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A Study of the Role of Women Universities in Development of the Self`

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The research was designed to investigate the role Pakistani women universities play or can play in the development of the *Self* by critically analyzing multiple jeopardy women are subjected to, developing multiple consciousnesses of the oppressive situations and encouraging multiple mediations to effectively counter resistances. The research builds upon a premise that women universities/institutions hold an important role in fostering an independent, creative, and critical stance needed for development of the *Self*. The research forwards a pertinent realization that literacy and economic empowerment does not yield an autonomous female self unless this is accompanied by changes in the perception of the women and the society at large. The research suggests the need for women universities to develop a feminist pedagogy, generate an indigenous theory and, thereby, lead to a stage of activism for ensuring Pakistani women's claim to an autonomous self.

Keywords: women universities, self, female empowerment, social and cultural pressures, patriarchy, feminist pedagogy, Pakistani feminism, consciousness-raising.

Self is an interactional accomplishment, formed in interaction with others and subject to an ongoing process of maintenance, adjustment, and change (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1999: 59). The self undergoes different processes of maintenance, adjustment and change depending upon the resources a person owns, opportunities s/he can or cannot access and the degree of politico- religious and socioeconomic rights and privileges s/he enjoys. The concept of self developed thus would be autonomous or not with varying degrees of permutations depending upon the status ascribed to an individual, or the role expectations desired or opportunities provided. In patriarchal societies, men are privileged over women in all spheres of life. Men and women are, thus, constituted differently in terms of the nature and degree of their access to education, economy and politics. Cudd and Andreasen reflect this reality in their assertion that "there is no asocial, autonomous core that is one's "true self," rather, the self is constantly under construction in our attempts to make sense of our lives, a process which is heavily influenced by our gender" (2005: 328). Though the process of self-development is influenced by the gender, it remains subject to adjustments and changes. Development of an autonomous self in females is hence possible. Women universities can play an important role in the development of an autonomous Self by providing women with the knowledge and skills required to resist oppressive forces and claim their rights.

The very fact that Pakistani women have joined universities and different professions reflects the malleability of the patriarchal rules, necessitating, therefore, the need to review and critique them. In view of this, the article aims to discuss the role women universities play or can play in the development of self-autonomy of Pakistani women. The

studies conducted in the West comparing women- only colleges and coeducational colleges for educational effectiveness and intellectual self-confidence reveal that the all-women institutions provide better prospects of female intellectual self-confidence than the co-educational institutions. The studies suggest that this happens as women in women-only educational environment are not only a numerical majority but also hold positions of power and leadership (Kim, 2002: 472-473). Women- only institutions play a far important role in the conservative societies of the Muslim world. It is not a hidden fact that among the many factors affecting the prospects of Pakistani women's education and economic empowerment have been the unavailability of separate institutions for females and shortage of female teachers. The women universities in Pakistan provide women of different backgrounds an opportunity to pursue higher education discredited in conservative sections for absence of separate female institutions. They have triggered an important social change in terms of a change in gender roles and attitudes regarding women's education and wage employment. However, for effective consolidation of the social change already set in motion and to spread its influence over still resistant sections of the society, the need is to investigate the forces that assail deeply the self- autonomy of Pakistani women.

Objectives of the study

- To explore the role of female institutions in the development of self autonomy
- To explore the social pressures which continue to diminish the prospects for self-autonomy
- To investigate the perspectives of women regarding what facilitates and/or diminishes their prospects of self-development.

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Method

This study was conducted in two female institutions of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The target population constituted female graduates from International Islamic University, Islamabad and Fatima Jinnah Women University, Islamabad. This study was conducted in two stages. At stage one a questionnaire was distributed to the convenience sample of two hundred female students from Female Campus of IIUI & FJWU. At stage two, a purposive sample of fifty participants was selected for a focus group interviews to see how well the graduates from these institutions are faring in the world of employment. The aim was to assess the role the universities play in self-development of female students and also to ascertain how far the theory of female empowerment, the mission statement of the two institutions, is translated in reality and to determine the causes (social as well as institutional) that mar the actualization.

