QATAR UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

PERCEPTION OF WOMANHOOD AND FEMININTY AMONG QATARI WOMEN

A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF

BY

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ABSTRACT

AL NAIMI, TARFA, N., Doctorate : June : [2021:], PhD in Gulf Studies Title: (It is Hard I Know , Just Try to Keep Balance) a Qualitative Study of Perceptions of Womanhood and Femininity among Qatari Women Supervisor of Dissertation: Mazhar, A., Al-Zoubi

This study explores the perception of womanhood and femininity among Qatari women and critically investigates to which extent their perception is different from mainstream patriarchal perception. Furthermore, this study examines how women's perceptions of womanhood and femininity fit in the national discourse about woman empowerment and public agency. In this regard, semi- structured interviews with open ended questions were conducted with seventeen Qatari women. The participants were selected from different age groups and different marital status in order to ensure a wide range of gender representation. The findings revealed six themes as a definition of femininity, these themes are: (1) physical appearance, (2) modesty (3) relationship with husband (4) sexual orientation, (5) occupation and hobbies, (6) personal traits. While womanhood was identified in term of theses 6 themes: (1) Family, (2) Regulation and rules. (3) Personal traits (4) Agency (5) professional life. (6) Changes in Qatari Women's Role. While some women participants in this study have expressed affinities to patriarchal values, nevertheless, there were indications of critical attitudes toward some patriarchal values, and signs of individuality in developing different perceptions. One of the main implications of this study is that it represents an intervention for Qatari women to reflect on their perceptions and understanding of gender subjectivities, and to create a more individual understanding of their being as women and feminine. If the women

empowerment project is perceived as a struggle between traditional perception of woman and gender, and women's own beliefs and values, this study could provide critical insight and inspiration to recognize the potential social agency for women both in public and private life.

DEDICATION

To the immortal soul, my mother " Maitha bint Zayed " , who passed away on 24th

Feb 2018 . Thank you for being here.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The interrelation between women and gender in patriarchal societies has been the focus of many studies. Every aspect of a woman's life in this type of societies is affected by gender inequality and societal approaches to gender role. women approach to changes in their role are colored by uncertainty and insecurity. (Alghanim, 2019; Doumato,1992; Kandiyouti,1988). they negotiate their rights with patriarchal societies in a manner that does not conflict with social expectations and without invoking social anger and rejection (Alghamin,2019; Kandiyouti,1988)

The life of women in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, including Qatar, has changed since the seventies due to economic and social factors (especially education.) Women's options and opportunities to participate in public life have increased. However, there are waves of opposition coming from the patriarchal and conservative Islamic systems. (Almugni, 1993; Ramazani; 1995). If Qatari women, who seek to benefit from women empowerment plans, perceive their role through the patriarchal approach to womanhood and gender, their subsequent involvement will be hindered. There is a gap between the beliefs inherited by patriarchal ideologies and the gender equality approach imbedded in Qatar national women empowerment plans, which leaves women with uncertainty about their expected role. According to Almugni (1993) the contradictory beliefs inherited in patriarchal ideology- that women have the same abilities as men and there is no reason to differentiate between them, at the same time they are biologically different as they can give birth to children- encourage women to adopt the traditional role of woman which is a mother and a wife. Which leave them with illusion of liberation.

Since the progress of Qatari women has been hindered by many social and cultural restrictions, this study aims to use the emic perspective to understand how

they define womanhood and femininity. The study aims at raising the awareness of Qatari women to how they unconsciously contribute and feed the current gender inequality. They are unconsciously fostering the dominance of patriarchal throughs by adopting a male-centered perception of gender. The research also sets out to create more effective women empowerment plans focused on changing the traditional perceptions of womanhood and femininity.

This chapter identifies the purpose of the study and describes the problem that this research aims to address. Hence, it explains the implications of the study and identifies its benefits to Qatari women, social organizations, and decision makers. The chapter also describes the research problem, summarizes the research design, and introduces the main theoretical framework that leads the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to identify the perception of womanhood and femininity among Qatari women and the extent to which it differs from patriarchal systems. It uses Standpoint Feminism as its theoretical framework. Semi-structured interviews with Qatari women, from different ages and marital statuses, provide a better understanding of how womanhood and femininity are perceived among Qatari women.

Research Questions

RQ1: How are womanhood and femininity perceived among Qatari women?

RQ2: To which extent is the Qatari women's perception of womanhood and femininity different from the patriarchal system?

RQ3: How do Qatari women's perceptions of womanhood and femininity fit into the national narrative of women empowerment in Qatar?

Statement of the Problem

Women under patriarchal societies experience gender inequality in their daily life in different ways and shapes. Sometimes they may not recognize this as a part of a gender inequality system that was formed and protected by institutions such as family, government, and religion. According to Harkness (2019) this gender inequality has often been perceived simply as part of tradition or cultural identity. Therefore, when women developed their gender related beliefs and norms in accordance with the expectations of their patriarchal societies, they have implicitly construed as an integral part of their identity in a gendered way. This misconception has affected every aspect of their life and shaped the scope of their options. According to Solati (2017) Two main elements of patriarchal ideology have affected women's life significantly: 1. The model of the male as the breadwinner or the provider / the female is the caregiver. 2. The strict separation between public and private life.

In Qatar there is an ambitious women's empowerment plan that aims at getting women more involved in the public life and in the development of a national process. This could contradict with the patriarchal perception of the woman as mainly a wife and a mother who is not expected to be seen in public places. According to Alghanim (2017) the Qatari society still holds patriarchal attitudes towards women. These attitudes restrict and limit women's participation in public life, despite their desire to adapt a new role apart from being just mothers and wives. Qatari women surrender to the patriarchal system and to male authority when they face social resistance. Therefore, it is important to understand the extent to which Qatari women are committed to their society's patriarchal gender norms and the way they perceive their experience as women and females. Are Qatari women able to perceive womanhood and femininity individually? It is worth mentioning that Qatari women were the first

women among the GCC to receive political rights in 1995 (Obaidan and Abu Al Saud, 2010, p. 179). However, these rights were given to them by means of a governmental decision, which is dissimilar to the experience of Kuwaiti women, who had to fight for their political rights (Maktabi, 2016). So, between modernization and conservatism, where do Qatari women stand?

Although Qatar aims at empowering women, it ranks low in achieving gender equality. Out of 152 countries, Qatar ranked 127 on the GII (Gender Inequality Index) in 2018. Even, on the regional level, and compared to the GCC states, Qatar still scores low in implementing gender equality. For instance, the United Arab Emirates scored 121st and reduced the gender gap in jobs like legislators and senior officials. Emirati women also have a better health and a higher life expectancy. However, a salary gender gap has widened in the UAE. Kuwait, on the other hand, has scored 126th ,and narrowed the gender gap between female, male professionals and technical workers. Nonetheless, it still has wide gender gap in areas of health and life expectancy. Qatar scored 127th which shows a progress in many areas such as women's participation in parliament and politics. There is also a reduction in the gender gap regarding labor force participation in Qatar. However, the gender gap in wages and earned income is widening by sustaining an economic inequality. (The Global Gender Gap Report 2018). By adopting a patriarchal perception, Qatari women feed the current gender system and endorse it. Almugni (1993) states that to dismantle the prevailing patriarchal system, a collective women action is needed.

The study adopts the Feminist Standpoint theory as the main approach to understand the meaning of womanhood and femininity from an insider perspective rather than an outsider stance. Standpoint theory gives the insiders' experiences more importance than the extrinsic ones It argues that the perspective of the disempowered

is broader and richer (Harding, 2004). The rationale of this study is to focus on Qatari women, thus, highlighting their experiences as women in a patriarchal society.

<center>Significance and Rationale of the Study</center>

Qatari women are navigating their way under the pressure of social and familial issues that affect their choices inside and outside home (Al Malki, 2003; Alghanim, 2003, 2017; Kalifa , 1993, 2002). The attitude to gender roles in Qatar is colored by their society's patriarchal beliefs (Alghanim, 2017). Therefore, this study has implications for developing more effective women empowerment plans that take into consideration the values and beliefs held by Qatari women regarding gender. The self-described experiences of the female participants could increase the awareness of the impact of patriarchal thoughts on women's life in Qatar.

The debate about empowering Qatari women always revolves around the framework of statistics and figures about the extent to which they benefit from empowerment plans in higher education and jobs. It is based on the goals of the two strategic national development plans, (2011 to 2016) and (2018-2022), to measure the extent of goals achievements and women empowerment indicators.

These statistics, figures and obstacles reflect part of the truth, but they do not give the complete picture about the extent of the progress made in the empowerment plans. Part of this picture relates to the Qatari woman's vision of herself, her perception of the concepts of womanhood and femininity. So, to what extent is her perception of these two concepts consistent with the context of the National Empowerment Dialogue?

Identifying the gap between the expectations of women included in strategic development plans and between Qatari women's perceptions of themselves as women and females is necessary to measure the progress that can be made in achieving

empowerment plans. Also, realizing the extent to which Qatari women's self-perceptions are consistent with and different from their patriarchal culture is instrumental to know the influence of this culture and their acceptance of the roles assigned to them.

This research, sheds light on a specific area that was not sufficiently researched in previous studies and did not receive adequate attention from researchers. It is a sensitive area between what women believe in -and consider as part of their being and identity- and the requirements of the development and empowerment plans for them. Perhaps, amid their busy modern lives, Qatari women have become oblivious to the contradiction between their perception of themselves and the expectations of women empowerment plans. In this research, I set out to shine a light on this issue by studying the vision of Qatari women themselves. It is an existent, invisible, and undeclared area that Qatari women sense and express in several situations.

I do not claim that this study is representative of all women in Qatar, neither do I aim at generalizing the results. My goal is to rather to explore this issue, talk about it and present it to the public. This justifies my choice of viewing the subject from the vantage of Standpoint Feminist theory. The research is structured by this theory because it gives priority to the voice of the marginalized or vulnerable groups that are excluded from decision-making. Therefore, I wanted this research to be an introduction and a nucleus for future research about this subject. The results will also help social institutions that are dealing with women's issues to understand some aspects of the perception of Qatari women about themselves as women. Subsequently, it could be useful for the plans of the decision-makers targeting women's development and empowerment.

Conceptual Framework

Qatari women, according to the historical, social, economic, and political changes, have created their own understanding of being woman in such a patriarchal society like Qatar. Through their daily interactions and experiences, they have developed a unique understanding and expression of womanhood and femininity. Their perception of womanhood and femininity have been constructed according to their position in the social hierarchy which make it invisible as a knowledge produced by marginalized group. this perception needs to be revealed, investigated, and discussed. This study aims to examine in depth perception of womanhood and femininity among Qatari women, and discus how it varied from the patriarchal perception. it also shed the light on how the participants' perception of womanhood and femininity fit into the narrative of woman empowerment in Qatar.

Standpoint theory is used to lead and frame this study. According to standpoint theory, marginalized and oppressed groups are privileged in some respects, they structure knowledge differently according to their social position, which makes them know something better than those who is in privileged position socially and politically. Their own understanding derives from their daily life experiences and how they interpret and perceive these experiences (Harding, 1993).

Feminist standpoint theory is assumed to be about epistemic aspects of gender standpoint, especially that of women. It is not about setting policies and actions against oppression, but to analyze everyday life experience through women's eyes. It shows how gendered knowledge are constructed. It shows also different and invisible dimensions of women's daily life. Dimensions like her practices, attitude and values to match the meaning she constructed of her being, the changes she experiences in her understanding of her being, and the process of constructing these meaning, are all

valuable knowledge only Qatari women in this study can reveal. This study does not aim to show what oppression Qatari women face, but the reflection of decade of marginalizing and oppression on self-image (Harding, 2004). Because "At bottom feminism is a mode of analysis and a method of approaching life and politics rather than a set of political conclusions about the oppression of women." (Hartsock, 1981, p.30)

This study is an indicative study, and the voice of participants is the core, which makes standpoint theory a suitable framework. Because standpoint feminism investigates issues from the perspective of insiders rather than the outsiders. It considers the insiders' experience and give it more importance than the external classification of professional social science.

Because the truth is relative and changeable in sociology. It is essential to know currently where Qatari women stand regarding understanding of their being. Standpoint theory as a framework for this study will enable participant women to share their view of what it means to be a woman at this time in Qatar. Their knowledge and interpretation of womanhood and femininity is the core of this study. because "Feminism as a mode of analysis lead us to respect experiences and differences, to respect people enough to believe that they are in the best possible position to make their own revolution." (Hartsock, 1981, p. 40)

Feminist Thoughts

Feminist theories inquire the gender inequality. It aims to understand the experiences and role of women and promote gender equality through acknowledge the oppression and marginalization women face (Anderson, 2011)

According to Lober (1997) gender inequality is rooted in the structure of societies and should not perceived individually. Marriages and family are constructed

around sets and beliefs that boost the gender inequality. Economy and politics, language and art as well are built on gender inequality. Therefore, a social solution is required rather than individual solution.

Marxist and socialist Feminisms analyze the impact of capitalism's social structure on gender equality. Although Marxists admit the presence of housewives when classify society structure to two classes: worker and capitalist. The housewives were not included in the analysis of capitalism or the industrial economy. Marxist feminism recognizes the role housewives play in capitalist societies. Their unpaid work inside home maintains the capitalist system of workers and bosses through generations. Therefore, Marxist feminisms consider the oppression and abuse women face are coming mainly from the family. When a woman works inside home, then she needs her husband financial support, which makes her dependable on him. then if she works outside home, then she is expected not to neglect her domestic responsibilities towards her husband and children. So, she works more than man but get paid less. This issue has been addressed in some societies through giving woman a paid birth leaves after giving birth. However, this put off the burden of raising children on the woman shoulder and encourage man to assign all his domestic responsibilities to his wife.

Lober (1997) argues that welfare states by giving such solution are establishing an authoritarian system, where the public patriarchy replace the private patriarchy. It claims that male dominated countries place the government's interests before women's interests.

Feminist standpoint theory is originated from Marxist theory where women are more subjected to oppression and marginalization (Haraway, 1989: Harding, 1991, 2004) . Marxist theory classify society based on the struggle between capitalists

and the working class, which creates a social political and economic structure based on dominant and dominated groups. Marxist theory claims that the power struggle between capitalists and workers is abusive and would certainly generates class conflict in society. The classification of labor based in gender in Marxist theory put women in disadvantage position comparing to men, and boost the superiority of male, which create and maintain a patriarchy gender relationship between males and females. (Hartsock, 1983, 1989)

Hartsock (1993) argues that because of its Marxist roots, feminist standpoint theory was one of the most effective feminist theory in 1980s. the connection she made between Marxist and Feminism provides new lens many feminists adapted.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, when standpoint theory emerged, it gives explanation to many issues reading the difference between women. Many feminists appreciated the illustration standpoint theory bring to woman and gender filed, and they started to navigate the effect of social position and experiences on women's standpoint.

Standpoint Theory

Feminist standpoint theory is one of the significant theories in feminist inquiry. It critiques and challenges the traditional scientific way of construction knowledge it questions the embedded practices in scientific inquiry which are: excluding the dominated group, depending on the dominator's information to build the knowledge, promoting gender inequality and encourage the male dominance practice in creating knowledge. Therefore, questioning the reliability of the male-dominant produced knowledge creates the need for standpoint theory. It acknowledges the right of marginalized group to contribute to construction

knowledge. It advocates the woman experiences as a valuable resource of knowledge (Harding, 2004).

Feminist standpoint contributes significantly to feminist inquiry. Feminist standpoint theory has been utilized also in political economic filed to produce knowledge, it introduces new way of inquiry locally and globally in different field (Harding, 1997). The standpoint feminist scholars are from different disciplines, however that adopt the same notion of the importance of marginalized group perception of reality (Hawkesworth, 1999).

Naples and Gurr (2013) states that the core notion of feminist standpoint theory is that women through been in the bottom of social and gender hierarchy can produced more valuable knowledge regard gender than what men can do. The standpoint theory is consisted of four principles:

Strong Objectivity

Sandra Harding is one of significant feminist scholar advocates the strong objectivity of standpoint theory. According to Harding the objectivity emerges from the interaction between the subject and object of inquiry. The definition of objectivity changed to strong objectivity by the logic of standpoint theory and how it is utilized to see the difference between how group see the truth and how it is . In other word, a strong objectivity needs a strong reflexively.

Hartsock (1981) contributed to the strong objectivity of standpoint and developed the idea of standpoint that identifies the differences arise between those who have different positions vis-à-vis one another". She applied the Marx's view of the relationship between labors to the relationship between men and women. Consequently, Hartsock attributed some related claims related to the objectivity od

standpoint:

1. Understanding of social relation is limited and structured by the material life or social position of individuals.

2. The structure of material life when is built on opposing ways for two different groups, the point of view of each group inverses of the other, and in a dominant system, the standpoint available to dominant is partial.

3. The vision of the dominant structure the material relations.

4. Dominated and marginalized experiences a suppressive social relation, therefore they develop a broader vision as an impact of their struggle to change this relation.

5. the standpoint of marginalized group enable them to see beyond the present and revealing to others as well themselves the unhuman aspects of the current social relations.

The fourth and fifth claims justify the seeking and utilizing of dominated group's standpoint to minimize the shortsightedness of privileged and dominant group in the relationship, which is the side that sets the relationship's terms. Both group benefits from this reversal of privilege, the member of marginalized group are encouraged to free themselves, while the members of dominant group enabled to correct and broad their view. Hartsock revised her view to take in consideration the plurality of both dominant and nondominant standpoints that need to be addressed through an egalitarian version of feminism.

Power Relationship

Feminist standpoint theory requires the investigation of "power relationships, institutions, policies, and technologies that perpetuate oppression from the perspective of the oppressed, so that they may be changed, undermined, or abolished"(Intemann,2010, p.785). Therefore, Crasnow (2006), and Harding (2008)

recognized the role of the researcher within feminist standpoint theory to start with the standpoint of the oppressed when studying issues that affect their lives, since they are underrepresented.

Standpoint theory recognizes the effect of the power of relationship in producing knowledge, and it reveals the power relations that suppresses the voice of marginalized group and provides the required trust to reach the oppressed group's evidence. To understand the power impact, it is necessary to see the truth from the less powerful group in society. The difference between what is the truth and what individual experience is revealed through the standpoint of people in the bottom of social hierarchy of power. (Harding, 2004).

The Situated-Knowledge

Standpoint considers that the truth may be known through different angles or perspectives, these perspectives are partials and situated according to class, race, gender, identity. etc. despite that, all these perspectives are partials; some are broader than others. The theory argues that the perspective of disempowered are broader and richer, because being able to see the truth through a wider perspective is a survival skill that empowered people do not need to develop, which make their perspective more limited. According to standpoint theory, the disempowered perspective counts more because not seeing the injustices and inequality is a main way to perpetuate the injustices and inequality (Harding, 2004).

Pragmatists scholars such as Peirce (1977) believe that human knowledge is naturally perspectival. According to Peirce, "fallibilism" requires a scientific method that maximize our ability to understand reality. However, it is worth mentioning, that he distinguished between truth as the ultimate aim of inquiry and the result we gain

through our continuous search for knowledge, which minimize errors and mistakes. He differentiates between beliefs and "truth "or "knowledge". Therefore, what is known through experiences is certainly partial but, not relative. Emphasize on the conscious recognition of one's standpoint as the base of understanding the variety of conceptual stance, which requires an acknowledgment that all groups have a varying amount of Punishment and privilege.

Haraway (1989) believes that the standpoint of marginalized group are not "innocent positions". However, she considers them "preferred positions because in principle they are least likely to allow denial of the critical and interpretive core of all knowledge" (p.584). This core is coming from the non-dominance widespread experiences in a culture of dominance. Therefore, nondominant or marginalized standpoint is demanded and justified ethically and epistemologically because of the importance of knowledge in making decision. Because making ethical decisions needs sufficient relevant information which can be obtained through the experiences of nondominant.

However, it is worth mentioning that sometimes, the marginalized and dominated people are repressed to the point that they fail to recognize that is available to them. Their ability to access the core of knowledge depends on their psychological and intellectual capability to realize their own situation comparing to the dominant group. For instant, women cannot recognize their marginalization comparing to men if they do not have enough freedom. Therefore, developing women skills through education and awareness raising techniques enable them to have their own standpoint, which is different from the dominant group standpoint.

Epistemic Advantage

According to Intemann (2010) women have instinctively developed an

epistemic privilege in understanding oppression and abuse. therefore, standpoint theory claims that produced knowledge by oppressed group has epistemological values more that the produced by dominant group. Women, because of oppression, develop a wider perspective not just according to their experiences, but also through understanding the dominant ideology the face. The oppressed group understand and live not only their experience, but the experience and life of the dominant group, which give them the ability to see the truth from multiple sides. therefore, their standpoint is more solid and organized than the one of dominant group. Member of dominant group construct their view of the world through their ignorance to other marginalized groups in society, consequently, their perspective is limited, and their knowledge consider one side of the truth, the side they live and experience, which make it less valuable epistemically comparing to the perspective of oppressed group.

Harding (1993) claims that using women's experiences as the base to study gender inequality provides more comprehensive approach not of women's experiences but also of men's experiences and of the social construction of gender. Researcher who considers women's perspective as the foundation of their studies can provide reliable result.

Limitation of Standpoint Theory

Contemporary feminist scholars are self-conscious of the standpoint theory's limitations, and they have been trying to reduce these limitations through taking in account the variety of women's experience carefully and critically. feminist scholars insisting on considering cultural, racial, and class differences among women. (Lugones & Elizabeth, 1988)

Harding (1992) Considers the differences between women as individuals as well as group means functioning on two levels at once. On one level, individual

standpoint should receive more attention, and on the other, the patterns of oppression in different group should be identified to correct systemic injustice. Harding (1992) points out to the tension that observed when the standpoint of individual contradicts with the standpoint of the group where she belongs. This tension is non avoidable, and on these two levels, women's experience is the starting point.

Term of the Study

Womanhood and Femininity: a complex prescription that describes a gender. It is shaped through social interaction and an individual's building of self-identity or self-image. Psychologists believe that femininity and womanhood (as a dimension of gender) is a scheme where woman grow socially to develop appropriate behaviors, perceptions, and experiences. Biologically, theories assume that woman gain femininity as gender dimensions, through noticeable physical differences and social learning (Mulqueen, 1992).

