, and its importance, stems from the meaning that it generates. Cultural commodities also have an exchange value within the sphere of the market place that is how the producers of the cultural commodities generate profit. The same is true in the realm of commodity culture. The system of exchange value (worth) subordinates use-value (meaning). The rules of the marketplace have been accepted unquestioningly as also the rules of cultural activity. Government is not the only enemy of freedom. The marketplace can work through different means towards the same ends.

For the uninitiated Granham's (1990) views are founded on the political economy approach to media studies. Such an approach of course entails focusing on media history and production rather than on media consumption and the ideological analysis of media texts. A good example of Garnham economic (some might say economistic) approach is concerned with cautioning those who feel that increasingly widespread video ownership will bring into being a new kind of media democracy. As Garnham points out, it is not media institutions' economic control of cultural production which makes them powerful but their economic control of cultural production and distribution.

Everyone, from politicians to academics, now agrees that public communications systems are part of the 'cultural industries.' The popularity of this tag points to a growing awareness that these organizations are both similar to and different from other industries. On the one hand, they clearly have a range of features in common with other areas of production and are increasingly integrated into the general industrial structure. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the goods they manufacture - the newspapers, advertisements, television programmes, and feature films - play a pivotal role in organising the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world. A number of writers acknowledge this duality rhetorically, but go on to examine only one side, focusing either on the construction and consumption of media meanings (e.g. Fiske 1989) or on the economic organization of media industries (e.g. Collins, Garnham and Locksley 1988). What distinguished the critical Political Economy perspective outlined here, is precisely its focus on the interplay between the symbolic and economic dimensions of public communications. It sets out to show how different ways of financing and organising cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audience access to them. Liberal political economists focus on exchange in the market as consumers choose between competing commodities on the basis of the utility and satisfaction they offer. Against this, critical political economists follow Marx's in shifting attention from the realm of exchange, to the organization of property and production, both within the cultural industries and more generally. They do not deny that cultural producers and consumers are continually making choices, but they do so within wider structures. Critical political economy starts with sets of social relations and the play of power. It is interested in seeing how the making and taking of meanings is shaped at every level by the structure asymmetries in social relations. These range from the way news is structured by the prevailing relations. These range from the way news is structured by the prevailing relations between press proprietors and editors or journalists and their sources, to the way that television viewing is affected by the organization of domestic life and power relations within the family. It is especially interested in the ways that communicative actively is structured by the unequal distribution of material and symbolic resources. At the same time, it is essential to avoid the forms of structuralism which conceive of structures as building - like edifices, solid permanent and immovable. Instead, need to see them as dynamic formations which are constantly reproduced and altered through practical action (Golding Peter and Murdock - 1991).

Morley (1985) emphasises that in order to illustrate the concerns and distinctive priorities of a political economy of communications, there are three areas of analysis. The first is concerned with the production of cultural goods, to which political economy attaches particular importance in its presumption of the limiting (but not completely determining) impact of cultural production on the range of cultural consumption. Secondly, we examine the political economy of texts to illustrate ways in which the representations present in medical products are related to the material realities of their production and consumption. Finally, we assess the Political Economy of cultural consumption, to illustrate the relation between material and cultural inequality which political economy is distinctively concerned to address. Critical political economy is not only concerned with material barriers to cultural consumption, however, it is also interested in the ways in which social location regulates access to the cultural competence required to interpret and use media materials in particular ways. One of the strongest empirical traditions within cultural studies – running from studies of youth subcultures to research on differential 'readings' of television texts has concerned itself with how social locations provide access to cultural repertoires and symbolic resources that sustain difference of interpretation and expression. Golding and Murdock (1991) opine that this emphasis on social experience as a cultural resource is important, but it can be oversold consumption practices are clearly not completely manipulated by the strategies of the cultural industries but they are equally clearly, not completely independent of them. We need to see cultural commodities as the site of a continual struggle over uses and meanings between producers and audiences and between different consumer groups. At the same time we need to go on to explore other links between people's location in the productive system and their communicative activity.

Economism assumes a series of correspondences or identities between the cultural text, its status within the circuit of production and consumption, the economic relations embodied within that circuit and social relations of power. Most frequently, it analyses the economic structures of media industries (e.g. modes of production, patterns of ownership, systems of distribution). But such "political economy" does not, by itself, constitute "economism" as an interpretative practice. Economism is based on implicit responses to the two questions discussed above, which allow it to read such analyses as making significant statements about the social functions of cultural texts, without any further interpretative mediation. For example, as Shore (1983) demonstrates the six so called "major" record companies control an enormous that of the record produced and sold in the world. But as he recognises, the issue is what this tells us about the music being produced, the constraints that the system imposes upon the concrete production of particular records, how the record is consumed, and what the relations are between this "economic" power and forms of ideological and political denomination. On the other hand, Symthe's (1977) article is certainly correct to argue that the product of the media is the audience itself. Advertisers buy time only to obtain the real commodity – an audience. The interpretation, however, slides from the commodity status of the audience to claim about the media's concrete function in structures of social power. To do so, it must equate the accumulation of capital (surplus value at the expense of labour) with the particular organization of political ideological and moral power (Murdock, 1978). And it must negate the ability of the text, as a cultural practice to enter into the equation in specific (e.g., ideological) and even contradictory ways. (Lawrence, 1991).

Mulgan's work (1991) is essentially concerned with the political and economic implications of attempting to control information and communications networks in complex organizations indeed, his core argument is that the new electronic networks which are presently being employed in business organizations and state institutions are undermining traditional bureaucratic models and methods of information control. The central claim is that as complex organizations become increasingly networked electronically, older bureaucratic conceptions and techniques of administration find themselves confronting what he terms a 'crisis of control'. A crisis of control emerges, according to Mulgan, because of the organisational attributes which are inherent in the new information systems. For at the heart of these developments in Mulgans view is the paradoxical fact that electronic networks simultaneously both centralise and de-centralise information across time and space. Thus the ability of large corporations for example to achieve centralised control over information's flows is, for Mulgan, always and everywhere undermined by possibility of unauthorised information access and dissemination. Ultimately therefore, Mulgan argues that in an age of information proliferation and economic uncertainty only de-centralised control structures will be able to deal adequately with information needs of both firms and governments.

Mosco (1996) explains in detail the analytic tools that political economy can apply to today's increasingly global and technological information society.

He presents a historical overview of the discipline and defines political economy by its focus on the relation between the production, distribution and consumption of communication in historical and cultural context. This comprehensive analysis of the commodity form in communication includes and examination of print, broadcast and new electronic media, the role and function of the audience, and the problem of social control. He concludes by addressing the relationship of political economy to the increasingly important fields of policy studies and cultural studies. This is vital discussion of today's media that presents a lucid, thorough and informed clarification of the modern global, electronic information society.

Conclusion

People depend in large measure on the cultural industries for the images, symbols, and vocabulary with which they interpret and respond to their social environment. It is vital, therefore, that we understand these industries in a comprehensive and theoretically adequate way which enables the analysis of communication to take its place at the heart of social and cultural research. A critical political economy provides an approach which sustains such an analysis, and in so doing, have illustrated in a preliminary way, the origins, character, and application of such an approach. Much remains to be done however, before we can claim to have fully established a critical political economy of communication.

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Status of Women in Pakistan:
Role of the State, Islam and Culture

Nasira Jabeen

Abstract

The paper examines the status of women in Pakistan in light of their economic, social and political roles in the society. To present a composite view of women's status various indicators of Gender Development (GD) and Gender Empowerment (GEM) have been looked into (UNDP, 1955). While GD defines women's position on basic human development measures such as, education, heath and employment the GEM reflects gender disparities in political participation and decision making positions.

State, Islam and culture are often represented as the major forces to determine the status of women in Pakistan. An attempt has been made to explain the current status of Pakistani women in light of the legal framework provided by the State, Islamic values and cultural realities of Pakistan. The paper suggests for a concerted effort on the part of the Government to widen gender development and gender empowerment opportunities in order to enhance the current status of Pakistani women.

Status of Women in Pakistan: Role of the State, Islam and Cultural

Introduction

The term status of women is defined in literature in two different ways. Some researchers view status of women in terms of their access to resources such as education, health services, employment and positions of authority (Shah, 1986; Oppong, 1980). Others focus on women's place in the social structure, their ability to exercise rights regarding their marriage, education, work and participation in public life (Youssef, 1980; Zia, 1980; Rahman, 1980). Combining these two approaches, the term "status of women" refers here to their economic, social and political roles in society.

To examine the status of Pakistani women, their education and health profile, access to economic opportunities, and the extent of their political participation are discussed. A number of indicators in these four areas have been looked upon. However, to present a composite picture of the status of women in Pakistan, two specific indices, Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) have been used (UNDP, 1995). While the GDI adjusts the measure of average human development concerning education, health and employment, to take account of gender disparities, the GEM reflects gender disparities in political participation. State, culture and Islam are represented as the three major forces that shape the role, status, and destiny of women in Pakistan. While a cursory look at the institutional, cultural and religious norms of Pakistani society suggests state, culture, and Islam as mutually reinforcing forces determining socio-economic status of women, a careful analysis of socio-cultural and religious prescriptions and realities find them at odd with each other.

Pakistan is constitutionally an Islamic state where 97 percent of the population is Muslim. The 1973 constitution declares Islam as the state religion and ensure that all existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the Injunctions of Islam laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such Islamic Injunctions (Mahmood, 1994). On the other hand, while living with Hindus in the sub-continent of India before the partition of British India, Pakistan inherited many cultural traditions. These traditions still largely persist in Pakistan and influence the role and status of Pakistani women. However, the extent to which state, Islam, and culture may be held responsible for the current status of women greatly depends upon one's individual perspective. There are some (secular) who view Islam as the regressive force in the country which is the main reason for backwardness of women (Haq, 1997; Saeed, 1994;Qutb, 1994) while others hold cultural attitudes that discriminate against females responsible for it (Shah, 1986, Government of Pakistan, 1995). To some the state being extension of patriarchy reflects cultural biases against women's advancement (Weiss, 1994). Without being caught up by a single point of view, an attempt has been made to determine first the status of women and then examine the extent to which state, Islam, and culture influence the status of women in Pakistan.

Women and Education

Access to education is universally accepted as key to the enhancement of status of women in society (Jalil, 1993; Lockheed, et al. 1991). Unfortunately, the majority of

Pakistani women are deprived of this essential component of gender development. Although educational indicators do not present a bright picture about men, women however, suffer the worst in terms of educational deprivation in Pakistan. The situation is more extreme in rural areas and in some regions. Women's education profile based on three indicators: 1) adult literacy rate[1]; 2) Combined enrollment ratio in educational institutions; and 3) mean years of schooling is presented below. While examining the overall gender profile in education, an effort is made to highlight regional disparities wherever data permits.

Adult Literacy

About two-third of Pakistan's total adult population and 77 per cent of its women are illiterate. According to the latest survey conducted by the Pakistan Census Organization (PCO) the overall adult literacy rate in 1991-92 was 39.9 per cent. Although the overall literacy rate is low, the situation is even worse in rural areas. While the adult literacy rate in urban areas is 60.5 per cent it is 30.3 per cent I rural areas, almost 50 per cent lower than that of urban areas (FBS 1995).

Comparison of the overall literacy rates of women and men reveals glaring gender disparities in general and in rural areas in particular. Overall, the literacy rate for men is 52.8 per cent and for women it is 26.3 per cent. While the literacy rate for men in urban areas is 70 per cent, for women it is 50.3 per cent. In rural areas, literacy rate is 44.6 per cent for men and 15.3 per cent for women. These figures clearly indicate that women lag behind men in literacy both in urban and rural areas. However, gender gap is much wider in rural areas.

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[1] Using the 1972 UNESCO's definition of literacy adult literate is a person who is 15+ years old and can read and write a short statement is everyday life with understanding in any language.

Besides the rural urban divide in literacy rates there are widespread regional disparities which make the situation even worse. The adult literacy rate ranges from 17 per cent in rural Balochistan to50 per cent in urban Punjab[2], and 52 per cent in urban Sind (FBS, 1995, Haq 1997).

Enrollment in Educational Institutions

Overall combined enrollment ratio in educational institutions for both sexes is quite low. According to the Education and Youth Survey 1991-92 the rnerollment ratio by age is provided in the following table:

Enrollment Ratio by Age and Sex
Table 1

Age	Total	Women	Men
05-09	55.31	43.91	65.82
10-14	62.61	47.79	75.24
15-19	35.97	22.71	46.29
20-24	9.99	4.30	13.30

Source: EYS, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1991-92

Table 1 indicates that overall enrollment ratio for both women and men is lower for higher age groups and female enrollment ratio is even lower for all age groups as compared to men. The rural-urban disparities make the situation even worse. While the enrollment ratio for rural area vis-à-vis urban is low, a gender comparison within urban and rural areas highlight glaring gender disparities in the enrollment ratio of both urban and rural women as exhibited by Table 2.

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[2] The figure for Urban Punjab is taken from the second source as the first source does not contain female literacy rate for the Punjab

Enrollment Ratio by Area and Sex
Table 2

Age	Urban Area		Rural Area	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
05-09	69.26	75.88	34.11	61.86
10-14	75.05	82.40	33.58	54.74
15-19	43.71	56.60	11.41	40.49
20-24	12.29	21.59	1.50	8.54

Source: EYS, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1991-92

While enrollment by age and sex provides a good overview of gender disparities, it does not provide information about the female-male representation at different levels of educational institutions. Table 1 displays male and female enrollment differences at three levels of education primary, secondary, and tertiary.

Estimated Enrollment by Sex 1994-95
Table 3

Level	Male(%)	Female(%)
Primary	69	31
Secondary*	63	37
Tertiary		
Colleges	58	42
Prof. Colleges	75	25
Universities	87	12

*secondary includes high schools and vocational institutions.
Source: FBS, Government of Pakistan, 1995

Table 3 indicates shocking gender disparities in enrollment at all three levels especially in professional colleges and universities.

Mean Years of Schooling

Mean years of schooling is another indicator of gender development. It has been well documented that boys spent more years in school than girls in South Asian countries including Pakistan (World Bank, 1995). According to the Human Development Report 1997, mean years of schooling for female in Pakistan is 0.7 which is lower than some of the South Asian and several Muslim countries such as Malaysia, Morocco, and Tunisia (Haq;1997, p:25)

Women and Health

Good health is one of the universally accepted determinants of socio-economic status of individuals in a society. It enhances human potential and capacity for participation in gainful economic activities. Unfortunately, the overall picture about the health status of people of Pakistan is not very encouraging; life expectancy is 58 years; about half of the population does not have access to basic health services, and one-fourth of new born babies are under weight and malnourished. Women's situation further deteriorates because of biological and cultural factors i.e., early marriage and resistance to family planning. A women's health profile is presented here by using four health indicators of gender development, i) life expectancy ii) mortality rate iii) fertility rate, and iv) use of contraceptive measures.

While overall life expectancy in Pakistan is 62 years, it is 63.5 years for women and 62.5 years for men. Maternal mortality rate for the year 1993 was 340 per 100,000 live births. Total fertility rate for the year 1995 was estimated as 5.6 children per woman. While comparing rural and urban areas, the fertility rate among rural women is higher than urban women. For example, an estimated fertility rate for the year 1995 was 4.7 children for urban women and 6.1 children for rural women. Based on the available figures it is not difficult to say that Pakistani women have a very low health status overall and women in rural areas lag behind urban women on the above indicators of gender development because of extremely low adult literacy and poor access to health services. Table 2 exhibits health profile of Pakistani women on the above indicators of health development.

Health Profile of Pakistani Women
Table 4

Health Indicators	All Areas	Urban	Rural
Life expectancy	62.5	-	-
Maternal mortality rate- Per 100,000 live births	340	-	-
Total fertility rate	5.6	4.5	6.1
Women using contraception	12.0	15.1	7.0

Source: 1) Planning and Development Division, 1995
2) Human Development in South Asia, 1997.
3) Pakistan Demographic Survey, 1995.
4) UNICEF, Government of Pakistan, 1992.

Women and Employment

The level and kind of women's participation in gainful employment is an important indicator of the economic status of women in a society. In Pakistan, women lag behind men not only on overall employment participation level but also in terms of their representation in important occupations. This section reviews statistics in these areas to explore the economic status of Pakistani women.

Labour Force Participation

The overall labour force and employment participation rate in Pakistan, as estimated on the basis of the existing population of 135.28 million is 27.46 per cent with a total labour force of 37.15 million for the year (Government of Pakistan, 1996-97). According to the latest available labour force survey 1993-943, the overall labour force participation reate is 27.88 per cent, for male it is 45.74 per cent and for women it is 8.86 per cent (LFS, 1993-94).

Differences in labour force participation rates however, exist in rural and urban areas. In rural areas, the participation rate is higher than the urban areas as agriculture is more of a family occupation than mere work. Women's participation rate in both urban and rural areas is lower than men. For instance, in urban areas, the male participation rate is 45.6 per cent and the female participation rate is 8.4 per cent. Whereas, in rural areas, the participants rate is 46.3 per cent for males and 8.66 per cent for females (Government of Pakistan 1996-97).

Employment Status

Employment status in Pakistan is officially defined in terms of four categories: employer, self-employed, unpaid family helper, and employee (FBS, 1995). Women differ from men on all these components of employment status. Table 3 points to the disparities in employment status of the employed labour force both in urban and rural areas.

The table shows that overall, 57.2 per cent of employed women fall into the unpaid family helper category as compared to 22.2 per cent men. On the contrary, 42.4 per cent of men and 16.4 per cent of women are self-employed. While 34.2 per cent of men are employees 26.3 per cent of women have employees status. Only 1.2 per cent of men and 0.1 percent of women are employers.

Distribution of Employed Persons by
Employment Status (1991-92)

Table 5

	Total	Women	Men
All Areas			
Employer	1.2	0.1	1.3
Self-employed	42.4	16.4	46.8
Unpaid Family Helper	22.2	57.2	16.4
Employee	34.2	26.3	25.5
Urban Area			
Employer	2.9	0.4	3.1
Self-employed	32.6	15.8	34.2
Unpaid Family Helper	9.2	18.6	8.3
Employee	55.3	65.2	54.4
Rural Area			
Employer	0.5	0.1	0.6
Self-employed	46.2	16.6	52.1
Unpaid Family Helper	27.2	64.8	19.7
Employee	26.1	18.5	27.6

It can be concluded from the above statistics that: 1) the majority of women are unpaid family helpers in rural areas in contrast to urban areas where the majority of women are employees. This sharp contrast between urban and rural women's employment status is obvious as agriculture is a family run activity where rural women work as unpaid family helpers and other employment opportunities are almost non-existent as it is the case in urban areas; 2) the majority of rural men, on the other hand, are self-employed as compared to majority of the urban men who are employees; 3) the number of women and men who have employer status is small in both rural and urban areas but in case of women it is profoundly low.

Occupational Representation

Most of the official reports and labour force surveys classify employed persons by occupation as professionals, administrative and managerial workers, clerical and related workers, sales workers, service workers, agriculture worker, and production workers. Based on the data compiled by the Ministry of Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis, percentages of males and females in seven occupational categories have been computed for the year 1991 and produced in the table 6.

Distribution of Employed Persons by
Major Occupational Groups (1991)
Table 6

	Women	Men
Major Occupations		
Professional and related	20.4	79.4
Administrative and related	15.2	84.7
Clerical and related	18.9	81.1
Sales and workers	3.9	96.5
Service workers	16.9	83.1
Agriculture and related	2.9	97.1
Production and related	3.8	96.2

Source: Pakistan/Netherlands Project on Human Resources, Ministry of Manpower and Overseas Pakistan, 1991

Women in all occupations are under--represented as compared to men. Based on the figures provided in the table more representation of women in professional and technical jobs as compared to other professions is linked with women's enrollment patterns in professional colleges. More women enroll in medical, home economics, and education as compared to engineering, commerce, law, and agriculture. An element of "gender streaming" or sex-segregation by field of study is reflected from choices of women for professional education as medical and teaching professions are valued and considered suitable for women.

Women and Politics

Access to political power is an important indicator of the gender empowerment considered necessary for the enhancement of women's status in society. The role of Pakistani women in politics is extremely limited as compared to men despite the fact that Pakistan is the first Muslim country to have elected a women prime minister twice. The representation of women in the National Parliament and cabinet is extremely low. For instance in 1994, out of 217 seats of National Assemble, only 4 were women[3]. Similarly, there were only 2 women in the Senate out of 87 members. In the same year, there was only one woman minister out of 22 cabinet ministers and one woman out three special assistants to the Primes Minister. The gender disparities in political representation are extreme in a country were women constitute almost half of the population. Pakistan stands lowest in terms of gender representation in politics among South Asian countries.

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[3] Until 1988 there were 20 special seats reserved for women in the National Assembly which constituted over 8 per cent of the total seats. Currently there are no such special seats for women. Women groups and liberal political parties are striving to get these seats restored again. The present government has promised to restore these, but have not yet acceded to it.

Women, the State, Islam & Culture:Women and the State

The section below discusses the role of state, religion-Islam and culture in according women their current status in Pakistan. The state being the most powerful social institution influence the status and position of women in society. The legal rights and opportunities provided to women by the State's constitution, laws, and policies that govern social, economic, and political life have far reaching impact on the status and position of women vis-à-vis men in the country. A review of the Constitution of Pakistan, employment laws, and public policies and initiatives in education, health, and employment is presented to determine the extent to which the State of Pakistan is sensitive to and how it has responded to gender issues and disparities over time, and also to identify the areas that require state action to enhance the status of women in society.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan guarantees equal status to women and safeguards their rights. Article 25 of the Constitution provides that "all citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law and there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone. Article 27 of the Constitution protects women from discrimination in appointments in the Civil Services by stating that "No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the services of Pakistan shall be discriminated against on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex". Article 34 indicates the state's commitment to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of national life and provides that "steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life (Dogar, 1996; Mehmood, 1994; Khosa, 1992). Besides these constitutional provisions. The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 provides protection for women's rights regarding inheritance, marriage, polygamy, divorce, maintenance of wife and children, and payment of dowery and is of a great importance to women.