Limitation

The sample for the study was derived from two female only higher education institutions of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Considering the narrow focus of the study, it cannot be assumed that it has yielded the exhaustive information on the extent to which female only institutions in Pakistan have empowered the graduates and have laid the basis for enduring social change. Moreover, no comparative framework has been developed to assess women studying/working at female-only institutions perform better than those at co-educational institutions. However, the study is effective in identifying the key issues which can formulate hypotheses for future studies.

Pakistani women at the cross roads

Pakistani women are at the cross roads. The society has witnessed increasing trend towards female education and employment. They are getting higher education and are entering wage employment because their parents realize the future of their daughters is not solely protected in marriage, but, more importantly, through education and economic empowerment. However, this belief is not shared by all sections of society. Social conditions continue to determine the autonomy women exercise in their life. Pakistani women's attitudes towards themselves and their professional roles have been influenced by the culture, society and traditions. The socialization process has reinforced women in their domestic, nurturing, and submissive roles, and has inhibited self-assertion and achievement. Women are made the guardians of morality where qualities deemed socially viable are antithetical to any public role and self-assertion. They are required to exhibit propriety, care, and sacrifice for the relationships. In other words, they are expected to display total self-effacement visà-vis their family members' needs. Suad Joseph phrases this reality as "[w]omen, more than men, are expected to put others before themselves and to see their interests as embedded in those of others, especially familial others" (Joseph and Slyomovics, 2001: 7). Carol Gilligan exposes the

incongruity where traits of independent assertion in judgment and action are accepted the hallmark of adulthood, but not of women. It is rather in their care and concern for others that "women have both judged themselves and been judged" (1982: 70).

Pakistani women have internalized the rules of the socialization process so much so that the external pressures have become inner pressures. It is precisely this dilemma that has affected their self-autonomy. They are trapped in "the conflict between compassion and autonomy, between virtue and power- which the feminine voice struggles to resolve in its effort to reclaim the self and to solve the moral problem in such a way that no one is hurt" (Gilligan, 1982:71). The conflict generated thus forces women to make uneasy compromises. The focus group interviews with employed women revealed that they suffer from double burden. They have to abide by the rules of their job while also not ignoring their domestic and maternal duties. No extra help is provided them either in the form of day care centers, synchronization of their working hours with the timings of their school going children, social service or cooperation from their husbands. Talking about the increased social pressures a married woman experiences on entering a wage employment, Friedan says the two pursuits demand qualities of different types; the former, to be successful, requires self-abnegation and cooperation, and the latter, self- enhancement and competition (1963:115).

Literacy and Empowerment

Literacy and economic empowerment do not alone ensure that a woman can also exercise self- autonomy. Literacy alone cannot bring empowerment to women if it does not ensure, as Stromquist says, emancipatory content and participatory methods of instruction. In absence of this, she says, literacy will not release women from subordinate positions but will indoctrinate them more effectively with asymmetrical gender relations (Stromquist, 1992: 65). This puts tremendous responsibility on the Pakistani women universities to develop research revealing the sources of female oppression and marginalization and press for policies meeting the lived realities, needs, and aspirations of women. The universities must, therefore, initiate "research by women, on women, for women" (Stanley and Wise as quoted in Currie, 1992: 341). To ensure this, feminist pedagogy needs to be formulated which moves away from the traditional structures of 'receiving' an education to 'claiming' an education. The students must not be treated as passive receptacles of knowledge transferred. Instead, as Adrienne Rich recommends, they ought to be trained in 'claiming the education', that is, in becoming the rightful owners of the processes of knowledge production, "refusing to let others do the thinking, talking and naming" (Rich as cited. in Currie, 1992: 342). The process of claiming the education, as Humble and Carol point out, entails that the women scholars generate the data on the diversity of female experiences in different families, how families are impacted differently by the structures of race, ethnicity, disability and