Overview of Research Design

This study aims to understand how Qatari women perceive their womanhood and femininity in the light of their varied experiences. The research relies on women's views of their being as women and feminine. The attached meaning of womanhood and femininity are revealed through semi-structured interviews.

The sample of the study are Qatari women from different age groups, marital statuses, and education levels to enrich the collected data. The participants are between 18 and 54 years old (married, single, divorced, and widowed). Most of the women are married (n=7), less than half are divorced and single (n=4, n=5, respectively) and one is widowed. Most of them have a bachelor's degree (n=12), few of them with higher education and high school diplomas (n= 2, n=2), and one is an undergraduate student. Most of them are employees (n= 10), few of them are retired or unemployed (n= 4, n= 2), and one is a university student.

The aim of this study is to explore the experience of being a woman and a female in the Qatari culture and society. Therefore, the participants were recruited to reflect the influence of such a culture on their understanding of their womanhood. Adult Qatari women aged 18 – 65 years old were the target population for this study. The final sample was seventeen Qatari women. More information about methodology is explained in Chapter five.

Summary

This study seeks to understand how Qatari women perceive womanhood and femininity, using a qualitative study. Most of gender and women literatures studied topics related to Qatari women such as education, work, and family in dissociation with their perception of gender. The result of this study may benefit institutes dealing with women in planning the services provided to Qatari women and may help them create more effective empowerment plans.

The next seven chapters are divided as follows: The second chapter explain the construction of gender perception. the third chapter discusses the status of Qatari women and empowerment plans. The fourth chapter evinces the position of women in patriarchal societies. The fifth chapter represents the methodology used in this research. The sixth chapter underscores the analysis of the results of the participants' perceptions of the concept of femininity. The seventh chapter highlights the results analysis of the participants' perception of womanhood. The eighth chapter discusses the results in light of previous studies. The eighth chapter discusses the study's challenges and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER PERCEPTION

The Qatari women's self-perception is the result of various factors. One of these factors is the gender perceptions which women learn since their childhood. Several qualities are associated to women, such as softness, emotions, fear, and weakness, while other qualities are associated with masculinity such as strength, courage, and leadership.

Gender perceptions are the classifications that are difficult to change. Although women may be educated, working, and having leadership positions, they remain stuck to certain perceptions of their gender as women. This is because practices as working, and education take a long time to affect gender norms.

Gender perceptions affect the women's decisions and assessment of their behaviors. A woman may refuse to work in certain professions because this contradicts her perception of herself as a woman. It is worth noting that some gender perceptions are not limited to a specific culture, but exist in all cultures, which makes their influence stronger. It is a global perception that women are more emotional than men. In addition, modesty and covering the body are considered among the desirable characteristics of women in the Arab culture.

This chapter reviews how gender perceptions are shaped and what are the most important factors affecting them. It also addresses the effect of the gender stereotype on individuals and the consequences of breaching the prevailing gender patterns in the society. This chapter will then present the prevailing perceptions of women in several different cultures.

Gender, as some sociologists define, is a social category system that aims to distinguish between male and female (Leinback, Hort. Fagot ,1997). Albert Bandura (1977) highlights the effect of different learning environments on human behaviors

especially in children, as they imitate the social model of their gender, develop gender socially accepted behaviors, and respond to criticism or rewards for these behaviors. The set of behaviors for each gender is the basic organizing principle each culture needs (Bem, 1981), as every society has defined what social roles, language, occupations and behaviors that are appropriate for each sex.

Bern (1981) suggested that children learn through culture how to perceive gender, and this cultural definition is used to organize all information they gain about gender. During this process child form cognitive structures called schema. These enable the child to process everything related to gender information and adjust his or her behavior according to this schema. When a girl realizes how femininity is perceived by society, she starts developing a set of behaviors, values and beliefs aligned with this social perception. Bern (1981) considers the social perception to be hidden assumptions about how male and female should be. These assumptions are rooted in each culture and reproduced generation after generation (keller, 2005). Consequently, individuals tend to play different roles within social structures, and they are judged and evaluated based on a social perception of femininity and masculinity. As a result, males and females will develop specific skills and attitudes that serve the social definition of femininity and masculinity (Eagly, 1987).

Definition of Gender Perceptions

Perception in general is a mental process that builds a definition of objects, attributes, and social relationships by which we are introduced to the outside world. This process includes feelings and emotions, remembering, imagining, and reaching a judgment based on what an individual may face such as attitudes and behaviors. It is essentially a mental perception process that produces knowledge based on thinking and adopt concepts and attitudes towards people and things (Badawi, 1978).

Gender perceptions means all the concepts related to mental perception that connect us with people and things around us and resulting in values, attitudes and behaviors related to gender that control social interaction and the formation of the relationships (Bern, 1981).

Hanns and Trautner (2000) state that the social perception of the women roles depends on a wide range of gender ideas and values that distinguish between men and women, so men are attributed by knowledge and strength while women are defined with weakness and emotions. The concept of femininity is formed from these social perceptions which in turn form the rules and basics that govern a women's behaviors, determine their choices, appearances, and shapes as well.

These perceptions of femininity aim to make women conform to men's perceptions of attractiveness. which make women give great attention to their external appearance and clothes to appear more feminine according to the concept of femininity in the culture of the society that constitutes the perception of the individual, whether a woman or a man about oneself. The individuals respond to the culture of their society and begin to adopt these perceptions of their gender. Both men and women learn to respond to what is socially expected from them.

Crawford and Unger (2000) argue that Gender social perceptions related to the appropriate roles and behaviors of each gender serve two key goals; the first of which is to contribute in the social control, while the second goal is to achieve the alignment with the gender social ideology and the prevailing norms. In case that individuals are not complied with the prevailing gender norms, then non-conformity and punishment made by the society. Punishment consists of two key processes: (1) Deviance: it means that no individual, whether a man or a woman, adheres to the prevailing norms and gender perceptions of their gender. Lack of complying with prevailing

perceptions may face negative reactions by the society and the behavior is considered a deviation from the ones accepted socially. (2) Stigmatization: It is the process of affirming a certain negative characteristic in the individuals' personality, so that it remains associated with them which might prevents them from establishing social relationships or interacting with others naturally.

Stages of Forming Gender Perceptions

According to Badawi (1978) gender perceptions are formed through three different stages. First: once we see anyone or anything, we begin to build a perception about them. If we do not have enough information, we start using the stereotype. After that, the individuals start forming - based on their initial perceptions- virtual relationships according to the details that they perceived in the first stage. For example, they might link between femininity and modesty, or between clothes and the economic or social level of an individual, between the roughness of the voice and masculinity. By this way we link things together in assumptions relationships that we form in our mind. These relationships are based on causal attribution, i.e., connecting things to other things. Then comes the third stage in forming perceptions, which is about expectations where a certain behavior is expected from an individual in a certain situation. Through these expectations, the behavior of others is judged.

Changing the Gender Values

Due to the changing of the social and economic systems in the different societies, gender values also have been changed slowly in a way that is difficult to notice but eventually and rapidly. These changes take place due to many factors; some are social, and others are individual factors.

Economic development

Economic growth contributes to providing many economic opportunities for individuals and society which will contribute to changing some characteristics in

prevailing gender roles in the society. For example, the work of women in jobs such as engineering, and construction becomes acceptable due to economic developments. Therefore, the changing in gender values happens but over a period of time. Change happens first in practices then change in values followed. For example, women joining the field of engineering as a practice is followed by a change in the idea of appropriate professions for women. This change is not immediate as it takes time since the values do not change easily as practices (Jensen, 2012).

Urbanization and Migration

Studies have shown that urbanization leads to changes in gender values. This can be evident when education and professions in the urban and civilized areas influenced the lives of women due to the educational and economic development. These changes have impacted the traditional stereotype of women as mothers. In addition, migration to urban areas exposes individuals to interact and blending with people of different cultural backgrounds which affects their gender values. On the other hand, migration can be a key factor in the rooting and affirming the gender values, especially when immigrants feel homesick in their new society and seek to adhere to and maintain their gender values as a way of confirming their identity (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012).

Politics

Politics in any society leads to changes in gender values as it pushes individuals to make changes in their behavior and attitudes which in turn leads to a change in their values, including gender values. Moreover, revolutions and radical political changes in any society drive individuals to change their roles and attitudes to cope with these changes. Women, for example, may play a role in revolutions and take up arms. These changes lead to a change in gender values and the stereotype of

women's role

Legal and policy reforms

Legal and political reforms lead to changing the gender values as they enhance practices and ideas that includes different gender values. In addition, some political reform programs promote the changes related to gender-based movements mainly exist in the society. Political reforms may lead to strengthening the demands of feminist movements and some political reforms. In addition, legal changes may launch the awareness-raising programs related to women's issues, which will facilitate the process of changing gender values (Marcus, Harper, Brodbeck, & Page, 2015).

Individual factors that lead to changing gender values

According to Brodbeck , Haper and Marcus (2015) gender norms can changes because of main six factors:

Socioeconomic circumstances

The individuals' social and economic status have an impact on adhere to gender values. If the individuals were in good social and economic status, then they would be able to overcome some gender restrictions and adopt different new values, as their social status assures the acceptance of society and avoid rejection and exclusion. However, some individuals who are in a higher social ranking may adhere strongly to gender values and refuse to change them.

Fit with personal beliefs

Individual adopts gender values that are suitable to his/her personal values and experiences in life. Thus, the believed gender values may be changed according to personal experiences.

Fear of negative reaction from others

individuals may change their gender values to avoid being attacked, facing

severe criticism or fear of being rejection by the society. For example, the individuals may change their values about underage marriage to avoid being accused by the society of supporting the violation of children's rights.

Opportunities to reflect on current norms and potential alternatives

Providing opportunities to discuss and evaluate the prevailing gender values facilitate the process of change. Whenever there are opportunities in societies for dialogue, debate and asking questions regarding the gender values, the more individuals can evaluate and appreciate the prevailing values and the importance of their change. The opportunities to change individuals' values become greater if they are more involved in the society. Education, work, seminars, and discussions raised media are opportunities to evaluate and change the prevailing values.

Individual agency and resilience

Confident individuals can easily review the values that have been lectured to them, more able to reject some values and replace them with new ones. Therefore, some women empowerment programs include training to raise women's self-confidence and reinforce their will to adopt new gender values different than those prevailing ones.

Supportive families, role models and reference groups

Existing role models in the society help the process of changing gender values. For example, the idea of having women leaders in the society, has a great impact on changing the perception of the role that women can play. The family also plays an important role in changing convictions about gender. When families support their daughters, they facilitate for them to create a non-dominant perception of their role in the society, while the reference groups provide the individuals a sense of belonging and acceptance when they adopt new values and make it easier for them to accept the

rejection of society when they abandoned the values prevailed in the societies or exercising behaviors other than expected of their gender.

The Influence of Gender Stereotype

The power of a stereotype is derived from its capability to influence the behavior of individuals who hold the stereotype. However, Stanford psychologist Claude Steele showed that the target of a stereotype is powerfully affected by it. In particular, stereotypes that strongly permeate culture, such as "ditzy blondes" make people painfully conscious of how they are perceived by society. The knowledge of these type of stereotypes affects individuals' performance and intellectual (Begley, 2000). Steele (1997) suggested that people feel threatened when they are asked to perform in situations when they will be judged based on the negative stereotype of their group. Steele and Aronson called this situation "stereotype threat" as it threatens the individual self-concept. Therefore, stereotypes can harm individual self-perception, and it is required more step to invalidate. Stereotyping affects both the individuals who force stereotypes and those who are labeled by these stereotypes.

In fact, gender stereotypes are powerful; they influence the perceptions of women and men as it establishes social expectations and standards of gender. These expectations and standards include beliefs and norms which can be very influential power to judge self and others. Gender stereotypes in the Victorian era – especially those about women – were affected by the Industrial Revolution where the lives of men and women in Europe and North America have changed by having men working outside home, while women take care of the children. These changes created two beliefs: The Doctrine of Two Spheres and the Cult of True Womanhood. The cult of true womanhood arose between 1820 and 1860 and included four beliefs by which women are judged. These beliefs are piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.

According to these four beliefs true women are assumed to be naturally religious, sexually uninterested, weak, dependent, timid; her domain is the home. Although the thoughts of the Cult of True Womanhood spread during the 19th century, they still influence the current perception of femininity (Biernat & Nelson, 1991).

Deaux and Lewis (1984) analyzed gender stereotype in four components that people use to define man and woman: (1) traits, (2) behaviors, (3) physical characteristics and (4) occupation. Each component may differ individually; however, people judge one aspect based on the information about another. People use this information about each aspect to build assumption about gender-related traits.

Cross-cultural studies on gender stereotypes has shown that cultures set different roles for men and women; however, the similarities are more than the differences across cultures. The man stereotype is associated with agency, and the woman stereotype is associated with expression and communication.

Womanhood and Femininity across Different Cultures

In this section I review some studies that investigate perception of womanhood and femininity. However, these studies were done in cultures and contexts different from the current study's culture and context. Therefore, the presented definition of femininity and womanhood in this section varies from the ones expressed by the study's participants. It could have some similarities because of the globally attached meaning of femininity and womanhood, however, the importance of these similarities differs according to cultural factors.

While there is no agreed-upon definition of gender, the current conceptualization perceives gender as sociocultural recognized expressions, relationships, actions, beliefs and other traits that relate with the stereotypical perception of male/man and female/ woman, and are associated with the binary of

femininity and masculinity. Across different cultures, the concept of gender has formed the main component of human self-definition, as well as gender identity and roles, which are reflected by social norms and expectations (Gonzalez & Spencer, 2015).

Every society and culture have its own understanding of femininity. Most femininity norms are articulated through traits associated with communion. Nevertheless, it is highly dependent on the cultural and historical context. For example, in Latin American countries, religion has its impact on all features of femininity in terms of identity, role, appearance and social expectation for girl/woman (Gonzalez & Spencer, 2015), while Euro-American culture defines femininity as being soft, submissive, pretty, as well as being hairless, slim, and wearing high heels, makeup, skirts and dresses, and acting helpless. Moreover, feminine sexuality means being indirect in sexual setting, giving the sexual power to men, and being submissive to them. It also contains the notion of being desirable and appealing to others, while the other partner approaches women as a sexual object not as a sexual actor.

Some recent feminists and gender theorists have challenged this traditional approach of femininity and have articulated that femininity can be perceived individually. These scholars maintain that patriarchal perception of femininity do not represent many women's expression of femininity. They perceived femininity as empowered and independent, which challenges the patriarchal definition of femininity and less valued than masculinity (Gonzalez & Spencer, 2015).

R. M. Hoffman, L. D . Borders, and J. A. Hattie (2000) studied the personal definitions of masculinity and femininity as an aspect of gender self-concept. 273 women and 98 men participated in the study, their age ranging from 17 to 46 years. Participants had to respond to HGS measurement which contained 14 items and asked

to rate themselves. The result shows that 31.4% of women define femininity as biological sex, and 29.5% of them define femininity with expression and relationship. Social standards have followed the previous two categories as 21.4% define femininity as displaying social female traits that are associated with female gender. The less reflected categories in women's answers were: (1) sexual orientation, as only 2.4% of female participants define femininity as not acting homosexual, (2) self-reliance, as 2.9% of the women define femininity as being strong and independent, (3) attractiveness, as 3.8% of women define femininity as taking care of their appearance by wearing makeup and being elegant. The study also examines the relation between the definition of femininity and masculinity and gender self-acceptance, which is like being male or female, as well as gender self-confidence, which is being true to oneself as man or woman. The results show that male and female participants whose definition include biological sex scored lower on the Gender Self-Definition scale than those who did not include biological sex in their definition. Furthermore, men and women who define femininity and masculinity using these four categories: (1) forceful/assertive, (2) social standards, (3) expressive/relational, (4) opposite sex scored higher on Gender Self-Definition scale than those whose perception of femininity and masculinity is not building upon these four categories. R.M.Hoffman, L. D . Borders, & J.A. Hattie (2000) discussed that 20.5% of women's responses reflect their confidence in meeting their own standards for femininity, independent of gender stereotyping. 12.5% of women defined femininity with androgyny category, which suggest that their perception of themselves as women needed qualities from both feminine and masculine stereotyping. On the other hand, attractiveness is one of the less categories used to define femininity. Both male and female participants whose definition of femininity and masculinity included biological sex had lower gender

self-definition. Women with higher gender self-definition often defined femininity using expressiveness and relationship, which suggests that women with strong gender self-definition – being true to themselves as women – tend to adopt more stereotypical perception of gender than those with low score on gender self-definition scale.

Although womanhood and femininity could be perceived as the same concept, some studies indicate that different aspects are related to the concept of womanhood, such as familial responsibilities, marriage and children. Ishrat Jahan studied the Hindu woman, she found that during her girlhood, the Hindu girl links womanhood with marriage and childbirth. The women in the community around her teach her how to grow up to become a good wife and mother. So she develops her self-perception around marriage, and it becomes her ultimate goal in life. She realizes that as a "self" she is supposed to be in state of marriage showing, something she is waiting with hope and mystery.

Self is realized and discovered among Hindu women after marriage, as the two concepts "self" and "womanhood" are combined. Most women build their self-image in relation to society (in relation to husbands, fathers, in-laws, brothers, sons, etc.) in addition to their social position in their society. Women in Kundu Para are from different backgrounds and classes have constructed a self with low esteem. Women in this village find the image of self develops based on "otherness" and "belongingness". Every woman needs to stay related and connected to a protecting male. Self is perceived by what role they have, whether daughters, sisters, wives, or mothers (Jahan,2015).

However, low-class Hindu women who are socially neglected have a high self-image. But not because of ritual status but because of being proud of social exchanging power they have. The reason behind the high self-esteem they have is

their participation in public life. They need to work because of their financial circumstances, and spend most of their time outside the home, which increases their self-respect (Jahan, 2015).

Buchanan, Pratt-Hyatt and Settles (2008) examined the perception of womanhood among black and white women, they investigated the similarities and the differences in these two groups' perception of their gender through focus groups. Fourteen black women and 17 white women participated in six focus groups where they discussed the negative and positive aspects related to race and gender personal experiences. The result showed five themes found in both black and white women's responses: (1) gender-based mistreatment, (2) perceived advantage, (3) friendship and community, (4) caretaking, and (5) work and family options.

Both white and black women report receiving common types of sexism and unequal treatment. Their experiences include feeling bullied by men, being cheated by service providers and the need to have a man to prevent this type of treatment. Their responses place men as protectors and offenders and women as dependent on men to protect them from abusive men. On the other hand, many women believe their life is easier comparing to men, some of the advantage's participants believe that women have are being free to express emotions (being able to cry) in addition to economic benefits. Two white females believe that women these days enjoy the privileges of both "old-fashioned" and postfeminist systems. However, while more than three quarters of white women reported some advantages of being women, less than one third of black women did. Friendship is perceived as a positive aspect of the participants' experience as women as they receive support, encouragement and understanding that they do not get through their relationship with men. Obstacles of creating such friendship are female spitefulness and deviation from the tradition roles

of women or the bad female reputation.

Many women perceive their role as caretaker as a reward which gives them a purpose in life. However, they realize that responsibilities and limitations are associated with being the caretaker. This aspect of womanhood is noticed in participating mothers and participants without children. Although both groups discussed the positive and negative aspects of being the caretaker, white women described the rewarding part of taking care of others, while black women discussed the challenges of such a role. Both groups acknowledged the challenges of handling work-family responsibilities as work and family on of the themes that related to womanhood as the participants expressed. The last theme is the inner strength that only black women described, but they acknowledge that it is emotionally difficult to always be strong.

Wang (2010) studied the influence of Confucian social inspiration and Daoist commitment in creating the image of ideal womanhood in the Chinese tradition. Wang discussed the three distinctive standards that associated with womanhood: virtue, talent, and beauty. These three standards are expressed through three social roles: the filial daughter, the virtuous wife, and the good mother. He explains that while the virtuous wife and good mother are the model in Confucian culture, it has provided women with alternative way of living. Women's relationships with others have been a way to give them a sense of worth and identify them. Women exist as daughters, wives and mothers are related to others, especially men. On the other hand, in Daoist culture, being a female includes greater ontological concerns with inner states and cosmic achievement. Women have privileged position merely by virtue of being female, because it is believed that they are like water, feminine image includes many Daoist ideals such as cohort and softness. Wang concluded that the current

situation of Chinese women is complex as it is under the influence of many ideologies such as Marxism and globalization; however, traditional ideals of womanhood are still evoked, and women are encouraged to adopt the traditional image of the ideal Chinese woman.

Construction of Womanhood and Femininity in a Patriarchal Culture

Because patriarchal societies treasure notions of the tribe and family, shaping the concept of womanhood and femininity in such societies becomes a collective and not individual process. Additionally, because women are viewed as a representation of honor, the focus of women's issues centers around guarding the female body. Therefore, in patriarchal societies, men attempt to possess and control women's bodies. This control may be through direct or indirect violence, including dictating what a woman should wear, how she should behave or speak.

This is amplified further through customs and traditions that support the image of women as weak beings who are unable to manage their lives. These traditions also promote that women are controlled and forced to follow strict laws that do not impose on men. This leads to the demonization of the woman's body – as women's bodies are seen as a gateway for seduction and corruption. Consequently, punishment on women who commit acts that society deems as abnormal become extreme, even to the point of killing. On the other hand, because a women's body is also considered a tool for reproduction – a benefit to society – they are also stripped from their right here. For example, women cannot refuse to have children but are rather encouraged to marry and bear many children (Mernissi,1991).

Women in patriarchal societies are deemed less intelligent than men, unable to drive or take up responsibilities. They are assigned the task of caring for the house and children and exempt from interfering in the public sphere. As a result, the public

sphere then becomes a male-dominated space. For many years, for example, it was unacceptable for girls to go to school, including religious schools. Many religious clerics at the time believed that girls did not need education and considered it a Western idea to keep women away from their home and family.

In patriarchal societies, the power dynamics between men and women is arranged in an order that places women in a level beneath men. Men are given noble tasks such as participating in war, holding leadership and judicial positions. On the other hand, women are allowed to participate in activities that are less important, and their participation is marginal and negligible compared to those of men. The only important role that remains for women is motherhood, and so it becomes the only role for them to desire to be.