However, despite constitutional guarantee of women's rights and commitments to equal opportunities for women, public policies in education, health and employment remained gender blind during the first two decades of the existence of Pakistan. Women's development remained disguised in the government's overall efforts to economic growth and development. It was for the first time in the late 1970's, when government began addressing clearly and in an institutional way the issues of gender development. The Government of Pakistan established a full-fledged Women's Division in 1979 as the national machinery for the advancement of women.

In later year, women's development became an integral part of the development planning. Form the Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) a separate chapter was devoted to the development of women outlining the forms of discrimination in various areas including education, health, employment and putting forward aims for their improvement.

Education

As a result of increasing gender sensitivity in development planning, the 1992 Education Policy under Social Action Program[4], for the first time, included women's education as one of its main objectives. In order to achieve its objectives, policies focused on opening new primary schools, upgrading the existing primary schools to elementary level, increasing the ratio of female teachers to 50% by hiring female teachers for primary schools. It also emphasized the need for diversifying the curriculum at secondary level and raising the quality of education through in-service teacher's training programs. The policy set specific targets in each area along with the budget requirements.

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[4] The Social Action Program (SAP) was launched in 1992-93 to accelerate integrated development of social sector. Basic education, including primary education, functional literacy, and female education, form the largest component of the SAP. This program is still in operation and provides a frame work for social development in Pakistan.

The philosophy outlined in the 1992 Education Policy provided the basis for women's education in the Seventh (1988-93) and Eighth Five Year (1995-98). Education Policy 1992-2002 stressed the need for raising female literacy level from 23% to 40% by the end of the period. With regards to tertiary education the policy remained silent on the proportion of female and male colleges to be opened by the year 2002. Since college education is gender-separated, it is important to identify the number of degree colleges to be opened for women to enhance their literacy level.

In addition to increase in degree colleges, the 1992 Education Policy also planned hundred per cent increase in the enrollment of university education by opening four universities in the public sector and sixteen universities in the private sector. Since universities have co-education the new universities will certainly enhance opportunities of higher education of women.

To what extent the 1992 Education Policy will reduce gender disparities and improve educational status of women depends on how effectively the policy is implemented. Based on past experiences where many of the public policies have failed due to shortages of funds, poor coordination of federal and provincial bodies, lack of proper motivational campaigns, and misappropriation of available funds by public officials, a high level of commitment and sincerity of the task is required to make the policy a real success. The success of the policy also depends on how the society responds to the opportunities offered by the state in the wake of the 1992 Education Policy.

Health

Overall, the government of Pakistan has failed to address the health needs of the vast majority of the population specially in rural areas due to inadequate health policies and programs. However, women are the worst sufferers of poor and limited health facilities in Pakistan and face higher risk: 1) due to social and cultural factors that affect their mobility and hence their access to basic and reproductive health care which is mostly available at distant locations, and 2) inattention to the special needs pertaining to their reproductive role.

Prior to 1992, health policies intended to offer broad-based health care system remained largely unimplemented, as a result Pakistan had failed to extend the basic health care system to the rural areas. The focus in the policy remained on tertiary health sector restricted to urban areas only. Consequently, the majority of women, especially in rural areas had limited access to basic health care facilities. Moreover, women's reproductive health was largely ignored because of failure to integrate family planning with the health care system. The family planning services remained limited particularly in rural areas. Even where services existed they were of poor a quality and failed to encourage or motivate women to adopt family planning as means of enhancing their reproductive health which is the main reason for low contraceptive prevalence rate in Pakistan (Khan, 1996).

Nevertheless, in recent years, there has been some significant development in addressing women's health care needs including reproductive health. The Social Action Program (SAP) initiated in 1992, emphasized the need for social sector development to catch up with all other development initiatives. SAP has particularly singled out improved and increased primary health care within the overall health sector, and population planning as one of its broad aims. The other initiatives include the Village-Based Family Planning Workers (VBFPW) Program launched in 1992 and the Prime Minister's National Health and Family Planning Program (PMNHFP) started in 1994. In addition to these programs the Ministry of Health is also starting to provide family services along with the primary health care through its Basic Health Units and rural health centres.

Efforts are also underway to suitably alter the medical curriculum to incorporate training in family planning counseling and services. The government is also financing public health campaign particularly on radio and television regarding reproductive roles, child feeding, hygiene and family planning. Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) are also actively promoting female health and family planning. However, despite these government's initiatives, Pakistan has a long way to go to improve the health status of women as it has yet to evolve a broad-based and effective primary health care system. The current initiatives are *ad hoc* and reach only to a small proportion of population.

Employment

Since the creation of the Women's Division in 1979 Women's employment has received considerable attention at government level. However, so far government interventions focused only on the supply side of female employment. Various steps taken by the government mainly concentrated 1) enhancement of women's potential by expanding training facilities in the form of more polytechnics and vocational training centres, and diversifying training skills including secretariat work, computer training, and community work; 2) facilitating women to avail employment opportunities through the provision of support services including, transport, hostels, and day care centres, and 3) providing credit facilities to facilitate women to start up their own businesses.

For instance, in 1989, the First Women's Bank was established to extend outreach credit facilities exclusively to women. The bank which, in 1995, had 32 branches throughout the country is controlled, managed, and entirely staffed by women. The bank has considerably improved credit availability for women. However, urban middle class women benefited largely from the facilities provided by the bank. While women with low income in urban areas also availed the credit facilities to some extent, women in rural areas due to constrained mobility remained out of the bank's reach.

Besides government initiatives NGO's with the help of government and foreign donors are also playing considerable role in enhancing women's capacity for engagement in gainful economic activities through provision of training, education, and credit facilities. However, the services provided by NGOs are also restricted to urban areas despite the fact that the government, in the Eighth Five Year Plan, has clearly recognized the need for sensitizing and encouraging the NGOs to expand their activities to rural areas.

As far as the demand side of female employment is concerned, the government has not yet made significant progress in this direction except introduction of 5 per cent quota for women in the public sector appointments. The Government does however, recognize the existence of employers' prejudices and biases and employment laws that discriminate against women in the formal employment sector. For example, the Eighth Five Year Plan (1993-98) clearly spells out problems of gender discrimination in employment and suggests an affirmative approach to deal with it:

> The participation of women in employment is low and lags far behind men. Special efforts will be made to improve their education, skill, and employability. This includes, ...(c) reservation of special quota in public sector jobs, (d) creation of congenial atmosphere in offices and factories for women and (e) removal of sex bias in employment (8th FYP, p:133).

> Affirmative actin approach will be adopted to protect women's rights of inheritance, ownership of property, access to education, employment and credit facilities etc. The legal structure will be reviewed with a view to weed out all discriminatory laws and practices. To fill the key positions involved with the formulation, implementation and monitoring of the women development programs, preference will be given to women candidates (8th FYP, p:134).

The Government of Pakistan reiterated its commitment to addressing gender discrimination in employment in a much more elaborated way in its report submitted to Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995.

A recent report 1997 prepared by the Government of Pakistan's Commission on Status of Women is a significant advance towards the above objectives. The commission after a through review of the existing labour and service laws has identified discriminatory provisions and made necessary recommendations to combat gender discrimination.

However, to implement the Commission's recommendations effectively an integrated effort is required on the part of all government bodies involved to enforce strict legislation for establishing standards.

Political Participation

Pakistan is a signatory to the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. Women have the right to vote, contest for membership of all elected bodies, and hold all public offices at par with men. Even in the past some affirmative action measures in the form of special seats for women have been taken to encourage women in the political process. However, constitutional provision for 10 per cent of the national and 5 per cent of provincial legislative seats for women lapsed as it was for certain specific period. As long as the constitution provided for special women seats, women's participation in national and provincial elections was quite noticeable. However, after the enabling provision lapsed in 1988, women's representation in National and Provincial Assemblies has sharply declined.

Besides this, no effective measures have been taken to mainstream women into the political process. Women's membership in political parties continues to lag behind men's, and women are rarely represented at policy making levels of political parties.

Women and Islam

Women and Islam is a widely discussed and debated subject within and outside Islamic countries. It has been approached at different levels and with different orientations. There is a general impression that Islam accords a low status to women vis-à-vis men and treat sthem differently which is the main reason for backwardness of women in Muslim societies (Haq, 1996; Qutb, 1994; Saeed, 1994). The practice of veil/purdha, sex segregation, and the reproductive role of women in Islam are widely perceived as barriers to women's access to opportunities for gender development and participation in socio-economic and political activities. Thus, an effort is made here to determine the extent to which the aforementioned elements restrict women's access to education, employment, health care · particularly reproductive health and political power by reviewing Islamic prescriptions and practices in Pakistan.

Islam teaches a doctrine of equality and justice between women and men. God, the almighty, (SWT) has made men and women equal in their religious, ethical, and civil rights, duties, and responsibilities. The Quran establishes religious equality between the two sexes in the following verses:

> Whether, male or female, whoever in
> faith does a good deed for the sake of
> Allah will be granted a good life and

> rewarded in proportion to the best of what they used to do (16:97)[5]

> Their lord responded to them that He will never permit any of their good deeds to be lost, whether done by males or females. They proceed one from another (3:195).

On civil equality of women and men, the Quran says:

> To men is allotted what they earn, and to women what they earn.....(4:32)

However, there are a few exceptions that pertain to the functions of motherhood and fatherhood. While motherhood includes home-care and child bearing and caring, fatherhood consists of home protection, livelihood-earning and overall responsibility. These two roles call for a different physical, psychic, and emotional constitution as necessary for self-fulfillment of both sexes. This role differentiation is neither discrimination nor segregation (Al-Faruqi, 1992).

In addition to laying down the general principle of equality between women and men, the Quran and the Sunnah also provides guidance on the issues relevant to gender development such as education, employment, reproductive health, and political participation that suggests "Allah (SWT) did not intend the Muslim woman to isolate herself from society behind the veil or within the walls of a harem" (al Faruqi, 1992, p:135)

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[5] The translation of all Quranic verses referred in the chapter is form English translation of Quran by Abdullah Youaf Ali (1989)

The Quran and Hadith[6], the main sources of teaching of Islam, stressed the importance of knowledge not only for a particular class or sex but as an essential need for every Muslim, women and men. The importance of general education was the subject of the very first revelation of the Quran:

> Recite in the name of your Lord, the creator......Recite, for the Lord who is most gracious. He taught the art of writing. He taught a human what he never knew before (Quran, 16:15).

Islam made it obligatory for every Muslim to acquired knowledge to understand the true spirit of Islam and emphasized being well-versed in different branches of knowledge to distinguish between the lawful and the unlawful, between the good and the bad. The Qur'an describes the true Muslim who always prays to God by reciting:

My Lord: Increase me in knowledge (Quran, 20:114). Islam impressed equally upon women and men to achieve perfection through acquisition of knowledge. Several provisions of the Ahadith[7] shed light on the importance of seeking knowledge for women for example, the Prophet once said, "The acquisition of knowledge is the duty of every Muslim man and woman". "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave". Thus, it is absolutely clear that Islam does not discriminate against women in term of rights pertaining to education. With regards to the question of female employment, Islam again does not bar women from seeking employment and careers and participating in any gainful economic activity. Several Quranic verses and examples from the life of Prophet clearly support the idea of Muslim women working to earn their livelihood as the Quran says:

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[6] Hadith is a saying or tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

[7] Ahadith is plural of Hadith which means sayings or traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

> There is a guaranteed share for those who seek
> and endeavor (41:10).

In another verse the Quran says:

> And be not like a women who breaks into
> untwisted strands. The yarn she has spun
> after it has become strong (16:92).

Several examples from the days of the Prophet also indicate that Muslim women worked outside whenever it was needed. Women tend to lead families due to desertion, divorce and death of husband. For example, the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) wife Khadija who was a widow earned her living by trade before her marriage with the Prophet. Thus, Islam does not forbid women to go out and work in such institutions as required their services such as, education, nursing, and medical treatment of women. Similarly, women are not denied to participate in state affairs and public dealings.

Islamic history also points that women attended mosques alongside men, they perform the Pilgrimage along with men and participated in the warfare although, special arrangements were made for them when required. For instance, the Prophet's wives, especially Hazrat Aishah taught women as well as men and many of the Prophet's companions learnt the Quran, hadith and Islamic studies from her (Maududi, 1996). Therefore, exclusion of women from development activities including education, employment and public participation based on religious orthodoxy would be a mere misinterpretation and misunderstanding of Islam. Thus, Islam by its original teachings did not pose threat to women's advancement.

With regards to women's reproductive role with special reference to family planning, the Quran neither clearly prohibits nor approves it. However, the Islamic scholars draw inferences from certain Ahidth and rudimentary form of contraception practiced by companions of the Prophet and suggest that there is no prohibition in Islam against family planning. "It is left to the practical wisdom of the individual concerned or of the community to regulate their behavior as they choose with due regard for the objectives and need of the Muslim community" (Ishaque, cited in Commission of Inquiry for women, 1997, p:174).

It is evident from Quranic Injunctions that Islam accords Muslim women a status equal to men. However, the way Islamic decrees are interpreted and practiced in the Muslim countries have far reaching impact on the status of women. While a great majority of the Muslim countries state that Islam is the state's religion, there are very few, for example, Saudi Arabia, who enforced Islamic laws strictly. Otherwise, may variations exist within the Muslim countries in terms of implementation and practices of Islamic Shariah. While Pakistan is also an Islamic country and the Constitution of Pakistan declares Islam as the state's religion, an analysis of Pakistan in terms of implementation and practices of Islamic Shariah reveals that the way Islam has so far been interpreted, understood and practiced is almost at variance with the actual teachings of Islam. In practice, many customs, traditions and rituals that have been accepted as Islamic govern most of the personal and social matters including observance of Purdah and reproductive affairs rather than true Islamic Injunctions (Malik, 1997).

Pakistan's position on both issues Purdah/veil and fertility control seems paradoxical when compared to some of the other Muslim countries. While religious leaders take extreme position on these issues, the government and the people specially the urban middle class, are generally more pragmatic. The tension between religious forces and state institutions is one of the factors for failure of the state to resolve issues like family planning, purdah etc. In contrast in the countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, the religious leaders adopt relatively soft approach on these issues and get along well with the government policies. Therefore, neither purdah nor fertility control is an issue there They have been more successful in Islamic decree of veil and family planning programs with the need and compulsions of the changing realities of modern world.

Women and Culture

Although the constitution of Pakistan and Islamic teachings guarantee equal treatment to women in society concerning their participation in developmental and economic opportunities, social realities bring a completely different and mostly negative images of women. Pakistani women are subject to discriminatory customs, traditions, and social practices deeply rooted in the culture that are neither Islamic in spirit nor in conformity with the ideals of the state outlined in the Constitution. The origin of these customs and traditions can be traced back to the history of the subcontinent. The areas now included in Pakistan was part of the Indian subcontinent before the partition of British India in 1947. Living with Hindus for year together traditions, attitudes and beliefs of local inhabitant about women were deeply influenced. For instance a women is described by a multitude of derogatory attributes in the

Hindu religion. With regard to her appropriate roles the Hindu religion states; "in her childhood a women must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, and when her lord is dead to her son; she must never be independent. Furthermore, the widow's expectation of immolation on the deceased husband's pyre (sati)[8] as an extreme expression of the notion that women's worth is nil without her husband (Government of India, 1974, p:40-41). Although women's status has gone through a great deal of change in India by improving such negative images about women. Some of the negative images about the role and status of women continued to define the role and status of Muslim women and their influence can still be perceived in present day Pakistan.

The attitude towards women as an inferior being is visible from the way in which the birth of a baby girl is received. It is greeted with guilt or despair on the part of the mother, shame or anger on the part of the father, and the general feelings of sympathy towards the parents among the entire circle of friends and family. These feelings are more intense if the baby girl is the first child in the family. On the other hand, the birth of a male child is an occasion of rejoicing and celebrations.

Pakistani culture has a very clear role demarcation of women and men in everyday life. The most appropriate roles considered for women are to be mothers and house wives. Girls from an early age are trained to possess the domestic and child rearing skills to cope with their basic roles of house-wives and mothers. Marriage is considered the ultimate goal in a young women's life. However, a young woman do not have any say in this important decision of her life. Parents are the sole decision makers regarding the marriage of their daughters. Paradoxically, the burden of making the marriage successful lies solely on the daughter who is advised by her parents that her husband's house is the ultimate place for her which she should not leave until her death. Thus, a young woman after marriage is under a constant pressure to make the marriage a success at any cost as divorce is a stigma for the woman and her parents which makes the chances of her remarriage almost nil.

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[8] Sati refers to a Hindu tradition according to which widow used to burns herself alive with the dead body of her husband.

A women's worth is judged by her power of reproduction. Marriage without children has serious consequences for marital relationship, and it is often the wife/women who is blamed in case of infertility. Therefore, having a child in the early years of marriage is considered vital for marital bonds.

The perception of women as burden and liability and an overemphasis on their reproductive roles in Pakistani culture has serious consequences for gender development as it restricts women's access and participation in education. Parents have very modest goals about their daughters' education. In many tradition bounded families, education of a female child suffers at the cost of a male child specially when resources are short (FBS, 1995). Even in cases where female children get this opportunity, their education ends with their marriage which is preferred at an early age.

All media forms such as text books, newspapers, magazines and television project a stereotyped role of women as well as negative images of educated and employed women, who are portrayed as deviant of the social traditional norms (Government of Pakistan, 1995;

Pervaiz, 1982; Anwar, 1982). While a married working woman is constantly made conscious of the neglect of her prime responsibilities as a wife and mother, a single working woman is criticized for her unacceptable marital status. The only acceptable professions considered for women are teaching and medicine which is visible from women's choice of the field of study in professional colleges and universities (Hafeez, 1995).

Women's health continues to suffer and deteriorate because of their resistance to fertility control (i.e. child spacing and numbering). Women's avoidance to adopt birth control measures is not a matter of their own choice rather it has its basis in the cultural norms where a male child is preferred over a female child. Women's lack of authority in decision making about their reproductive health, immobility, and their hesitation of discussing their ailments even with doctors are some of the cultural reasons that have direct bearing on women's health.

Women's lack of power to choose their occupation including politics and their immobility further undermine their prospects for coming on at par with men in politics. The women who overcome these cultural barriers and participate in politics are generally stigmatized as more liberal.

The above review of the position of women in Pakistani society fairly describes an average Pakistani women, but without mentioning the class, regional and provincial differences in women's life it would tantamount to overgeneralizations. In the less populated provinces of Balochistan and Northern Western Frontier Province, tribal culture is more prominent. The tribal women face more stringent rules of conduct and behavior.

In the more populated and feudal provinces of Punjab and Sind, women relatively are more visible. In agro-based villages, women work on fields side by side with men, and seen collecting fuel, water, and even on the construction sites. Strict observance of purdah specially veil is not very common in these areas.

The urban areas scattered throughout the country offer completely different social and material environment. These urban centres represent a blend of traditional and modern life which created a new matrix of socially acceptable behavior including gender relations. These are the areas where change in gender relations is more prominent at all levels education, employment, politics, and attitudes towards reproductive roles of women. Women are seen in all walks of life i.e., medicine, teaching, universities, civil services, business politics. Women are conscious of their health and tend to have less children. Veil is increasingly becoming less a norm but more an exception in these urban centres.

Finally, the economic class a woman belong to makes a significant difference in her life. A woman of upper economic class whether in urban or rural, tribal or non tribal areas is relatively less vulnerable to social and cultural restrictions than a woman who come from other economic classes.

Conclusion

To conclude, women in Pakistan lag behind men on all indicators of human development including education, employment, health and political power. These indicators make for dismal reading when a comparison is made on urban-rural basis. While analyzing the role of the state, Islam, and culture in gender disparities, it has been observed that the inferior position and negative image of women is deep-rooted in Pakistani culture and is the root cause of low socio-economic status of Pakistani women. The culture has such a strong hold on people's perception of women's role that even state sponsored gender development initiatives and the egalitarian spirit of Islam are quite often ignored. However, attitudes towards women and perceptions of their role in society are changing in the cities where women have relatively greater access to education, health, and employment opportunities. The increasing cost of living in the wake of changing life styles have made people more pragmatic towards the role of women; more and more women are shattering the traditional barriers and are increasingly seen in all walks of life. However, for an even gender development in the entire country, the government has to make a concerted effort to widen human development and economic opportunities in order to reach women in all areas and regions.

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Different Methods
For Describing Organisational Culture (1)

Liaqat Ali

ABSTRACT

There is a need to know organisational culture so that the management can change it if the culture is not according to the present or future needs of the organisation. Different methods are available for describing the organisational culture. One method (Cultural Web) is described and analysed here in the article to see its suitability for describing organisational culture and some other methods are described in second article on the topic (Different Methods for Describing Organisational Culture (2) by the author).

Keywords: Organisational culture, Approaches,

Classification, Paradigm, values, beliefs and assumptions.

1.0 Introduction

Organisational culture plays an important role in the success of an organisation (see Ali, 2000). There is a need to investigate the organisational culture so that it can be altered if it is not according to the present or future needs of the organisation. There appear to be two main ways of describing organisational culture in the current literature.

Some authors (such as, Handy, 1976; Hofstede, 1980; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Quinn and McGrath, 1985; Sethia and Von Glinow, 1985; Scholz, 1987; Wiener 1988; and Hofstede, 1991) attempt to describe organisational culture by classifying the organisational culture in one or more ways. The various approaches available to describe organisational culture are detailed in the second article on the topic. Some researchers describe organisational culture in relation to factors that are recognised as influences on culture. Drennan is one such researcher that describes organisational culture on the basis of influencing factors (Drennan, 1992). The factors that influence organisational culture are also described in second article. However, Johnson and Scholes (1999) have stated a third way of describing the organisational culture, that is, "The Cultural Web". The cultural Web is described in this article under Section 2.0. Finally, conclusion is given in Section 3.0.

2.0 The Cultural Web

Johnson and Scholes (1999) have stated a third, albeit a less significant way of describing the organisational culture, that is, "The Cultural Web" (see Figure 1). Johnson and Scholes (1999, p.73) state "the culture web is a representation of the taken-for-granted assumptions, or paradigm, of an organisation and the physical manifestation of organisational culture".