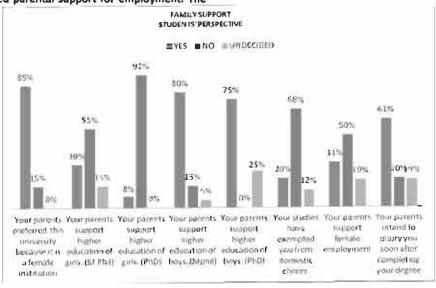
the socio-economic position, and the sustained power inequities between men and women in families (2002: 199). Feminist paradigms of knowledge and action must also ensure development of students and professionals in three significant areas: instrumental-technical, interpretive, critical - emancipatory. Instrumental-technical knowledge provides the learners with the knowledge and capability to adopt the profession that matches their skill and learning. It enables them to solve their problems and change the conditions of their lives. Interpretive knowledge is 'empowering, emancipating, liberating' and enables the learners to make sense out of personal problems and experiences. Criticalemancipatory knowledge helps them to perceive their problems innovatively, reach "new alternatives for actions", and enables them break out of seemingly inevitable conditions (Walker etal. as quoted in Humble and Morgaine, 2002: 204). Such feminist pedagogy can equip the Pakistani women with the required knowledge and skills needed to change the material and social conditions of their lives. It can empower them to diagnose the problems, the causes and the required solutions keeping in view the local contexts, promises, and constraints. More importantly, it can help develop Pakistani feminism as a systematic theory of enquiring the different patriarchal practices.

Women Universities & Self Development of Females

The role of women universities in the development of self cannot be properly accessed in absence of deep rooted socio-cultural prejudices that continue to diminish the prospects of enduring social change. The survey conducted on convenience sample of 200 female graduates thus desired responses on family support and institutional support in the development of the self. In order to further clarify their opinion, they were asked open-ended questions.

The survey conducted to elicit views of students in their final semesters of Masters and Bachelor of Sciences revealed that only thirty per cent of the sample expressed parental support for higher education. Roughly the same per cent responses confirmed parental support for employment. The

parental support however was found higher for education of boys in a family compared to girls. In the open-ended questions requiring the students to mention two most important reasons supporting or hindering them from pursuing higher education, the important information obtained related more to socio-economic pressures. The economic constraints force majority of the families to invest in the education of boys on the assumption that investment in the education of girls is wastage of resources as they will finally be wadded off. Some respondents mentioned dowry system as the curse which forces parents to save the money for their marriage that could better be utilized on their higher education. As regards economic role fifty per cent of the respondents mentioned their parents discourage it, while nineteen per cent remained undecided against merely thirty one per cent who had the parental support. In open-ended question requiring the reasons, the majority mentioned that they will be allowed to do a job if they find one at female dominated establishments. However, some of the respondents qualified their answer by saying the continuity of any such activity depends on no-objection of their in-laws. It is pertinent to mention that eighty five per cent of the respondents confirmed that their parental decision of enrolling them at these institutions was generally geared by the satisfaction of segregated female institutions. The responses revealed another important cultural prejudice that only economically hard up families admit female employment. A respondent phrased this deterring opinion: 'since families do not need women's earnings, it is useless to provide them higher education or allow them do a job'. Ironically marriage culture supports educated but rarely professionally competent girls. Majority of the respondents mentioned that marriage proposals generally ensure the girls' qualification is lesser than the spouse. Economic empowerment is generally resisted in Pakistan fearing, as the respondents mentioned that, women will ignore their domestic duties, will assert the right to marriage of their choice/consent, and will also not tolerate their subordination and/or psycho-physical exploitation.

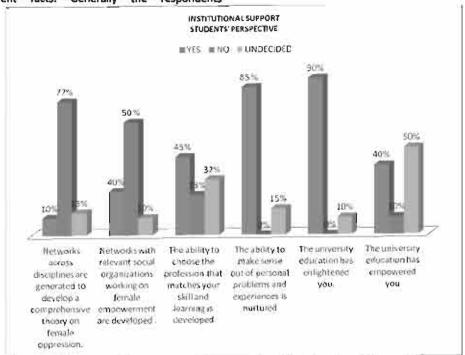


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The family support encourages female literacy, but not real empowerment. The majority of girls mentioned they have no future plans of enrollment for higher education. Higher education and economic empowerment seem to be indicators that still seem to be dictated by societal taboos. The need is to observe to what extent the universities are initiating trends to gradually soften and liquidate such misperceptions.