These societies also legalize violence against women and grants men the right to discipline his wife, sister or any woman from his tribe. This violence perpetuates the image of women as a vulnerable being who needs the protection of a man (Al Ghanem, 2009). When women are believed to have crossed the boundaries, violence against them is set and even encouraged. This compels women to adopt constructs of womanhood and femininity as painted by the patriarchal culture. The next chapter discusses in detail the impact of the patriarchal culture on women; however, it should be stated that the Islamic role in such patriarchal violence doesn't represent what this thesis argues, nor does it fully account for the issues and concerns addressed in this project.

Summary

Individuals learn appropriate behavior for their gender through socialization, whether through their families, schools, or the media, in which they acquire several values and skills related to their gender. Children are encouraged to adhere to the

prevailing gender values in the society. If individuals demonstrating behaviors contrary to the prevailing gender patterns, they would be punished with exclusion and rejection. Several different studies have shown that there are similar gender perceptions of women in different cultures and at different times. Most of the traits associated with women in these studies are related to softness, tenderness, modesty, and chastity and are the perpetuation of the prevailing gender stereotype of women. The gender stereotype influences the behavior of the individual strongly as it shapes the expectations, values and ideas of the individual about his/her gender. The gender stereotype is divided into several key components which are traits, profession, physical characteristics and behavior. Several studies in different cultures have shown that women still suffer from a stereotypical view of their roles and still suffer from discrimination against them in the work environment, even in societies that seem to be more accepting of gender equity.

CHAPTER 3: WOMEN AND PATRIARCHAL SOCIETIES IN MIDDLE EAST

This chapter explores patriarchal systems in the Middle East and Arab region, particularly in the Gulf region, in order to understand the reasons behind common perceptions of women and their social status under such societies. It sheds light on women involved in this study about patriarchal systems and how they too, view themselves under the guise of these systems – proving that these women often fall trap to the prevalent perceptions. First, this chapter will present the status of the majority women in Middle Eastern, Arab and Gulf societies today who are under the domination of patriarchal systems.

Furthermore, the chapter will analyze different forms of patriarchy, how the social system leads to the oppression of women, and further discusses why patriarchal ideologies persist to this day in the Arab and Gulf society. it will also examine how women in the region resist the prevalent paternalistic cultures and how they pave the way to achieve their demands. Additionally, it examines gender-based notions of honor and how they are utilized to control women and force them to remain under the authority of men.

This chapter also discusses the most significant movements that emerged in response to patriarchal systems in the region and the challenges they faced. These movements have changed perceptions about the role of women in society, created an awareness of existing oppressive systems, pushed towards changing gender stereotypes, as well as supported gender equality.

Women Status in the Patriarchal Societies

Although women's status in the Middle East and Gulf States particularly has improved since the seventies due to education and work and their options to grow and participate in public life have increased, there were waves of opposition of

conservative Islamic fundamentalists, especially in Gulf society after the Islamic Iranian revolution in 1979 (Ramazani, 1985). While women's education and work present challenges to patriarchal control over the family, women themselves are not certain of what this social change would bring and how it could affect them. If they continue their education, will they be undesirable for marriage? If they choose to work, can they take care of their children? (Doumato, 1992).

Moreover, men would rarely leave their privileged positions to women; so, improvement of women's lives is only accepted if it does not disturb the gendered power relations. According to AlMugni (1993), even Kuwaiti men who called themselves progressive do not support women's rights of full independence and self-determination. The liberation they supported was a kind that encouraged women to participate in national development process through jobs in the service industry, especially in education, medical, social work, and research field.

Women in patriarchal societies have a strong commitment to traditional gender roles. That is because under patriarchal systems, women can depend on the financial support provided by their men. Therefore, to keep this privilege, they guard patriarchal norms. However, this adherence does not prevent them from taking advantage of social changes and modernization (Hoodfare, 1977). Therefore, women adopt passive resistance. because resistance to patriarchal system is not all or nothing, when women take any decision that resists the male dominant system in daily life, they put themselves vis-à-vis patriarchy to a certain degree. Unfortunately, patriarchal norms and attitudes are not just in the outside world, but in our minds as well. That is why women are in a continued resistance to patriarchy in different ways and to different extents (Ruby, 2003).

Primarily, the patriarchal system extends from within the family unit to

society, and the state as a whole. It, therefore, exists in twofold: private and public patriarchy. Private patriarchy presents itself as control of men over women at home. Women's roles are narrowed by increasing their dependency on the male figure. Meanwhile a women's role is to care for children, without having the choice to make family decisions. This leads to the marginalization and entrapment of women in society.

On the surface of the public patriarchal system appears that there is a participation of both men and women and a sort of gender equality, whereas women participate in politics and work. However, women are still marginalized as they do not enjoy the same social status as men or receive equal pay (Belknap, 2007). Furthermore, regardless of a women's place in the public sphere, the authority of the tribe and its laws always prevails over that of the state. And so, though it allows women's participation, the state does not seek to change gender stereotypes or women's role in society. Instead, it seeks to preserve the cultural norms of the tribe – avoiding any clashes – and that is heavily due to the fact that Arab societies glorify notions of kinship, the clan and the family.

In the patriarchal system, women are forced to make compromises to adapt to the prevailing values in society. These majorly dictate that men are the breadwinners and women as homemakers. Thereby, women are pushed into taking up traditional gender roles, becoming subservient to their male counterparts. As a result, they, often oblivious to the fact that they lose their power and independence, and in fact become guardians of the patriarchy. In other words, women become active members in upholding and reinforcing the same values that oppress them – by restricting themselves and other women in society (kandayoti,1988).

It is challenging for men in patriarchal societies to accept women's

participation and equality, whereas they view masculinity as a privilege – one that is rightfully attained and difficult to abandon. Consequently, male domination on women exists in duality, in both public and private spaces.

<div align="center">The Orgins of the Arab Patriarchal System</div>

Origins of patriarchal systems in the Arab region can be traced to the pre-Islamic period in which chiefdom shaped society. Chiefdom, or "*Almashykha,*" came to life as a result of socio-economic relations within the pastoral systems, which at that time, mapped the Arabian deserts. As those were based on tribal affiliations, or rather tribal fanaticism, or "*asabiyyah",* it paved the way to chiefdom, whereas it attached importance to kinship and blood relations. Everyone conformed to the tribe in exchange for status, a sense of belonging and protection, further imposing a social and political responsibility for each individual to conform.

This established a tribal system based on *asabiyyah* that defines the family unit as the center of the social structure and expands to include the clan and the tribe as an extension of that family. It broadens the tribe's sovereignty of control and strengthens its power as an entity. That power of control then exists in every level of society: a father's control over the family, a man's over a woman, the Sheikh over the tribe. Thus, producing a male-dominated discourse framed by the men – mainly the father's as he protects the family, orders and decisions (Al-Haidari , 2016).

With the emergence of Islam, the religion's teachings attempted to change the tribal nature of the Arab region by introducing the concept of communalism, or "*umma,*" as an alternative to *tribal fanaticism.* Despite this, the tribal system and tribalism, "*qabaliyya"* shaped every facet of society and the state. Hence, the birth of patriarchy in the Arab world can be attributed to the tribal system, and is guided by historical, geographical and cultural aspects. Additionally, chiefdom holds authority

in social, economic and political life in the tribal system. It serves as an alternative authority to the state and its administration, despite it being a social construct built on basis of tribal values, clan relations and fanaticism (Al-Haidari, 2003).

According to Al-Haidari (2016) traditional Arab patriarchal systems are characterized by tribalism or and an individual's allegiance to a tribal identity, as they form social and political protection for the individual. It thereby establishes and enforces a patriarchal system based on tribal fanaticism. That the family unit becomes the center of social structure. In other words, responsibility for social harmony is placed on the tribe as a whole, due to the fact that the tribe is seen as an extended family – one which cannot be divided. Consequently, the notion of control is reinforced by patriarchal tribalism: the father's control over the family, a man's control over a woman, and a boy over a girl. This produces male-dominated discourse framed by the male's orders and decisions.

Additionally, patriarchy is characterized by notions of kinship, namely a son's obligation to respect and serve his father. To this day, a son's servitude and obedience to his father remains a key tradition that is passed on from generation to generation. Essentially, a son's respect for his father is deemed as his respect for the tribe, which further amplifies the role of the individual in the tribe. In fact, a father's authority in his family is often the sole aspect that defines his authority and respect in the tribe. Many years later, tribal structures remain an integral part of many Arab societies. These structures usually consist of social units formed on the basis of kinship and are represented by the family. However, family only carries part of the weight, as there are clans, clan groups, and tribal affiliations to be considered when defining what makes society in its broadest form.

Generally, the Arab family consists of several family units. Until recently, the

extended family formed as the foundation of most family structures. All descendants of one male grandfather are placed as one unit, bearing the name of the family's first grandfather.

In the countryside, family structure was intricately linked to economic production whereas social ties that lend to the benefit of the land were imperative. It reflected a structure of kinship, which prioritized social cohesion and family in the face of conflicts with other families or even the government. Therefore, the family's priority was to increase the number of offspring to feed the land with many male laboring hands. Often, early marriage within the family (cousin-to-cousin) as well as polygyny was imposed -- as a means of preserving the family's wealth. In consequence, up until the end of the 19th century, the extended Arab family remained a social unit motivated by economic benefit.

According to Khoury (1999) and Moghadam (2004) one might say that these behaviors continue to exist in different forms, namely in kinship relationships. This is apparent in co-residence of family or kin groups in a specific area or city. Another way is though performances of kinship as means to solidify relations. These are usually done by attending various family events, such as weddings marriages, Eid celebrations, funerals, etc. To this day, consanguine marriages are the preferred model for many Arab families. Given that Arab patriarchal system also extends to power to family influence, the family and clan still play a prominent role in forming kinship relationships in many villages, rural areas and even cities.

The Maintenance of Patriarchy

Middle Eastern societies, especially Gulf countries, are classically patriarchal. It depends on the extended household to maintain patriarchal ideology (E. Wolf 1966). Although the dominance and authority of three-generations of patriarchal

households have been weakened due to many social, economic and demographic changes, they form a powerful cultural ideal (Ortner, 1978). In Gulf societies, since the discovery of oil, the patriarchal family has faced contradictions and challenges due to economic development, demographic change, legal reform and an increasing number of educated women. Therefore, the material bases of classic patriarchy have grinded, which led to a shift from a classic patriarchal household unit to a modernized one among Gulf families, especially in urban areas. However, the patriarchal gender contract is still intact, but it could weaken by the collective action of activist women, in addition to economic changes (Moghadam ,2003 ;see also Ramazani, 1985).

Many factors have led to the unbroken maintenance of the patriarchal system in Gulf societies. The changes in women's life after education and work had invoked a strong reaction in the mass and among people in authority (Doumato, 1992). Attempts to maintain the status quo regarding women's position may be seen socially and politically. The motivation of these attempts is that patriarchal ideology holds contradictory beliefs regarding women(Almugni,1993 ; see also Doumato,1992).

Two inherited arguments are observed in gender and women's discourse. On one hand, women are believed to have the same abilities as men – both are similar in their thinking and feeling and there is no reason to differentiate between them. On the other hand, women are different from men biologically as they can give birth to children, thus, they are prepared and encouraged to be good wives and mothers on whom men can depend on to take care of family. Therefore, under contradictory patriarchal beliefs, women get nothing, but an illusion of liberation (Almugni, 1993).

The holy stance of the patriarchal family has contributed to the maintenance of patriarchal values intact. Religion is used to legitimize and protect the authority of males within family and society (Mir-Hosseini, 2012). Politically, maintaining

patriarchal ideology in Gulf societies under rapid changes required a political intervention to legitimate its social practices. Therefore, to face the tides of change to family structure, legal Islamic and conservative ideologues in the 1980s and 1990s insisted on returning to patriarchal family law and succeeded; while in other countries like Algeria, Iran, and Turkey, they found strong resistance from progressive women (Moghadam, 2003).

Polices of Gulf states are built on the basis that patriarchal ideology consider women weaker than men and in need of protection. It emphasizes their roles as mothers and wives. For example, constitutions in Gulf countries including Qatar refer to the family as "the cornerstone of society" to demonstrate its importance (Almughni, 1993). As a result of the basic ideology of inequalities that came from the nation-state construction, women are hindered by serious legislative inequalities in their life. Many of these inequalities are because of the laws governing and protecting the patriarchal system (Mir-Hosseini, 2012).

Interpretations of Islamic texts have also contributed to sustaining the patriarchal system through emphasizing on the traditional role of woman as wife and mother (Brock & Levers, 2017 ; Doumato, 1992; Hoodfar, 1997 ; Ramazani, 1985). For instance, in Saudi Arabia what is called the "ideal Islamic woman" ideology used the traditional role of woman as a symbol of Saudi heritage. It was used to promote myths about identity and guaranteed loyalties to the royal family. The first myth is that the Kingdom is a cohesive national entity united by a common loyalty to Islam as shaped by the Wahhabi traditions. The second is that the Al Saud family are qualified to defend Islam and to ensure the moral well-being of the Muslim community (Doumato, 1992).

In Islam, pre-modern *Tafsir* has differentiated between the private and public

authorities. The Holy Quran states that "men's obedience is to God, His Prophet and the holder of authority" (Sura 4:59). Tafsir has established an obedience structure, where woman's obedience to God is achieved through her obedience to her husband. Therefore, the woman by acting against her husband's wellbeing is committing a sin, as the man acting against God's instructions is also considered a sin (Brock & Levers, 2017; Doumato, 1992).

<center>Accessing Power under Patriarchal Systems</center>

Women in patriarchal Middle Eastern societies have access to authority through their male relatives, especially sons, through the union of mother and sons (Kandiyoti, 1988). Therefore, fertility derives its significance from women's uncertainties and insecurity. As a result, this invokes a powerful motivation for higher fertility (Greeley, 1983). Despite the restrictions classic patriarchy imposes on women, which are more powerful than their efforts to achieve economic and emotional security through fertility or other means, women usually resist social changes, because it deprives their old pattern of accessing power, and leaves them without an empowering alternative (Baxter, 2007 ; Kandiyoti, 1988). Women's maintenance and protection of the traditional image of a woman serves their interests. "False consciousness" could be one of the reasons for women's resistance to change, but the main reason is them realizing these changes come in an unjointed fashion, which threatens the immediate interests of some women, and may cost them the loss of the uncompensated protection (Molyneux, 1985).

Despite women's resistance to social changes in patriarchal society, they have tried to maximize their power without losing any social interests they gain through being committed to the traditional image of women. They have struggled to adopt other roles beside the traditional one with caution not to repudiate social norms or

invoke social anger against them. Women have attempted to access the public sphere and participate in public life. For them, work was their way to find a place outside the home, as well as a role beside their role as mother and wives. However, their participations were for collective interests, socially justified and accepted (Abou-Bakr, 2013; Almugni, 1993).

The main difference between Western and Middle Eastern women in terms of understanding and applying empowerment is that rather than confronting the patriarchal system directly from the outside position, religiously active women usually realize their empowerment within their community structure and in relations of power (Hafez, 2010). Religious women of the Arabian Peninsula in the 1950s and 1960s enhanced their social status as a result of their religious knowledge and activities, besides enjoying a certain level of authority in their communities. Gulf women pursuing high achievement and recognition in the domain of religion have challenged the patriarchal system as well as the male religious dominance, which was an unplanned after-effect (Abou-Bakr, 2013).

The same pattern of maximizing power is observed currently among Gulf women. They appreciate the opportunities they have to enter public life and being financially independent. Gonzalez (2013) studied Islamic feminism in Kuwait by surveying and interviewing elites. She found that for women, the most important issues in Kuwait in order are economic independence, political participation, personal status laws and personal security, educational and professional achievement and, lastly, access to healthcare. The importance of economic independence, as female interviewees explained, comes from its influence in social change. For them economic independence has done what none of the women could done through social means. It has achieved for Kuwaiti women what no media campaigning or speaking can

achieve. The expectation to see women shoulder-to-shoulder with men in the workplace has shaken up the traditional family in Kuwait more than female political participation has done.

Almugni (1993) discussed the obstacles Kuwaiti women faced after they maximized their power and reached the public sphere. AlMugni found that working outside the home has made Kuwaiti women extend their social space, just as driving cars extended their geographical space, which introduced women to new roles and status outside the family system and made them interact with unrelated men whom social conventions would not otherwise allow her to meet. However, this extended social and geographical spaces, and new role and status did not eliminate gender segregation as a social practice or reduce its importance. Thus, this interaction should be justified in a way that does not disrupt society's norms.

The need for a workforce to build the nation of Kuwait legitimizes this gender interaction and makes it acceptable; nevertheless, outside workplaces and universities there is a resistance among men to the idea of forming relationships or interaction between men and women outside of kinship or marriage. Despite the human resources development and the increasing need for a female workforce, the discourse of motherhood formed an indirect objection of women with careers. This discourse derives its significance from the demographic deficiency and the small proportion of Kuwaitis compared to other nationalities in Kuwaiti society. In fact, this discourse was not refused by Kuwaiti women because they perceive motherhood to be a civic duty to increase Kuwaiti population.

Bargaining with patriarchal family and society is currently a common practice among Gulf women. Two current studies conducted in UAE and Saudi Arabia show clearly how even progressive businesswomen show their obedience in exchange of

achieving their dreams. In their study, Barragan, Erogul and Essers (2018) found that EFEs, as entrepreneurs have involved in "continuous intersubjective evaluation of the dilemma of resisting and obeying the imposed boundaries by male members of their families. The EFEs attempted several times with persistence and patience to push the boundaries further, however their attempts are not an open confrontation of family members. They had to gradually convince their husbands, fathers and brothers. In patriarchal society, this act is a strategic obedience because it involves a form of micro-emancipation. In the process of convincing their male relatives, these women ended up accepting alternative ends to maintain their traditional roles as obedient wives, daughters and sisters. (Erogul , 2011 , Karmi, 1996 , Kazemi, 2000; Naguib & Jamali,2015; Tlasis, 2014 as cited by (Barragan, Erogul, & Essers, 2018).

Another current example of Gulf woman's passive resistance is the "abaya-as-fashion". Al-Qasimi (2010) examined the phenomenon of the "abaya-as-fashion" and how it is accommodated to the dominant ideology of patriarchal and Islamic system in the Gulf. Al-Qasimi argues that the "abaya-as-fashion" contradicts the main purpose of the traditional abaya, which is to veil the body. Thus, it represents a form of passive resistance; however, the consent with the dominant ideology is seen through the keeping of the "abaya's main qualities" (long and black). Nevertheless, as the abaya moves away from the traditional one, it is incorporated by the internal logic of patriarchal constructed religious femininity. This process engenders a legitimized form of subordination that simulates advancement beyond an older form of oppression. Therefore, through practicing passive resistance, women show their agreement to patriarchal perception of women and comply their behavior according to their society's expectations.

Gendered Modesty and Honor

Gendered modesty and honor have prevented women in Middle East from participating in public life and limited their options. It also feeds gender inequalities practices in patriarchal societies and violate women human rights (Raday, 2013). Modesty in the Middle East refers to covering parts of the woman's body (Antoun ,1968), however it has broad meaning as it is associated to specific personal traits, such as bashfulness, humility, diffidence and shyness (Antoun, 1968 ; Eickelman, 1984). The Arabic word *mutahya* – 'shy' – is as Eickelman (1984) described a feeling of embarrassment caused by behaving inappropriately in the presence of socially higher people. Modesty also refers widely to institutions that related to the customs and beliefs linking to chastity, fidelity, and inferiority of women and superiority of men (Antoun, 1968 ; Ramazani, 1985). Furthermore, modesty is the central tenet of social interaction in patriarchal society and one of the most desirable traits for a virtuous woman (Eickelman, 1984).

Although modesty is expected from men and women, women need to be watched and controlled more. The ideology of women's inferiority is not associated with women's rational ability nor her legal status, but rather to her ethical ability. It is believed that women are the initiators of any sexual relation (Antoun, 1968). Modesty as practice is shown in public places through gender segregation and imposing some Islamic dress code on women – such as the *burqa*, a face covering – which became an integral part of women's identity and enforces the idea of making women invisible in public life (Antoun, 1968 ; Doumato, 1992 ; Rady, 2013 ; Ramazani; 1985). Separation and non-public presence of women became normalized, like praying in mosque, an evidence to demonstrate adherence to Islamic values. The public invisibility of woman is a reflection of the faith of her relatives and male guardians (Doumato, 1992). In the patriarchal system, it is believed that women have stronger

sexual desire than men do, and if not watched and controlled carefully they will involve in sexual relations. Therefore, fear of sexual interaction and social corruption revolved around women behavior. In other words, being a woman invokes anxiety in the community (Antoun, 1968).

Being a woman in patriarchal society means also to be the holder and maintainer of relative men's honor (Alghanim, 2009; Antoun, 1968). The different terms that are used to describe modesty, such as ʿarḍ and sitr are highly correlated with honor with modesty and take a fully covered woman as a model of honor. Honor is achieved when a woman is fully dressed and thus protected, and not achieved when a woman is exposed and subjected to violation (Al-Amri, 2004; Antoun, 1968 ;Baxter, 2007; Yessayan, 2015). The more immodesty, which means the greatest loss of honor, comes with the exposure of what should be hidden and protected, the genitalia. The symbolic relation between modesty and honor in female genitalia is shown by the expression "your mother's genitals" which is the worst offence to insult a man (Antoun, 1968).

Historically, tribal honor was linked to woman in the pre-Islamic period in the Arabian Peninsula. In pre-Islamic poetry, woman was used to insult the opponent's clan. Two significant poets, Jarir and Al-Farazdaq who composed naqa'id poetry launched abuse at the women of the other tribe, alongside with indorsing the honor of their women. Therefore, women from other tribes are symbols of the honor. Moreover, during tribal feuds, women did not play just a passive role by merely being a symbol of honor, but an active role by their presence in the battlefield in a practice called imra'at al-nuṣra or "lady of victory," as the tribe's honor and pride is under threat and in need of protection, singing and encouraging their tribe's fighter. After Islam, Arabic tribes continued their battles, but within an Islamic framework. Veiled

woman replaced the lady of victory, and covering women's bodies replaced bringing women to the battlefield. Therefore, a veiled Muslim woman still symbolizes her tribe's identity and honor. In the culture of tribal conflict, women's status became a matter of ʿirḍ and a measure of tribe's success or failure just like the defense of lady of victory in battlefield (al-Ghadeer, 2012).