• The Paradigm

The Cultural Web is based on the premise that there is a core set of values, beliefs and assumptions commonly held throughout the organisation which Johnson and Scholes (1999) refer to as the paradigm. The way the employees of an organisation behave towards each other and outsiders provides a distinctive organisational competence. The employees take-for-granted about how things happen in the organisation. The paradigm is comprises six elements which are now described.

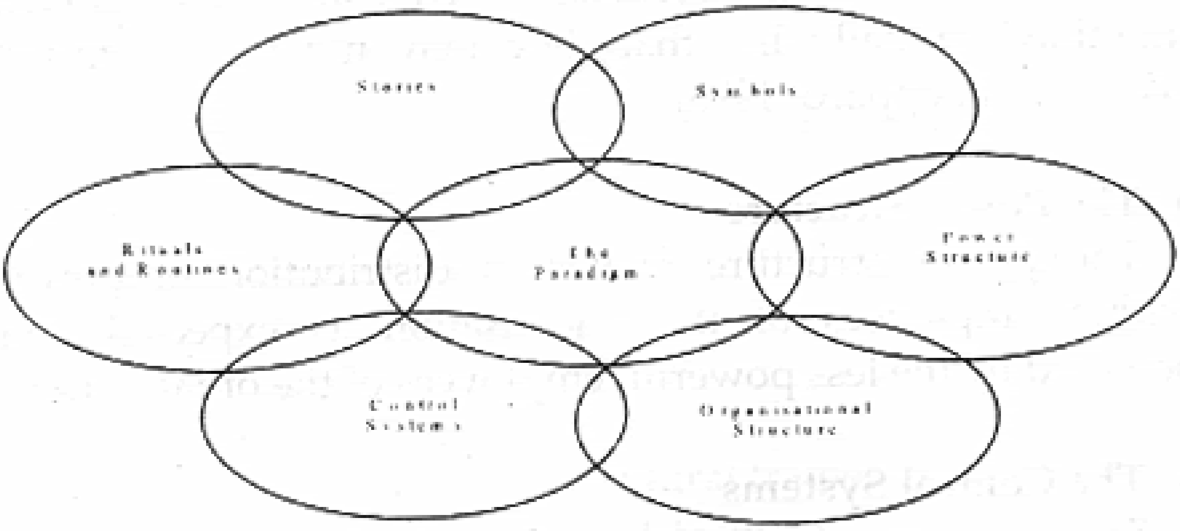
Stories
Symbols
Rituals and Routines
The Paradigm
Power Structure
Control Systems
Organisational Structure

Figure 1 The Cultural Web
Source: Adopted from Johnson and Scholes (1999)

- **The Rituals**

The rituals are the special events through which employees learn what is important in the organisation. The employees learn this from the organisational processes (such as, training programmes, assessment procedures and promotion). It may also include formal and informal meetings and social gathering of employees of the organisation.

- **The Stories**

The stories are about the important events, successes, disasters, heroes, villains and mavericks told by employees to each other. Most of these have evolved over the years and have become part of the organisation's folklore (Ward and Peppard, 1996).

- **The Symbols**

The symbols include logos, office structure, dress code, job titles and the type of language and terminology commonly used in an organisation. They are often so much ingrained in daily life that they may not be recognised (Ward and Peppard, 1996).

- **The Power Structure**

The power structure relates to distribution of power within employees of the organisation as expected and accepted by the less powerful employees of the organisation.

- **The Control Systems**

The pay, measurements and reward systems in an organisation have great impact on quantity or quality of work. These examples of control systems serve to highlight what is valued by the organisation.

- **The Organisational Structure**

The organisational structure reflects power structures and what is important in the organisation. Functions, departments, geographically-based business units, product-based business units, flat management hierarchies, large bureaucratic hierarchies, are all examples of how the structure of an organisation can impact the paradigm (Ward and Peppard,.1996).

Johnson and Scholes (1999) acknowledge that there are a variety of influences on an individual in an organisation. Figure 2 provides a summary of these influences. These influences are described below.

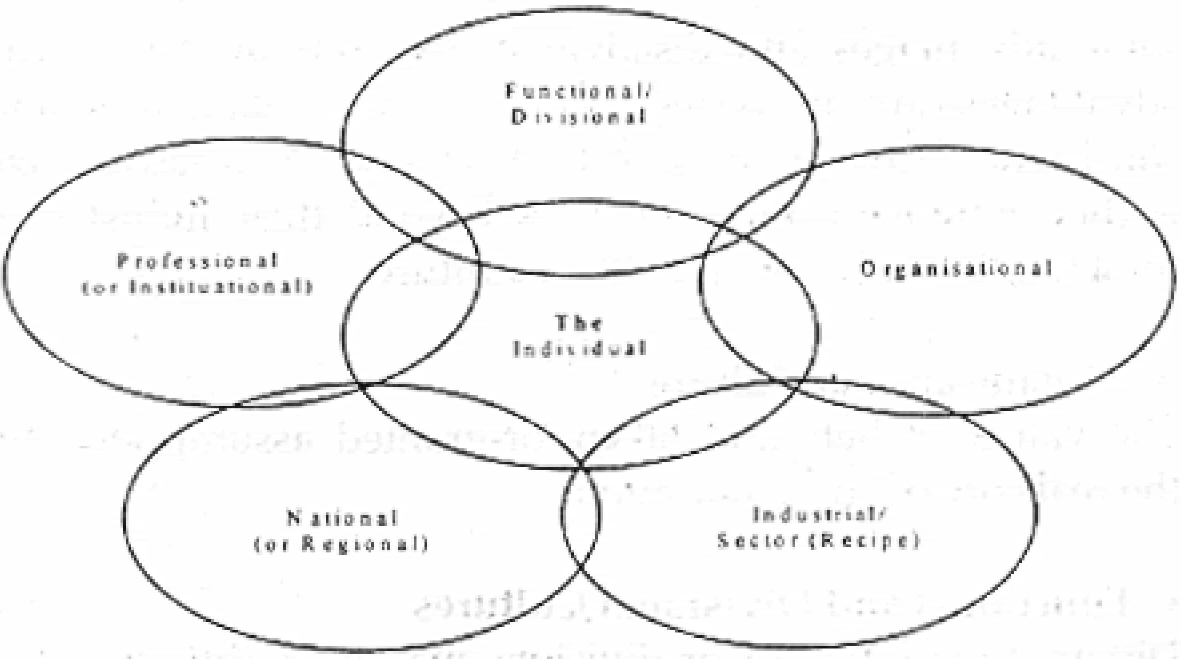
Functional/
Divisional
Professional
(or Institutional)
Organisational
The
Individual
National
(or Regional)
Industrial/
Sector (Recipe)

Figure 2 The cultural frames of reference
Source: Adopted from Johnson and Scholes (1999)

- **National and Regional Cultures**

National and regional cultures have great influence on individuals in an organisation (such as attitude towards work, authority, equality and number of other important factor.

- **Professional and Institutional Cultures**

A professional or institutional group's (such as, a trade union or professional association) values and beliefs have a great influence on individuals in an organisation. There might be key differences in expectations when purposes become specific during discussion about the priorities and resource allocation.

- **Industrial Sector (Recipe).**

An industry recipe is a set of assumptions held in common within an industry about organisational purposes and a shared wisdom on how to manage organisations. There are some advantages and disadvantage of this influence. The advantages are in terms of maintaining standards and consistency between individual providers. The disadvantage is that employees may not look beyond their industry in thinking through strategies for the future.

- **Organisational Culture**

The values, beliefs and taken-for-granted assumptions are the real core of an organisation.

- **Functional and Divisional Cultures**

Different departments or divisions may have different sub-cultures within them. For example, there are likely to be differences between geographically dispersed divisions in a multinational company as well as between functional groups such as finance, marketing and production.

This approach (cultural web) is not considered further for describing the organisational culture due to the following reason.

These five cultural influences are indeed part of thirteen important factors found to influence organisational culture (see second article on the topic, Different Methods for Describing Organisational Culture (2)).

3.0 Conclusion

It is important to know the organisational culture so that it can be changed if it does not suit to the present or future needs of the organisation. There are different methods for describing the organisational culture. One method, Cultural Web is described in the article. The Cultural Web is based on the premise that there is a core set of values, beliefs and assumptions commonly held throughout the organisation.

Johnson and Scholes (1999), the author of the Cultural Web acknowledge that there are a variety of influences on an individual in an organisation. A summary of these influences is described in second article on the topic. Some other methods for describing organisational culture are described in second article on the topic (Different Methods for Describing Organisational Culture (2) by the author).

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The Color of "Tragedy" in Eugene O'Neill's Tragedies of Color: A Study of The Emperor Jones, All God's Chillun Got Wings, and The Hairy Ape

Waseem Anwar

Although much of our understanding of drama revolves around the Greek concepts of Tragedy and Comedy and their varying proportion according to our conflictingly interpreted experiences, the debate about what Aristotle could give and what he knowingly or unknowingly withheld in the light of his universally accepted definition of Tragedy is still the hottest point of discussion among the literary circles. Aristotle defines:

> Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and certain in magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play, in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear affecting the proper purgation of these emotions (In Dukore 36).

We know for certain that Aristotle's Poetics focuses on Tragedy to the neglect of Comedy. But anyhow, Aristotle's classic vision of Tragedy has passed the test of time for what he described to be "tragic." Whether Aristotle knew that like life itself its dramatic "imitation" is bound to change and, therefore, by no means may become a standard scale for measuring the phenomenal happenings of the future lives, today our hawking and, at times, haunting sensibility deduces that the absence of kings and queens raises enough controversy about the idea of "fall" in Tragedy. If fall is the yardstick to determine the depth of the tragic, Adam can be termed as the first king, and perhaps Eve too, and then comes the later configuration of human hierarchies and the related idiosyncrasies based on it, the Great Chain of Beings and the Chain of great monarchs.

With reference to the Great Chain of Beings, Aristotle and his society had its own value judgments that were quite relevant and true to the mythopoeic politics of the "polis" of his time. The idea of Tragedy as an "imitation in verse of characters of a higher type" (Dukore 35) against Comedy as an imitation of lower species who "wandered from village to village" (Dukore 33) seems enough to draw distinctions between a monarch and an ordinary being, for the advantage of one over the other. As a whole, Tragedy developed as a social/ cultural construct and was based on the dominance of the powerful. Somehow, the idea of distinction leads to the ideology of difference. It is at this point of difference between the monarch and the ordinary being that we can question Aristotle's primary human concerns because such a difference also implies discrimination in modern and contemporary times. In Race and Slavery in the Middle East, Bernard Lewis refers to Aristotle's clear-cut pronouncement that certain races, particularly the black race, are doomed to slavery (53), and perhaps may fall completely out of the scope of his concept of Tragedy. The statement may definitely sound to the modern common man an idea constructed on certain chain of imitation that promotes the hierarchy of complexions or what Winthrop Jordan terms in White Over Black as the "Great Chain of Color" (254-5).

Like Leonardo da Vinci and Newton in our times, in his times and in his own way Aristotle was well aware that color white is the simplest of all the elemental colors and that color black is mostly representative of darkness, and therefore the absence of all colors and light.[i] The archetypal "scopic drive" (Bhabha, "The Other Question" 28) of color white to be a source of light and color black to be the sign of darkness, death, and deprivation helped human sensibility build metaphors based on ontological diversities which further lead to the formation of stereotypical iconography based on "epidermal schema" (Fanon qtd. in Bhabha, "The Other Question" 30).

Adam's fall was something to do with human exposure to darkness, suffering and deprivation. If Adam was not a king then any king's, queen's, or prince's and princess' fall, with all its associated repercussions, is meant to remind us of the first human fall from light to darkness. The gravity of the first fall heightens the foundational significance for human tragic affairs, but then after experiencing the first fall and our first banishment from heavens how do the imitated banishment of the commoners from the sublime realms of Tragedy and nobility sound? Is it not another tragic fall, another experience into alienation and distance? For a modern common man this ambivalence about the undetermined status of fall, tragic or pathetic, has paved ground for thinking if Tragedy and the idea about human fall were an experience about losing ranks, losing souls, or losing magnanimity attached to the enlightening effects of Highness/ high-ness. From the perspective of a racist society, a common mind may wonder if the tragic fall is above all about losing one's position in the Great Chain of Beings and the Great Chain of Colors, and therefore one's social status due to the darker skin!

Along with Aristotle's duly attested and tested concept of Tragedy, modern man has mainly inherited the dilemma of been pronounced an outcast from the sphere of Tragedy, bereft of any noble position, reinforcing a long-term alienation of the common man from the kingdom of civilization. Aristotle succeeded in imitating the idea of human fall and handed it over to us with an ironic dimension by absenting us from his domain of Tragedy and the tragic fall. Of course, the effect magnified in terms of time; the remoter and more distant we drew from the mainstream of Aristotelian concept of tragic fall the more we grew skeptic about the genuineness of our everyday stumbling and wrecking experiences. Regarding the true spirit of Tragedy, probably we are bound to be Aristotle's audience, always to be the pitiable onlookers, awe-inspired, "wandering" as well as wondering if our actions would ever get acknowledged for the noble camp of Tragedy. It is when we the modern wondering common beings realize that the real Tragedy of our life lies in our banishment form the grandeur of stage that we can understand the irony of Aristotle's successful transformation of our fall into a solely pathetic fall. But at least, we all agree that a "fall" is there. Tragic or pathetic, we are still in a deciding phase. God banished human beings, and human beings in "imitation" banished fellow men on grounds of some preconceived notions of superiority and inferiority of race, class, or color, but life banishes none on such grounds. The metaphysical politics of heavens was contextualized into the hierarchical politics of the earth and its resulting aesthetics, but the politics of being thrown out of the Eden of "magnitude" could not throw us out of the precincts of our own existence.

Even today, Aristotle's Poetics reminds us of our alienated and doubly fallen status, but the loss of kings, if it was to add to the loss of Tragedy as well, demanded a re-interpretation of our fallen status in the light of modern sensibility. A trajectory of the dramatists who attempted to describe Comedy indirectly helped determine the scope of modern Tragedy, tragic pleasure, and its moral purpose. In the modern times August Strindberg, Arthur Miller, Friedreich Nietzsche, Luigi Pirandello, Bertolt Brecht, Tennessee Williams, Eugene O'Neill, and many other dramatists felt the growing need for finding an answer to the problem of the modern man's tragic position:

> …Since the question of being on the way up or the way down the social ladder, of being on the top or on the bottom, superior or inferior, man or woman, is, has been, and will be of perennial interest. When I took this theme from real life…I thought it would be a suitable subject for a tragedy, since it still strikes us as tragic to see a happily favored individual go down in defeat, and even more to see an entire family line die out (Arthur Miller in Dukore 564).

The American dramatist Arthur Miller further revolutionizes the position of modern man's tragic self in a straight forward manner: "I believe that the common man is as apt a subject for tragedy in its highest sense as kings were" (Dukore 894). However, it was Nietzsche who moderately traced the essentially musical and poetic connections between modern man's tragic depth and that of the Greek gods (Dukore 820-27). The title of Nietzsche's work The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music implies the fundamental relationship in Nietzsche's theory between tragedy and music. Nietzsche's theory uses Dionysian spirit of music and not the Apollonian one to revive the decaying myth of the Greek gods. Dionysis, being the first dramatic protagonist, represents modern man's mourning of the tragic deposition, raising protests even in terms of modern psychology. The psycho-musical and psycho-mythical modification in Nietzsche's concept of Tragedy heightens the tragic effect of the modern man's conflicted being between a destined defeat and his own futile efforts to overcome this destiny. In Eugene O'Neill's Tragic Vision, C. P. Sinha explains: "Modern man's tragic struggle begins in his mind when he realizes his inability to perceive what lies beyond him" (12).

In terms of modern human tragedy, most of O'Neill's tragic vision takes into consideration Nietzsche's interpretation of the modern Tragedy in terms of Freud's modern psychology and its adherence to the explanations of ancient Greek masters. O'Neill however added his own illusionary dimensions to the conflicting human struggle in the context of Jungian collective and racial unconscious. O'Neill's early plays with their themes of race prejudice and power politics are definitely rooted in the expressionistic experimentation, but they are also an effort to locate a definition for his vision of the modern man's tragic fall on the ground of social difference: "Like the great tragic writers of the past, O'Neill is concerned with those sorrows of our proud and angry dust, which are from eternity and shall not fail" (Krutch 286). Like most of the modern dramatists, O'Neill seems to be dealing with after the fall situation of human beings, which more often magnifies the vanity of their dreamy aspirations and their frequently overweening excesses to regain the lost status. His early plays melodramatically yet tragically and as Krutch puts it lacking in "the poet's gift for splendid utterance" (288) color the surroundings in the plays with the darkness of "defeat" within. It is the color of the mood of his protagonists and other characters that determines the mood of O'Neill's plays.

With reference to moods and their colors in O'Neill's plays, in The Emperor Jones (EJ) (1920), The Hairy Ape (HA) (1922), and All God' Chillun Got Wings (AGC)[ii] it is the blackness within the deprived souls and the most common fallen beings that colors the environment, transforming it into an objective construct. Like Fanon, O'Neill seems to be recognizing that: "Blackness [IS] at the heart of oppression." Tragedy, of course, oppresses human beings by belittling their will to survive against gods and odds. One can sense that in taking up the most down-trodden, exploited, and the acclaimed Black outcasts of 1920s as his protagonists in these plays, O'Neill, the white tragedian, was going even a step ahead to what Strindberg or Miller had termed to be the tragic in their own times and from their own perspectives. In taking up the neglected most as the protagonists of his plays, the parameters of O'Neill's dramatic imitation defines a larger humanitarian scope for his tragic vision, encompassing, at the same time, the essential gravity of the first fall. Due to his choice for Black protagonists during the Harlem political activism of 1920s and his representation of the black experience in a white America, O'Neill the white playwright wins a seminal significance among the black dramatists.[iii]

In EJ and AGC, it is due to the colors of racial difference and in HA it is mainly due the darkness of class deprivation and social status that we are made to realize the archetypal and the stereotypical foundations of human tragic oppression. The presence of the black protagonists as well as the blackness of their experience in deprivation instead of "the black as buffoon" (Long 66) adds to O'Neill's definition of the human tragic fall and its associated sense of growing dissociation. Although the plays deal with the blackness of human fall and failure, O'Neill's most daring contribution in EJ and AGC is an oxymoronic juxtaposition of the epidermal schema of colors white and black and its politics to surface the darkness of black deeds behind the whiteness of skin and the whiteness of soul concealed under the blackness of skin. In raising the issue of slavery and its far reaching social and psychological effects in terms of the historical neglect of Black race from the mainstream dominant white culture O'Neill adds a dimension of color to his tragic vision about the ordinary beings and their vain aspirations for kingly dreams. Jones, a black Pullman porter, dreamed to be an Emperor but could never become one in real sense due to the claustrophobic hold of fears that generate in him racial discrimination and slavery. These fears aggravate to the extent of a climactic depression due to Jones' sense of guilt for overreaching certain social limits.

In EJ and AGC, slavery as "social death" and birth as "natal alienation"[iv] foreground the tragic significance of the black experience in America during 1920s. In Contour in Time: The Plays of Eugene O'Neill, Travis Bogard comments with reference to American Tragedy: "an ordinary American could become a subject of pathetic concern and on occasion could rise to the height of a tragic figure" (134). The black pathetic experience that covers the blackness of human oppression is raised to the tragic level by O'Neill through color combinations and color contrasts in all the three so-called color tragedies, EJ, AGC, and HA. One may question whether O'Neill and his experimental, expressionistic, and symbolic use of skin color and the color of human moods was really an effort to assign some color to human suffering in these plays. Was human suffering and the tragic a "black" experience for him at that time? And, above all, whether this tragic manifestation of color proves these masterpieces to be a modern Tragedy at all?

In positioning the black people at the center of the tragic experience and by adding shades of race, color, and class discrimination as the determining factors for human tragic fall, O'Neill focuses on the ever present defiant human pride or "hubris" to control the uncontrollable and the forbidden. It emerges as an almost revolting effort to break the chains of containment and confinement. In the plays under discussion, the idea of "hubris" and "hamartia" has been objectified through frequent use of color classification in terms of race and class difference. Jones in EJ, Yank in HA, and Jim as well as Ella in AGC, like the original tragic heroes Adam and Eve, may be termed as the modern Dionysian protagonists who try to break the chains of discrimination and difference, emphasizing on the blackness of their skin as well as that of their experience. In these tragedies of color, O'Neill seems to be locating color black for human suffering and tragedy. Although written strictly within the context of "color-line" and its "passing," the color barriers and the limits of American-ness to portray race or class struggle in EJ, HA, and AGC do not delimit O'Neill's efforts to project a more universal concept of human tragic fall through color and its symbolic connotations.[v]

Within the context of O'Neill's vision of Tragedy, the metaphor of black mask hiding under the stereotypical apprehensions of Negro and darkness of his skin raises moral issues posed by the presence of slavery and its legacy. On grounds of the symbolic interpretation of colors black and white, the immense impact of O'Neill's dramatic theory and its treatment through dramaturgical and technical experimentation in light and shade wins a universal acknowledgement for the themes of oppression and coercion. By the end of 19th century when color was freed from its traditional connotative values and was lent a newer and deeper intensity, that was fundamental to Expressionism,[vi] O'Neill's experimentation in theatrical techniques helped him imbue profundity of metaphysical perception to the human tragic alienation for quest of identity and spirituality. During the America of 1920s, O'Neill's foremost concern develops upon pointing out racial slavery as a lacuna, darkness at the heart of American Democracy.