The female institutions impart literacy which is the societal demand. However, these institutions need to be the launching-pads for the development of indigenous feminism diagnosing the challenges and suggesting means for tackling them. The survey expressed highest per cent responses firmly asserting that the university education has enlightened them, whereas a sharp drop rate was observed when they were asked about the degree to which the university education had empowered them. The open-ended question asking the reasons of enlightenment and/or empowerment yielded pertinent facts. Generally the respondents

mentioned that they understand social issues and can better tackle with their problems, a fact seconded by eighty-five per cent respondents saying the university education has enabled them to make sense of their problems and experiences. The respondents however mentioned that real empowerment is the ability to pursue the profession of their choice and for being supported and facilitated by the family members. This opinion is further strengthened by only forty per cent response rate confirming the university education had empowered them, a percentage nearly coinciding with the responses assuring the university has enabled them to choose profession of their choice. Fifty per cent respondents remained undecided on the issue. The undecided respondents seem to be those who were not allowed by the In terms of the institutional parents to do jobs. infrastructure assisting the students to develop comprehensive feminism in Pakistan, it is observed that the institutions have not developed strong infrastructure to different connect the departments



to systematically research causes of female oppression. However, forty percent respondents mentioned links were developed with relevant social organizations. To further get consolidated opinion, an open-ended question phrased "The university education has enabled you to break out of seemingly inevitable conditions (social pressures. exploitation at home, public & work places). How? /Why not?" reflected the students have the requisite awareness, but not the requisite societal support to do such daring deeds. Some respondents mentioned strong stigma is attached to certain deeds simply for being initiated by women. It appears the universities have imparted instrumental and interpretive knowledge, but fall short of achieving the critical- emancipatory knowledge. The

universities thus have still to do more to liquidate societal misperceptions and ensure self-development of women does not necessarily mean social disruption and waywardness. The UN's Human Development Report (1995) has hinted at such complexities regarding the current status of women in many Islamic societies by noting: "In general women have been more successful in overcoming cultural barriers to building their capabilities than in overcoming the barriers to using these capabilities." (as cited in Gray, Kittilson & Sandholtz 2006; 305).

The second stage of the research was conducted on the graduates from these universities employed in different organizations. Purposive sampling technique was employed

and the selection of the sample required them to be at least M Phil or pursuing their M Phil or PhD. Focus group interviews were conducted with these graduates according to the schedule feasible for them. Considering a sharp decline in the number of graduates pursuing higher education and employment, the focus group interviews hoped to yield pertinent data on how these empowered females perceived their place in their society. They generally expressed being overworked and receiving less cooperation from their in-laws, making it very difficult to juggle between the demands of home and work place. Young mothers with school going children were further distressed as their working hours were not synchronized with the timings of their school going children. An interviewee diverted attention to the fact that International Labour Conference in 1965 dealt with the issue of employment of women with family responsibilities. She asserted that the governments were urged by the convention to undertake the development of services to enable women to fulfill harmoniously their responsibilities at home and at work. Unfortunately that aim is still not practically implemented in this country. The other members present asserted the need to press for application of the ILO rules about working women in Pakistan to encourage female employment and decrease the social pressures assailing their autonomy.

When the focus group was asked about the effectiveness of feminist agenda in ameliorating the status and role of women in Pakistan, majority responded that a feminist agenda in our country will fail effect if the societal misperceptions are not addressed through emphasizing the importance of women's education and employment for their families. They asserted the need to alter the cultural gendered expectations. They asserted that a feminist agenda must emphasize the important role educated and economically active women can play for their families when inflation and high cost of living necessitate contribution of men and women both in running the household. This pertinent realization is also supported by existing research. On the basis of econometric evidence, Dollar and Gatti conclude that education provides the sure path to economic development when higher population growth is fast reducing national income (as cited in Sur, 2004: 258). Female education would then undoubtedly also contribute in strengthening a family's socio-economic position as "illiteracy breeds a vicious cycle i.e. the illiterate is poor, the poor are powerless" (Shami & Hussain as cited in SDPI, 2008: 30). This is not possible until, as the respondents also stressed, the efforts are not made to educate men to develop their identity as dynamic individuals who derive satisfaction in ensuring self-development of their female members, instead of demanding that women submit unquestioningly to their control and authority. Some of the interviewees proposed that gender studies should be made compulsory at all educational institutions from high school till university level. They believed gender exploitation and marginalization is a lived reality for women. It is men who ought to be sensitized to the ways they add to women's

oppression knowingly or unknowingly. Students, scholars and feminists should also advocate reforms and policies safeguarding the rights of working women. During policy making, they asserted, special consideration should be given to the traditional roles working women cannot generally evade. This is because "[w]hile women have become as free as men to work outside the home, men have remained largely free from work within it" (MacKinnon as cited in Hare-Mustin, 1988: 37).