According to Rahima (2018), the value of honor and ʿarḍ are significant to the female body in most traditional societies. French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu describes the female body in such societies as a form of symbolic capital for both women and men alike. Indeed, although the honor of a woman is a personal matter of her own, it is a symbol of honor for the entire kin group. On one hand, the female occupies a secondary, even marginal, social position compared to that of the male. On the other hand, maintaining the dignity of the group and its social status relies heavily on the behavior of the female and the extent to which she follows moral principles. As a ffemale's honor is linked and reduced to the idea of virginity, therefore, all measures are taken to protect and preserve virginity. The female body is tucked and hidden away from any potential attempts of violating virginity.

In such societies, divorced women face an exceptional challenge with notions of virginity. Though it is a cause of concern to the family and community, however, the topic is heavily censored or completely removed from all social interactions, specifically in male spaces. In this regard, Nawal Al-Saadawi believes that women are obliged to keep their husbands in any way, even if he is a drunk, abusive or a womanizer, or if he beat her every day with a whip... Because if she leaves, her social, economic, moral, and psychological life ends. In other words, women in such marriages find themselves trapped by fear of judgement and social alienation.

A recent study found that 90% of divorced women use their bodies as a

vehicle for revenge against the family and society. Therefore, by seeking revenge, the women in the study refuse to take responsibility for their situation alone and deem their families and society responsible, as they did not support them when they were in a crisis, in previous years, when they were married. Women in the study also showed their willingness to take up roles in performance, including singing and dancing as an act of braking social rules (belkadrawi, 2007).

And so, modesty becomes an ideology firmly rooted in patriarchal societies. Although women have had some positive privileges identified by religion, an imposed gendered modesty on them outweighs all the privileges gained under patriarchal system (Raday, 2013).

Women in Religious Discourse

It is important to examine the image of woman in religious discourse in Gulf area and Arab countries. It appears that the embodied image of woman in extreme Islamic discourse enforces the patriarchy ideology. It makes woman as a religious icon and manipulates gender norms to establish a political stability. It is worth mention that Qatar and other Gulf countries were influenced by Wahabi ideology. Therefore, the motivation behind the religious gender norms in GCC is not only social but also political.

According to Doumato (1992) the construction of gender ideology in Saudi Arabia was a political culture, where the gender construction has been the core element in creating myths of national identity. He argues that the constructed national identity based on gender aims to support monarchy's stability and security. Therefore, what called "ideal Islamic woman" ideology has used the traditional role of woman as a heritage's symbol, which has been used to promote myths of identity, and to guarantee loyalties to the royal family. It promotes the myth that the Kingdom is a

solid national entity united by a common loyalty to Islam as shaped by the Wahhabi traditions, and the Al Saud family are qualified to defend Islam and to ensure the moral well-being of the Muslim community. This myth was constructed through the teaching of eighteenth-century scholar Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahab. The Wahhabism religious philosophy converted political loyalty into religious obligation. Moreover, Wahhabism teachings follow only the interpretations of the early jurists of the first three centuries of Islam and avoid later interpretative readings.

According to Abu Zaid (2004) religious discourse is a male-dominated space which encourages men's control of women to influence and reject gender equality. That is because when women are equal to men, they are allowed to participate in various roles in society – meaning that they would leave their marginalized role to compete in leadership and authority positions. He believes that sexist religious discourse against women is also produced by a sense of defeat. Abu Zaid attributes some of that to the Six-Day war of 1967 in which the sense of defeat in the Arab world was largely reflected on women. He explains that instead of looking for solutions on how to rise, religious discourse focused on persevering religious heritage, namely through women's issues. As a result, religious discourse surrounding women's issues became strict using vague religious texts to justify the oppression of women. Thus, women's issues were discussed in a political and religious context rather than a social one. This resulted in further oppression and hindering of women's progress in society.

Mernissi (1975) explained how religious discourse was manipulated to harm women's dignity and mental abilities. She criticized religious Hadith that is used to oppress and offend women. Mernissi pinpoints that these contradict Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) behavior as well as the teachings of the Holy Quran. She

views that these Hadiths are the result of the social and political ideologies that emerged following the death of the Prophet (PBUH) in which the rights of women, especially in the political sphere, were plundered. Mernissi explains that this was mainly due to men's rejection of women's participation in positions of political power, and so, these religious texts were used in a way to emphasize the exclusion of women from positions of power and leadership.

The religious discourse that is widespread in Gulf states and in Qatar is mostly based on Wahhabi teachings – an ideology that enshrines women's obedience and dependency on men and paints them as a tool solely for pleasure and reproduction. Additionally, it utilizes religious heritage to justify and promote women's inferiority. For example, it promotes that women must be locked up at home, thereby eliminating their role in public life. Furthermore, Al Ansari views interpretations of Quran verses to be biased and extremist ones that place women as inferior to men. He also explains how such discourse has spread into the realm of media and social media in which women are forbidden to mix with men and their appearance in the media is often deemed indecent and blasphemous. (Al Ansari, 2018)

The Wahhabi and Salafi approaches have reinforced the traditional role of woman as mother and wife. Moreover, gender, and interaction between male and female have been the base of Wahhabi and Salafi teaching. For instance, in 2010, Sheikh Youssef al-Ahmad suggested to rebuild the grand mosque in Mecca, and make it gender segregated mosque. Where there is really no gender separation in the circling around Kabba (Al Arabiya TV Channel, 2010).Another example is when Shaikh Abdul Rahman Al Barrak stated that having mixed gender workplaces and universities is religiously prohibited, and it encourages male and female to engage in forbidden conversations. He also added that who refuse gender separation should be

killed (Al Arabyia TV Channel, 2010).

Although these two opinions are considered radical, and received criticism from significant Islamic scholars, it reflects the embedded gender norms in some of Islamic current discourse in GCC states. This kind of religious discourse promotes the image of woman as a symbol of society's honor and purity; therefore, she becomes the center of the dynamic interaction between social traditions and global culture, where religion is mostly used as a defense against any cultural threats.

Feminist movements in Arab societies

Several feminist movements and activities have emerged in Arab societies as a response to patriarchal structures. Aimed at improving women's social and economic status and supporting their participation in the public sphere, the emergence of such movements is still shaped by patriarchal culture in different forms. Ultimately, it was not easy nor simple for these movements to directly clash with the gender values that are deeply rooted in patriarchal cultures.

According to Ahmed (1982) feminist movements in the Arab world emerged in the mid-1970s in an attempt to achieve gender equality, support the rights of women and change traditional stereotypes about their role in society. However, the movement cannot succeed in achieving these goals as long as its objectives are dependent on the cultural and intellectual systems. This is simply because these systems are what frame and reinforce patriarchy. In other words, what majority controls the existence of oppressive systems against women are not in fact tangible, but rather the intangible, social constructs framed by thought or intellectual systems.

The Role of Feminism in Confronting Stereotypes About Women in the Gulf

Al-Bassam (1982) states that economic and social transformations have led to changes in women's roles in society. Because of education and work, society's perception of women has changed, as it has changed women's perception of

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themselves. More importantly, this change created a suitable environment for feminist movements to take off and succeed in opening new horizons. More women were encouraged to steer away from their traditional role and participate in public life. Furthermore, men who supported feminist values and ideas were now part of the discourse, which contributed to a more widespread support of women's rights.

Despite all this, the predominant misogynistic culture remained an obstacle to women's progress in many Arab societies. This presented itself in the types of the jobs that women were allowed to take – which were service jobs in fields such as education and nursing. In other words, though women did break out to the public sphere, they were still seen are the nurturers and caregivers of society. Furthermore, domestic responsibilities remained the sole responsibility of women. This generated more challenges for women in their progress towards achieving gender equality. The dominance and influence of patriarchy also surfaced in the forms of feminist movements, such as Islamic feminism. It advocated the integration of gender roles over equality, as it resonated more with Islamic culture.

Although these were the most prominent features of feminist movements in the Arab countries, a handful did differ from country to country. For instance, some countries focused on addressing issues such as early marriage, female circumcision, and divorce. Other countries focused on amending laws concerning women's participation in political life, while others focused on amending family laws. During the 1970s, the feminist movements which came to life in Arab Gulf countries supported women's volunteerism and the unification of all feminist movements in the Gulf states. Following the Beijing conference, a women's committee was established with aim to coordinate experience exchange, encourage discussions, and unify efforts among Gulf women's associations (Al-Sidani, 1982).

In Bahrain in 1994, thousands of women signed the "People's Petition," which included a paragraph calling for women's justice and demanding of their political rights. Despite the objections of some men who drafted the petition, the paragraph was added making it a turning point in Bahraini women's struggle for their rights. Following that in 1995, a group of Bahraini women leaders wrote another petition that included political and parliamentary demands. However, the government's response this time was different. Not only the petition was rejected, the women were asked to write a letter of apology and women who refused to sign the letter were dismissed from their jobs (AHMED, 2010).

In Kuwait, following the liberation from Iraqi occupation in 1991, women demanded political rights and gender equality on the grounds that they were marginalized throughout the 1980s. In 1972 and 1982, members of the National Assembly tried to grant Kuwaiti women their political rights, but the two attempts failed. Then in 1992, several Kuwaiti women came out in demonstration demanding their political rights as stated in the constitution, which allowed election and candidacy without distinction between men and women. They also drew on their role of during the invasion. And so, the struggle of Kuwaiti women continued until they obtained their political rights. However, to this day, many conservative Islamic movements in Kuwait continue to reject and resist the demands of women. (Al-Hajji, 2000)

In other Gulf countries such as the UAE, Qatar and Oman, there has not been significant feminist activity. In fact, the role of women's associations is feeble, and they have little to no impact on improving women's issues, as most of their work is limited to charitable work and volunteerism. Women's associations in these countries have lagged behind Kuwait and Bahrain due to the delay of the scientific development

and the government's control over civil social organizations. Financial abundance could also be a reason for the inactivity of women's associations in these countries.

In Saudi Arabia, since the beginning of the 1990s, there has been a surge in the role of the civil sector in women's issues, despite the control of the government. The influx of Western experiences and the spread of technology has had a major impact on civil work, specifically women's associations. Although many rights including political rights, which Saudi women demanded, were not carried out by these associations, a number of leading women came to the scene to demand such rights. Most notably were the 1991 demonstrations by a group of women demanding the right of Saudi women to drive. It led to the imprisonment of many of the participants. Today, with the spread of technology and the Internet, the movement lives on in forums and social media.

Feminist activity in the Arab Gulf countries have faced laws and regulations that targeted limiting its expansion. Moreover, the delay of education in Arab Gulf countries in comparison to other Arab countries, as well as the entrenchment of Bedouin culture, has hindered such activity from thriving. Women's work in this region focused more on philanthropy and volunteerism rather than trying to change the gendered values of society.

Overall, the demands of women provoked widespread criticism based on religious teachings, describing feminism as corruption, the Qatari writer Abdullah al-Mulla in his 2017 article about feminism in Qatar. He said:

"In the Arab world, this movement was initially associated with radical secularism which separates religion from life and came to satisfy the whims of expats." (AlMulla, 2017)

(Almesiri, 2010) has pointed out that the tyranny of men and their control over women should be studied within the cultural framework of Arab societies. He states that the solution is not to remove women from their primary role in the family, but to increase a man's role in his family and society. This view is shared in many Islamic feminist movements. It reflects the framework granted to women to exercise their rights, similar to those approved by legislation, where women are placed in the traditional role of serving and supporting the family.

Challenges to Feminism in Patriarchal Societies

The goal of feminism is to eliminate discrimination against women to achieve complete gender equality. Only then can society produce an environment that contributes to building the abilities of both genders. Thereby, feminist movements have sought to attract both women and men to change their values and beliefs regarding women's roles in society. These movements face several challenges, the most important of which is the contradictory nature of the political and social ideologies, objectives and ways that govern society. Essentially, Arab feminist movements operate in highly influential and widespread conservative religious environments that often claim to offer alternatives to feminism. At times, they take hostile responses to the demands of feminists and suggest that these movements are only beneficial to a few. In contrast to this religious discourse, there is a democratic one; however, it stands on weak grounds (ESCWA, 2005).

The work of women's associations is made more difficult by discrepancies in the constitution, which separates the rights of women in the public sphere and their rights and the private sphere. In addition, the discrepancies between civil legislation and interpreted Islamic laws that do not serve the interests of women. As a result, women within the family are increasingly oppressed and continue have their rights

taken away – even more so as it makes it difficult for feminism to reach women as they are often not independent of the family and husband (Ghoussoub, 1985).

The prevalent culture around women's roles coupled with lack of awareness perpetuates the traditional view of women. Even though more women are taking up work and consequently contribute to paying of living expenses in the household, they are still burdened with domestic responsibilities. These curb their productivity and drown them in constant societal pressures, thus limiting their ability to participate in feminist movements. Many religious movements attribute this tug-of-war in their calls for women to return to their home duties. These messages are often effective in keeping the women's role at home, especially when the women are guilt-tripped to feel a lack of responsibility towards their children or when they feel overwhelmed. As a result, many women indeed give up work and stay at home (ESCWA, 2005).

In spite of the revelations that feminist movements uncovered regarding the impact of patriarchy on women, the effect of its patriarchal culture is more profound. Therefore, it is safe to say that within Arab societies, feminism is still an incomplete picture, there is still a long way to go and resistance to patriarchy still needs to be studied further.

Summary

Over time, the lives of women in Arab and Gulf societies have witnessed tremendous development. Women benefited from social and economic change and were able to break into the public sphere – they managed attain degrees and the highest leadership positions as they became involved in political life. However, these gains came under the control of patriarchy, i.e. under the control of men. To this day, women continue to suffer from marginalization in private and public life as they hold the honor of the tribe and the family. They are compelled to adhere to the culture and

traditions of patriarchal societies and in fact, are expected to uphold and protect it. As a result, feminist movements emerged to seek real change, to ensure gender equality and to transform prevalent perceptions of women in society. But these feminist movements faced many criticisms, most notably, that they are a product of the West and result corruption of women, and the wider structure of society. This view has been adopted many intellectuals and academics who have called for the study of women's status within the cultural framework. From there, these movements took on different forms, including volunteerism and charity work to improve the lives of women and through Islamic feminism. However, these movements only promoted the integration the roles of men and women, and not gender equality. Meanwhile, feminist movements that clashed with societal expectations and authority resulted in punishments, social ostracism and alienation or both.

Despite the difficulties faced by the feminist movement, the question remains: to what extent will women be able to form views about themselves and their role away from what is appointed to them by the patriarchal society?

CHAPTER 4: WOMEN IN QATAR

It is important to discuss some aspects and review their impact on Qatari women in order to answer the research questions, as the understanding of the factors that affect a woman's view of herself and her gender as a woman depends on several overlapping elements. This includes the social environment, the history of the development of the life of Qatari women, and the changes that accompanied the discovery of oil.

All of these factors formed the environment in which the concept of "womanhood" and femininity was formed. These factors must be taken into consideration to know the consistency or disparity of these two concepts with the "patriarchal" ideology. It is also important to review the plans for empowering women in Qatar and then approach these two concepts and the values and beliefs they contain with what is included in the plans for empowering women.

It is important to implement plans for empowering women in Qatar to understand the extent of Qatari women's ability to engage in development plans and to benefit from them based on a perception of themselves and their gender. The transformation of the Qatari society from traditional and conservative life and its movement towards urbanization and modernity has opened unprecedented horizons for Qatari women. They have been able to reach higher positions, practice different professions and possess multiple professional skills.

Qatari women also ventured into the political field by running for municipal council elections and reaching the Council Committee. The Qatari woman has been emancipated from life between the walls of the house, where her role was only restricted to being a housewife, to the public life, where she has become a participant in decision-making and an effective member in implementing development plans.

The plans for empowering women in Qatar came to support and encourage Qatari women to take advantage of the opportunities granted to them in terms of education and work. The Qatar National Development Strategy for the years 2011-20016 and 2018-2022 stipulated goals related to empowering women and increasing the number of Qatari women in leadership positions and in disciplines that were previously restricted to men, such as engineering.

These plans also stipulated the importance of the role of women in preserving the family and preserving the values, traditions and identity of society. As a result of this empowerment and encouragement, Qatari women have emerged as examples of the transformation of the role of Qatari women from the traditional role of a wife and a mother who spends her life between the walls of her home to a leadership and decision-making role in society when such roles were limited to men.

Some of these models, but not all, are: Lulwa Al-Khater, Official Spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hessa Al-Jaber, the first Minister of Communications and Technology, Dr. Hanan Al-Kuwari, Minister of Public Health, Alia Al-Thani, Qatar's representative to the United Nations and others.

Despite all these changes and developments in the life of Qatari women, the Qatari society remains a "patriarchal" society that gives authority to men and believes that the role of women is marginal compared to the role of men. Women participation in public life must be defined restricted and controlled, as this represents the honor of her family and her tribe. For that it is considered imperative that the woman preserves the reputation of the family to which she belongs.

In light of this patriarchal thought, the woman is seen as being mainly a wife and mother, and that her responsibilities are raising children and caring for the family. All these factors have influenced the formation and perception of women themselves

as women.

It is important to study these different aspects of the life of Qatari women for a deeper understanding of the data collected from interviews with Qatari women participating in this study. In this chapter, these aspects are covered to give the reader a broader understanding of the factors affecting the lives of Qatari women.

<center>The Social development of Qatari women</center>

Qatar the small state in Arabia Gulf area had changed socially and economically since the discovery of oil in the 1930s. As a result, Qatari woman gradually gained more rights and opportunities such as: education, work and political participation. Tacking the emergence and development of these rights could reflect and explain the perception Qatari women have created of themselves.

Although the discovery of oil was a major turning point in Qatari society and in the life of Qatari women, it is important to know the life of a Qatari woman before oil. The Qatari woman played an important role in preserving family cohesion and care, especially when the husband was absent on long diving trip that may last up to four months (al-Kubaysi, 2002).

In the desert, women also played an important role, although they were under the guardianship of men and within the rules of a patriarchal community. They worked in sheep herding and weaving tents, as well as taking care of children and family affairs. The authority in the Qatari family was arranged according to Gender and age. The younger son's wife is entrusted with more tasks related to taking care of livestock than the rest of the wives, especially if has not give birth to children yet. Although the Qatari woman in the countryside had a role outside the home, she did not mix much with men who were in control. Decision-making is one of the most prominent features of the Qatari Bedouin tribal community at that time (Al-Saadi,

2012). Later, after the discovery of oil, the life of Qatari women began to change. Enrollment in education was one of the most prominent changes, but this change was not easy in a patriarchal society. Opposition appeared in the beginning and some of went to the extreme of prohibiting the education of women. The conservatives saw that women did not need education and that her entry to school is the beginning of corruption, dissolution and loss of the family. With these fears, many women were initially forbidden from entering schools or completing their education in the fifties when women's education began (Al-Kobaisi, 1979).

Women education in Qatar started officially in 1955, three years after opening the first official school for boys. In the pre- oil era, the religious education was the type of education people used to receive. *Al kattatib,* the religious schools run by women and men who can teach the Holy Quran and basic principles of Islam. A number of Qatari women established these types of schools in their houses, such as: Amna AL JJeddah, Moza Sulaibek, Sabika and Amna AL mutawa, Haya Alzmami. Women education was limited to learning reading but not writing, as well as religious principles. The aim of this education was to prepare them to be good wives and mothers (Al-Amari, 2004).

the first school for girls that was established by Amna Al Mahmoud in 1954/55, later the government developed these schools. When Qatari families started accepting the idea of educating their daughters, the ministry of education at that time established many schools, according to Nasser there were 20 schools with 119 female teachers and 1867 female students. In 1961/62 three classes for elementary school were opened and by the 1964, the first secondary school for girls in Qatar opened (Nasser, 2017).

A significant development in Qatari women's life was seen through the

establishment of the Higher diploma for teaching (Dar Al Mualimat) in 1967 which became college of education in 1973/74. Through this diploma Qatari women found new opportunities to be part of the educational development process in Qatar. In 1987/88 the number of students increased to 27.971 as well as the number of schools, which became 86 schools, while the number of female teachers increased to 3489. The number of educated Qatari women has gradually and steadily increased over the years. The statistics of the population and its distribution among educational levels in 2014/15, show the educational progress that Qatari women has achieved (Nasser, 2017; Al-Amari, 2004).

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Population by Educational level, Nationality and Gender 2018

Educational Level	Qatari Males	Qatari Females	Non-Qatari Males	Non-Qatari Females
Pre-primary	4.2	7.6	11.4	8.0
Primary	6.4	6.6	21.3	14.5
Preparatory	16.9	17.1	31.3	20.1
Secondary and diploma	41.5	31.8	21.7	27.6
University graduate or higher	31.0	36.9	14.3	29.8

The change in education was not the only aspect that occurred in the life of the Qatari woman. Other aspects have changed. One of these aspects is the patterns of marriage. The age of marriage for a Qatari woman rose between the fifties and between the 2000s. She used to marry and give birth before reaching the age of twenty years. Fertility was longer and it enables them to give birth to a large number of children, which may exceed ten children at times. This phenomenon made their family responsibilities heavy, but now the age of marriage has increased over 24 and the average number of children has become 2.5 children per woman. (Planning and Statics Authority, 2018)

The patterns of marriage also differed because the woman was allowed to marry outside the family, while she could only marry one of her cousins before. Despite of this change, the traditional marriage was still the best option for families and Qatari women. Moreover, the cost of marriage was small previously and women were not used to request the registration of conditions in the marriage contract. Now it has become acceptable for the woman to stipulate staying in her job and securing accommodation for her in the marriage contract. Hence, the old extended family pattern changed from the past when the wife lived with the husband's family and where the authority was to the husband's father and the wife's mother. Back in the day, the wife's role was serving and assisting her husband's family in the household chores. Qatari society today is gradually moving towards a modern nuclear family pattern (El-Haddad, 2003).

The professional activity of Qatari women during in the past was limited to specific fields of work, such as teaching and nursing. Most Qatari women were working in the service sector. In addition to about half of Qatari women over the age of fifteen were devoted to managing household affairs (Al-Hussaini, 1990). Currently, the status of Qatari women has changed in relation to the labor market, as Qatari women have been able to prove their presence in the business sector in various investment and economic fields. During the past years, the commercial registrations registered for Qatari businesswomen increased from 1,400 commercial registrations in 2014 to nearly 2,800 commercial registrations in 2016.