With reference to American racial, colonial, and democratic conflicts during 1920s, EJ with its journey into the darker self appears as the dramatized version of Conrad's Heart of Darkness. The colonial Congo adventure against the "whited Sepulchre" in Heart of Darkness finds a new location for the racial exploitation, a white palace of the Emperor on an unknown West Indian island which looks like a "bleedin' tomb" (1032). The whiteness and its associated sense of enlightenment in the opening scene gradually transforms into blackness and an associated sense of the tragic towards the last scene of the play. Brutus Jones, the black protagonist, has fled to the tropical island after killing a white man in the States. His own despotic arrogance over the natives adds to his sense of guilt and alienation till the time he escapes into the jungle where the primitive terror and superstitious fear of immeasurable darkness trap him to death. An escape from the blackness of slavish experience turns into a darker experience of greed, loot, and power hunger, ending up in an overwhelming sense of primeval nightmarish force:

> The forest is a wall of darkness dividing the world. Only when the eye becomes

> accustomed to the gloom can the outlines of separate trunks of the nearest trees be made out, enormous pillars of deeper blackness. A somber monotone of wind lost in the leaves moans in the air. Yet this sound serves but to intensify the impression of the forest's relentless immobility, to form a background throwing into relief its brooding, implacable silence. (1044)

Added to this terrifying effect is the drumbeat that is synonymous to heartbeat of a conquering darkness. Color vibrates or Color contrasts add to the poetic effect of the tragic fall of a black protagonist who becomes the means for dramatizing layers of a "dark lyricism" (Sheaffer 30). Quite ironically, the controversy over casting of Charles Gilpin as Brutus Jones for the play's first premier proved that an American black during 1920s was only a step short of his African ancestors. Brutus, with his touch of idealism for namesake, has an element of pride like Caesar or Lear, but he is also exposed to the callousness of fate like Oedipus because he attempts to break the circle of his inherited position. His peeling off his blue uniform bit by bit from his black body and finally throwing away his shoes: "better off widout dem" (1052) is symbolic of self-awareness that comes by tearing off his pride. But the process of growth and self-identification leaves him to stumble through the Darwinian stages of helplessness in the dense jungle of guilt.

EJ is not only a story of a Negro and his sense of guilt but also a concentrated, psychological study of the racial fear in America during 1920s. It unfolds a version of history, a Jungian dramatization of race problem, the archetypal experience of the collective racial unconscious. In the play, color black is the dominant color for slavish experience connected to social death, but it also is the color of dark and despotic deeds done by white or black races and mobilizes the dramatic action of the play around the notion of tragic human fall. Almost all the scenes in the play take place on a pitch-dark night or at the twilight of dusk and dawn. This intensifies the magical and macabre impact of human dark experience. The black skin, the dark forest, and the ominous night against the whiteness of the first scene are the supporting images that magnify black as the color of coercion and diabolic deeds. In the initial setting, the scarlet in the white palace reminds one of the crimson of the house of Atreus in Agamemnon that juxtaposes quite ironically the imperialistic connotations of white palace to amplify at the same time the "bleedin" as well as a bloody effect of Jones' fatal ambitions; his desire to cross the historical and racial constraints. The heaviness of Jones' oppression and the tragedy of his fall under the atmospheric pressure of guilt, his self-presentation as a silent subject most of the time in the later part of the play, represent the black man's smoldering protest and hatred for the white man's exploitation of the black race over history.

In the play, whenever Jones talks about the white people he spills out his long contained anger through the rowdiness of a pseudo-imperialist discourse: "Talk polite, white man! Talk polite, you heah me! I'm boss heah now, is you forgettin'?" (1034). Even later, while killing the guard he pronounces: "I kills you, you white debil" (1051). Jones' anger and pride as a ruler, "I ... use my brains!" (1043), is also turned against the people of his own race, the "common bush niggers" (1041) and all the "dat black trash" (1043). Anger against his own race is anger against his own coward self: "Git in, nigger! What you skeered at?" (1046). In scene viii, the final grin of Smithers, the white man, is highly ironical against Jones' single action of shuddering with terror. The scene is the most powerful depiction of human expression of grief and melancholy attached to suffering through fatal defeat. A surreal projection of the Manichean cult and the externalization of the historical record of black deeds of the white man in shape of Jones' dead black body and the darkness of the forest loom together with the thumping of tom-tom. The image repeats and intensifies psychological effects of the Congo crisis. The dark lyricism of black hearts mystifies the extreme sense of human alienation at the time when race and class segregation was an institutionalized fact in the American society.

Like Kurtz's death in Heart of Darkness, that changes Marlow to a somber sage, the monstrous magnanimity of Jones' death concentrates the effect of the common being's tragic fall. The claustrophobic threat caused by the reduction of space, the folding of jungle walls, and the "white man's" inevitable "burden" ironically compresses Jones back into the stages of his pre-historic self. Jones "passes," but from an ambitious Emperor to an employed slave, what remains near the end is Smithers' mocking remarks: "Where's yer 'igh an' mighty airs now, yer bloomin' Majesty?" (1061). Jones' death is tragic as it announces a heightened sense of individual alienation as well as the death of a marginalized culture. In his book American Drama of the Twentieth Century, Gerald M. Berkowitz explains:

> Jones fall ... is a metaphor for the inability of any man to escape the limits imposed on him by the human condition. The expressionistic devices O'Neill employs make us experience this fall from within the character, and thus recognize a common truth, rather than

> allowing us the luxury of distance and dissociation (34).

The Congo crisis, the "Black Belt" (304), and its extensive historical effects in terms of psychological and social alienation have also been projected through the dramatic depiction of the Congo mask in AGC: "He won't pass, you wait and see. Not in thousand years" (304). While facing the Congo mask on the wall and predicting Jim's failure in the examination, Ella's collective unconscious expresses not only educational and academic inferiority of the black race but also symbolically alludes at the Harlem notion of "passing" blackness for whiteness: "Pass? Pass? ... Jim Crow Harris ... Member of the Bar!" (313). Skin color as a sign of identification, superiority or inferiority, and as a status symbol is used to define American social values of virtue, intelligence, and knowledge. Africa and the related primitive blackness of the Congo mask can never "pass" into whiteness and therefore the whole symbolic presentation of color and race difference raises the issue whether assimilation and miscegenation of white and black is possible. In "O'Neill and the Racial Myths," Peter J. Gillett claims that through his sympathetic and imaginative presentation of the black American's blackness and making them a "subjective phenomenon," O'Neill has developed courage and insight to represent white American response to blackness as "diseased and degraded."

In AGC, the illusionary effects of miscegenation between the white men and the black women is tested on the brink of extreme distrust that overwhelms both sides at the time of institutionalized segregation. In Eugene O'Neill: The Man and his Plays, Barrett Clark comments about O'Neill's choice of themes and explains that O'Neill used a situation so poignant and so tragically beautiful that few otherwise competent critics could see in it a work of art (95). In "O'Neill and the Racial Myths," Gillett also looks at AGC as a study of the prevalent attitude among white Americans toward black Americans and terms the play as "a tragedy of love and marriage." Ella's hallucinatory stabbing of the black mask with a knife, and Hattie's disapproval of her brother's white choice stand for the binary opposite attitudes. These extreme reactions pacify only when Ella's loving-self searches for the white in Jim, "you are the whitest of the white" (304), or when Jim pronounces his "black slave" love for Ella, a near neurotic submission, "All love is white" (293).

As a Tragedy and in terms of human tragic vision, AGC implies that during 1920s both black and white races had to pay a price for an ideal human marriage, otherwise the tragedy of breaking the chains of cultural and racial barriers will fall heavy on them. If "[Uncle] Jim [Crow]" (280 and 315) attempts to overcome racial prejudices and societal pressures, he is to face opposition not only from the white population but also from the people of his own community, his sister Hattie and his friend Joe: "Does you deny you's a nigger?" (285). If Ella crosses the borders of white civilization, she will be confounded by the dilemma of spinning between her original black self and her social white being. She will be divided in her choice, between the darker primeval and elemental forces of her individuality and the material privileges of her social position. Ultimately her community declares Ella an outcast. At various junctures in the play, Ella's position sounds more tragic because of her sheer sense of isolation and fall from her social climate on the basis of her race, class, and gender. Her fall due to sexual exploitation, her revolutionary choice of marrying a black man, and her ending-up as a mad woman represent the blackness of forces and the powerful hold of external pressures and their stereotypical cultural divisions that limit and belittle any revolting being who wills to face the darkness of the social odds.

The darkness of the social barriers that transforms into the blackness of human tragic fall from a status/ position is the central theme of HA as well. Despite the fact that HA is subtitled as "A Comedy of Ancient and Modern Life" (119), the play exposes the calamity of human tragic-comic misfortune. In HA, O'Neill co-mingles Darwinian, Freudian, and Marxist concepts to juxtapose the dominant Capitalist class and the whiteness of its dresses with the ape-like nakedness and poverty-stricken blackness of the working class stokers covered with coal dust:

> Black smoke from the funnels smudging the sea, smudging the decks -- the bloody engines pounding and throbbing and shaking -- wid divil a sight of sun or breath of clean air -- choking our lungs wid coal dust -- breaking our backs and hearts in the hell of the stokehole -- feeding the bloody furnace -- feeding our life along wid the coal, I'm thinking -- caged in by steel from a sight of the sky like bloody apes in the Zoo! (127).

Mildred Douglas, the white daughter of the white capitalist steel-mill-owner, is dressed in all white. She romanticizes the blackness of smoke: "How the black smoke swirls back against the sky! Is it not beautiful?" (130). Her fascination for color black is soon vanished when she visits the stokehole and faces the harsh reality of Yank's pride and power. She screams: "Take me away! Oh, the filthy beast!" (137). The deadly union of stokers as slaves and their rhythmic shoveling reminds of drums and music of plantation slavery era in America and around. The intended color and dress symbolism of scene V, with the men in top hats and tails and the over-dressed and over embellished women allude to categorizations of distinction and difference made out of Great Chain of Beings. Yank's exposure to New York City is an attempt to locate his position, his point of belonging within the hierarchical order of human civilization and social values. Gorilla as Yank's double and cage as the double of stokehole specify human evolutionary connection with primeval forces of the animal world. Like Yank human beings would always struggle to fight against the stereotypical divisions based on biology, zoology, materialism, spiritualism, the heavenly banishment, the social alienation, distance, and divorce from the circles of refinement.

From complains against God to struggle against Greek gods, from fight against dehumanizing social surroundings to confrontation with one's own psychological being, human fall from all these different hierarchical rungs are doomed to restore lost positions. The scope of human struggle in O'Neill's plays expands the horizon of O'Neill's tragic vision from the cosmic, macro, and metaphysical truth to the very foundational, micro human reality. This eternal oscillation of human spirit between the sense of belonging and the sense of alienation along with the illusionary junctions and temporary jumps for determining the scope of dreamy desires to rise high to the cherished goals of success describes the dramatic realm of O'Neill's tragic vision. O'Neill's exploitation of color and its light and shade articulate a concrete space for projecting the claustrophobic effects of human state of mind. The ordinariness of his protagonists forms a link between the psychological coherence and verbal construction to reinforce the concept of modern Tragedy in our minds. O'Neill's color techniques reveal his humanitarian approach in terms of his concern for the down trodden black people and the blackness of their tragic experience. Although wrapped in illusion, the dramatic use of color effects provides O'Neill with personal and dramatic means to launch a protest against discrimination, social injustice, oppression, and other surrounding forces that could be the cause human fall.

Our journey from Aristotelian definition of Tragedy to the modern and then to O'Neill's descriptions of the tragic experience is in itself a black experience based on the tragic realization that man is the loser despite all his efforts to win back the lost domains. But then among the human beings it is the increase of distance and association on grounds of social differences that helps aggravate the darkness of individual defeat. O'Neill, however, wins the ground of expressing his tributes of human potential in the face of human nihilistic existence. Despite the fact that O'Neill's Expressionism cannot be termed as a drama of protest in the pure ideological terms as German theatrical Expressionism was, Nietzschean, Freudian, Jungian, and Strindbergian influences paved a ground for O'Neill to explore and glorify individual freedom and psychological emancipation from the social dictates of cultural dominance. O'Neill acknowledged human nobility and grandeur and knew, like Krutch, that the "tragic spirit is always sustained by the conviction that to be a man is a terrible privilege, but a privilege nevertheless. O'Neill has always tended to vacillate between the two convictions..." (289). Protest through theatre and freedom from the theatrical realism of his times was rooted in the protest against restrictions of systems of life.[vii] Along with functioning as a source of his tragic protest, the use of light and shade and the political aesthetics of color and conviction by O'Neill add a meaningful tone to define his form of Tragedy.

Notes:

[1] For a detailed study of color and its cultural/ historical significance, see Faber Birren, Color and Human Response. Birren refers to the ancient, modern and scientific study of color with reference to Egyptian, Greek and later civilizations. John Hope Franklin in his book Color and Race refers to the symbols that are commonly attached with color black: woe, gloom, darkness, dread, death, terror, horror, wickedness, curse, mourning, and mortification and associates white with triumph, light, innocence, joy, divine, truth, modestly, femininity, and delicacy (119)

[2] All the references to primary texts are taken from Eugene O'Neil: Complete Plays, Vols. 1 and 2. New York: The Library of America, 1988, 1029-1062, 119-196-, 277-316.

[3] For details on subject, see Leslie Catherine Sanders, The Development of Black Theatre in America: From Shadows to Selves and Frederick W. Bond, The Negro and the Drama, Chpt. V.

[4] Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study: Patterns deals with the psychology and psychological effects of slavery as a social institution being one of the most extreme forms of domination. The author describes domination both in individual and social capacity and attributes the slave's powerlessness as a social death due to his natal alienation Slaves, he argues, are deprived of the right to belong the means to intensify the profundity of the tragic experience of inability to "belong".

[5] The Harlem vocabulary for shades of pigmentation was highly nuance, and the color scale for the black population

ranged from the light skinned "high yaller" and "olive" to the middle ranges of skin color "high brown" and "low brown," and then further to the dark skinned "blue" and damn therefore to be elevated in social status. During the Harlem this was a social dilemma and a psychological frustration for African Americans. The movement of black pride and black power were just a reaction to white supremacy and an attempt to restore black self-esteem. For a detailed survey of the color scale, consult Steven Watson, The Harlem Renaissance: Hub of African – American Culture, 1920-1930.

[6] With reference to drama, Expression becomes a form that articulates ideas and emotions not normally expressed in the given situation. Words as colors and colors as expression set a field for Eugene O'Neill's indulgent experimentation during 1920s by contrasting an oxymoronic use of color-vocabulary, particularly shades black and white. Blackness and its symbolic projection through the color of Negro's skin and his experience of slavish suffering became a means for O'Neill to dramatize the verbal and psychological coherence of the tragic vision, and therefore, to transform the innermost fears and complexes of his protagonists into some hallucinatory outer realities.

[7] For a detailed study of Dramatic Expression as a source of protest and O'Neill's use of this technique, consult J.L. Styan. Modern Drama in Theory and Practice, vol.3

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FROM QUALITY INSPECTION TO TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT

"While the 20^{th} century has been the century of productivity, the 21^{st} century will be the century of quality".

Joseph M. Juran

Muhammad Azhar Ikram Ahmad

ABSTRACT

If Pakistan's economy is to be directed towards prosperity, not only we should produce more but it is also necessary that we should produce quality goods. This article discusses the whole range of quality management activities. The experience of two industrial giants - Japan and America - with - reference to quality management and its correlation, with their industrial development, has been reviewed. Ever evolving and ever changing term "quality" is discussed in the light of the views of contemporary scholars. The whole range of quality management activities during distinct philosophical and chronological eras of evolution has also been examined . Initially, the era of "quality inspection after actual production" was the main point of emphasis. Later emphasis shifted from "quality inspection" to "defect prevention". It was recognized that the "quality" is the responsibility of whole organization and not the production

people alone. The latest thought in this field is that it is a philosophy of managing and doing things where quality is the obsession of every one in the organization. The paper explains how this thought can be inculcated amongst all involved in producing goods and services for the customers.

INTRODUCTION

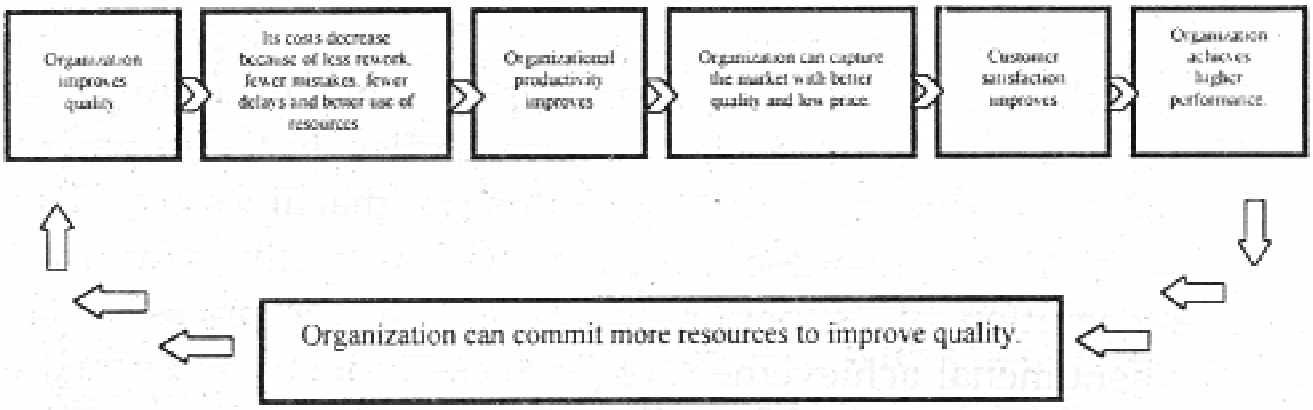
It was 1945 when Japan surrendered after complete devastation by Allied Powers. The country was in shamble. Only one major city, Kyoto, had escaped wide-scale destruction. At that time, because of air raids and dislocations, the industrial activity was virtually reduced to none. As the country is not bestowed with enough natural resources therefore neither she had anything to sell nor anything to eat. Even to restore their food supply the Japanese had no option but to manufacture something that could be sold in the international market. Before the World War II, in international market, Japanese goods had reputation of "cheap, inferior products". For the reconstruction of their war-worn country the only viable alternative for Japanese was to learn the art of producing superior quality good. Under the auspices of "The Japan Management Association" a new organization "The Japanese Union of Scientists and Engineers", (JUSE), was established in 1948. JUSE took the responsibility to acquaint Japanese with the methods of Statistical Quality Control, (SQC). The Japanese engineers, technicians and workers made quality control their religion.

It was the era of "Made in U.S.A.", when post World War II .Japanese were curiously learning how to produce quality. A stamp "Made in U.S.A." was regarded as the seal of quality. 1950s were boom years for American industry. There was high demand for whatever American industry could turnout. Neither there was any competition of American goods in international market nor there was any perceived threat of serious competition of U.S. products in near future. It looked certain that the future of American industry would remain prosperous. As a result American business managers became more involved with productivity and forgot to emphasize quality.

Within a short period of 20 years Japanese had snatched a major portion of market share from American firms for many products like automobiles, hi-fi equipments, videos, electronics, cameras, industrial machines etc. Upto early 1970s Japanese products had won the worldwide recognition of "superior quality and lower prices". This phenomenal achievement of Japanese industry is termed as *Japanese Miracle*. Stung by the defection of customers rushing to buy Japanese products, manufacturers in United States, in Europe, and elsewhere realized that good quality is the essential condition for effective global competition. Earlier managers believed that quality improvement efforts generally lower productivity. But from the Japanese experience it was discovered that concentrating on improving product quality, throughout all phases of a production process actually, improves the productivity of the manufacturing system[1].

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, American managers were making frequent trips to Japan to learn about the Japanese Miracle. Perhaps no other management issue has received as much attention in recent years as quality. Today a quality revolution is taking place throughout the world. When an organization improves quality, a *chain reaction* starts that leads to reduced cost, improved productivity and to improved customer satisfaction, which, in turn leads to higher organizational performance. Now because organization has more resources to use for improving quality, the cycle starts again. This "Quality, Productivity, and Customer Satisfaction Cycle" is depicted below[2].

The Quality, Productivity, and Customer Satisfaction Cycle.


Organization improves quality
Its costs decrease because of less rework, fewer mistakes, fewer delays and better use of resources
Organizational productivity improves
Organization can capture the market with better quality and low price.
Customer satisfaction improves
Organization achieves higher performance.
Organization can commit more resources to improve quality.

The reason behind the success or even survival of a business organization is "customer satisfaction". In the present day competitive environment, merely satisfying customer needs do not guarantee an organization's success. To beat the competition, organizations must exceed customer expectations by providing products and / or services that delight and excite them. Therefore, most progressive organizations now define quality as meeting or exceeding customer expectations[3]. Quality is not a static concept. What is quality? The customer determines it. As customer's preference changes over time, definition of quality changes. This ever-changing nature of the concept of quality suggests, to ensure their success or even their survival, business organizations must continuously and ceaselessly strive to improve quality. That is why Joseph M. Juran has remarked, " While the 20th century has been the century of productivity, the 21st century will be the century of quality".

WHAT IS QUALITY?

"Obviously, the term quality is not an absolute; quality is a diamond with many facets"[4].

Kenneth L. Arnold.

Quality means different things to different people. In fact, the term quality is sometimes used when the more appropriate term grade should be used[5]. For example, Suzuki Cultus is a higher grade of automobile than Suzuki Alto. Cultus has more features, space and comfort. Both may be high quality cars built to give trouble-free performance.

In order to clearly understand meaning of the term quality a few popular definitions of the term are given in the following lines.

- Quality = Customer Satisfaction[6]. *(Dale H. Bestrefield).*
- Quality means fitness for use[7]. *(Joseph M. Juran).*
- Quality is a measure of how closely a good or service conforms to predetermined standards, especially the needs and expectations of customers[8]. *(Joseph G. Monks).*
- How well a product does what it is intended to do---how closely it satisfies the specifications to which it was built[9]. *(Samuel C. Certo).*
- Quality is a measure of the degree to which a process, product, or service conforms to the requirements that

have been established for it[10]. *(Lester R. Bittel & John W. Newstrom).*

- The totality of features and characteristics of a product or service that bears on its ability to satisfy given needs[11]. *(The American National Standards Institute & The American Society for Quality Control).*
- The total composite product and service characteristics of marketing, engineering, manufacturing and maintenance through which the product or service in use will meet the expectations of the customer[12]. *(Armand V. Feigenbaum).*

From a careful study of the above noted definitions one can easily draw following inferences regarding the nature of quality:

1. As quality is customer's satisfaction, therefore, *customer decides* what quality is.
2. Customer means *user*. The user or the customer may be one outside the organization i.e. an external customer, or it may be within the organization i.e. an internal customer. *External Customer* may be a trader or an industrial user of the product or he may be a consumer. *Internal Customer* means the next stage in the process. For example, stitching department of a garments factory is the internal customer of its cutting department. Stitching department is also one of internal customers of storeroom, repair and maintenance department, time keeping department, payroll department, personnel department etc. Stitching department is an internal supplier of finishing and packing department.