Moving Beyond Literacy to Empowerment: Breaking the Stasis

The systematic study of all the pressures that resist female education and economic participation is therefore necessary to ensure a positive and enduring social change. The matter of claiming a better social status and fairer participation in economic terms are not mutually exclusive issues and must not be treated thus. Nancy Fraser advocates a status model based on standard of justice ensuring parity of participation in which "everyone has equal right to pursue social esteem under fair conditions of equal opportunity" (Cited in Lara, 2004: 78-79). Pakistani women can claim a better status and role by invoking the concept of justice in Islam. This would ensure transition of societal conventions supporting literacy to those encouraging female autonomy and empowerment. Risman succinctly points out the importance of this strategy in words: "If our goal is to do scholarship that contributes to transforming society, the identification of the processes that explain particular outcomes is the first step in effectively changing those processes and subsequently the outcomes themselves" (2004: 435).

Pakistani women universities should actively participate in the development of indigenous variety of feminism sensitive to the multiple oppressive situations Pakistani women are facing, and the multiple mediations required, as Kandiyoti phrases, to "maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression" (Kandiyoti, 1988: 274). Pakistani feminism faces an important challenge of developing the female self and altering the societal perceptions about women's status and role. Only alteration of self and societal perceptions, according to Morgaine, can provide consolidation to the process of self-transformation, break cycles of self-defeating behaviors, and ensure a positive social change (quoted in Humble and Morgaine, 2002: 203). Hence research studies and consciousness- raising programs need to develop an independent, critical and emancipatory self in Pakistani women and also develop awareness of the masses to the changed circumstances necessitating changes in asymmetrical gender relations. By developing a feminist pedagogy and utilizing the potential and experiences of the women gathered at these universities from different corners of Pakistan, the universities can initiate empowering discourses about female self- development.

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Conclusion

The Pakistani women universities have laid the base for a social change by providing the women segregated spaces for education and employment. The enrollment in these women universities is increasing day by day which attests to their mass appeal in conservative as well as enlightened sections. It also suggests that the patriarchal rules regarding women are gradually relaxing. However, this trend promising as it seems to be is still far from being revolutionizing. The statistics still present a gender gap in the literacy level. Literacy rate in population 10 years and older (2006-2007) is 42% in females compared to 67% in males. Adult literacy rate in population 15 years and older (2006-2007) is 38% in females compared to 65% in males. However a steady rise in female literacy rate in all four provinces of Pakistan is manifest on comparing the statistics provided by Economic Survey of Pakistan. From the period 2001-2002 to 2006-2007, female literacy rate is raised from 36 to 48 per cent in Punjab, from 31 to 42 per cent in Sindh, from 20 to 28 per cent in NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtun Khwa), and from 15 to 22 per cent in Balochistan (as cited in SNDPI, 2006-2007: 31). For the period 2007-2008 female literacy rate in NWFP have arisen from 28 per cent to 33 per cent and in Balochistan from 22 per cent to 23 per cent, whereas the statistics of the other two provinces have remained constant (as cited in UNESCO, 2010: 13). The statistics reflect a meager rise, but these trends are indeed "constitutive part of a wider societal process, involving slow changes both in consciousness and in practice" (Sullivan, 2004: 219). A feminist pedagogy equips the women, gathered here from different parts of Pakistan, with the creative and critical stance required for the development of the self. It also leads to generation of the theoretical knowledge oppressing the Pakistani women in different forms and the action required to eliminate female exploitation and marginalization. Theory generated by the women universities can become a base for indigenous feminism grounded in the lived realities of Pakistani women. It can also serve as the catalyst for claiming the rights of the women oppressed under varied forms of patriarchy. Empowering pedagogy, legal protection of women's rights, and consciousness-raising of the masses can ensure Pakistani women's claim to an autonomous self. By initiating feminist pedagogy, developing Pakistani feminism and linking it with activism, the women universities can become the vanguards of a positive social change in social relationships and roles.

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