It is estimated that the number of commercial registrations owned by Qatari businesswomen amounted to about 4,000 companies registered at the end of 2017 (Al-Ahmadani, 2019).The Arab Monetary Fund also confirmed that Qatar recorded the highest levels of women's participation in the workforce at 58.3 percent, followed

by Kuwait at 49.3 percent, and Djibouti at 48.2 percent. The Arab Monetary Fund stated, in a recent study, that the rate of women's participation in the labor market witnessed the highest rate of increase in Qatar, as it increased by 17.4 percent. The demand for higher education has raised the rate of Qatari women's participation in the workforce to reach 37% for women at the age of (25-29 years) and approached 49% for the age group (30-34 years). Qatari women hold the largest percentage in the education sector, health, and social work (Abdulmenium & Qalul , 2018).

National Narrative of Women Empowerment

The national narrative of women empowerment including obstacles, requirements and plans reveals the expectations of Qatari women who are involved in the empowerment process. As it is noticed through the current gender and women literature, the family has a significant importance and is perceived as a priority. This notion is reflected in the Qatari constitution as well as its national strategic plans. The constitution states that

> The family is the basis of the society. A Qatari family is founded on religion, ethics, and patriotism. The law shall regulate adequate means to protect the family, support its structure, strengthen its ties, and protect maternity, childhood, and old age" (Qatar Constitution, Article 21).

While the national strategic plan states that:

> Qatar Vision 2030 sets a goal of maintaining strong cohesive families that care for their members. Balancing modernization and preservation of tradition, it envisions a society in which women are empowered to assume a significant role in which women are empowered to assume a significant role in all spheres of life" (Qatar National Development Strategy, 2011-2016,p.17).

The report of Qatar's Fourth National Human Development Report (2015) shows that

the National women empowerment plans highlight the importance of balance between family responsibilities and work that women need to make. It emphasizes the need to take into account Qatar's culture and social setting in addition to maintaining the Arabic and Islamic identity while encouraging gender equality and expanding the role of Qatari women.

The report reflects the importance of family ties and acknowledges the rapid social change that affects family dynamics and outcomes. However, women are perceived as central to the evolution of Qatari family, and they are expected to show commitment to valuable traditions while adapting the impact of modernization. Through their behaviors, language and ethics, women continue their role in sustaining familial and cultural values (Qatar National Strategic Plan, 2011-2016). The report links the increase in the number of women in leadership positions and the change in the public perception about women's role with the balance women make between work and family responsibilities.

The National Development Plan (2011-2016) encouraged women empowerment through education and skills development to enable them to fully participate in the social, economic and political fields. Almalki (2016) argues that one of the obstacles that face the process of revising and renewing the image of Qatari women, or the process of introducing new roles and responsibilities to Qatari women is the life and the family responsibilities. In other words, women's ability to maintain balance between their traditional roles as wives and mothers, and the new role as partners in the national development process.

Due to the time spent away from families or breaking traditional roles when participating in public life, it is challenging for Qatari women to achieve the required balance. These challenges are noticeable, the Qatar National Development Strategy

stated that "the dependence on domestic helpers is leading to weakened family ties affecting traditional family values and child well-being" this attitude was observed in the World Values Survey 2010, as 79 % agreed that children of worker mothers suffer more (Tok, Alkhater, & Pal, 2016).

In fact, Qatar National Development Strategy (2011-2016) considered employment and education as necessity for women's good life and encourages them to participate in public life: "Initiatives will be undertaken to further empower Qatari women in economic and political spheres and provide equal opportunities for them to participate at all levels of society" (Qatar National Strategic Plan, p. 40). In fact, this feminist approach in the national empowerment narrative contradicts with the patriarchal practice in Qatar society, whether it is on an individual or institutional level.

However, it is worth mentioning that one of the reasons behind women empowerment is Qatar's interest in achieving a high rank on sustainable development indicators, as well as the need to increase the number of Qatari work force, which leads to the inclusion of Qatari women in many work fields and expanding their opportunities to participate in public life (Abu-Lughod, 2009).This could explain the preservation of the patriarchal approach to family and women that colored the national dialogue of women empowerment in Qatar.

The Fourth National Development reports in Qatar (2015) discussed obstacles that challenge achieving the women empowerment plan successfully. It acknowledges the substantial growth of rate of Qatari women's participation in the labor market from 2001 to 2008, but it remained stable at a low level. The report highlights one of the main challenges that face Qatari women on their professional path which is the sufficiency of using their educational gains and skills to be economically empowered.

This can be seen in the high rate of unemployed Qatari females compared to males, especially for those new females graduates.

The report refers this to some social and cultural factors that could contribute to creating this dilemma. The number of Qatari women in jobs such as legislators, senior officials or managers has increased since 2001 steadily. However, a much higher number of Qatari women is in the education and the health sector. It also worth mentioning that the number of Qatari women in the private sector increased from just 2% in 2001 to almost 15% in 2013, their number also increased in mixed gender workplaces.

Familial responsibilities and restrictions have significant impact on the process of Qatari women empowerment, as it affects their decisions regarding work and participation in public life. Felder and Vuollo (2008) surveyed secondary school graduates to investigate the influence on their career choices. The result showed that for Qatar women, religious beliefs and parental advice are important factors that they take into consideration when deciding about their career path. When asked about the nature of jobs they prefer, their response showed that prestige, feeling respected and appreciated are characteristics of the desired career. Some also show interest in working in mixed gender environments. According to Felder and Voullo (2008) there are social expectations to the type of jobs that suit Qatari women. For instance, low pay and lesser skilled jobs are not preferred and not culturally accepted for women, therefore, they need a higher level of education in order to participate in the labor market.

Another study shed the light on the influence of having new roles in addition to being wives and mothers among working Qatari women. Khalifa (2001) states that the rationale behind this study was to examine the effect of experiencing conflict

between these convergent roles on women's wellbeing. According to Khalifa, (2002) there is negative correlation between the intensity of the role conflict and emotional balance among working women. One of the significant problems of role conflict is the daily housework for both working and non-working women. However, it negatively affects the emotional balance among working mothers especially, as they affect the relationship with the husband and the image of the self.

In fact, the national efforts to achieve gender equality and enhance women's statue prioritize the family interests over the individual interests. Despite that Qatari women's gain of many rights, such as education, health support, job opportunities, her civil rights are regulated to a perception that consider women as a part of the extended family (Maktabi, 2016).

Maktabi (2016) points out the difference between Qatar and Kuwait in her article and highlights some issues regarding women empowerment and rights in Qatar. She refers to the strong demands regarding women's civil right of political pluralism and the activities of the organizations of civil society. This is more observed in Kuwait, while in Qatar, as she argues, there is a lack of autonomous social and political organizations that operate without the state intervention. She reviewed the establishment of the supreme council of family affairs and the process of issuing the first draft of family law.

In 1998, three years after the ascendance of Emir Hamad bin Khalifa, his wife, Shaika Moza, established and headed the Supreme Council for Family Affairs, which included a committee to revise and set a draft of the family law. The committee was called the "woman's committee" , and addressed women issues . however, in 2005 it became an administration that addresses day-to-day administrative matters. The changed nature of this committee could be a result of the establishment of Doha

International Institute for Family Studies and Development (DIIFSD) in 2004.

As it is noticeable, improving women's life came under the enhancement of the whole family life process. Therefore, by empowering women in Qatar, it treats them as members of a family not as individuals, which could be understood as an attempt to avoid social resistance of changing women's image and expanding their roles. The new opportunities for women were introduced not as a new horizon or rebellious action against patriarchal attitude toward women, but as additional privileges to their main roles as mothers and wives.

The Feminist approach included in the national discourse and plans contradict with the patriarchal attitude presented on the institutional level, for instance the family law in Qatar supports the patriarchal approach. The rules in Family Law acknowledge the male guardianship of relative females and does not consider adult females as independent legal subjects. Consequently, they do not enjoy the same rights of their male counterparts (Al-Awadi, 2006). Although the process of issuing the law witnessed an extensive debate, and a number of Qatari female activists and academics were involved.it contains many articles that acknowledge male dominance, especially regarding the custody (Möller, 2017). For instance, a woman could be illegible for her children's custody because of her inappropriate behavior, or because she got married to a man who is not a relative. On the other hand, the male parent does not lose the custody for similar reasons. According to Family Law:

Custodianship shall cease in the following cases:

When the new female custodian starts to live with a former custodian whose custody was cancelled for violating custodianship; bad conduct, disbelief in Allah, or contracting a dangerous contagious disease.

When the father or guardian of the child cannot fulfill his duties of supervision, education and schooling towards the child under custody by reason of the custodian taking the child, without permission of the guardian, to reside with her in a country which is difficult to reach, unless the court deems that the interest of the child requires otherwise".

A custodian mother may undertake safe travel with her children to any destination. The judge shall intervene, should the guardian prevent the mother from such travels. If the judge is satisfied that the person having the right of permission has abused such a right. Sponsors of foreign custodian women shall guarantee their return, should they require to travel with the children in emergency situations" (Family Law, Article 185).

It is well understood that the "woman's committee" members have few options regarding some articles in the family law as, it is derived from Islamic jurisprudence. However, the comparison and review of the national ambitious approach regarding women empowerment and the social and cultural restrictions as well as the legal protection of the patriarchal system aim to shed light on the conflicting expectations of Qatari women.

According to National Human Rights Committee (2018) some discrimination practices against women were observed in Qatar. For instance, laws related to the guardians 'consent to work in some jobs or the approval to obtain a driver's license - which was recently canceled at the beginning of 2020. The also report stated that the category of widows, divorced women and non-married women over the age of thirty-five, find it difficult to obtain land grants and housing loans provided by the state comparing to their male counterparts.

The housing law requires a woman to be over thirty-five single, or divorced

or widowed, and that five years have passed since the death of the husband or the divorce to obtain a loan and a residential land. The Human Rights Committee received thirty cases of complaints from widows and divorced women in 2016 about the difficulty of the procedures related to granting land and the lack of transparency of the conditions related to this matter, The Ministry of Administrative Development, Labor and Social Affairs was addressed about this matter, and it was submitted for study in the Council of Ministers. With the passage of time without announcing the results of the Cabinet's study, this matter became a concern of the National Human Rights Committee (NHRC).

In fact, NHRC considers that this group has not been given sufficient attention. It reiterates its recommendation to the government to adhere to the implementation of the International Convention for the Prevention of Discrimination against Women, and to review Law No. (2) of 2007 about the housing system, and to eliminate discrimination against widows and divorced women and to enable them to enjoy their rights to housing and having a decent life.

Another example of the lack of gender equality in regulations and legislation is the denial of Qatari women the right to confer their nationality on their non-Qatari husband and children. There are also difficulties facing Qatari women to marry a non-Qatari, as men and women are required to obtain the approval of a committee dedicated to this matter, Inequality appears in the criminal laws of legislation such as the testimony of a man is equivalent to the testimony of two women and this is in accordance with the provisions of Islamic law "Sharia." Which is a source for legislation in Qatar.

In the same context, Al-Ansari (2010) discusses the difference between the sexes in Arab legislation. Al-Ansari claims that, unfortunately, some legislations in

Arab countries increase the gap between the sexes, such as the distinction in blood money between men and women. Al-Ansari argues that Sheikh Al-Ghazali, one of the most significant Islamic scholar , stated that the Holy Qur'an stipulates that blood money is the same for men and women However, it has spread among some of the jurists and commentators that the blood money for a woman is half the blood money for a man.

Also, the laws in the Arab countries do not allow women to assume the presidency of the state or the premiership so far. however, Muslim women have had these positions in a number of Islamic countries in Southeast Asia. This could be as a result of some significant Islamic scholars' fatwa. For instance, Dr. Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi and Imam Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din believe that women have the right to assume the presidency of the state. However, Al-Ansari argues that legislation in the Arab countries is still restricted by community traditions and customs and is not based on religious teachings. He states that not granting nationality to the children of a Qatari woman who is married to a non-Qatari increase the gender inequality gap.

The legislations in Arab countries have remained captive of the patriarchal customs, traditions and norms as it is integral parts of the societal structure. This fact is evidenced by the many reservations of Arab countries about the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

In a United Nations report prepared by the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, issued in 2017 on the status of Arab women and the violence against them some sexist legislations in Qatar were discussed, such as requesting the consent of a woman's guardian before the age of twenty-five when traveling. The report also mentioned that there is no legal or political reform for violence against

women in Qatar. There is no mention of violence against women in the constitution and there is no law criminalizing violence against women. Moreover, at the political level there is no strategic plan to confront this problem. (the economic and social commission for western Asia , 2017)

According to Abuhaza (2018) the reservation of the Gulf states on some CEDAW clauses made by the states was the agreement based on Islamic law and national legislation. The reservations of the Gulf states to CEDAW regarding the absence of a real desire to remove all obstacles to the implementation of the convention, especially those related to discrimination within the family. This discrimination clearly shows the forms of discrimination against women in society and continues to consider them as a marginal element in the countries' development policies and plans. There are two reasons: this distinction is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it is still considered a marginal element in the state's development policies and plans. Firstly, because of the heritage and customs that prevailed in Gulf societies about the role of women, which was confined to managing household affairs and raising children, their subordination to men and their presence under his authority. This view of the role of women is still present even though women have acquired a type of independence and some rights. But legislations and customs still see them as secondary compared to men who are their guardians and who are responsible for them. As for the second reason, it is the result of the first reason, meaning that the man's primacy in handling state affairs, including decision-making and legislation, led to the fact that legislation should be drafted in a male-dominated manner, in which women had no voice or role, and without women's issues being a priority in these legislations.

This has made discrimination against women an institutional and legislative discrimination. this also explains the delay in making any change to the status of Gulf women. Therefore, the reservations made by the Gulf states on some of the provisions of the CEDAW Agreement were a reflection of the male domineering mentality.Although indicators of the progress of Qatari women at the level of political and economic empowerment are high, now the participation of Qatari and Emirati women in public life is still governed by customs and traditions, as is the case for women in all Gulf countries.

Some aspects that may not be available to Qatari and Emirati women, such as political and societal awareness of the value of women and their role, as well as other economic factors in addition to population density, should not be overlooked. This explains Kuwait's ranking first, alongside Qatar, among the Gulf states in the participation of women in power, despite the disparity between the two countries in terms of population density and national income. Despite the academic excellence of Gulf women, there is a gap between what they achieve academically and their participation in the labor market. This gap was monitored by the national development reports and led to the governments taking some legislation and measures to bridge this gap. Therefore, the problem of empowering Gulf women in education is not that they did not achieve the progress indicators in this aspect, but lies in the weak output of their education and their weak use in the labor market, So, in the Gulf countries, empowering women in terms of education did not result in empowering them economically.

The lack of economic empowerment was shown in the survey of economic and social development in the Arab Region 2016-2017. The survey was conducted to

assess the professional opinions on women's rights in the Arab World. The result of the survey showed in a comprehensive way that Qatar is the 5th out of 22 Arab states in terms of women's rights. In the category which contains education, marriage and participation in public and private life, Qatar was placed second. It also ranked 6th in the category of reproductive and health rights. But it ranked only 10th in economic participation which is measured by gender-based discrimination in the workplace and property rights (ESCD, 2017).

The Dominance of the Patriarchal System

The United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) reports, since year 2000, indicate the importance of gender equality in achieving the national development goals, which made gender equality and women's empowerment a main focus of the post 2015 development plan. At the national level, Qatar issued the Penal Code of 2004 to prevent violence against women, such as honor crimes, molestation, defamation and insult. Another example to achieve gender equality is the 2009 law of Human Resources Administration, which has no distinction between males and females regarding appointment, promotion, allowances, and leaves.

The report also mentioned that despite its high rank Qatar scores on human development on the international level, it scores low in gender equality. Out of 152 countries, Qatar ranks 114 in GII (Gender Inequality Index). Even, on the regional level and comparing to GCC states, Qatar still has a low score regarding gender equality. These governmental efforts paid off to a certain level. Socially it could be seen through the different types of feminist resistance and the appearance of feminist Qatari females.However, the dominance of patriarchal ideology is noticeable in Qatar.

Al-Ghanim and Badahdah (2017) conducted a survey to investigate the attitudinal changes regarding issues related to gender. The result showed that Qataris

still prefer reasonably large families, male children, and to get married early. Three quarters of the participants responded that the decision related to house holding such as: number of children and their education and marriage are joint decisions made by husband and wife. They survey also showed that gender equality was accepted positively by participants.

However, investigating deeply, attitudes towards gender roles in other studies show the patriarchal perception of women's roles. Alghanim (2017) in her study "transitional society and participation of women in the public sphere: A survey of Qatar Society "assessed the perception of women rights and new roles among 1010 Qatari citizens.

The survey results showed that the dominance of patriarchal ideology regarding gender roles, for instance, 31% of the female participants believe that women should not choose their husbands, while 59 % of the men believe the same, which suggests that men adhere more to patriarchal values and prefer to have the power over the family. 83% of participants believe that the father has the right to stop his daughter's marriage.

Even though the result showed that participants support women's right to work, 70% of participants prefer that women get their husbands permission to work. The study showed that males are more likely than females to hold on to the stereotypical gender roles regardless of their educational level. The study found that participants linked woman's rights to work to her husband approval, because as the results showed, 65% of the participants agreed on the statement "Qatari married women should work only when they have their husband's permission.

Therefore, women may not have the actual right to choose their job as the results show restrictions on women as well. Women responses revealed that they

believe, more than men, that their priority should be family responsibilities. This indicates that women's attitudes toward their new role is affected by family obligations.

The study reveals another important issue regarding women's work in gender mixed environments, as 50% of the male participants disagreed with the statement that women can work in gender mixed workplaces. this could indicate the rigid maintenance of cultural and traditional values among Qatari men regarding gender segregation. However, women, especially who are more educated, show a positive attitude towards working in gender mixed workplaces.

This may indicate that women's aspiration for work and economic achievements could make them overcome the restricted traditional and cultural values. In general, female respondents are more supportive than their male counterparts regarding the new role of women. However, there was no difference between female and male attitudes toward women's being judges or in leadership positions or participating in political life.

This explains the low number of women in these roles. Alghanim (2017) concluded that the patriarchal culture in Qatar still forms the attitude towards gender role despite the advances due to globalization and modernization. Qatari males and females hold similar social meanings of gender roles in their responses to women's attempt to adapt new roles and entering some new work fields (namely, the media). The results show the influence of patriarchal ideology, as they believe this could harm the families' reputation. Therefore, Al Ghanim believes that people develop their attitudes toward women's roles based on the formed and constructed gender role created by the structured relations. These attitudes restrict and limit women's participation in public life.

Despite women's desire to adapt new roles instead of being just mothers and wives, they surrender to the patriarchal system and male authority when they face social resistance.

Golkowska (2017) studied the reflection of the changing sociocultural landscape on Qatari women's agency in a traditional gendered space. Using the grounded theory methodology to collect the data from different sources, both scholarly and non-scholarly, she offered a themed factor that affects the mobility of Qatari women. One of these factors is Perceptions of Their Mobility and Agency among Qatari women. Galkowska stated that the least researched area in gender studies in Qatar and GCC is the area of women's perceptions the author highlights the importance of examining women's view of their mobility and agency.

The results showed that the main theme emerging from the collected data is the appreciation of educational and professional opportunities Qatari women got access to. In terms of obstacles, the study showed that the big concern of young Qatari women is making a balance between the culturally defined domestic responsibilities and the career duties. Young women showed concerns regarding the meeting the social expectations of gender role in private spaces more than being appreciated for achieving their professional duties. The prioritization of the familial and tribal commitments over the individualistic obligations is expected of members of society, yet the burden of required emotional work is on women's shoulders.

For Younger women it is difficult to stand the pressures from their conservative relatives. It is understood that failing to meet the adopted norms and expectations could lead to a feeling of guilt and inadequacy, as the researcher names it " the invisible cost of visible gains". The study has shown some signs of changes that indicate how Qatari young women try to seek agency through adjustment to the

traditional gender rules. These signs are seen in the marriage contracts that have clauses allowing women to continue their education and travel. Another sign is the new abaya, the modification of the new abaya indicates how some Qatari females are trying to express themselves without rejecting the traditional norms.

The study concluded that for the most part, Qatari women got benefit from the opportunities created by the national narrative of change that is supported by the government. The younger generation of college educated women are the women who got most benefit from these changes by entering the male-dominated space and being visible in public spaces.

The study shows that Qatari women instead of questioning or deconstructing the current social system thy prefer to seek their agency and individuality through navigating this system, they are moving toward creating a cultural definition of agency and mobility.

Harkness (2018) describes the strategies that Qatari women use to modify, adjust, reimagine their hijab to adapt to the social changes. He interpreted the hijab micro practices as a nonmovement resistance, different from the traditional feminist movement where activists openly demonstrate and rebel, nonmovement resistance made up of practices that are became as daily practices.

The interviewed Qatari women in this study who are against hijab tend to understand the controlling of women through their clothing in individualistic terms. They relate to this oppression to the family members, like the father or the mother and view it as strict clothing regulations, rather than a part of a gender inequality system that was formed and protected by institutions such as family, government and religion. They overlook the link between these institutions and the patriarchal system. One of the women stated that she and her peers continue pushing the boundaries

through hijab micro practices and hopes that one day Qatari women can take off the abaya. On the other hand, some women expressed their desire to look modern and stylish while keeping their identity as Muslim women.

Alghanim (2009) in her study "violence against women in Qatari Society" shows some aspects of the dominant patriarchal culture in Qatar. She explained the type of violence women face and their responses and their thoughts about violence. She explains women's silence in terms of the cultural image of women. According to Al Ghanim women are culturally portrayed as weak, dependent, lacking authority and in need of a man's protection. Women stated that they usually keep silent about violence to protect the abuser or to avoid more punishment and scandal. The majority of the abused women have not reported being victims of violence to the police or any official institute. Moreover, most of the abusers are the males in the family (brothers, fathers, and husbands) in addition to mothers. this shows how women are controlled by patriarchal thoughts of womanhood and family to the extent that they accept being violated.

Perhaps the experience of Dr. Hatoon Al-Fassi at Qatar University is an example of the control of patriarchal thought in matters relating to women and gender. Dr. Hatoon narrates her experience with teaching a course on women in Islam within the specialization of international affairs to a group of male students. They saw that it offends Islam, calls for the westernization of women, and explains the religious teachings in Islam in a different way from what they learned in schools and mosques. These male students submitted a petition to the College of Islamic Studies, which is not the college of Dr. Hatoon as it is the college responsible for everything related to the Islamic religion. The matter has reached the point that the College of Islamic Studies cancelled teaching the course.