3. Needs and expectations of customers change over time, so *changes the definition* of quality. Moreover, goods and services must be improved over time as competitors improve. What was a quality product yesterday may not be one tomorrow. Therefore it requires a *permanent commitment and continuous effort* to maintain high standard of quality.

4. Quality means different things to different people. From the *customer's viewpoint,* quality is often associated with usefulness, value or even price. From the *producer's viewpoint,* quality is associated with conformance to specifications i.e. producing the product according to its design[13].

5. Customer's perception of quality is associated with a number of attributes, characteristics, or features. These attributes are also termed as dimensions of quality. (While going through the literature of quality management we find reference to at least eight such dimensions of quality for manufactured products, and at least ten such dimensions of quality for service products. See table A). Customers give different weights to the different attributes for different products and in different situations. The characteristics important for the target customers must be identified through research and translated into.specific product attributes and incorporated into design specifications of the product.

6. Quality is not the responsibility of a single department but the whole organization; marketing, R&D, designing, purchasing, production, customer service, accounting etc., contributes to customer's satisfaction. Therefore, maintaining and improving

quality standard requires *commitment of the whole organization* i.e. a total system approach.

The *conclusion* drawn from the above inferences, as to what quality is, can be depicted in the form of following diagram. *Inner circle* of the diagram shows, a quality product is one that is designed, manufactured and/or delivered according to customer's needs and wants; and the *outer circle* shows, everyone in the organization contributes to quality of product. That's why, the term *"total quality"* is becoming popular, since 1980's, instead of quality.

Fig. 2. The Concept of Quality[14]

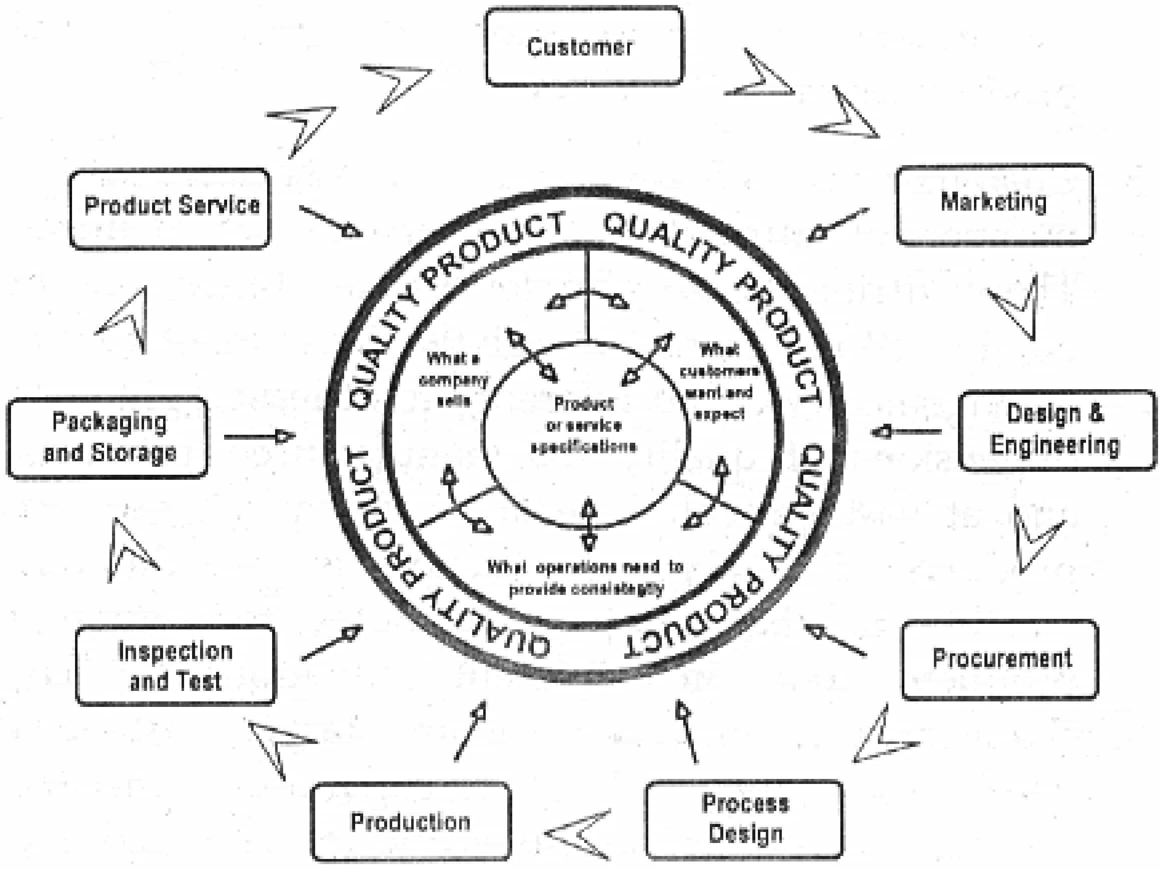

Customer
Marketing
Design & Engineering
Procurement
Process Design
Production
Inspection and Test
Packaging and Storage
Product Service
QUALITY PRODUCT QUALITY PRODUCT QUALITY PRODUCT QUALITY PRODUCT
What a company sells
What customers want and expect
Product or service specifications
What operations need to provide consistently

TABLE A.
Eight Dimensions of Quality for Manufactured Products[15].

Dimensions	Brief Explanation.
Performance	Primary product characteristics. Clarity and loudness of sound for a mobile telephone. Sharpness of picture for TV.
Features	Secondary characteristics, less central to user, added features. Storage capacity of CLI device of a mobile telephone. Channel lock system in a TV. set.
Reliability	Probability that the product will not malfunction or fail within a specific, reasonable period. Continuous use without time lost for repair.
Conformance	The degree to which physical and performance characteristics of a product match pre-established standards.
Durability	Useful life, includes repair. The amount of use one gets from a product before it physically deteriorates or until replacement is preferable.
Serviceability	Ease of resolution of problems and complaints. The ability of a product to be repaired quickly and easily.
Aesthetics	Sensory characteristics. How a product looks, feels, sounds, tastes, or smells. Involves customers' subjective judgment.
Perceived quality	Customers' subjective assessment of product resulting from brand name, company's image, past experience of customers with other products of the same company, advertisement etc.

Ten Dimensions of Quality for Services[16].

Dimension	Brief Explanation
Reliability	Consistency of performance and dependability. Performing the right service right the first time. Honoring promises. Accuracy.
Responsiveness	Willingness or readiness of employees to provide service. Timeliness.

Competence.	Possession of the skills and knowledge required to perform the service.
Access	Approachability and ease of access. Waiting time. Hours of operation.
Courtesy	Politeness, respect, consideration and friendliness of contact personnel.
Communication	Keeping customers informed in language they can understand. Listening to customers. Adjusting language to different needs of different customers. Explaining the service itself.
Credibility	Trustworthiness. Believability. Honesty. Company reputation. Personal characteristics of personnel delivering service.
Security	Freedoms from danger, risk, or doubt. Physical safety. Financial security. Confidentiality.
Understanding the customer	Making effort to understand the customer's needs. Learning the customer's specific requirements. Providing individualized attention. Recognizing the regular customer.
Tangibles	Physical evidence of the service. Physical facilities. Appearance of personnel. Tools or equipment used to provide service. Physical representation of the service. Other customers in the service facility.

The tools, techniques, methods and measures used today for quality management activities are result of a gradual and steady evolution rather than a dramatic break through. In order to develop full appreciation of the very recent philosophy of Total Quality Management the evolution from quality inspection to Total Quality Management (hereafter referred to as TQM) is presented below.

Quality Inspection --- Era of Craftsmen.

> *"Thousands of factories, even today, use testing and inspection of the final product as the sole vehicle for assuring quality".*
>
> *Tapan B. Bagchi*[17].

Craft Era extends from Stone Age when men started making tools from stone for hunting and survival to Industrial Revolution in the second half of 18th century. However, for the purpose of classifying quality management activities the era of quality inspection can be extended upto 1920s when under the influence of *"Taylorism"* the concept of division of labor became popular and modern factory system characterized by mass production came into existence. Even in 18th and 19th centuries, skilled artisan and craftsmen manufactured most of the products. Each craftsman performed all of the manufacturing operations required to produce a product and he was himself responsible for the quality of unit(s) produced by him. In order to ensure that unit(s) produced met its specifications; the concerned artisan himself inspected the quality during all stages of production, and of course ultimate judge was the customer. In most of the post Industrial Revolution industry, the craftsmen working in factories were supervised by masters of the trade, who made formal or informal quality checks after the unit had been produced. Upto early 1800s inspection of quality was limited to subjective evaluation by the inspector.

Here it is pertinent to quote the experiment of *Eli Whitney,* inventor of cotton gin, who in 1787 for the first time applied the concepts of interchangeable parts, division of labor and use of specialized machinery for the production a complicated product i.e. 10,000 flintlock military rifles for the U.S. arsenal. Whitney had considerable difficulty in making all the parts exactly the same. It took him ten years to complete the 10,000 rifles that he contracted to deliver in two years. As a result of this experience, Whitney and others realized that creating parts exactly the same was not possible and, if tried, would prove to be very expensive[18]. However, from quality control standpoint, *development of jig, fixture and gauge* in early 1800s can be regarded as major breakthrough. .Two inspectors using a gauge were much more likely to reach the same result than two who were relying on personal judgment alone. This added greater legitimacy to quality inspection.

Inspection activities were linked more formally to quality control in 1922, with the publication of G.S. Radford's "The Control of Quality in Manufacturing". The emphasis of the book was on *conformance to specifications and its link with quality inspection*. The book primarily focused on the topics like purpose of inspection, types of inspection, sampling methods, gauging techniques and organization of the inspection department. For the first time, quality was viewed as a distinct management responsibility and as an independent function. The book also touched topics; like quality of design, need of coordination among various departments affecting quality, relationship between quality productivity and cost. These topics are still regarded as central to modern day quality control[19].

Inspection, after the units have been produced, did not prove a satisfactory method of quality control because it implies wastage of resources. In the first instance the resources are employed to produce defective units, then resources are used to detect the defective units and the defective units are either scraped or reworked. All of these activities mean lower efficiency, higher cost, higher price and lower profit, which cannot be allowed in a competitive environment. Therefore, the emphasis of the quality experts shifted from the detective measures to preventive measures.

Statistical Quality Control.

Prevention is better than cure.

The next development in the realm of quality management came in 1924 when *Walter A. Shewhart,* father of statistical quality control, developed a *Control Chart* at Bell Telephone Laboratories to monitor the units being produced in a process in such a way that production of defective units can be prevented. This technique was termed as Statistical Process Control (SPC). Although SPC relies on the data collected by quality inspection of units but it involves "feedback control" of manufacturing system based on observed deviations.

Later in the same decade *H. F. Dodge* and *H. G. Roming,* two associates of *Shewhart* at Bell Telephone Laboratories, developed a technique of sampling for quality inspection as a substitute for 100% inspection. The technique was termed as *Acceptance Sampling.* Advent of acceptance sampling added to the utility of SPC.

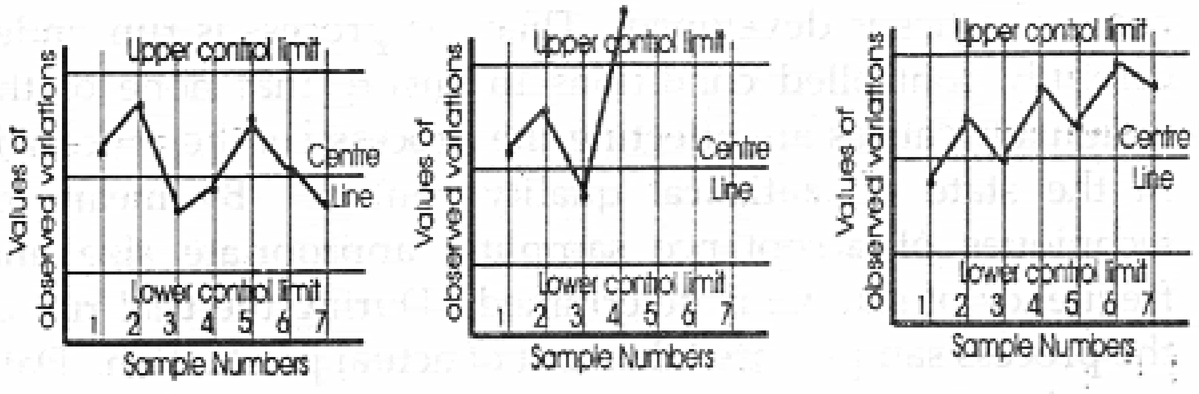
Many SPC methods were subsequently evolved as the outcome of extensive studies of actual production data and measurements obtained in the Western Electric Company's telephone manufacturing factories. How the control charts are constructed and how inferences are drawn from the control charts are explained below to illustrate the nature of SPC.

SPC is based on the assumption that *variability* is basic to any production process. No matter how perfectly a process is designed, there will be some variability in quality characteristics from one unit to the next[20]. Therefore, the issue is not the existence of variation but to understand and control the causes of variation.

Shewhart classified variations as controlled or uncontrolled. A *controlled variation* is a consistent pattern of variation over time. He believed that the reason or reasons of controlled variation are inherent in the process e.g. in shoes industry the basic input leather being a natural stuff is subject to unavoidable variation of texture, strength, elasticity etc. Shewhart termed such inherent causes of variation as *Random or Chance Causes* and he termed such inherent variation in the process as *Controlled Variation*. Effect of any one of the chance causes on quality of output is relatively small and predictable. It is possible to reduce chance causes behind controlled variation but it is not realistic or cost effective to remove all of them. Shewhart stated, a process that is being affected only by chance causes of variation is said to be in a *state of statistical control*. The second type of variation, i.e. *uncontrolled variation*, is an inconsistent or changing pattern of variation over time that is due to what Shewhart termed as *assignable causes* e.g. defective materials, worn-out tools, untrained worker etc. The assignable causes are of temporary nature and can be completely removed after they have been discovered. Because effects of assignable causes of variation are relatively large as compared to chance causes, therefore, they must be identified and removed. According to Shewhart a process is said to be *out of statistical control* when it is affected by assignable causes. A process can be brought to a state of control and can be maintained there by the use of quality control charts.

In order to exercise SPC, quality control charts are developed for each operation in the process that is likely to be affected by assignable causes. For this purpose all of the quality characteristics that must be controlled to ensure conformance to the pre-established quality specifications are determined and some objective criteria of measuring these characteristics is developed. Then the process is run under carefully controlled conditions to ensure that none of the assignable causes are affecting the process i.e. the process is in the state of statistical quality control. By means of techniques of acceptance sampling appropriate size and frequency of sample is determined. During the trial run of the process samples are taken out of actual production. Data regarding controlled variance in quality characteristics caused by chance causes is extracted and analyzed to *determine the dispersion that is unavoidable.* Range of these variations is then established as *control limits* and average of the variations is regarded as centerline also referred to a *target line*. The control charts are drawn for each of the operations. Subsequently data extracted from samples taken from actual production runs are plotted on the control charts. When an observed variation falls outside the range of control limits, it signifies that the process is out of control and some assignable cause or causes are affecting the process. The assignable cause is detected and corrected which brings the process in the state of statistical control and the process is run again. How the control charts look like and how inferences are drawn is illustrated in figure No. 3 below[21].

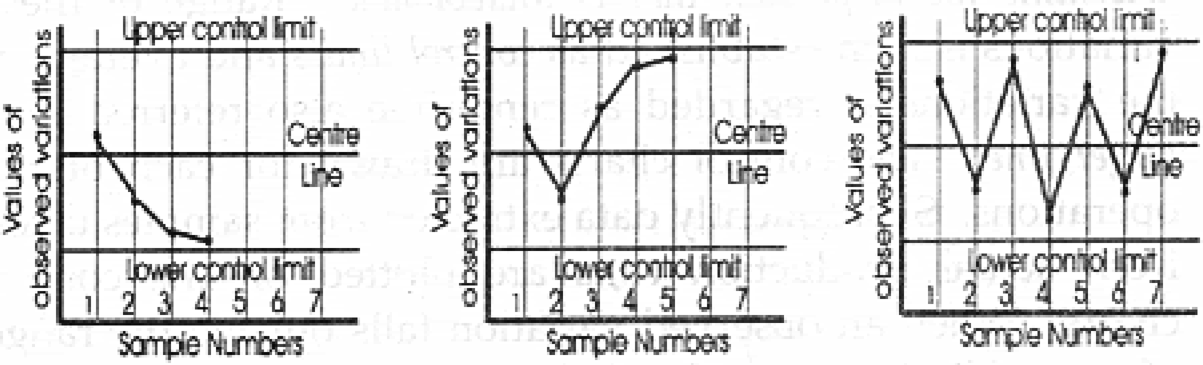
Fig. 3. CONTROL CHARTS, INFRENCES TO BE DRAWN



Normal Behaviour

One plot out, invertigate the cause

Trend in a particular direction, investigate the cause



Two points near lower control limit, invertigate the cause

Two points near upper control limit, investigate the cause

Erratic behaviour, investigate the-cause.

Techniques of SPC are prone to at least two types of *sampling errors.* First one is that a sample from actual output of a process may lead to the conclusion that the process is out of control when actually it is not. The second one is opposite to the one that a sample of actual output may lead to the conclusion that the process is in a state of control when actually it is not. Therefore, probability of making each of these errors must be calculated carefully.

Although the statistical techniques were developed in 1924 but these techniques largely remained confined to telephone manufacturing factories of Western Electrical Company. *Edward W. Deming* popularized these techniques in Japan in late 1940s. About two decades later these techniques got attention of the American industrialists.

Quality Assurance.

> *"Quality is too important to be left to inspectors".*
> *Lindsay & Petrick*[22].

By late 1940s quality control had got full recognition as a separate discipline. However, its methods were mainly statistical and confined to the factory conditions. During the decades of 1950s and 1960s defect prevention got more emphasis as a result of some notable works. In 1951 Joseph M. Juran, introduced the concept of *"costs of quality"*. In 1956 *Armand Feigenbaum* put forth the idea of *"total quality control"*. In 1957, Ad Hoc Group on Reliability of Electronic Equipment of U.S. Defence Department published its report that eventually resulted in the development of branch of *"reliability engineering"*. Lastly the experiment at Martin Marietta Corporation in 1961-62 culminated in *"zero defect"* movement led by *Philip Crosby*. Problem prevention remained the primary goal, but the profession's tools expanded far beyond statistics. The above-noted four developments that collectively constitute the era of quality assurance are briefly discussed below.

Cost of Quality. In order to make the term self-explanatory, it is better to restate the term as 'cost of producing defective quality'. *Juran* classified these costs in four groups. (1) *Prevention Costs* including quality planning, new-product review, training, process planning, quality data, improvement projects. (2) *Appraisal Costs* including incoming materials inspection, process inspection, final goods inspection, quality laboratories. (3) *Internal Failure Costs* including scrap, rework, downgrading, retest, downtime, and (4) *External Failure* Costs including warranty, returned merchandise, complaints, allowances etc. Still there

is another cost of *losing future sales* because quality failure resulted in an unsatisfied customer[23]. First two groups of cost of quality are jointly termed as *Control Cost* and the next two as *Failure Cost*. Total cost of quality can be expressed in the form of following equations.

Total cost of quality = (control costs) + (failure costs)

Total cost of quality = (prevention costs + appraisal costs) + (internal failure costs + external failure costs)

Juran estimated cost of quality for American industry as from 500 to 1000 dollars per productive worker in 1951 and described it as *gold in mine*. Subsequently in 1979 *Crosby* estimated it for United States as 10 percent of sales with range from 5 to 15 percent[24]. Since these figures are equal to profit margins in many companies, the concept "cost of quality" gained attention of managers. Measurement of cost of quality also provides objective data in terms of rupees to decide how much to spend for quality improvement efforts. A manager should continue to invest in quality improvement as long as the reduction in cost of quality is greater than or equal to the investment. Experience of managers over a long time proved that better quality is less costly than inferior goods and services. Moreover, customers want both high quality and low price and businesses need low cost in order to price competitively.[25]

Total Quality Control. *Armand Feigenbaum* in 1956 coined the term "total quality control", although the term became popular in 1980s. In 1983 third edition of his book "Total Quality Control" was published. In his book he argued that in order to produce high quality products, responsibility for quality must be shared and should not rest only with the production people or with quality control function. He suggested a total system approach to the problem of quality whereby the quality is attended to through all stages of the industrial cycle and the ultimate responsibility for quality lies with top management. He noted that as the product passes from product design to the market, various departments like marketing, engineering, purchasing, manufacturing, shipping, accounting and customer service become involved. Therefore, the responsibility for quality lies on each of the functions and there should be active coordination among them. He stated the control must start with identification of customer quality requirements and end only when the product has been placed in the hands of a customer who remains satisfied. Total quality control guides the coordinated actions of people, machines, and information to achieve this goal[26].

Lindsay & Petrick explain the concept in the following words. "The 'total' in total quality is total in three senses: it covers every process, every job, and every person. First, it covers *every process,* rather than just manufacturing or production, design, construction, R&D, accounting, marketing, repair, and every other function must also be involved in quality improvement. Second, total quality is total in that it covers *every job,* not just those involved in making the product. Secretaries are expected not to make typing errors, accountants not to make posting errors, and presidents not to make strategic errors. Third, total quality recognizes that *each person* is responsible for the quality of his or her work and for the work of the group"[27].