As a result of this complaint, Dr. Hatoon was summoned to the Dean's office to ask her about the content of the course, and she was asked to allow observers to attend to verify what she was teaching for the students. An attack was launched against he on social media, started by some students at Qatar University. Consequently, the teacher had to be interrogated by a faculty member at Qatar University simply because she presented her different vision of the role of women in Islam. The situation became very tense between her and Qatar University and ended with Qatar University requesting her to resign, which is what really happened. Commenting on this experience, Dr. Hatoon says: "here, the Qatari society, has started early in the course of involving women in the process of running the state by a decision of the political system, which has been described as "governmental feminism."

However, supporting governmental feminism is not sufficient to bring about a change in society. In this case, how does the patriarchal ideology that is practiced by academic institutions overlap with the issue of women, after whoever is in power has also changed. While the patriarchal system was able to accept the female presence for a certain period, when it was supported by state feminism, we find that it collapsed as soon as the mandate of the state ended. Simply by changing its priorities so that the support of women is no longer at the top of the list, and thus conservative components return to the forefront in drawing relationships and locating power positions to exercise its traditional roles in using society and its components to control women.

For example, in the case of Qatar University, we see how patriarchy crawled into a national university in which women represent more than 77% of female students, while the percentage of female faculty members is still below the appropriate limit compared to the percentage of female students 429. Then the university female

president was changed (after about 12 years of service) to a male president in the summer of 2015, after drastic changes at the top of the state hierarchy. A year later, both the deans of literature and education were replaced by men, thus women were absent from all deanships and leaderships at the university. A barrier between the female and male campuses was erected by placing a guard in a room with a board warning against unauthorized entry of the males to the female campus . In addition to blocking many small corridors and gates that were gradually opening between the two campuses starting in the fall of 2015 (Alfasi, 2018).

On a study that Naima Al-Rashidi conduclted about the stereotypical image of Qatari women in the social studies curriculum. She found that these books support a certain stereotypical image of women and their position in a society decreed as patriarchal and male. Curricula often depict women in a family setting, taking care of children and preparing food for them or walking with her family. Most of her professional representation is limited to educational functions such as education. While mentioning the numerical preference in terms of representation. She adds that the man is rarely depicted as performing domestic tasks, but rather in his workplace, or outside, in places socializing with his colleagues. We can say that the educational curricula in Qatar as a whole give men a privileged position in the public space. Men stand out effectively in texts and images, unlike women who occupy a limited percentage according to a certain stereotype.

These results cannot be read in isolation from the issues that women face in Qatar. Rather, we can say that the curricula are complicit in the persistence of this stereotype that assigns women to educational work and 'home.' Education has a great capacity in defining the ideas and practices of its recipients and their interactions with others in society, so it is one of the important tools that the state uses to express and

implement its ideology on its citizens. Therefore, the continuation of social science textbooks in Qatari schools to adopt a discriminatory view against women versus men has great social, economic and political consequences (AlRashdi, 2018).

Summary

The years following the discovery of oil witnessed great changes in the lives of Qatari women and a change in their roles. It became possible for them to obtain education, starting with the writers, passing through school education and then university education. Despite the reservations that the education of women faced in the beginning, it continued and Qatari women entered the work market and progressed in the hierarchy of jobs and reached leadership positions in the state.

The nature of family life also changed, so the types of marriage differed. After it was restricted to relatives, it became acceptable to marry other than relatives. The family pattern changed from the extended family to the nuclear family, which gave women greater powers in managing their family and the pattern of childbearing and the number of children also differed. Plans for developing and empowering women came to facilitate the change for women.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLGY

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the constructed meaning to the two concepts: womanhood and femininity among Qatari women. The participants were 17 Qatari women from different age groups with different educational levels and marital status to increase the variety of investigated experiences. They expressed their perception of womanhood and femininity through: (1) Describing the strength and weakness of women and female; (2) defining the two words (womanhood and femininity) and describing the difference between these two words; (3) describing what could lead to losing womanhood and femininity; (4) discussing the new and traditional role of Qatari women, and their needs.

Therefore, standpoint theory leads this study as the focus is Qatari women's experiences of being women and feminine in Qatar society. It acknowledges women's right to be heard; to have their thoughts considered in making any plans or decisions related to them; and to be given the opportunity to share their understanding of womanhood and femininity as Qataris with readers around the world.

This chapter describes the philosophical assumptions and the interpretive framework that leads the methodology, research design and the rationale behind it. In addition to the data collection tools, population of the study, the sample frame and the sampling procedures, as well as describing the research participants and quality of research.

The Constant Comparative Analysis (CCA) was used to analyze the collected data, alongside with the researcher's position as a Qatari woman which was used in understanding and categorizing the collected data.

Research Design

Since perception is the topic of this study, it is fittingly investigated through qualitative research. Studying perception requires an inductive approach, which

depends on the deep and rich information provided by participants to create reality. In this approach, women's expressions of themselves through the interviews are used to understand the perceptions under the study.

Qualitative research aims to "understand subjective meaningful experiences" and reveal the structure of social experiences within the context where people live (Snape and Spencer, 2008); therefore, the interpretative perception emphasizes interpretation and observation to understand the social world. One of the main features of qualitative research is that it takes into account participants' perceptions of reality, and it allows them to share the meaning they give to their actions. For example, in this study it enables the researcher to understand the participants' experiences as women in Qatar's society.

The perception of participants is seen through an interpretive paradigm, which considers that reality is socially constructed, where people's experiences happen within social, cultural, historical and personal context. It also acknowledges that participants' perceptions of their reality are subjective, as they depend on the emic perspective rather than the etic perspective. It also acknowledges researcher subjectivity because his or her position, background and emotions are part of the producing data.

An exploratory qualitative research design is used in this study. It is used to investigate and understand how Qatari women perceive their femininity and womanhood. The main goal of the exploratory research is conducted to gain new insight and new knowledge (Burns & Grove, 2001). Using exploratory design enables the researcher to study a topic where there is few previous studies. As there are an insufficient number of studies in Qatar that study womanhood and femininity through the Qatari women's eyes, it is essential to gain familiarity and understanding with this

topic, in order to pave the way for more investigation in the future. The deep and rich different definitions of womanhood and femininity from interviews give insight into how Qatari women sense and define their womanhood and femininity.

Research Questions and Goals

This study is driven by the main research question: How are womanhood and femininity perceived among Qatari women?

By answering this question, the researcher aims:

To explore the meaning of the two words (womanhood and femininity) among Qatari women.

To describe the extent to which the participants' perceptions differ from patriarchal perceptions.

Population

The population of this study are Qatari women above the age of 18. However, in such a qualitative study, the purpose of participants' recruitment is not to generalize findings to a broader population. Purposive recruitment is used with specific principles and procedures to define the target population (Berg, 2012a). It is worth mentioning that the number of participants in qualitative research is guided by the diversity in the gained information, which means that the number of participants should not be large; often smaller sample sizes in qualitative studies are suitable because of the nature of the required information. The most important in qualitative study is not the number of participants but the process of identifying them until reaching saturation. In qualitative studies utilizing in-depth interviews, the number of participants is usually not more than 20 because it is difficult to manage the huge amount of gained information.

Sampling

A combination of mixed purposeful sampling technique is used in the study:

maximum variation sampling, stratified purposeful sampling and purposeful random sampling. Maximum variation sampling is used when there is a need to select a sample that presents a wide range of experiences. The purpose of this sampling method is to discover the central patterns and shared elements that are seen across a varied population; at the same time, it gives a chance to discover the uniqueness of participants' experiences. Stratified purposeful sampling is another type of sampling that is used in this study. The sample is divided to four subgroups according to group of age (18–29, 30–39, 40–49, and above 50), each group containing women with various levels of education and different marital statuses. The main aim of this method is to gain a large variety. Finally, purposeful random sampling aims to achieve credibility in a small sample, not representativeness or generalization. Convenience and snowball sampling are also used in this study, as the recruitment of participants is achieved through advertisements on social media through hashtags that relate to Qatari women, as well as sending invitations through personal and professional contact to universities, governmental and private organizations, community associations (reading and volunteers clubs, women's groups for economic and social activities). Despite that recruiting participants by convenience sampling or snowball sampling is not a preferred strategy, it is used in this study because of the sensitivity and privacy of the discussed information during interviews. As the pilot study has shown how some women hesitate to discuss their perception of womanhood and femininity as they are related to aspects of their family and marital life, such as their relationships with their husbands and parents, especially if they are divorced, or have reached certain age and never been married. The number of interviews is decided by saturation. Where there is no new theme presented through the interviews, the saturation could be reached after ten interviews, however, access 20 women could

be enough to gain saturation.

Inclusion criteria

1. Qatari women between 18 and 65 years old

2. Qatari women who are able communicate fluently in Arabic and Qatari dialect

3. Participants should be Qatari.

4. Qatari women who are able to provide written informed consent in Arabic.

5. Participants may be single, married, divorced or widows.

6. Participants may have children or be childless.

Exclusion Criteria

1. Qatari women with diagnosed mental health issues.

2. Qatari women less than 18

3. Women older than 65

4. Illiterate women

5. Naturalized Qatari women

6. Qatari women who spent more than 10 years of their life in another country

7. Qatari women who were raised in other countries and cultures.

Research Participants

In order to answer the research question, 17 Qatari women were interviewed. Personal information such as the name, age, education level and marital status were collected. Participants were asked to write this information in the first sheet of the interview context (see Appendix A).

Participants are between 18 years old and 54 years old. Most of the women are married (n=7), less than half are divorced and single (n=4, n=5, respectively) and one is a widow. Most of them have bachelor's degree (n=12), few of them with some higher education or a high school diploma (n= 2, n=2), and one is an undergraduate

student. Most of them are employed (n=10), few of them are retired or unemployed (n= 4, n= 2), and one is a student.

Protection of Human Subjects

All participants were informed of the goals of this study. They also signed a formal consent before interviews. The consent includes the purpose of the study and procedures to ensure confidentiality. It states voluntary participation and the option to withdraw and seeks permission for audio recording the interviews.

Informed Consent

Informed consent is considered a main component of ethical principles in conducting research. It is required on national and international levels, and this is justified as respecting the participants' rights (Faden & Beauchamp,19860). The bergmain purpose of informed consent is to explain to the volunteer participants the purpose, risks, benefits and alternatives of the study. Informed consent accepts that participants have independent agency which enables them to make a self-determined decision, and two conditions are crucial to informed consent, the providing of information, which should be comprehensive, and an optional participation.

Prior to conducting interviews, each participant was introduced to the main purpose of the study and notified of her rights to withdraw from the interviews if she is not comfortable without any consequences as participation is voluntary. The introduction contains: (1) the main purpose of the study; (2) the nature of the interview; and (3) the right to withdraw from the interview without any consequences. Participating women had the chance to review the informed consent before signing it. The informed consent contains: (1) introduction describing the nature and purpose of the study; (2) the interview questions; and (3) the contact information of the researcher.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality is a crucial aspect to address in conducting an interview. However, the two concepts confidentiality and anonymity are not the same, they are critical in conducting qualitative interviews. In the ethical literature confidentiality is treated as equivalent to privacy. Therefore, to guarantee participants complete confidentiality seems to promise that the given information will be private and will not be repeated. Obviously, this is not the case in qualitative interviews in social studies, as the collected information will be reported as findings of research. Therefore, a confidentiality with limits is what a researcher can ensure to participants in qualitative interviews. Confidentiality with limits is achieved through the use of anonymization – hiding participants' identities by using code numbers or pseudonyms (King & Horrocks, 2010).

In this study, participating women were notified about the procedures to maintain their confidentiality. Before conducting interviews, the researcher clarified that these data would be recorded and transcribed by the researcher herself and ensured keeping their identities anonymous. Because it is their right when they agreed to be interviewed, they expect that the data will be managed with respect and carefulness. Participants do not expect their data to be available for other researchers, unless they agreed to use their interviews in other studies, which should be mentioned in the informed consent. Therefore, in this study participating women were informed through the informed consent that their data will only be used in this study and will be destroyed after finishing this study. Part of maintaining confidentiality used is keeping a record of real information of participants in a separated file with password, which no one has access to but the researcher.

Data Collection

In-depth interviewing is a data collection tool that enables the researcher to

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discuss specific topics thoroughly with the interviewee. It is a conversation with purposes, as the researcher aims to gain insight into specific issues through semi-structured interview. The in-depth aspect of the interview is important to gain detailed information regarding the research's topic from the perspective of the participants. it reflects the insider's perceptive. Therefore, it is described as a meaning-making partnership between the researcher and the interviewees, which makes the in-depth interview a tool of producing knowledge through conversation (Creswell, 2014).

The interview included key questions to reveal the understanding of femininity and womanhood held by the participants. These questions concern how they describe being woman and feminine, what makes them lose their femininity, the strength and *v*ulnerability of being a woman, and whether they see themselves fitting better in the traditional role or the modern role of a Qatari woman (see the Appendix A). However, the interview took a form of conversation and the questions were asked in different manner and order with each participant according to the smoothness and the flow of the conversation. Other topics were discussed alongside these main questions and the researcher encouraged participants to share their experiences through further questions to clarify their points and provide deep insightful meanings.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted by the researcher herself, most of the interview were conducted face to face (n= 10), while some by phone (n=7). The face-to-face interviews were conducted in the participants' office or in coffee shops. The interviews last from 45 to 60 minutes. All the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

Researcher Position

My position as a researcher in this study is grounded in my experience as Qatari woman. I lived for 16 years in a small village located in the north of Qatar. It

was a conservative community holding traditional beliefs about woman's role in society. As a teenager, learning the appropriate behaviors that reflect womanhood and femininity, resisting, rejecting, and discussing the traditional image of woman, it gave me a rich experience, and a deep understanding of how woman's perception of womanhood and femininity are developed. After moving to Doha and adopting a new lifestyle, interacting with urban women , I realized the depth of the thoughts and beliefs associated with women's role in women's mentality and conscious.

My experience also as a Qatari woman in many leadership positions reveals some aspects of how women are perceived that I was not aware of. In professional conflicts with my male colleagues, I have always been advised by my female colleagues to respect the fact that they are men, and it is hard for them to be under a woman's leadership.

In addition to my experience as a single woman, I can understand the pressure and restrictions society puts on single women.

Recognizing these experiences and its effects, I realize that as a researcher, I need to put them aside before starting this study. I recognize my beliefs that relate to womanhood and femininity through deep thinking, and reflective writing on my experiences as a woman. During data analysis I need to take in consideration these beliefs. Data analysis process will go through four stages: intuiting, bracketing, analyzing and describing. Intuiting is the processing of the data and trying to get accurate interpretation. Bracketing is the process of holding my own thoughts and beliefs in suspension to improve the accuracy of the study. In analyzing and describing data I create themes based on comparing data and finding relationships among them, then comparing these themes with my own assumptions to ensure that these themes came from participants' responses, not from my own experience.

However, my experience will help in interpretation and discussion the findings.

Data Analysis

Constant Comparative Analysis (CCA) method was used in analyzing data. It is a process to reduce the data inductively through constant recording (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Data are compared to other data in order to code them. The coding process start with open coding to categorize data from the first reading then a further reading and reducing allow more categories to emerge (Harmaz, 2001; Glassr,1978; Glaser & Strauss; 1967; Strauss, 1987) as cited by (Larossa, 2005). Although this method is used with Ground Theory (GT), it has been utilized as an analysis method for qualitative data outside Ground Theory as described by Farm (2013). CCA enables the researcher to maintain emic perspective through the participants' standpoint, as well as maintain the etic perspective through using the theoretical framework to the abduction process, which helps to identify the essential elements of social phenomena (Bryant2017 ,).

In the data analysis process, answers of the interviewer's questions were coded separately. I reviewed each interview's transcript to capture the abstract meaning behind the answers. Applying CCA analysis method, the analysis process was completed in three main stages: First, open coding is used to capture the initial themes from words, sentences, and ideas in text, then axial coding is used to gather similar themes or codes emerged from the first stage into categories. In the last stage, selective coding is used to identify main categories form the axial coding and to investigate the relationships between categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

This approach was used in coding the transcript interviews. Following the ACC methods and stages of coding, main themes emerged as well as subthemes until reaching the categorical saturation where no newly emerging themes could be found.

During data analysis process, as a researcher to manage these data, I used Microsoft Word to create open codes by labeling and inserting comments for meaningful words through attentive reading and critical thinking. In addition, I kept a reflective journal to record ideas and initial themes. I identify my personal thoughts and beliefs of womanhood and femininity as a bracketing before coding. Qualitative researchers are advised to identify their thoughts, feelings, and social roles related to the participants of the study. The researcher is encouraged to reflect on how these might impact the data analysis. bracketing iss a tool the researcher uses in order to prevent their assumptions from shaping the process of collecting data and constructing results (Risjord, 2014).

During data analysis, the theoretical framework alongside the literature review were utilized to capture the abstract meaning from the initial different emerged themes. According to Fram (2013) The CCA is used usually in Ground Theory research; however, it could be applied in qualitative research in thematic analysis to compare the finding across different groups. In this study the themes were compared to the findings of other studies in order to understand where it fit in the narrative of womanhood and femininity in Qatar.

<div align="center">Trustworthiness</div>

Qualitative research aims to understand phenomena instead of predicting or control it. The trustworthiness in qualitative research means to what extent the findings can be trusted and believed.

Lincoin and Guba (1994) set four main criteria of trustworthiness (credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability). Different techniques could be used to meet these criteria including detailed descriptions, reflective journals, member checks, dependability, and conformability audit.

A pilot study was conducted as a project in the qualitative research method course in 2016. Ten Qatari women participated in the pilot study from different ages, marital status and education level. The interview's questions used in the pilot study were modified and more questions were added based on the discussion with the research committee members. Other modifications were done as a result of the pilot study: the time of the interviews were extended, the way of interview's conducting and transcript.

It is the goal of the pilot study to allow the researcher to get feedback regarding the data collection instruments and whether it serves the purpose of the study. The reliability, validity and practicability of the study instrument could be increased by conducting pilot study.

Member checks is a technique used in this study to increase trustworthiness. Member checking is applied through sending the interviews' transcript to the participants and asking them to review what they have said and to revise it if needed. The process of data coding and analysis was reviewed by the research supervisor who has experience in gender and qualitative research, and by one of the PhD students who is trained in coding qualitative data. Both of the reviewer are women, one Qatari and the other Sudanese. This added to the coding process two different perspectives, the Qatari woman serving as an insider who understands and interprets data in the Qatari cultural context, while the other Sudanese woman brought an outsider perspective to the coding comparing to her own culture. Both ladies enrich the coding process not just by their own personal experiences, but their academic experiences as well. Dr. Amani Al Jeck is a Sudanese specialist woman in gender studies, while Buthaina Al Khulaifi is a PhD Qatari female student in Gulf Studies. They reviewed the themes and subthemes, made some suggestions, and ensure the accuracy of the

data coding and interpretation process.

The analytic memo is another tool used in this study to increase trustworthiness. Rogers (2018) described the analytic memo as a kind of conversation with ourselves about the data. I reflected on participants' responses, themes and subthemes, questions, relation between themes, comparing answers through deep and analytic thinking. Robert E. Stake (1995) believes that the quality of a study requires a clear thinking more than a good methodology.

The dependability of this study was ensured by keeping an audit trail, where all the procedures, filed notes, recruiting participants, and data collection and analysis are described in detail. These details are illustrated in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6: RESULT AND FINDINGS

This chapter converges the main findings of this study in detail with quotes from the participants' interviews. This chapter presents the purpose statement and research questions followed by the demographics data. At the end of this chapter, the findings are concluded in the summary.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to identify the perception of womanhood and femininity among Qatari women and the extent to which it differs from patriarchal systems. It uses Feminism as its theoretical framework. Semi-structured interviews with Qatari women, from different ages and marital status, provide a better understanding of how womanhood and femininity are perceived among Qatari women.

This study aims to answer three main questions: How are womanhood and femininity perceived by Qatari women? To which extent is the Qatari woman's perception of womanhood and femininity different from the patriarchal system? And how does Qatari women's perception of womanhood and femininity fit into the national narrative of women empowerment in Qatar?

Demographic Data

Seventeen women have participated in this study. The participants belong to different age groups and have different marital statuses. The group contains single, married, divorced women with children, divorced women without children and widowed women. They vary in their level of education and their occupation. Seven of the women in this study are married which forms 41% of the participants, five of them are single which forms 29 %, while 4 are divorced which forms 24% and one is widowed which forms 6%. Four of them are less than 30 years old which forms 24%, while five of them are in their thirties which forms 29%, three of them are in their

forties which forms 18%, while five of them are fifty years old and above which forms 29%. Three of them have a high school diploma, which forms 18%, two of them have a master's degree which forms 12%, while twelve of them have a bachelor's degree which forms 70%. Four of them are retired which forms 24%, while two of them are unemployed which forms 12%, ten of them are employed which forms 58%, and one is a university student which forms 6%. Nick names are used to describe the participants. the following table shows their marital status, ages, occupation, and education level in detail:

Table 2. Participants Demographic information

Name	Age	Marital Status	Occupation	Education
Manal	18	Single	University Student	High school diploma
Sharifa	47	Divorced children	School coordinator	Bachelor's degree
Wedad	45	Married with children	Teacher	Bachelor's degree
Majeda	25	Married with children	Unemployed	Bachelor's degree
Habiba	30	Single	Customer service	Master's degree
Hanan	50	Divorced children	Retired	High school diploma
Farida	52	Married with children	Retired	Bachelor's degree
Hala	32	Married with children	Section head	Master's degree
Dana	23	Single	Unemployed	Bachelor's degree
Nada	27	Divorced without children	Secretary	High school diploma
Jamila	54	Married with children	Trainer	Bachelor's degree
Amal	36	Divorced children	Translator	Bachelor's degree
Shahad	50	Married with children	Retired & Trainer	Bachelor's degree
Lila	56	Widow with children	Retired	Bachelor's degree
Warda	35	Married with children	Teacher	Bachelor's degree
Amna	41	Single	Teacher	Bachelor's degree
Aya	36	Single	Section head	Bachelor's degree

Presenting the Findings

In this section I report the findings of the 17 in-depth interviews. The participants had the chance to describe their womanhood and femininity freely. As the study is led by standpoint theory, this chapter presents Qatari women' own understanding of their being. It acknowledges their right to be heard and validate their standpoint as their share their own experience of being a woman and female in Qatari society. The research encouraged them to speak their own voice and the interviews' questions aimed to expand their expression of being a woman and a female.

The Constant Comparative Analysis method results in 6 themes as a definition of femininity, these themes are: (1) physical appearance, (2) modesty with sub-themes: covering body, bashfulness, and interacting with relative non-relative men,(3) relationship with husband with the subthemes: obedience, receiving love and support, handling the husband's responsibilities , (4) sexual orientation, (5) occupation and hobbies , (6) personal traits with sub-themes: softness, kindness, patience, awareness of needs. While womanhood was identified in terms of theses 6 themes: (1) Family with sub-themes: motherhood, members of the family, importance of family support, and domestic responsibilities, (2) regulation and rules. (3) personal traits with sub-themes: ambitious, beautiful, devoted and sacrificing, embracing herself and others, creative, strong, and courageous. (4) Agency with sub themes: decision taking, financial independence and cultural beliefs. (5) Professional life with sub themes: not trusted, serving community interests, suitable jobs for women, achievement and competition, and observance of cultural and Islamic values. (6) Social changes in Qatari women's life with sub themes: appreciating the changes in Qatari women's role, accepting changes with caution, not accepting changes in Qatari women's role.

Table 3. Themes and Sub-themes of Womanhood's Perception

Themes	Sub-themes
Family	
	Motherhood
	Member of the family
	Importance of family support
	Domestic responsibilities
Regulations and Rules	
Personal traits	
	Ambitious
	Beautiful
	Devoting and sacrificing
	Embracing self and others
	Creative
	Strong and courageous
Agency	
	Taking decision
	Financial independence
	Cultural beliefs
Professional life	
	Not trusted
	Serving community interests
	Suitable Job for a woman
	Achievement and competing
	Maintaining culture and Islamic values
Changes in Qatari women's role:	
	Appreciating the changes in Qatari women's role
	Accepting changes with caution
	Not accepting changes in Qatari women's role.

Table 4. Themes and Sub-themes of Femininity's Perception

Themes	Sub-themes
Physical Appearance	
Modesty	Bashfulness Covering Body Interacting with non-relative men
Personal traits	Softness Kindness and love Patience Awareness of her needs
Sexual Orientation	
Occupation and Hobby	
Relationship with husband	Obedience Receiving love and support Handling the husband's responsibilities

Table 5. Frequency of Main Themes and Subthemes of Femininity by Participants' Marital Status

Themes /Sub-themes	Single	Married	Divorced	Widow
Physical Appearance (n=11)	3	4	3	
Modesty (n= 7)				
Bashfulness	1	2		
Covering Body		2	1	
Interacting with non-relative men	2	3	1	
Personal Traits (n=8)				
Softness	2	1		
Kindness and love	1	2		1
Patience		1		1
Awareness of her needs		1	2	
Sexual Orientation (n=2)	2			
Occupation and hobby (n=5)	1	2	1	
Relationship with husband (n=9)			1	
Obedience		1		
Receiving love and support		1	2	1
Handling the husband's responsibilities	1	4	1	

The most frequent theme that appears in the interviewees' responses is physical appearance, followed by the theme "relationship with husband," then personal traits, followed by modesty and the last ones are occupation and hobbies and sexual orientation, respectively.

Eleven participants define femininity through physical appearance; three of them are single while four are married and three are divorced. Nine of them define femininity through the relationship with the husband. One married woman linked femininity to obedience, while three of them linked it to receiving love and support from the husband. Most of them (n=6) linked their femineity to handling the husband's responsibility, one of them is single, four are married and one is divorced. Eight of the participants define femininity as personal traits. Three of them perceive it as softness, two of them are single, while one of them is married. While them of them define it as kindness and love, one of them is single and two of them are married. One of the participants who is married defines it as patience. Three of the participants define it as being aware of their needs. One of them is married and two of them are divorced. Seven of the interviewees define femininity as modesty. Bashfulness was used to define femininity by three women, one of them is single and two of them are married. Three women linked femininity to covering the body, two of them are married, while one of them is divorced. Six women linked femininity to the interaction with non- relative men, two of them are single, three of them are married and one of them is divorced. Five of the participants linked femininity to occupation and hobbies, one of them is single, two of them are married and one of them is divorced. Two of the participants define femininity through sexual orientation, both are single.

Table 6. Frequency of Main Themes and Subthemes of Femininity by Participants'

Age

Themes /Sub-themes	18-29	30-39	40-49	50 and above
Physical Appearance (n=11)	4	3	2	2
Modesty (n= 7)				
Bashfulness		2		1
Covering the Body				3
Interacting with non-relative men		2	1	3
Personal Traits (n=8)				
Softness	1		1	1
Kindness and love	1			2
Patience		1		2
Awareness of her needs	1	2		
Sexual Orientation		1	1	
Occupation and hoppy	1	1		2
Relationship with husband (n=9)				
Obedience				1
Receiving love and support		2		2
Handling the husband's responsibilities	1	1	2	2

Eleven participants define femininity through physical appearance, four of them are between 18-29 years old, three are between the ages of30-39, two of them are between 40-49 years old and two are above 50 years old. divorced. Nine of them define femininity through the relationship with the husband, one of them is between the age of 40-49 linked femininity to the obedience, while four of them linked it to receiving love and support from the husband, two are between the age of 30-39 and two are 50 years old and above. Most of them (n=6) linked their femininity to handling the husband's responsibility, one of them is between 18-29 years old, another one is between 30-39 years old, two are between the age 40-49 years old and two are above 50 years old. Eight of the participants define femininity as personal traits. Three of them perceive it as softness, one of them is between the age of 18- 29

years old, while one is between 40-49 years old and one is above 50years old. of them are single. Three of them define it by kindness and love, one of them is between the age of 18-29 years old. The other two women are between 40-49 years old and above 50 years old. One of the participants defines it by patience, she is between the age of 30-39 years old. Three of the participants define it as being aware of their needs. One of them is between the age of 18-29, and two of them are between the age of 30-39. One of the seven interviewees define femininity as modesty Bashfulness was used to define femininity by three women, two of them are between the age of 30-39, and the third woman is 50 years old and above. Three of them linked femininity to covering the body, all of them are 50 years old and above. Six of them linked femininity to the interaction with non- relative men, two of them are between the age of 30-39, one of them is between the age of 40-49 and three of them are 50 years old and above. Five of the participants linked femininity to occupation and hobbies, one of them is between the age of 18-29, one is between the age of 30-39 and two of them are 50 years old and above Two of the participants define femininity through sexual orientation, one is between the age of 30-39 and the other is between the age of 40-49.

Femininity is an Appearance.

Physical appearance is one of the themes that was raised by some of the participants' responses regarding femininity. Participants (N= 11) believes that a woman is feminine when she takes care of her appearance and looks elegant, wears feminine clothes, and make up. Some of them believe that doing some plastic surgery could boost the woman's sense of femininity. For them it is acceptable to do some plastic surgery if there is a need. However, some participants emphasized that beauty should not be an obsession. Majeda, a 25-year-old married woman said:

Women should not focus too much on the physical appearance, such as:

wearing too much make up, having many plastic surgeries, and wearing the latest fashion clothes, because these things are not making a woman more feminine.

Most participants who identify femininity as appearance (N= 9) believe that taking care of their appearance should not take too much effort, money, and time, but they insist on the importance of maintaining their appearance in order to be feminine. Nada, a27-year divorced teacher, when she was asked about the cost of taking care of your appearance, said:

It does not cost me a lot of money or time, within 30-40 minutes I get ready to go to work, I teach boys. I believe teaching boys should not make me look less feminine, even if I dress more conservatively because they are boys.

In elementary boys' schools, female teachers are not allowed to wear short skirts or pants. Despite the dress code of the Ministry of Education, she believes that these restrictions should not make women less feminine, as she linked femininity with good looks and elegance.

Two participants emphasized the importance of looking elegant and wearing make up for different reasons. One of them believes that an elegant appearance could boost a woman's self-esteem. While the other, who is a trainer, believes that looking elegant helps her to influence other trainees and to deliver her training goals successfully. She admitted that social media, in addition to her social group, has affected the way she perceives beauty. It made her think more about enhancing her physical appearance. Jamila, is a 54-year-old married woman says:

Seeing other women having plastic surgeries made me think about my body and my looks I started following some beauty and makeup accounts on social media. Now my makeup has changed, I like to wear the newest makeup. I feel

people perceive me differently and in appositive way, especially the trainees, as I am a trainer, you know. People get the first impression about me from my looks, then from what I have to say.

Her appearance is part of how she defines herself, it is a tool to be accepted as an influencer. She continues:

I should look beautiful inside and outside, I set a budget monthly to maintain my beauty, my weight was 125 kg, I had surgery to lose weight. I had Botox and fillers. Since I was 35 years old, I started to do plastic surgery. That is why I am now in my fifties and I look younger.

Aya, another 36-year- old divorced woman expresses the importance of her physical appearance by saying:

I depend mostly on my looks; my physical appearance is one of my sources of strength. Giving birth to many children has affected my body and my sleep, and as a result my skin got affected, which reduced my self-esteem, especially after the spread of photos of models on social media, which made me wonder if I lost my femininity.

Although these two participants put lots of efforts in enhancing their femininity, the reason behind their action is social pressure. Jamila, the 54-year -old women said:

I used to go to celebrations and events without fake eyelashes, but women criticized me for being old- fashioned, so my makeup style has changed to meet the newest makeup styles.

While the other woman said:

One of the support team members I had after divorce was a beauty specialist, because I felt that my self-esteem was injured.

She explained the reasons behind her obsession with being beautiful as the fear of

losing her husband for another woman the fear of getting old and not being attractive and the fear of the opinion of others about her looks. These are according to her the basic motivations behind her actions. When was asked: if the cosmetic surgical procedures to maintain her beauty made her happy, she said:

> No, at all, I was afraid of getting old and being unattractive. It exhausted me. I used to believe that I deserve happiness and love only when I am pretty.

Out of 17 participants, 11 defined femininity in terms of physical appearance, two of them have emphasized the importance of physical appearance and admitted spending money and efforts on beauty clinics to maintain their feminine looks.

Femininity as Modesty

Modesty is a main theme observed in some participants' expression of their femininity (n=7). The responses were categorized in three sub-themes: bashfulness and decency, covering the body and interaction with non-relative men. According to some participants (n=3), a woman loses her femininity when she loses her bashfulness and good manners. Warda, a 35-year-old married woman said:

> Femininity is good manners and bashfulness, if a woman is rude and vulgar, she cannot be feminine even if she is beautiful and acts softly, if she is shameless, she cannot be feminine.

Another participant expresses the same notion about bashfulness as a part of being feminine. Habiba, a 30-year-old single woman said:

> A woman loses her femininity when she gives away her bashfulness and good manners.

One of the participants believes that bashfulness is an important aspect of being feminine. However, she was afraid that bashfulness as a value lost its significance in these days. Jamila, a 54-year-old married woman, when asked about the meaning of

femininity to her replied:

> I do not know how to start, femininity used to be associated with being decent
> and behaving well. Femininity in the past was related to what is inside the
> woman's soul, her kind words and shyness, now her femininity is associated to
> her outside appearance.

Covering the body is another subtheme observed in some participants' responses (n= 3) The same previous woman believes that covering the body is another important aspect of femininity, she stated that covering the body is a religious act, and she expressed her concerns that Qatari women of her age do not cover their face and hair properly. However, she could not convince her daughters to cover their faces. When she was asked what makes a woman lose her femininity, she stated:

> I am from a generation that "thank God" are still covering their body properly,
> although some of them took off the face cover" Niqab" and wear a new type of
> "Abaya.

When I asked her if she you still covered her r face, she laughed and said:

> Yes. Thank God, but most Qatari women of my age took off the face cover.
> May God protect us. Now maintaining religious main values has become
> difficult. When I discuss with my daughters, they always say that believe I am
> right and all people around me are wrong. I tell them this is their religion. and
> they say why should they cover their face when all their female colleagues are
> not. They also add that they are not mothers or an old lady to cover their faces.
> I used to say when Islam emerged few people followed its instructions and
> today   few people do.

Shahad, a 50-year-old married woman shares the same view, she justified the importance of modest clothing by stating that a girl's clothing reflects her mother's

values, she said:

> I admit that some of my beliefs have changed over time, but there are many
> beliefs I still hold to. Heavy makeup and immodest clothing are not allowed
> for my daughters. When you see how a girl dresses, you know how her mother
> raised her.

Hanan, another 50-year-old divorced woman endorses the notion of modest clothing. Although she does not cover her face in public, when she goes to ministries or governmental institutes, she covers her face. She justifies her act as follows:

> When I must get official papers from some governmental places, I have to tell
> who I am and I definitely use my ID, so that the people there know my full
> name. They may know some of my family members. I feel embarrassed that
> they see my face, so I cover it. It is a kind of showing respect to the family
> and the father whose name I carry.

These three women who are 50 years old and above, Hanan, Jamila and Shahad admit changing some of their beliefs over the years due to the social changes in Qatar. However, they still hold to and appreciate some of their traditions and customs when they consider modesty as part of femininity.

Interacting with non-relative men is another sub-theme that appeared in the participants' definition of femininity and what affects their sense of being feminine. The participants (n= 6) stated that not respecting men and dealing aggressively with them cost a woman her femininity, as well as not setting boundaries and being strict when dealing with male colleagues or males in public places.

Hanan, a 50-years-old divorced woman was asked about whether the two words womanhood and femininity meant the same thing to her, she linked femininity to interacting with men when she said:

Even if a woman is under stress, she should not t be aggressively arguing with men or disrespecting them publicly.

The same thoughts about disrespecting men especially shouting at them or raising her voice in their presence was observed in the response of Amna, a 41-year-old single woman. She agreed that raising one's voice and shouting is not accepted in all cases. but shouting at a woman is more accepted that at a man. When she was asked when a woman loses her femininity, she said:

Me and my colleagues usually say that teaching boys made us lose our femininity. Because we shout a lot and unconsciously the way we discuss things became aggressive. Even when I discuss things with my brothers I speak loudly. I feel I became a man. The way I talk, and my voice tone became sharp. one day I shouted at the driver and then I felt embarrassed, he is a man. A woman is not supposed to shout at a man. when I shout at a man, I feel that I am no longer a woman or feminine.

When I asked her if shouting at a woman gives her the same feeling, she answered:

Shouting is wrong in any case, but when I shout at a woman, I feel it is normal. Yes, it is wrong, but it is not as when I shout at a man. When I shout at a man, I feel that I am a man. Speaking loudly in general takes my femininity away but doing it with men is harder. A woman can understand my personality if I speak loudly to her.

Hala, a 32-year-old married woman has the same point of view, in her conversation she quotes her manager's words: " you should not act as a man to be a leader", so I asked her to explain more what he meant, and she added that a woman leader should act:

When I get in conflict with a male colleague, I do not speak loudly. If a man

argues with a male colleague their voice could get loud. But I do not, I speak quietly and try to calm things down and deal diplomatically with the situation. If he shouts or offends me, I leave the room. Leaving the meeting room is a message.

Another aspect of the interaction with non-relative men that is seen in the responses is the resistance to working with men. Justifying this resistance shows a fear of any kind of sexual harassment or being seductive to men. when I asked Jamila, a 54-year-old married woman, why she refuses to train men, she replied:

Training depends on body language; you cannot feel comfortable if you train men.

She evinces the same idea when she was talking about her own business:

I need to be tough with men, I can't even say God bless you to one of them. If you say to one of them oh you seem sick, drink thyme, he will think that you are interested in him.

Another participant, Shahad, who is a 50-year-old married woman expresses the same concern of getting men's attention or being seductive. She is also a trainer and she just trains women. She justified her decision not to train men by saying:

Training is a living experience, I interact with trainees, get close to them, laugh with them, telling them real stories about me and listen to their daily experiences. and this is impossible to do with male trainees.

Amna, a 41-year-old single teacher, has shown the same concern when she discussed how working in a mixed workplace affects her femininity, she said:

I used to participate in schools' competitions for students. These competitions took place in mixed places, but the entrances were separate I don't like to work in such places. Maybe it is my nature, or the way my family raised me.

Some women are used to work with men, it is fine, but they should set boundaries and be strict in dealing with them. Some of my friends work in mixed institutes and are discriminated because of gender. they didn't accept to be sexually harassed by their boss. When I used to go to the competitions, I noticed that when you set boundaries men respect you and do not try to harass you.

Farida, a 52-year-old married woman, when asked about what makes a woman lose her femininity, answered:

When she abandons the role, God created her for. When I asked her to describe this role she said: her role is raising her children at home and in their society by having a suitable job such as doctor or teacher. If she leaves her house and forgets to take care of herself and competes with men in their jobs, she will lose her femininity, but will still be biologically a woman.

Relationship with the Husband

Relationship with the husband is one of the themes that emerged from the data. Three sub themes were found under this main theme: obedience, receiving love and support, and handling the husband's responsibilities. Participants (n=8) discussed many issues related to their relationship with their husbands when they described what cost a woman her femininity. One of the participants stated that to maintain her femininity she refused many good positions because it was in mixed gender workplaces. She did not want to lose her husband or disobey him because of a job. During her talk she admitted that it was her husband's choice to manage her own business from behind the scenes.

Some participants (n= 3) stated that a husband's love and support could boost a woman's sense of femininity.

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Hala, a 32-year-old married woman explained the sources of her sense of femininity, she said:

> I get my sense of femininity from a man, if he does not support me, I will not sense my femininity. A strong father or a strong husband who embraces me. Brothers, without them I will not sense my role as a feminine being. I will be busy trying to play their role and I will forget my role as a woman.

Two other women shared the same thoughts with Hala. Hanan, a 50- year- old divorced woman and Amal, a 36-year-old divorced woman expressed the importance of a *husband's* love and support in shaping a woman's sense of femininity.

Amal, a 36year-old, divorced woman, when asked about when she feels that her femininity got hurt answered:

> When my husband got a new wife.

While Hanan, the other 50-year-old divorced woman believes in the same idea, she, however, thinks that a man's love could affect a woman's sense of femininity if she loves him, she said:

> Men can take off a woman's sense of femininity, maybe because femininity is associated with the relation to men. When a man does not treat you with kindness and tenderness, my sense of femininity is put into question. However, this is only if he is an essential part of your r life and if you love him.

Some Participants (n=6) believe that handling men's responsibilities can cost a woman her femininity. According to them the distribution of familial responsibilities plays a key role in determining whether a woman can be feminine or not as they classified related to family tasks as masculine and feminine. They stated that sometimes a woman is forced by the circumstances of life to play the role of men such

as providing for the family. This generally comes   at the cost of her femininity. However, they believe that women should resist playing the man's role.

Sharifa, a 47-year- old divorced woman believes that there are tasks a man should do. She describes femininity as follows:

> Some tasks jeopardize a woman's femininity. For instance: taking the car for maintenance and following up with construction work at home.

An 18-year-old single woman who shares the same notion, says:

> If a woman has many responsibilities, she will get tired and then she will not have time to take care of herself. This is true f she has to play the man's role, take his responsibilities, work and be the provider for the family.

Shahad, a 50-year-old married woman has the same approach to femininity, when I her asked what makes a woman lose her femininity, she said:

> The laziness and dullness of the husband. I played two roles, the mother's and the fathers. He delegated   all his responsibilities to me. I was not able to hang out with friends or even go to wedding parties. I had to take care of everything inside the home and the kids.

Personal Traits

Participants (n=8) defined also as some personal traits such as softness, kindness, patience, awareness of personal needs.

Lila, a 56-year-old widowed woman believes that a woman loses her femininity when she loses compassion, love, kindness, and emotions. The same thoughts have been observed by most women: that being feminine is being soft, not aggressive, or rude. Three women believe that what makes a woman lose her femininity is not being aware of her own needs and not being a priority in her own life. Nada, a 27-year-divorced woman said:

> The difference between womanhood and femininity is that being a woman means putting everyone is needs before yourself, while being feminine means put yourself first.

Hala, a 32-year- old married woman thinks in similar terms. When I asked her, what makes a woman loss her femininity, she replied:

> Neglecting herself, our mothers and grandmothers used to take care of their family all the time. Some of them were not interested in continuing their education, they would say now we are old why should we go back to school? It is important that a woman takes care of herself and gives to herself in order to be able to give to others.

Sexual Orientation

Only two women mentioned sexual orientation while they were explaining what makes a woman feminine.

Amna, a 41-year-old single woman said:

> We see now lesbian teenage girls in middle and high school. The act and speak like boys and have girlfriends. It is sad to see them lose their femininity at such a young age.

Occupations and Hobbies

Some participants (n=4) believe that occupations like engineers and pilots hurt a woman's femininity, as well as some hobbies like boxing.

Hanan, a 50-year-old divorced woman said:

> A Woman should work in places that protects her privacy and her femininity. For example, working in field that are usually for men. For instance, in oil wells, this harms her femininity.

Hala, a 32-year-old married woman shares the same idea, she said:

Women should have some activities to boost their feminine part, they should not do activities that support her masculine part, such as boxing.

Womanhood

Table 7. Themes and Subthemes of Womanhood Frequency Across Ages

Themes /Subthemes	18-29	30-39	40-49	50 and above
Family (n=15)				
Motherhood (n=11)	2	3	1	5
Member of the family (n=4)	1	2	1	
Importance of family support (n=7)	1	4	1	1
Domestic responsibilities (n=7)	1	1	2	3
Regulations and Rules (n=7)	3	2	2	
Personal traits (n=10)				
Ambitious	1	3		1
Beautiful		1		
Devoting and sacrificing				2
Embracing self and others		2		1
Creative		1		
Strong and courageous	1	3	1	
Agency (n= 10)				
Taking Decisions	2	3		2
Financial Independence	1	1		
Cultural Beliefs	1	2		3
Professional life (n=8)				
Not trusted		1		
Serving community interests	1	1		
Suitable Job for Women		1		1
Achievement and competition		1	1	2
Changes in Qatari woman role: (n=17)				
Appreciation the changes in Qatari woman's role	2	2	1	
Accepting changes with caution	2	2	2	5
Not accepting changes				1

The most frequent theme appeared when women discussed that womanhood to them means family. Fifteen participants identified womanhood with family, eleven of them defined it through motherhood, two of them are less than 29 years old, while three of them are between 30 and 39 years old, one of them is between 40-49 years

old, and five of them are 50 and above. Four women defined womanhood as being a member of the family, one of them is between 18- 29 years old, two of them are between 30-39 years old, while one is between 40-49 years old. Seven of the interviewees mentioned the importance of family support when discussing the meaning of womanhood, one of them is between 18 to 29 years old. Four of them are between 30 to 39 years old, while one of them is between 40-49 years old and one of them is 50 years old and above. Seven of the women defined womanhood in the light of domestic responsibilities; one of them is between 18- 29 years old, one is between 30-39 years, two of them are between 40-49 years old and three of them are 50 years old and above. It is worth mentioning that some of the 15 women who mentioned the family as part of womanhood discussed more than one theme. For instance, women who mentioned motherhood have also mentioned domestic responsibilities or the importance of family support.