In order to highlight the importance of defect prevention and to provide a measure to quantify the loss caused by not producing the goods right the first time *Feigenbaum* introduced the concept of *"Hidden Plant".* He defines hidden plant as the proportion of plant capacity that is being used in order to rework unsatisfactory parts. He estimated it as generally ranging from 15 to 40 percent of the plant capacity.

Reliability Engineering. In 1950s this branch of the discipline emerged as result of unacceptable field failure rate of some complex products. For example, in 1950 only one-third of U.S. Navy's electronic devices were working properly at any given time. A study by Rand Corporation at that time indicated that every vacuum tube the military had plugged in is backed by nine others in warehouses or on order. Moreover, these field failures had their origin mainly in the original product development and design rather than in manufacturing errors. To deal with this new major source of field failures there emerged a new specialty that came to be known as "reliability engineering". The specialists who came to be known as reliability engineers offered to minimize the field failure rates by applying skills in design review, reliability quantification, environmental testing, structuring of reliability data systems etc.[28] Like *Juran* and *Feigenbaum* reliability engineers aim at preventing defects from happening in the first place, however, the basic objective is to assure acceptable product performance over time.

Zero Defects. Zero Defects philosophy, the last significant development in quality assurance era, had its emphasis on management expectations, employees' motivation and human relation aspects of management. In January 1961 Martin Marietta Corporation, Orlando, Florida, accepted the request of U.S. army to deliver the first Pershing missile one month ahead of schedule and the missile should be perfect i.e. with zero defects. At that time *Philip Crosby* was quality manager at Martin Marietta Corporation. Since little time was available for the usual inspection and after-the-fact correction of errors, all employees were asked to contribute to building the missile exactly right the first time.

The result was a big surprise. Within the prescribed time the perfect missile was delivered. After careful review management concluded that the project's success was primarily a result of its own changed attitude: The reason behind the lack of perfection was simply that perfection had not been expected. The one time management demanded perfection, it happened. Later *Philip Crosby* joined ITT and moved up to the rank of vice president of quality control operations. He continued his experiments with zero defects philosophy. In 1979 his book "Quality Is Free: The Art of Making Quality Certain" was published. *Crosby* claimed that perfect quality is both technically possible and economically desirable. After all, if 99.9 percent quality were acceptable, then 16,000 pieces of mail would be lost every hour by the U.S. Postal Service; 22,000 checks would be debited to the wrong bank accounts every hour[29] and a large number of newly born babies will die due to carelessness of nurses every hour.

Era of quality assurance extends to 1980s when the concept of "total quality management" got formalized and quality assurance became an integral part of TQM. Era of quality assurance is also termed as *Era of Quality Gurus*. Apart from Juran, Feigenbaum, and Crosby, mentioned earlier, Kaoru Ishikawa of Japan, Professor Joseph Kelada of Canada, Walter Masing of Germany and Hans Dieter Seghezzi of Switzerland are also professionals of similar status and recognition who contributed to the field of quality assurance. Up till now nothing has been mentioned about *Edwards W. Deming* whose philosophy is the foundation of next development termed as Total Quality Management. He is regarded as *guru* of the *quality gurus*.

To sum up quality assurance means all those planned and systematic actions necessary to provide adequate confidence that a product or service will satisfy given requirements for quality[30]. Implementing a quality management system in an organization without basic formal quality assurance systems is like trying to run before you can walk.

Total Quality Management.

Total quality management (TQM) is a new term in English vocabulary. What does the term literally means? The term has not been translated into the German language, as a suitable interpretation was not found[31]. It may be considered as the time tested Japanese way of management, a philosophy of doing things. It is a management philosophy that regards quality, i.e. customer satisfaction, as the be all and end all of every activity of the organization, as the obsession of every one in the organization. TQM requires all activities of the enterprise to be managed with the single focus: satisfy the customer. All other objectives of the enterprise ---profits, market share, expansion, improved competitive position, capital productivity, cost reduction etc.--- follow as its consequence[32]. Here the term customer is used in a broader sense to include an internal customer also. Internal customer means, the next process that uses output of the former process as well as the next person in the process that uses output of the former person in the process Stitching department of a garments factory is a customer of cutting department, payroll department is a customer of time keeping department. Similarly cashier making payment of wages is a customer of payroll clerk and the worker receiving wages is a customer of the cashier. What does the word 'total' signifies. Firstly, it means a total system approach to quality management. Secondly, it means "total quality" i.e. total customer satisfaction. Japanese regard 'customer satisfaction' as static and non-progressive definition of quality. To them, quality is not only meeting but also exceeding customer expectations. The phrase "total customer satisfaction" or "total quality" is used to incorporate both meeting and exceeding customer expectations over time, which signifies a need for continuous improvement. Continuous improvement is the main thrust in TQM concept.

TQM is both a philosophy and a set of guiding principles that represents the foundation of a continuously improving organization[33]. TQM emphasizes on objectivity, on fact oriented discussions i.e. statistical process control methods. A myriad of techniques and ideas related to activities of quality control, quality assurance, quality improvements etc. fall under the huge TQM umbrella[34]. TQM theoretically includes all known tools and methodologies of quality improvement programs.[35]. TQM embraces the collection of management theories, approaches, tools and practices that help an organization reap greater profits by increasing product/service quality and decreasing costs, with improvements being undertaken on a continuous basis by everyone[36].

Edwards W. Deming is regarded as father of TQM. Deming's 14 points constitute philosophical foundation of TQM[37]. These points are briefly explained as following:

1. Create constancy of purpose for improvement of product and service. The organization should *constantly strive to improve* quality, productivity, and customer satisfaction to improve performance. Once a company commits to quality improvement it must not permit any change in this focus. The pursuit of short-term profit defeats the constancy of purpose and sacrifices long-term growth. Organizations that change direction in response to every fluctuation and every new opening in the market cannot achieve *competency* that is foundation of excellence. Moreover, continuous improvement is not merely the responsibility of production and marketing departments rather the aim of continuous improvement should be reflected in all operations, at all levels and in all plans, short, medium and long-term. Quality improvement cannot be bought and installed like a software program, it requires continuous and never ending efforts like the efforts to build a garden.

2. Adopt the new philosophy. It must be recognized by all that *defects are expensive and undesirable.* Defects cause factory rework, spoiled output, returned goods, warranty cost, complaint handling etc. All these things cost money that is ultimately born by the customer, therefore, undesirable. The organizations with defective materials, poor workmanship, and unacceptable delays and mistake cannot survive in competition.

It is a fact that *defects are product of system and not inevitable.* In at least 80% of the cases quality deficiencies are due to defective design, unsuitable materials, poor tools, machine faults inadequate training, unsuitable environment etc. and not due to the workers. Instead of trying to find someone to blame, the management should ponder upon the system to find the real factor responsible for quality deficiency. The variation in the process is the chief culprit of quality deficiency. If you can control the variation, you can keep the defects from happening.

3. Cease dependence on mass Inspection. Quality does not come from inspection but through improving the system. Planning 100% inspection is planning for defects and recognition that the process cannot meet quality specifications. It is not a suggestion to eliminate the inspection but in fact stresses the need for statistical evidence that the causes of defects have been eliminated, not just detected. In other words inspection alone cannot ensure quality unless the quality is designed in the product. How much inspection should be done and who makes the inspection, it is determined by the method of statistical quality control.

4. End the practice of awarding business on the basis of price alone. The general commercial practice of buying goods and services from the cheapest source should not always be followed. Pressurizing suppliers on price gives them a temptation to manipulate in those areas of quality that are not visible to the buyer. It should be accepted that you cannot get more than what you pay for. Therefore, it is not the initial cost that is important, it is total cost that must be counted. Materials bought at low price may cause a significant loss in the form of "cost of poor quality" simply because the materials were of low quality and caused a significant variation in the process and resulted in large number of defects.

The principle suggests *"Single-source Suppliers"* i.e. to buy goods and services from as minimum number of suppliers as possible, and to cultivate long-term relations with the suppliers. It will result in minimum variation. A material of same specification, when purchased from a different supplier' may cause significant variation in the process, and poor quality. The specifications and performance are not synonymous. *'Statistical assurance of quality'* should be the criteria for the selection of supplier because a supplier who can give a better statistical proof of quality also means that the supplier is more productive and more cost effective.

5. Improve the system constantly and forever. Continuous improvement as a competitive imperative. The *product design* is the area where the greatest potential for improvement often exists. Quality needs to be built in at every stage, starting with design and then by increasing uniformity in the process to reduce the variation. Secondly *waste* must be reduced in every part of the system. All non-value-adding operations must be eliminated. This needs measuring the process and not the defects. Lastly *using statistical data, adjusting the process and observing the effects* should be considered as a way to improve.

6. Institute Training. The need for training for each member in the organizations should be recognized. Generally organizations make unrealistic assumptions about what people know and what they can do.

7. Adopt and Institute Leadership. Leaders concentrate upon improving the system rather than seeking to apportion blame to individuals. Managers should devote their energies to making improvements, translating vision into action and acquiring in-depth knowledge about the work they supervise, rather than focusing upon outcomes such as "management by objectives' and 'zero defects'[38].

8. Drive out fear. The fear should be equated with loss. Fear inhibits people from taking sensible actions. Fear forces people to concentrate upon satisfying rules and playing the system at the expense of making real contribution. The management should create an environment in which employees are not afraid of reporting problems or recommending improvements. This fear usually results from imagined retaliation that will affect the reporting worker or fellow workers[39].

9. Break down barriers between departments. People in research, design, marketing, procurement, production and other departments must understand each other's problems. Each function must change its attitude from optimizing its own contribution to a team-based approach for corporate advantage. Top management must resolve conflicts between various departments according to the best interest of the whole organization.

10. Eliminate slogans, posters and exhortations. The slogans, posters and exhortations are of no use unless workers are provided with means to achieve the goals.

11. Eliminate numerical quotas. The numerical quotas are often harmful as they are based on average performance. Whereas statistic proves that half of the workers can perform better than the quota, but they will restrict their performance due to peer pressure, and other half of the workers will be struggling to meet quotas beyond their reach which will result in loss of quality and frustrated workers. All of this will lead to loss of potential to continuously improve.

12. Remove barriers to pride in work. Most people want to do a good job but are prevented from doing so by misguided management, poor communication, faulty equipment, defective materials, and other barriers. Managers must remove these barriers to improve quality.

13. Encourage education and self-improvement for everyone. Organizations should encourage and invest not only in job related training but also in education in its broadest sense. Education, which is unrelated to an employee's job, may be the most critical of all.

14. Take action to accomplish the transformation. A proper plan to implement these points should be adopted. It is suggested that the organizations should begin with activities with greatest potential. It is advised that patience is essential because significant improvement may take five years or more. The philosophy should be communicated to everyone in the organization and should be proudly adopted.

CONCLUSION

Deming's theory is in such a sharp contrast to the Western management theory that many of his views become difficult to swallow for people educated in Western system of management. TQM approach requires a different attitude towards different type of workers. Every worker is himself his inspector and it is believed that no one can inspect his work better than he himself. It requires a high degree of self-consciousness, integrity, motivation and pride in work. TQM needs an atmosphere where people are encouraged to disclose problems. The emphasis is not on who and why but on how. Perhaps it is due to this sharp contrast between these two approaches that Americans became interested in TQM philosophy 30 years later than Japanese when Japanese sudden and growing penetration in international market became a threat for U.S. industry. Today even its strong critics regard TQM to be a proven technique to outpace open competition[40]. An article of Harvard Business Review (May-June 1990) comments: "Both the theory and practice of Western management have created a drag on our forward motion. It is the principles of management that are in need of reform[41].

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Decodification of a Chughtai Mudra

Safia Rahim Farooq

The silent but didactic imagery of Indian art is invested with meaning that served to propagate its religious ideals. The images of Buddhist Deities are highly idealized, with stylized stances and hand gestures or '*mudras*', which are of specific mystical significance. Given the familiarity of the symbolism and hand gestures, Buddhist art has been fully understood, hence better appreciated. These *mudras* are a salient feature of Hindu art and dance, as well. When A.R. Chughtai, a South Asian Artist, of the 20th century, chose to establish his native identity with the East, he too employed some of these *mudras* in his art. He also created new symbols and visual-metaphors to translate new themes and concepts for his paintings. This paper decodes a Chughtai *mudra*, that forms the focal point of his illustration, The Slave Girl, (Fig.1).

Dr. Coomraswamy was the first to unfold to the world the narrative mysteries of Indian art, consequently evoking interest and understanding for it. E.B. Havell expresses that, "Indian art is essentially mystical, symbolic and transcendental. The artist is both poet and priest"[1]. It is important to note that Indian art was not conceived for the sake of art, but for the purpose of worship. It aims to embody abstract, intellectual, metaphysical and transcendental qualities, personifying the supernatural aspects of its Deities. Bhartha Iyer the author of Indian Art corroborates:

> Gestures, postures and attributes are not only very characteristic features of Indian works of art but they are also significant conventions designed to convey specific meanings and enhance the content of a given form.
>
> …The use of *mudra* as a definite sign language had come into existence long before the days of Buddha (6th Cen. B.C) [2]

It is apparent that Chughtai was well aware of this aspect of Indian art, as he has painted many Hindu and Buddhist motifs. Other than painting religious and mundane subjects, Chughtai has also painted folklore and historical subjects and has illustrated Persian and Urdu poetry. He has conceived symbols to translate these into his art, drawing influence from varied sources including religion and literature. *Mudras* are a perfect example of religious symbols whereas, 'the moth and Lamp', is a visual-metaphor adapted from literature. To determine that the hand gesture of, The Slave Girl is a self-created symbol of Chughtai, it seems relevant that the cryptic *mudras* of Indian art must be recognized.

Bharatha analyses some of the basic *mudras* of Buddhist art that are impregnated with meaning. *Dhyana mudra,* (Fig.2), when Buddha is seated in a yogi position, the hands rest on the lap, this is a gesture of contemplation. *Bhumi-sparsa mudra,* (Fig.3), the right hand of the seated Bhudda touching the earth, indicates His triumph over evil. *Dharma Chakra mudra,* (Fig.4), is a gesture of 'setting the wheel of law in motion'. *Abhaya mudra,* (Fig.5), this gesture means 'fear not', and is a sign of assurance and protection. *Varada mudra,* (Fig.10) is a promise of fulfillment of the wishes of the devotee. *Vitarka mudra,* (Fig.6) is a gesture of teaching. *Anjali mudra,* (Fig.7) is a Buddhist as well as Christian symbol of prayer. *Katakamukha mudra,* (Fig.8) is a gesture of a deity holding a lotus flower. *Ardha-chandra* and *Gaja Hasta.* (Fig.9), employed in the figure of dancing Siva. The hands resemble a half-moon or an elephant's trunk. [3]

Mudras are not only important features of Buddhist art they are also essentially employed in Hindu art and dance. With the growth of the cult of Hindu Deities, Indian dance became a highly developed form of art, which had a profound influence on its art and sculpture. The artist was supposed to possess the knowledge of dance, which manifested itself in the rhythmic flow characteristic of Indian art. The images of Hindu deities were developed with amazing complexity of form imbued with religious meaning. Brahma, Vishu and Siva, the principal Hindu deities were depicted with multi-limbs, symbolic of special qualities attributed to these Omni-potent dieties.

The four-armed images of Brahma (Fig.10) is a perfect example of this. In one hand Brahma holds a water pot, symbol of creation. In the other he holds the four Vedas, depicting wisdom, yet in the third hand he holds a rosary, representing spirituality and the fourth assumes the '*varda mudra*', symbol of the fulfillment of the devotee's wishes.[4]

An intimate study of the symbolism and hand gestures employed by Chughtai in his paintings reveals that he has a predilection for using *mudras* as a sign language.

Behind the Mountain, (Fig.11) is a Chughtai painting of a secret reunion between a couple who are in love. The couple is probably Shiva and Paravati. The right hand of Shiva is raised in a gesture employing the *abhaya mudra*, which reads 'fear not', Shiva seems to be consoling Paravati not to be frightened, as no one would come to know of their meeting.

A Chughtai Drawing Fig.12 is of a male figure holding a lotus flower.The figure assumes the *katakamukha mudra*. It may be assumed it is a Hindu deity since the lotus flower is associated with deities. The sartorial simplicity also suggests it is a humble son of the soil, with religious and mystical inclination.

Tapasvi, (Fig.13) is a Chughtai drawing representing Buddha in meditation, hands folded together in the prayer gesture or the *anjali mudra*.

When Chughtai started interpreting Iqbalian thoughts and Muslim ideology for his illustration of Amle Chughtai he was faced with a difficult task. Primarily so, because Islam generally eschews from religious iconography. Chughtai conceived visual-metaphors to depict these abstract ideas and philosophical concepts employing syncretic as well as self-created symbolism; forming a new visual script, potent enough to embody much more than is seen merely by the physical eye.

The slave girl, is an aesthetically crafted front-view portrait of a black slave girl, who is waiting on her mistress, in awesome self-dignity. Yet holding her mistress's slippers in the palm of her hand, with profound respect.

The index finger of her right hand bent back in a manner that suggests it is a *mudra*. This hand symbol is different in the sense that it does not appear in Indian art, nor in any other art. But is dissimilar to the dainty affected bend of the fingers seen in the paintings of Chughtai's Romantic works.

Centrally placed, mimetic in nature, this powerful hand gesture seems to be a self-created visual symbol of Chughtai. Marcella expresses:

> The small, thin hands with a finger or two bent back is another Chughtai device repeated in various paintings from 1921 to about 1930. I do not think this stylized hand gesture was influenced by the work of the Bengal School artist....but Chughtai's gesture is quite unique. Neither does this gesture occur in Persian, Mughal or Rajput miniature painting; consequently I suggest that Chughtai either created this gesture or was influenced by Hindu and Buddhist sculpture or the frescoes of Ajanta.[5]

Marcella's observation is correct in as far as the dainty hard gesture of Chughtai's art is concerned, (Fig.14). But the communicative and confident hand gesture that occupies the center of the composition of 'The Slave Girl', is too powerful and too prominently placed to be of no significance.

Marcella does not offer any interpretation of this particular gesture, nor does any other scholar. She is apt in stating that Chughtai's paintings "...express a complex iconography which has yet to be studied."[6] She also states:

> Yet while various scholars have discussed individual paintings by Chughtai, the majority of their writings are merely descriptions or appreciations of the colour, line, and composition and tell little about the subject matter or meaning of the content.[7]

Chughtai wrote a commentary for each of his illustrations of Amle Chughtai, which throws some light on his individual painting. Yet he does not elucidate interpretation of the symbolism. Deliberately abstaining from given revealing explanation of his complex visual-metaphors, at times suggesting inguisition. In his life time, shy as he was, Chughtai never spoke much about his work, not even with friends, relatives or prospective buyers, wishing that others should comprehend and appreciate his work.

In the commentary of 'The Slave Girl', Chughtai evokes interpretation of this gesture. He writes, "the center of interest beholds a mystery that requires to be solved." [8] Right in the center of the painting are the hands of the slave girl, holding the slippers in the palm of the left hand. While the index finger of the right hand is bent upwards in communication. It is relevant, in order to de-codify this gesture that the Persian verse of Iqbal it illustrates should be translated and understood.

مں به سیمائے غلاماں فرِّ سلطاں دیده ابم
شعله محمود از خاك ایاز آید برون

I have witnessed on the forehead [face] of slaves the dignity and majesty of kings. I have seen in the appearance of Ayaz the attributes of Mahmud.[9]

The famous parable of Mahmud Ghaznavi, (998-1030), the king, and Ayaz, his most trusted and faithful, slave is often quoted in Persian and Urdu literature. The dignity, wisdom, sincerity, and unabounding affection of Ayaz for his master, Mahmud, earned him an unrivalled position in the king's heart and subsequently in his court. Hence the understanding that there was no difference between the slave and the master, one being synonymous with the other.

Iqbal manifests Ayaz with the qualities of Mard-e-Momin and Mard-e-Kamil, or a perfect example of an ideal Muslim. Inferring that even though a Muslim's body may be in captivity his spirit cannot be enslaved. By the virtue of his willpower an enlightened slave, who remains steadfast to his belief and virtuous in character, can de facto possess the qualities of kings.

The aesthetic acumen of Chughtai being displayed in the portrayal of Ayaz (a male), with the physiognomy of a black slave girl. Brimming with dignity, fortitude, self-respect and virtue. Visual embodiment of spiritual and mystical love, perhaps in a trance of *'samdi'* (self-transcendentalism). To enhance the visual impact that could contain these abstract concepts of Iqbal, Chughtai conceived this visual-metaphor. Evocative of the hand gesture employed by the Muslims in the *'namaz'* (prayer), symbolizing the 'Oneness of Allah', and a sine qua non for the Muslim faith.

Derivation of this gesture from the Muslim *namaz*, is an adaptation of a Muslim symbol to put forth the Muslim faith. Seated on the legs, that are bent back, both hands resting on the knees, *Tasheed* is read, while the index finger of the right hand is raised as to reiterate a Muslim's belief in the 'Oneness of God'. Thus this gesture means, 'One', or 'One God', or 'being united as one'.

Chughtai writes in the commentary of this illustration that it carries multiple meaning. Possibly it is a symbol of spiritual love that exists between the slave girl and her mistress, which indicates they are one i.e. united in spirit.

It may also be a symbol of the mystic and sufi concept of love, that suggests abnegation of the self that could lead to absorption of the soul with the Divine Spirit.

Whatever the interpretation, it would be appropriate to consider that the *mudra* is Islamic in origin, a creation of Chughtai adopted from the act of performing '*namaz*'.

This observation is further strengthened by the study of Chughtai's imagery which reveals that Chughtai was already employing Muslim religious hand-gestures. The 'I'd Moon', (Fig.15) is a Chughtai painting in which, a child, his mother and grandmother sight the new moon of *I'd*. The two ladies raise their hands in prayer or *dua*. A common Muslim gesture assumed while *dua* is read after *namaz* or on sighting of the new moon. The hands are joined together, palms facing upwards, raised in a gesture similar to 'the begging of alms'. Only in this case God is the giver of all blessings, that man can conceive of, and ask for.

Yet, another religious hand-gesture of the Muslims, is the one employed by the Sultan in the painting of Chughtai, Sultan and The Saint, (Fig.16). The Sultan, a pious man, listens attentively to the guidance being delivered by the saint. The hands of the Sultan are folded, right one on top of the left, close to the heart. This gesture is almost similar to that assumed by Muslims during prayer i.e. *namaz*, while in the standing position, symbolizing 'submission to Allah'. In the case of the Sultan, it is an anomaly since, women rest their hands on the chest, close to the heart, whereas men place their hands on the abdomen. Perhaps a deliberate change to suggest the submission of the Sultan, and also to portray the weak and passive side of his nature. As opposed to the active role being suggested by the saint, similar to that visualized in the poetry of Iqbal, of a true Mard-e-Momin.

Further analysis of the hand gestures created by Chughtai determines that he has employed the mudra of the black slave girl for his other paintings, as well. Likewise the index finger of the right hand of the saint in the, Sultan and the Saint, assumes this *mudra*, a representation of the Muslim belief in one God. The saint forcefully yet amiably counsels the sultan to submit to the might of Allah and to remain steadfast to it. To seek strength and power from Him, who would then guide him in the able and just governance of his people. And to act in the way of God.

Similarly, in the Will and the Way, (Fig.17), a Muslim woman holds her child in her right hand, as she must, since she seems to be sending her husband on a mission, to act in the way of Allah. Whereas the index finger of her left hand, which is free, employs the oneness or faith *mudra*, placed like a crown at the top of the Mujahid's head. Perhaps symbolizing that the woman is giving the mujahid strength and impelling him to act and take on the role of a true Muslim. Chughtai recognizes the power and influence a woman can instill in a man. In this case, the force of her own personality, emanates from her unflinching belief in God, and her determination to act according to His will.

Chughtai posed an enigma that required solving. He must have envisaged that it would be years before his art would be fully read. Displaying no signs of being impatient; keeping his self-created visual-vocabulary elusive. Like poetry, investing his art with multiple meaning, that would continue to unfold itself from time to time. A device, by means of which Chughtai sought to invigorate his art with pulsating life, [10] yet fuse it with abstract aesthetic attributes, characteristic of his art and style.

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10. A.R. Chughtai, Chughtai's Indian Painting, S. Kashmira Singh, (Delhi: Dhoomi Mal Dharam Das, 1951) p.7

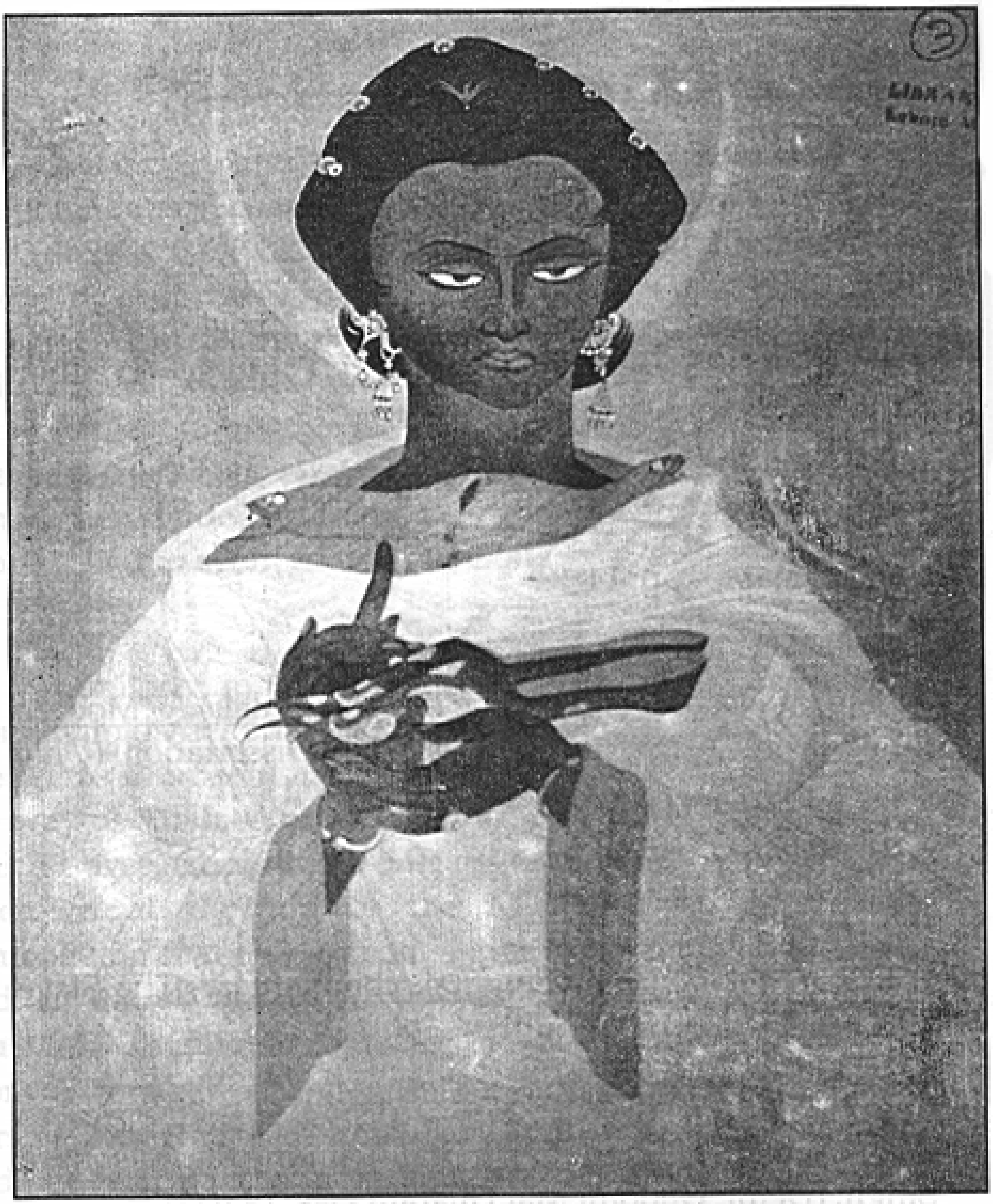

Fig 1: The Slave Girl, A.R. Chughtai, *Amle Chughtai*

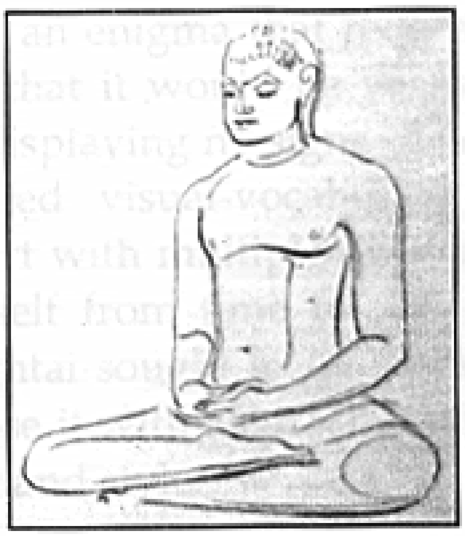

Fig 2: *Dhyana mudra*

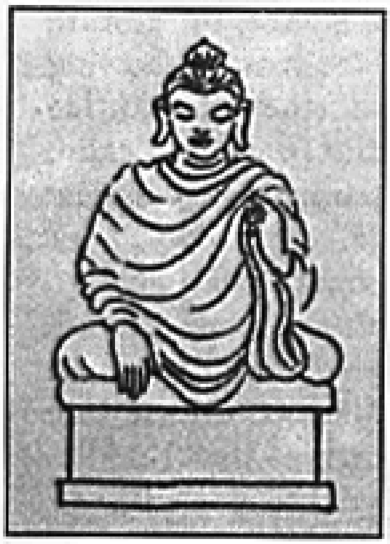

Fig 3:
Bhumi - sparsa mudra

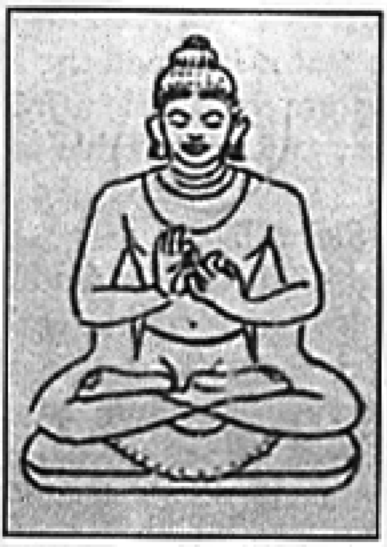

Fig 4:
Dharma Chakra mudra

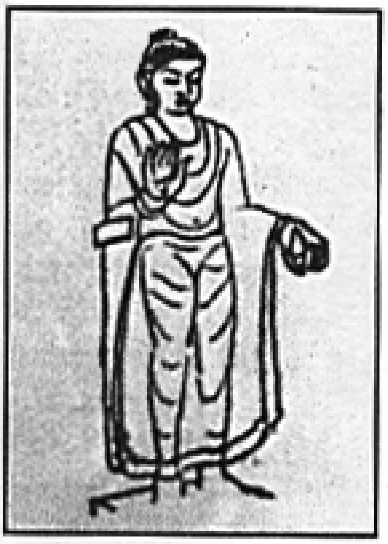

Fig 5:
Abhaya mudra

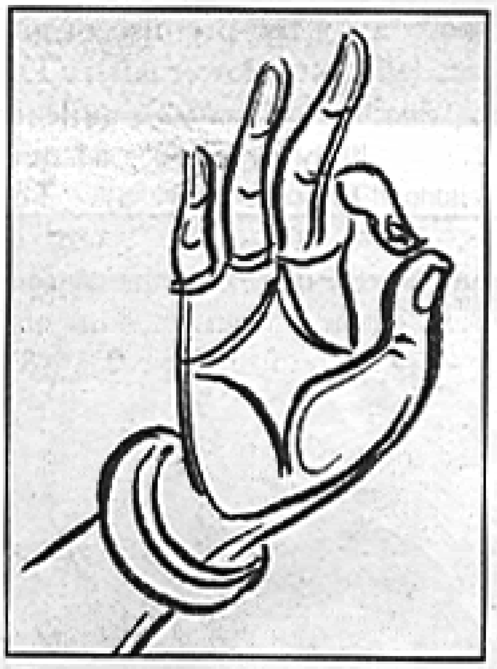

Fig 6:
Vitarka mudra

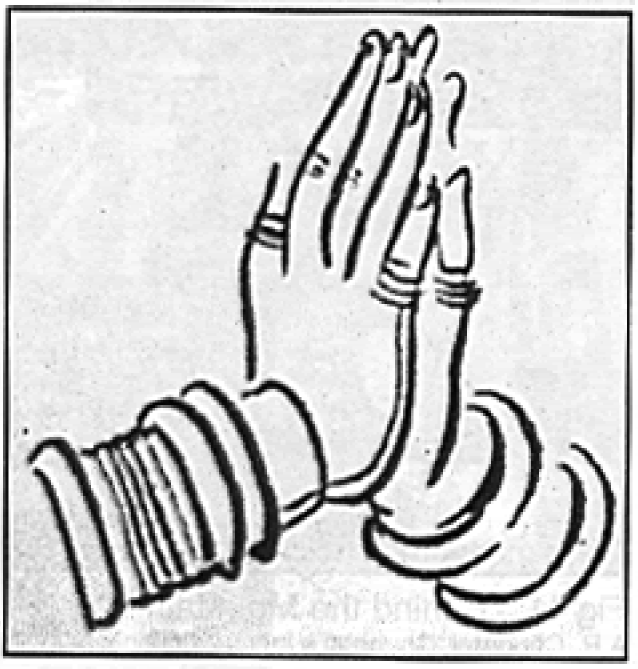

Fig 7:
Anjali mudra

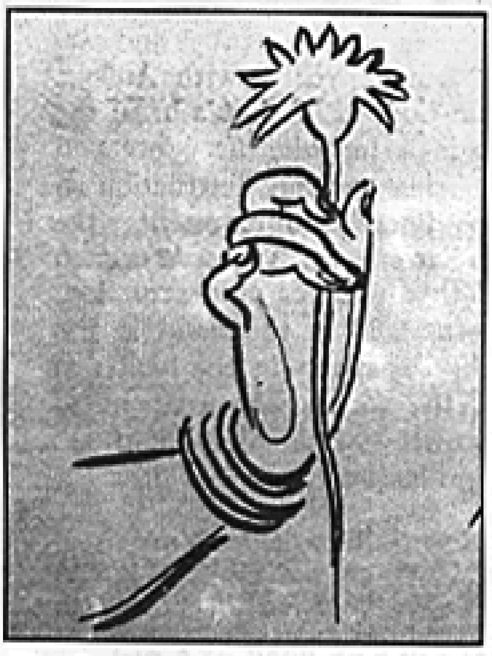

Fig 8:
Katakamukha mudra

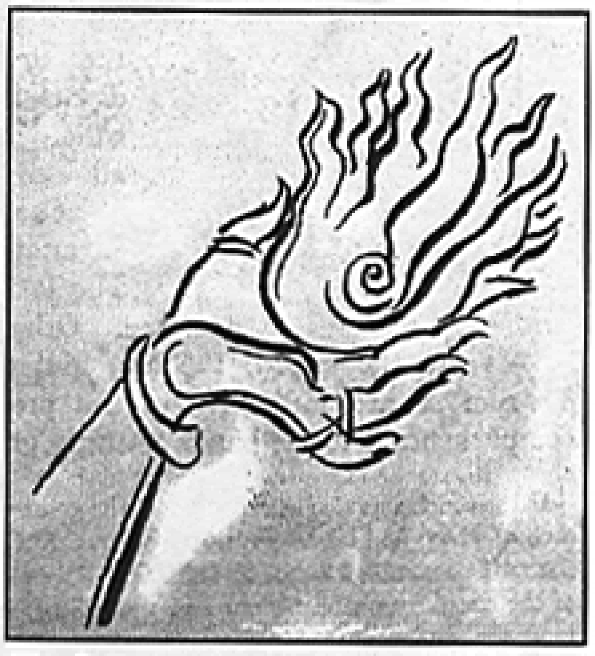

Fig 9:
Ardha - chandra mudra

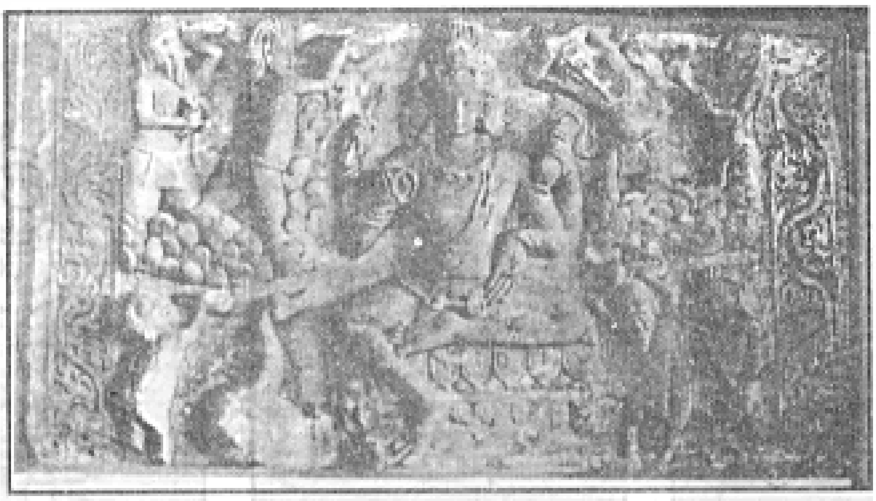

Fig 10: 'Brahma', Aihole, 6th-7th Cen. A.D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

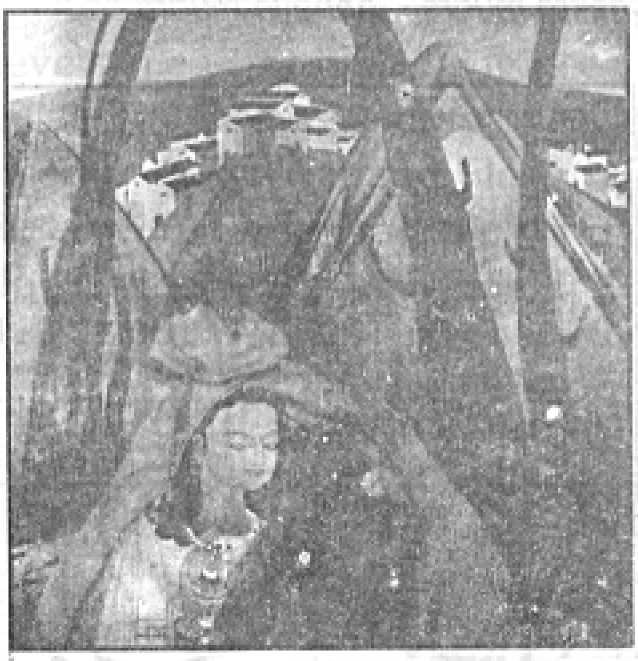

Fig 11: 'Behind the Mountain'
A.R. Chughtai, Chughtai's Indian Painting

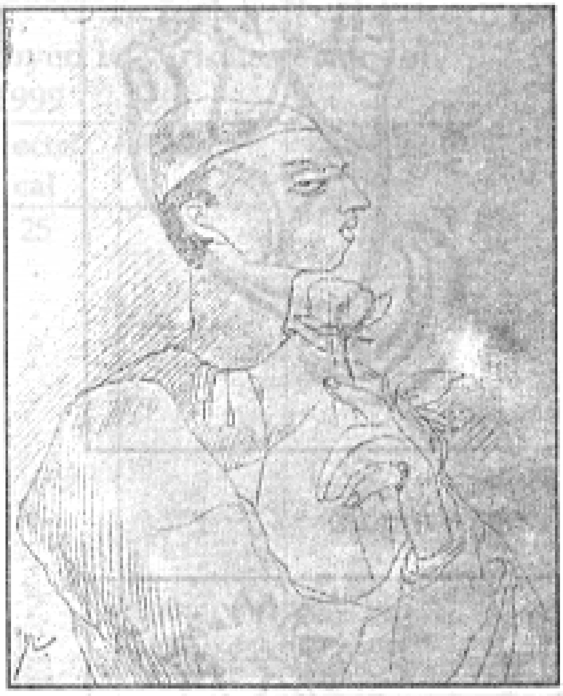

Fig 12: 'Drawing'
A.R. Chughtai, Chughtai's Indian Painting

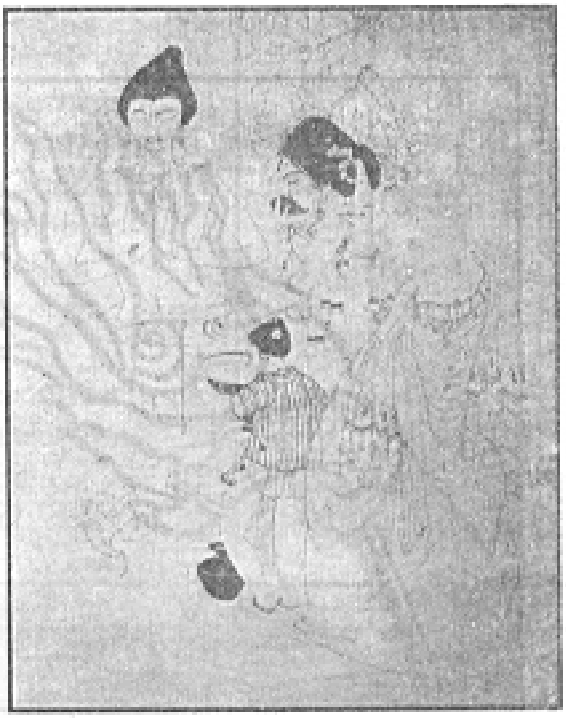

Fig 13: *'Tapasvi'*
A.R. Chughtai, Chughtai's Indian Painting

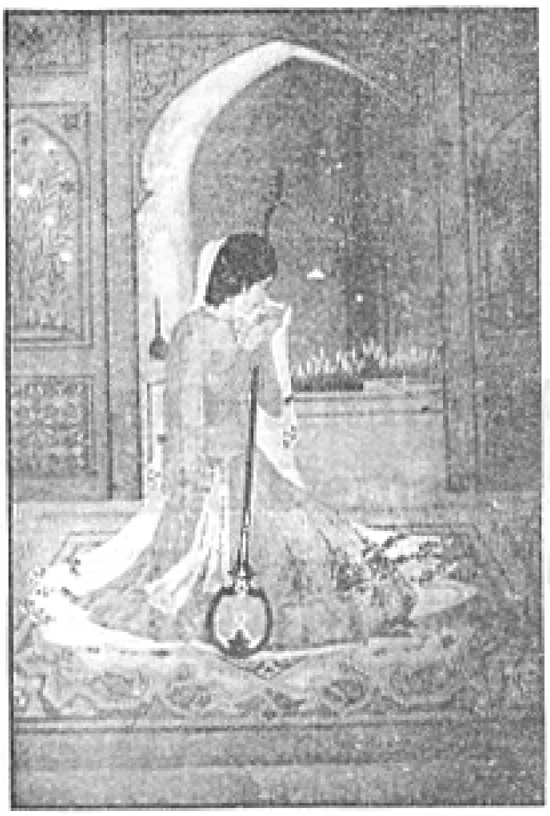

Fig 14: 'Persian Idyll'
A.R. Chughtai, Muraqqa-e-Chughtai

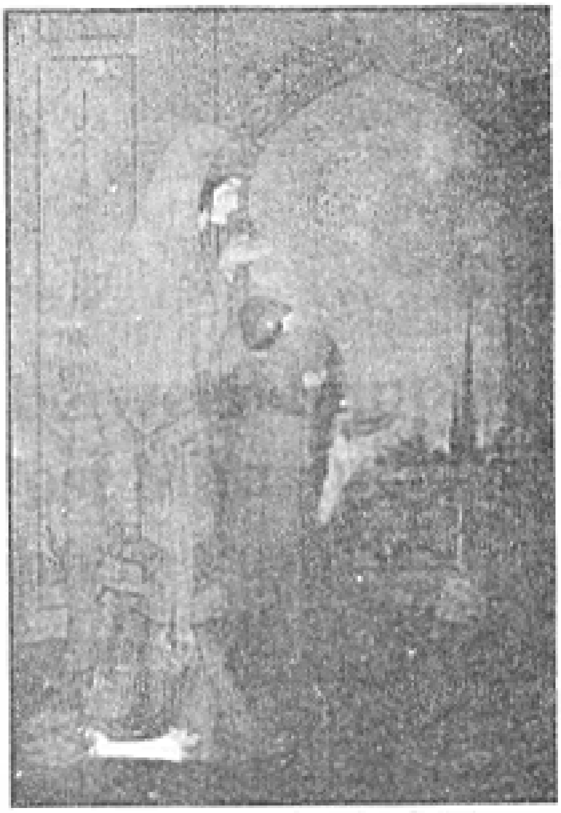

Fig 15: *'I'd* Moon
A.R. Chughtai, Muraqqa-e-Chughtai

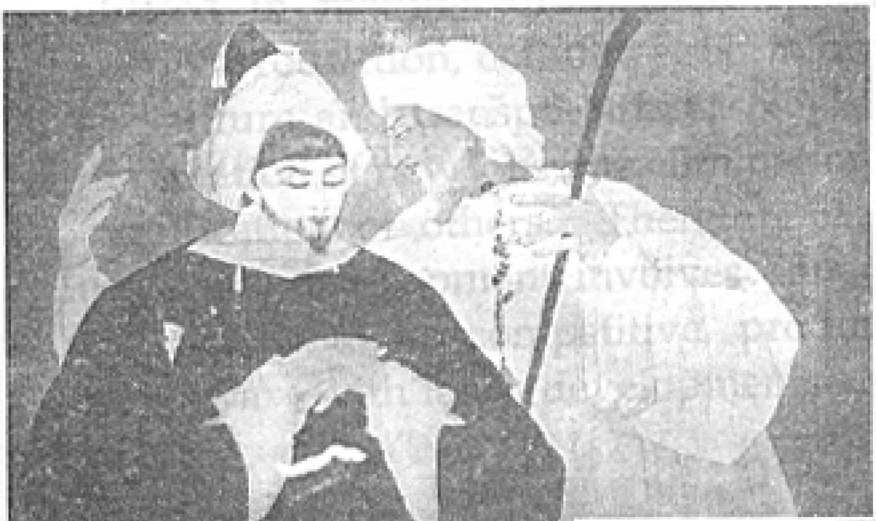

Fig 16: 'Sultan and the Saint'
A.R. Chughtai, Amle Chughtai

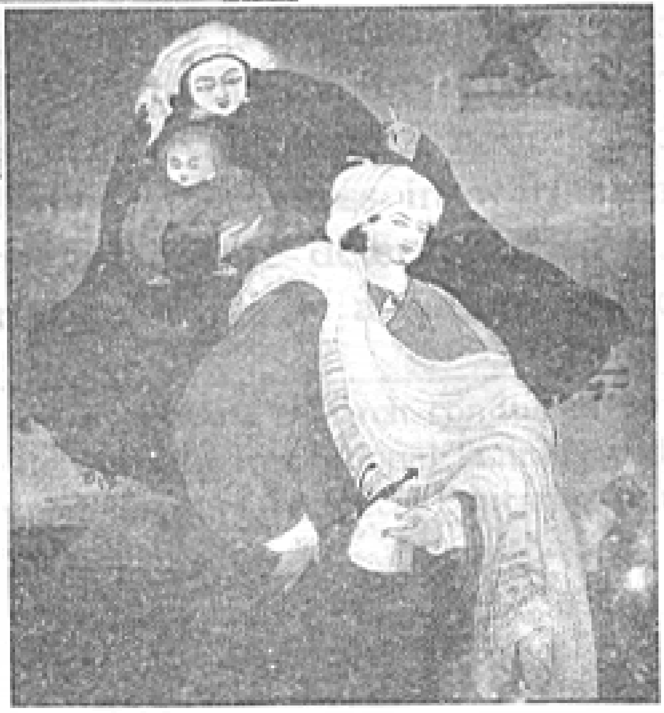

Fig 17: 'Will and the Way'
A.R. Chughtai, Amle Chughtai

Qualitative Gap between Supply and Demand for Post Matriculation Technical Education in Punjab*

Zulfiqar Ali Khan

Functioning in today's sophisticated rapidly changing society requires an understanding of technological advances that have drastically changed the equipment and methods utilised in manufacturing, new materials and processes, energy production, computerised information management, agriculture and transportation. New technology results in the creation of new jobs, the elimination of some jobs and the modification of others. Therefore, a significant aspect of economic development involves education and training of technicians to be competitive, productive, technologically well aware with latest developments and having good work habits.

Industry in the 21st century is so central in economic welfare that the political strength of a nation is conditioned by its industrial facilities. The rivalry among nations today is chiefly an industrial rivalry. Success in warfare and influence in international affairs are determined in large measure by the industrial resources of a nation. Among these resources is what is popularly called "industrial know-how." The mere possession of natural resources and even of industrial equipment is not sufficient to give superiority. The essential factors, in addition, are skill, technical knowledge, energy, and the willingness and ability to work efficiently. These factors result chiefly from effective industrial education that is available to all the people of a nation. To be most effective, this type of education must be varied in kind. Opportunities to learn certain facts and skills and to acquire certain desirable attitudes, habits and ideals of work must be available in the educational institutions for the youth.

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* The article is based on a primary research conducted by the author on Relevance Between the Institutional Training and the Job Market for the Punjab Board of Technical Education funded by the Asian Development Bank.

Whereas the purpose of general education is to provide the basic knowledge of nature, human society and thought together with the intellectual accomplishment and practical skills relevant to these branches; which are essential to every individual irrespective of his future occupations, technical education prepares students for jobs in many fields of modern technology. Technical education gives the pupil a knowledge of the main branch of production. This provides the specialized theoretical and practical knowledge essential to a worker in a particular trade or profession, at a level sufficient to enable him to follow his profession successfully.

Post-secondary technical education prepares individuals for entry into occupation that lie between the skilled crafts and the engineering and scientific professions are usually called semiprofessionals or paraprofessionals .

The central aim of technical and vocational training in any country planning is to maximize the fit between training and employment. Planning seeks to ensure that training programmes relate closely to the need for skilled manpower and that those trained are employed in occupation for which they were trained and thereby contribute directly to economic development. However in many developing countries technical and vocational training planning focuses too much on supply with little attention paid to the labour market. Planning to be effective, must be closely oriented to labour markets and training institutions must be more responsive to market forces.

Govt. Polytechnic Institutes (GPI) in Punjab were established to provide post-matriculation technical education for the express purpose of providing much needed intermediate level technically trained manpower. Some of these GPIs were upgraded to the level of Govt. Colleges of Technology GCTs which are offering Bachelor degree in Technology in addition to Diploma Programmes. A three years Diploma of Associate Engineer (DAE) is offered in various technologies in these institutions. But the hopes attached with the polytechnic institutions have constantly been frustrated on account of stress on expansion rather than qualitative improvement, unrelatedness to the requirements of the nation and lack of a liaison with industry and their complete isolation from the general stream of education. In view of these considerations, it is absolutely essential that the programmes of polytechnic education be reorganized with emphasis on qualitative improvement and relevance to the national needs.

Statement of the Problem

This study was focused to assess the DAE Programme of GPIs and GCTs in terms of course objectives, course content, teaching techniques etc. with the present and future needs of the employer/industry in Punjab.

Specific Objectives

The study aimed to:

1. Enlist needs of the job market for the five major technologies namely Electrical, Mechanical, Civil, Electronics and Auto and Diesel being offered in Polytechnics in the province of Punjab.
2. Make a comparison of the objectives of the curriculum with the needs of the industry/employer.
3. Interpret the outcome of the comparison in terms of weaknesses and deficiencies in the DAE programmes.
4. Recommended suitable changes in the training programmes of Polytechnic institutions GPIs and GCTs.

Method and Procedure

Following procedure was adopted to conduct the study.

1. Relevant documents and literature e.g. scheme of studies, curricula, question papers etc. of DAE programme were procured from relevant offices and analyzed to get insight in the existing institutional training system.
2. Lists of industrial units were obtained from the office of the Director, Industries and Mineral Development Punjab, and Director, Manpower Training, Lahore.
3. On the basis of this list, industrial units were identified which employ Diploma Holders in the following five major technologies:
    a. Civil
    b. Mechanical
    c. Electrical
    d. Electronic
    e. Auto and Diesel

4. A random sample of 300 of industrial units were selected throughout the province. These units belonged to various industries.
5. A questionnaire was sent through mail to these units to collect data on knowledge, skills and attitudes that are required in the job market.
6. To get deeper insight into the requirement of industry, the researchers visited industrial units to conduct interviews with the employed Diploma holder themselves, their Production Managers and their Supervisors. The interviews provided views and data on the technical competencies, personal characteristics and knowledge of the DAE employees as required by the employer/industry.

7. Data obtained through questionnaires and interview from industry was analyzed using descriptive statistics (mainly percentages). Objectives and contents of the curricula were compared with the job requirements in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes.
8. On the basis of this comparison, some necessary changes in objectives, scheme of studies, and curricula were recommended for each of the five major technologies.

Sources of Data

Following were the sources of data for this study:

- Punjab Board of Technical Education (Scheme of Studies, Curricula, Question Papers etc. of DAEs.)

- Directorate of Industries and Mineral Development Punjab
- Directorate of Labour and Manpower Training Punjab.
- Industrial Units in Punjab
- GPIs, GÇTs.

- Internet.
- Related publications

Instruments of Data Collection

Following instruments were used to collect data for the study:

1. A Questionnaire for selected industrial units in Punjab.
2. A Questionnaire for GPIs and GCTs.
3. Interview Guide (Questionnaire) for engineering personnel of selected industrial units.

All these instruments were pilot-tested before they were finally administered.

Sample

Originally following sample was selected with the approval of the Punjab Board of Technical Education.

a. Three hundred industrial units from various industries.
b. All GPIs and GCTs in Punjab.
c. Twenty five industrial units for interview.

It was estimated that 33 percent or 100 units from the sample would respond by mail but the response was very poor. It was discussed with one representative of Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry who suggested that the Principal Researcher should go personally to the industrialists instead of Research Assistants to show the seriousness and the importance of the research. As such the strategy of data collection was changed and personal visits were made instead of mail. Data collection improved and data from 100 industrial units were received.

Data Presentation

Table 1: Ratio of various categories of employees in all industrial units

S.No.	Employees	Average	%
1.	Unskilled	938	51
2.	Semi-skilled	373	20
3.	Skilled	406	22
4.	Technicians/Supervisors/ Foremen	86	5
5.	Graduate Engineers and above	24	2

According to table 1, the ratio of unskilled worker was the highest i.e. 51% in the total workforce. The next was skilled worker (22%) and semi-skilled (20%). Ratio of supervisors/ technicians/foremen was only 5% in the overall workforce. Graduate engineers were only 2% of the total workforce overall.

Further analysis of data reveal that in general unskilled workers were more in all sectors, construction and highways being the highest (65%). However in cement, synthetic yarn, fertilizer, chemical, engineering, petroleum and paper and board industry the ratio of skilled workers was highest.

Ratio of technician/supervisors/foremen was highest in sugar (36%), followed by pharmaceutical (28%) and petroleum (21%). Ratio of supervisors in sectors fertilizer, electrical/electronic glass, automobiles, and paper and board was between 10 to 15%. Ratio of supervisor was between 5 to 10% in textile synthetic yarn, vegetable ghee, leather and, engineering.

Table 2: Number of various categories of employees in all technologies in the year 1999

S.No.	Technology	Graduate Engineer	Diploma holder	Certificate holder
1.	Civil	63	55	2
2.	Mechanical	257	320	653
3.	Electrical	165	246	207
4.	Electronics	108	202	570
5.	Auto & Diesel	31	53	15
	Total	624	876	1447

According to the above table, maximum personnel at all levels i.e. graduate engineer, diploma holders and certificate holders were employed in the field of Mechanical followed by Electrical and Electronics. Both Civil and Auto & Diesel were far behind the other three fields as far as the employment of technically qualified personnel is concerned.

Table 3: Number of diploma holders employed in various sectors of industry in the year 1999

Sr. No.	Sector	Civil	Mechanical	Electrical	Electronics	Auto & Diesel
1	Textile	9	37	25	15	5
2	Synthetic Yarn	-	-	-	-	-
3	Vegetable Ghee	-	-	-	-	-
4	Cement	-	9	7	-	1
5	Glass/Ceramics	-	-	-	-	-
6	Sugar	-	1	-	-	-
7	Fertilizers	3	4	4	3	10
8	Leather	-	2	1	1	-
9	Chemical	-	-	-	-	-
10	Engineering	7	48	7	3	1
11	Electrical/Electronic/Computer	17	203	195	178	14
12	Automobile	-	3	-	-	-
13	Petroleum	1	4	1	1	6
14	Paper & Paper Board	-	-	-	-	15
15	Locomotive	-	2	-	-	-
16	Construction & Highways	18	2	1	-	1
17	Milk/Food	-	3	3	1	-
18	Pharmaceutical	-	2	2	-	-
	Total	55	320	246	202	53

Table # 03 shows that almost all industries employ diploma holders. The maximum diploma holders have been employed by electrical/electronic/computer sector followed by textile and engineering sectors. The other employer of diploma holders are construction and highways, petroleum, and fertilizers. Civil diploma holders are mainly employed by construction and highways, mechanical by heavy engineering, electrical/electronic, cement, and textile sectors. Main employer of electrical diploma holders is the electrical/electronic/ computer industry followed by cement and engineering. Electronic diploma holders are usually employed by electrical/computer and marginally by textile, and fertilizer. Diploma holders in Auto and diesel are employed by petroleum and petroleum products and fertilizer sector.

Table 4: Views of the employers about the knowledge of DAEs

Sr. No.	Knowledge	Civil		Mechanical		Electrical		Electronic		Auto & Diesel	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1.	Academic knowledge	84	16	82	18	73	27	86	14	87	13
2.	Familiarity with current technologies	40	60	45	55	49	51	62	38	53	47
3.	Knowledge of management methods	28	72	35	65	39	61	34	66	33	67
4.	Awareness & knowledge of (eco, social concerns, environment, international trade and development)	28	72	32	68	35	65	41	59	33	67

Above table shows that 82% of the employers were satisfied with the academic knowledge of the mechanical, 73% about electrical, 86% electronics, 84% civil and 87% auto and diesel DAEs. More than 50% of the employers said that the DAEs in all fields except electronic and auto and diesel were not familiar with the current technologies. Again more than 60% employers were of the view that DAEs in all fields were deficient in management methods. Approximately two third of the employers said that all DAEs were not aware of the environmental and other social concerns.

Tabl\e 5: Views of the employers about the skills of DAEs

Sr. No	Skills	Civil		Mechanical		Electrical		Electronic		Auto & Diesel	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1	Practical/ workshop/ laboratory experience	32	68	60	40	61	39	66	34	80	20
2	Effective use of tools and instruments	44	56	58	42	59	41	59	41	73	27
3	Use of information technology	16	84	19	81	24	76	21	79	33	67
4	Ability to analyze problems	36	64	40	60	53	47	55	45	67	33
5.	Ability to develop solutions to production/ maintenance / other problems	44	66	50	50	59	41	45	55	60	40
6.	Leadership of workforce	52	48	48	52	55	45	62	38	60	40
7.	Preparation and use of technical documents (worksheets, manuals, reports etc.)	36	64	50	50	55	45	41	59	53	47
8.	Planning & monitoring of work schedules	44	56	46	54	59	41	34	66	40	60

On the average more than 60% of the employers stated that DAEs in all specialities had practical workshop/laboratory experience except in Civil technology where the employers (68%) said that the Civil DAEs were deficient in laboratory experience. Employers experience show that DAEs in all technologies can usually use the tools and implements and diploma holders can make use of information technology to the tune of only 16% to 33%. About 30 to 67% of the employers indicated that DAEs have the ability to analyze the problems. However approximately 40% of the employers thought that the DAE can solve the production/maintenance problems. More than 50% of DAEs had the ability to lead the workforce. Almost all DAEs were not rated good on preparation and use of technical documents like worksheet, manuals, reports etc. They were also not good in planning and maintaining of work schedules.

Table 6: Views of the employers about the attitudes of DAEs

Sr. No.	Attitudes	Civil		Mechanical		Electrical		Electronic		Auto & Diesel	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1.	Motivation towards learning new skills/ technologies	96	4	97	3	36	64	100	0	87	13
2.	Ability to learn new skills/ technologies	84	16	92	8	96	4	90	10	87	13
3.	Co-operation with colleagues and subordinates	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	93	7
4.	Quality consciousness	80	20	85	15	76	24	83	17	73	27
5.	Human relationing	80	20	95	5	92	8	100	0	100	0
6.	Willingness to work in a team	88	12	94	6	92	8	96	4	86	14

It was very heartening to notice that more than 90% of the employers found that DAEs are motivated to learn new skills/technologies. This motivation was there in all DAEs on the job. Similarly majority of employers reported that DAEs do have the ability to learn new skills/technologies. Almost hundred percent employers stated that DAEs do cooperate with their colleagues and subordinates, have good human relationing, and are willing to work in a team. About 80% of the employers said that DAEs are quality conscious.

Table 7: Specific weaknesses in Skills of DAEs as pointed by the employers

Sr. No.	Indicators	Civil	Mechanical	Electrical	Electronic	Auto
1.	No practical training	37	50	43	40	38
2.	Computer/ Automation not known	11	4	5	9	8
3.	Inability to work with their hands	11	10	6	6	16
4.	No industrial exposures	-	8	-	-	-
5.	Insufficient practical knowledge	22	2	12	12	8

General weakness in almost all DAEs about skills was that they do not have sufficient practical knowledge because of lack of practical training. Another weakness that employers identified about DAEs was lack of ability to use computers.

Conclusions

1. Employers are not quite satisfied with the level of knowledge and skills of DAEs.
2. DAEs lack awareness of environmental and social concerns. They are not familiar with current technologies and they lack management knowledge.
3. DAEs are terribly deficient in practical skills particularly in:
   - use of information technology
   - ability to analyse the problems and develop solutions in production/ maintenance
   - effective use of tools
   - planning and monitoring work schedules
   - preparation and use of technical documents e.g. worksheets, manuals, technical reports etc.
4. According to industrialists, DAEs need to have more practical training as well as theoretical knowledge. Some cases were reported to be rude, frustrated and unable to handle uneducated workers. Non-availability of competent workforce was the major problem of industry followed by improper disposal of waste.
5. Majority of the employers reported that DAEs have good attitude in general. They have ability and are quite motivated towards learning new skills/technologies, cooperate with their colleagues and subordinates, are willing to work in a team, are quality conscious and develop good human relations in the organization.
6. Maximum increase in the employment of diploma holders from the year 1997 to 1999 was observed in the areas of Auto & Diesel (130%), Electronics (104%), Mechanical (71%) and Electrical (53%). Increase in Civil technology was negative (-30%).

7. Ratio of skilled workers in all the industrial units was 22% and that of technicians/supervisor 5% of the total workforce
8. Ratio of supervisors/technicians was higher than other sectors in Sugar (36%), Pharmaceutical (26%) and petroleum (21%).
9. Ratio of skilled workers was higher than other sectors in textile (58%), yarn (35%), glass (22%), petroleum (42%), fertilizer and cement (44%) and paper and board (46%).
10. Ratio of graduate engineers was usually less than 5% except in fertilizer, glass, chemical, cement and petroleum.
11. Industry has more demand of mechanical technology as compared to others. Electronics is next in rank as far as employability of DAEs is concerned.
12. Electrical/Electronics/Computer is the sector which has employed maximum diploma holders followed by textile and engineering. Civil diploma holders are hired mainly by construction and highway; mechanical by heavy engineering, cement, and textile and electrical by electrical/electronic/ computer industry. Electronic diploma holders are employed marginally in textile and fertilizers. Auto and Diesel diploma holders are employed by petroleum sector.
13. Some organizations arrange training for diploma holders.
14. The content of such a training is varied type such as Technical Quality Assurance, Environment, Statistical controls, millwright, operating plants and awareness of machine management.

Recommendations

Comparison of the objectives of the curriculum with the job market shows that generally the curriculum is all-right and not very many changes are warranted. However, following modifications have been suggested.

1. More time to practicals. The ratio between theory and practicals should be 30:70.
2. Field practicals, particularly in Civil technology.
3. More time to basic English Business Communication and report writing be given (DAEs are void of presentation skills).
4. Management and supervision courses are needed at basic level and not in-depth. One course instead of two, is enough in all technologies.
5. Add computer graphics and XL processing.
6. Latest Welding techniques should be taught.
7. Emphasis on measuring instruments
8. In Civil Technology in-depth study of the following courses
    i) Introduction to Computer Applications
    ii) Quality Surveying-I
    iii) Quantity Surveying-II
    iv) Computerized Theopolite
    v) Project Management
    vi) Soil Mechanical Highways and Airports
    vii) Concrete Technology
9. Optic Fibre may be added as a course in Electronic technology.

Course of "Industrial Safety", "Environmental Studies and Environmental Control" and "Quality Control" be added in all the five technologies.

In the end it is suggested that technical education, by its very nature, is a complex pedagogic system which unlike general education involves specialized inputs (e.g. equipment, curricula, staff and students). Curricula must be constantly reviewed to keep them relevant to industry's changing requirements: equipment must be updated; staff must have industrial and pedagogic skills while students must acquire the right aptitude and interest to gain mastery of skills and knowledge and the adaptability to changing industrial and technological environment.

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All correspondence should be addressed to Shaista Sonnu Sirajuddin, Chief Editor, Journal of Research (Humanities) and Professor and Chairperson, Department of English Language and Literature, University of the Punjab, Quaid-e-Azam Campus, Lahore (Pakistan).

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