Seven of the participants defined womanhood in terms of regulations and rules. Three of them are between 18-29 years old years, two are between 30-39 years old, while two of them are between of 40-49.

Ten participants defined womanhood through personal traits, five of them describe womanhood as being ambitious, one of them is between 18-29 years old, while three of them are between 30-39 years old and one is 50years and above. One used the word "beautiful" to describe womanhood; she is between 30-39. Two of them described womanhood as synonymous with devotion and sacrifice. Embracing oneself and others was mentioned as a personal trait that describes womanhood by three participants, two of them are between the age of 30-39 years old, while one of them is 50 and above. One participant used the word "creative "to describe womanhood, she is between 30-39 years old. Five participants described womanhood as being strong

and courageous, one of them is between 18-29, three of them between 30-39and one is between 40-49.

Ten participants mentioned agency when discussing womanhood. Seven of them described womanhood in terms of decision-making, two of them are between 18-29 years old, three of them are between 30-39 and two are 50 years old and above. Two participants discussed womanhood as meaning financial independence, one of them is between 18-29 years old, and the other is between 30-39. Six of them mentioned the effect of cultural beliefs on women's agency while they are describing the meaning of womanhood, one of them is between 18- 29 years old, and two are between 30-39 years old.

Eight participants describe womanhood through professional life, one of them believe that women are not trusted in the workplace, she is between 30-39 years old. Two believe that, as women, they serve community interests through their work, one of them is between 18-29 years old and the other is between 30-39 years old. Two of them discussed the most suitable jobs for women, one of them is between 30-39 years old, while the other is 50 years old and above. Four of them mentioned achievements and coemptions in the workplace as part of their definition of womanhood, one of the is between 30-39 years old, one is between 40-49 years old and two are 50 years old and above.

Changes in Qatari women's role was one of the topics discussed when describing womanhood. This theme emerged from a question that all participants answered regarding their preferred role: whether the traditional role or the modern role. Five participants stated that they appreciate the changes in Qatari women's role. Two of them are between 18-29 years old, two are between 30-39 years old, and one is between 40-49 years old. While eleven participants accepted the changes in Qatari

women's role with caution, and one did not accept the changes in Qatari women's role, she is 50 years old and above.

Table 8. Frequency of Main Themes and Subthemes of Womanhood by Participants' Marital Status

Themes /Subthemes	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed
Family (n=15)				
Motherhood (n=11)	1	7	2	1
Member of the family	2	1	1	
Importance of family support	2	3	1	1
Domestic responsibilities		4	2	1
Regulations and Rules	3	3	1	
Personal traits (n=10)				
Ambitious	3	2		
Beautiful	1			
Devoting and sacrificing		1		1
Embracing self and others		1	1	1
Creative		1		
Strong and Courageous	4	1		
Agency (n=10)				
Taking Decision	2	4	1	
Financial Independence	1	1		
Cultural Beliefs	1	1	3	1
Professional Life (n=8)				
Not Trusted		1		
Serving Community Interests	1		1	
Suitable Job for Women		2		
Achievement and competing	2	2		
Changes in Qatari Women's Role:				
Appreciation the changes in Qatari woman role	2	2	1	
Accepting changes with caution	3	4	3	1
Not accepting the changes		1		

The most frequent themes appear when women discussed that womanhood meant family to them. Fifteen participants identified womanhood with family, eleven of them defined it through motherhood, one of them is single, while seven of them are married, two of them are divorced and one of them is widowed. Four women defined

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womanhood as being a member of the family, two of them are single, one is married, and one is divorced. Seven women mentioned the importance of family support when discussing the meaning of womanhood, two are single, three are married, one is divorced, and one is widowed. Seven of them defined womanhood in terms of domestic responsibilities; two of them are divorced, one is widow and four are married. It is worth mentioning that some of the 15 women who mentioned the family as part of womanhood discussed more than one theme. For instance, women who mentioned motherhood have also mentioned domestic responsibilities or the importance of family support.

Seven of the participants defined womanhood through regulation and rules. Three of them are single, three of them are married, while one of them is divorced. Ten participants defined womanhood through personal traits, five of them describe womanhood by being ambitious, three of them are single and two of them are married. One used the word "beautiful to describe womanhood, and she is single. Two of them described womanhood in terms of devotion and sacrifice, one is married, and one is widowed. Embracing oneself and others was mentioned as a personal trait that describes womanhood by three participants, one of them is married, one is divorced, and one is widowed. One participant used the word "creative "to describe womanhood, and she is married. Five participants described womanhood as being strong and courageous, four of them are single and one of them is married.

Ten participants mentioned agency when discussing womanhood. Seven of them described womanhood through taking decisions, two of them are single, four of them are married and one of them is divorced. Two participants discussed womanhood as equivalent of financial independence, one of them is single and the other is married. Six of them mentioned the effect of cultural beliefs on women's

agency as synonymous with womanhood, one of them is single, one is married, three are divorced and one is widowed.

Eight participants describe womanhood through professional life, one of them believes that women are not trusted in the workplace, and she is married. Two believe that as women they serve community interests through their work, one of them is single, and the other is divorced. Two of them discussed the suitable jobs for woman, two of them are married. Four of them mentioned achievements and competition in the workplace as part of their description of womanhood, two of them are single and two of them are married.

Changes in Qatari women's role was one of the discussed topics when describing womanhood. This theme emerged from a question that all participants answered regarding their preferred role: the traditional role or the modern role. Five participants stated that they appreciate the changes in Qatari women's role, two of them are single, two are married and one is divorced. Eleven participants accepted the changes in Qatari women's role with caution, three of them are single, four are married, tree is divorced, and one is widowed. One woman did not accept the changes in Qatari women's role, and she is married.

The Importance of the Family

One of the main themes found in the analyzed interviews was the importance of the family. The four subthemes emerged under this theme were: (1) member of the family, (2) motherhood, (3) importance of family's support, and (4) domestic responsibilities. The responses of the participants (n=15) show that family is an essential part of being a woman. Women as s member of the family was one of the first responses to the question." what does it mean to be a woman?". Some participants (n=4) expressed womanhood through being a" sister, wife or daughter.

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However, motherhood as a definition of womanhood was seen in more responses (n= 8). They emphasized the mother's role alongside with other roles such as daughter, wife and sister. Motherhood as a subtheme was found in mothers and childless women's responses. One of the single women stressed the importance of the mother's role in her family and society. Habiba, a 30-year-old single woman said:

> I am the sister, the daughter... The one who can give to her society. If I were married, I would be the wife and the mother who gives and supports her family and her society.

Nada, a 27-year-old divorced woman said:

> The woman is the mother of society.

Hanan. a 50-year-old divorced woman stated that motherhood gave her strength, and changed her life positively, she said:

> Marriage did not change me or change my perception of womanhood, motherhood did.

Jamila, a 54-year-old married woman shares the same definition of womanhood, she believes that the mother is the base of the family, she said:

> I can see my life divided into two phases: in the first phase of my life, I was a mother, the basis of the family.

Widad, a 45-year-old married woman shares the same perception of motherhood, she believes if a woman has children, she must be just a mother and will not play any other role or have a job. Raising her children should be her priority. She said:

> If a woman has children, she should be just a mother and focus on taking care of her kids. If mothers get busy with other things, then who is going to raise the new generation?!

However, Aya, a 36-year-old single woman does not consider being a mother as a

privilege. When I asked her to describe the ideal Qatari woman, she said:

> I don't see my mother as a role model. It is hard to say this, I don't see being a
> mother and raising kids as an accomplishment.

When I asked her if she wished to get married and have children:

> I do not want children, I can marry, but I do not want to have children. I am
> currently in a family with many sisters, nephews, and nieces, which made me
> experience motherhood indirectly, but motherhood itself is not one of my
> current priorities. I do not think about having my own children, but I want a
> husband, someone that I can share my life with. Soon I will be forty. Marriage
> is not merely for emotional balance, I need a husband with whom I can share
> activities and hobbies, if I could not see this in a man, the marriage is not
> going to serve me. Loneliness is not a big deal for me. I enjoy spending my
> time alone.

Shahad, another 50 years old married woman shows a contradictory attitude towards
motherhood. On the one hand being a mother gives her a sense of being successful.
On the other hand, she admitted feeling a kind of bitterness because she devoted her
life to raise her children and when they grew up, all the credit went to their father. She
said:

> I feel strong as a woman by being a mother and raising   my kids without
> receiving support of my husband. My weakness as a woman is when I realize
> any failure or mistake in raising my children. I devoted my time to raising
> them. When they graduated, they thanked their father for their success instead
> of thanking me. All the credit went to him. At that moment I realized that I
> should put myself first.

The importance of the family is another subtheme that emerged under the main theme

of family. Participants (n=7) stated the importance of family support by highlighting especially the importance of relative male's support (father/ husband/ son/ brother), as well as the support of other family members. Some participants (n= 3) stated that losing their father evoked a feeling of vulnerability.

Aman, a 41-year-old single woman responded to the question "when do you feel vulnerable?" by saying:

> When my father passed away, I felt I am broken and weak. When I lost him, I felt devastated? Although I have brothers who support me. But my father is something different, he was my main support.

Aya, a 36-year-old single woman believes that a woman is lucky if she was born in a supportive family, she said while describing womanhood:

> Being a Qatari woman means your life will not be easy, you could be lucky to have a loving and supportive family, a family that understands you and encourages you to achieve your goals or you could be unlucky and don't have such a family. But even if you have a supportive family, society is unforgiving towards women.

Majeda, 25 years old married woman shares the same opinion, when I asked her when do women feel weak, she said:

> When her family does not support her. For instance, if a woman wants to enroll in a specific college and everyone intervenes with her decision and prevents her from studying what she loves. For instance, her uncles and her brothers intervene. Her father, the one who should support her, would say: you should listen to your uncles and brothers. I believe that no one should intervene in my decision. Discussing my decision should be between me and my father only, and if my father refuses to let me do something, it should be

justified. He does not have the right to prevent me without convincing reasons. In this situation a woman feels vulnerable. Everyone controls her life. It is hard for a woman to stand against her family and do whatever she wants. It takes courage to do so, not all women are brave.

Warda, a 35-year-old married woman expressed the same idea. She believes that women are emotional beings and in need for support. She said:

There is a part of a woman's life that needs to be filled with the right man. If achieved, she would become undefeated. This man could be a husband, a father, a brother, or a son. Then she continues:

A woman feels weak when she has conflicts with the people who are close to her, because we are emotional beings.

Domestic responsibilities are another subtheme surfacing under the family theme. Participants (n=7) expressed different feelings towards handling the familial responsibilities when defining womanhood. On the one hand, it gives them a sense of power to be the base of the family, on the other hand, they suffer under this burden. They also discussed the challenges of keeping a balance between home and family responsibilities. They believe it costs a woman her womanhood if she is the provider or handle the man's responsibilities. They also admit that they handle the biggest share of familial responsibilities because of their husbands' carelessness and laziness.

Laila is a 56-year-old widowed woman spoke about her experience as one of the first generation of working mothers in Qatar, she said:

I like how a woman's life 30 years ago was. At that period, Qatari woman proved to be successful when they had the chance to be educated. This is when Qatari women emerged from a traditional society that is used to perceive her as a shame, but she emerged from this with her religion and respect, unlike

now. In our generation, there were student mothers studying hard with a sense of commitment toward their family and their studies. My generation of Qatari women have shown their efficiency in the education sector. They have been keen on educating the new generation. They have struggled so much and got emancipated from a patriarchal society to an area of freedom in which they showed their skills. To see men acting as real partners of women in our Gulf societies needs time, it is a long journey. To reach a phase that is fair for women, a phase where women and men share responsibility together, it needs a lot of effort. Until now, we believe that the man is not supposed to cook for his wife or serve himself, the woman should serve him. We need many years to accept the idea that the home is his responsibility too, and he has to bear the burdens of family life with his woman.

Sharifa, is a divorced woman aged 47 has the same opinion, she said:

Women are not just half of society; they are three quarters of it. I play the role of mother and father, and I know even If I get married, I will not be able to depend on my husband to handle the familial responsibilities.

Farida, 50 years, an old married woman who gets her sense of strength as a woman from the dependency of her family members on her. When I asked her about when she feels her strength as a woman, she said:

When I get away from home or work for a while, and then I come back home, I find that people missed me a lot, they give me the feeling that life is a mess when I am not around. I noticed this with my family members, my colleagues, and friends.

Handling domestic responsibilities makes it hard for women to keep the balance between home and work. Wedad, a 45-year- old married woman said:

My strength as a woman is in raising my children and managing my home as well as my work responsibilities. My weakness is in facing this difficult life alone. I play the father's and the mother's role because of my husband's laziness, but I am losing many things, my health and concentration. I often forget myself and I feel that I am aging early. My nature is changing, and I forget to enjoy my life because I have no time.

Hala, a 32-year-old married woman believes that women should resist being the provider or taking man's responsibilities, she explained:

You should not try to play a man's role because this would cost you your womanhood. He is the provider if you want to help him financially it is OK. but he is the provider not you. Do not try to take his role. For instance, you call the electrician because the electricity inside the house needs maintenance. This is his role not yours. In my opinion raising the children is the mother's responsibly, the father can contribute especially with sons. He can take them to practice some activities, or to men gatherings and teach them how to behave as men.

Personal Traits

Personal traits one is of the themes that emerged from the data. Participants (n=10) defined womanhood as some traits. These traits are ambitious, strong, courageous, creative, devoted, sacrificing, beautiful, and embracing herself and others. Amal, a 36-year-old divorced woman said:

Being a woman means being creative and creator of so many things in this life or co-creator. Having this idea helps me understand my nature and skills as a woman.

She stated that this perception of womanhood has not come easy, it came after reading

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many books and going through different life experiences. She admits that her perception of womanhood in the past was the opposite, and she struggled until she reached a positive perception of being a woman. One outstanding experience in her life was getting divorced which made her believe in her womanhood. She described her weakness as a woman:

> A woman becomes vulnerable when she loses the connection with her true self, when she does not know who she is and what she wants.

Aya, a 36-year-old single woman defined womanhood as beauty, while Heba, a 30-year-old single woman described womanhood by saying:

> Being a woman means I am an icon of hope and positive energy.

Amna, a 41-year-old single woman shares the same positive idea of womanhood, she said:

> A woman feels weak when she is not brave and strong, and when she does not believe in herself.

Dana, a 23-year-old single woman described the ideal woman as:

> The ideal woman is a strong woman, she is a fighter and ambitious.

Laila, a 56-year-old widowed woman describe the strength of a woman as follows:

> Woman could feel strong by being there for the people she loves; God has given her the ability to embrace everyone in her life with kindness and patience.

Regulations and Rules

Regulation and rules were a main issue mentioned by the participants while they were describing their experience as women. Some participants (n= 7) complained that some regulations make a woman's life harder. They discussed male guardianship, working hours, reproduction rights, governmental procedures, widowed and divorced women's

rights. They stated how these regulations evoke a feeling of weakness and oppression in their daily life.

When I asked Manal, an 18year-old single girl, what makes a woman vulnerable, she answered:

> A Woman feels vulnerable when she is under the control of a man. For example: she cannot work or get a driving license without an official permission from the male guard, or the guardianship system is an official system in some organizations, that is why a woman in our society cannot live without a man.

Majeda, a 25-yearold married woman believes that the patriarchal system controls women's life in Qatar. She spoke about her experience when she gave birth to her first son:

> I will just discuss laws because I am studying these laws and because it is important. First, in terms of work and making a balance between personal life and work, there are no nurseries in governmental organizations. Working women need nurseries to be close to their kids, so they can balance the work and family responsibilities. Also important are the reproductive rights of women. There is nothing in the law that talks about this right and it is not included in the school curriculum. According to the society's culture this is a right for men not for women. But it is my body and I know it is my right to be pregnant or not. There is nothing about reproductive rights. Also, from the legal point of view, I noticed something, and it made me angry. When I gave birth to my first son, the hospital refused to issue a birth certificate for my son without an official consent of his father. I told them I am his mother, and I can sign to get the birth certificate issued! They refused and insisted to have

the father's consent. This is the ruthless patriarchal system. The son belongs to his father, and the mother has no voice. The father owns everything.

She continued:

Another issue is the protection of Qatari women. Women are supposed to be more protected. If a woman is exposed to violence at home. There is a program or center called security (Aman). It is supposed to protect her. When my friends visited this center, they found that it was not really helping women. Every violence is classified as family problems. For instance, if the father is beating his daughter, they would say to the daughter that these are family problems, and you should solve them at home. The exception is when she finds a compassionate policeman who could stand with her.

Sharefa, a 47-year-old divorced woman discussed how some regulations make her life as a woman hard, she said:

I feel vulnerable when I need to meet a minister for official issues. For instance, I cannot meet the prime minster because he meets only men. If there is something that could be solved through the prime minister or the Amir's official office, I feel vulnerable, because as a woman I cannot go to the Amir's official office, these things need a man. Even the manager of traffic department does not meet women. However, in some government organizations, I feel strong when I meet a man in a managerial position in these organizations and he sympathizes with me because I am a woman and helps me to get my documents signed. I feel strong When he serves me first even if there are other men waiting because I am a woman and society sees me as vulnerable.

Hala, a 32-year-old married woman, spoke about regulation but she has a different

view. She believes that Qatari woman who choose to marry someone from a different nationality should not ask for her children's naturalization. First Hala expressed what she needs as a Qatari woman, then she discussed the feminists' demands of naturalization of the children of Qatari women.

> For example, when I was pregnant, I was surprised that there was no parking reserved for pregnant women and they may have to walk a long distance. In communities like Germany and others, pregnant women in public places are always treated in a special way. this is another issue related to Qatari women's rights. For most of the Qatari feminists, they are passionately aware of the naturalization of Qataris women's children. I am against this. If I chose to marry a Jordanian or an Algerian, then my kids hold their father's nationality. We are also affiliated with the father's nationality and we are named by the father. You chose to marry non-Qatari man and you are responsible for your decision.

Agency

Some participants' responses reflected feelings of oppression (n=10). They discussed the social restrictions imposed on them. While some of them still value certain types of restrictions as part of Qatari culture, others are bargaining with society to have more freedom. Religious values colored some responses when discussing issues related to woman's freedom of movement. three subthemes emerged under agency: decision -taking, financial independence, and cultural beliefs.

Dana, a 23-year-old single woman stated that she feels vulnerable when:

> A certain person hurts me or offends my pride by denying me a certain right, sometimes it occurs because I am a woman. Because I am a woman, I am prevented from many things, so this weakens and breaks me.

Amal, a 36-year-old divorced woman shares the same thoughts about denying women's rights and how it could weaken her. She expressed her feelings of oppression when she described how her husband made her pregnant against her will:

> My story with motherhood is one of the most difficult stories. When I got married, I did not think about maternity at all. I felt that I was still young. I did not know my husband well […] the engagement period was not enough to know him, and I felt that my relationship with my husband was not stable. However, he feared that I may leave him. He decided that I had to have a baby, although we agreed on a method of contraception, but he violated it in some way. I became pregnant from the first month of marriage. I suffered from depression. Seven years later, he told me what he did, he told me that it was not a coincidence. I collapsed when I knew about it. He took away my right to choose to become a mother or not. He made the decision instead of me and forced me to become a mother and I was not ready at all.

She continued talking about her experience with feelings of oppression even after getting divorced. when I asked her about when she feels vulnerable, she said:

> When I began to claim certain rights, I found that men as well as many traditions interfered with many things in our lives. Being a woman, I know very well what works for me and what does not fit me and what I want and what I do not want. But it is the man who controls my needs and desires, whether he is a husband or a judge in court. At the end, he is just a man, so why should he control my life?

Majeda, a 25-year-old married woman defined womanhood as the woman's ability to take decisions, she said:

> However, even now if a woman refused to marry, society would criticize her

or doubt her intention. Although she is not forced to do so, but she is under social pressure. The same thing happens after marriage, with the issue of pregnancy and childbirth. If the woman said that she does not want to get pregnant and have children, people would ask why What I am noticing now is that girls can decide to marry and have children, they are not forced. You may say that it is a change, but at the same time, the change is not so great now. There is still   pressure from society on the woman to marry and give birth, but there are many changes.

Jamila, a 54-year-old married woman stated that being unable to make decisions related to her children evoked feelings of vulnerability:

I feel vulnerable when I need to make decisions related to my children, especially when they were young. The first and last say was for the father. However, as they grew older, I felt empowered because each of my daughters became stronger than the other. They had strength and self-confidence. They are asking for things that were impossible to ask for. When they were young, I was hesitant to ask for certain things for them because I know their father will refuse, and now their father is allowing them to do what they want.

However, she believes that a woman should obey her husband because it is a religious obligation. She quoted the holy Quran to justify this idea of obedience: " Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other" –.

 However, Aya, a 36-year-old single woman believes that if a woman wants to have a peaceful and good life in this society, she should have double standards. when I asked her to clarify, she added?

I am an adventurous person, but I have not placed myself in a situation where I

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may get criticized, because I live two lives. I have two faces: the face that society loves and the face I like.

In contradiction to Aya, Shahad, a 50- year-old married woman has imposed some restrictions on her daughter and believes that woman should be watched and protected. She refused to let her daughter study in a mixed college or to let her drive. She said:

What does a Qatari woman lack?! Nothing. On the contrary, she has more rights that she should, and it became a mess. She stays until 12 p.m. outside of the home, in the cinema and malls. This is wrong. Every woman should not stay out for too late and should dress modestly, because her reputation affects her children and her grandchildren.

Warda, 35-year-old married woman, mentioned being independent as an important characteristic of womanhood, but she explained:

A woman becomes strong when she trusts herself, if she is independent, but not entirely so […]

when asked about the meaning of total independence, she replied:

It means that if you are independent, it does not mean that you do not need men. There is a side of a woman's life that becomes complete when filled with the right man. She becomes undefeatable. Women cannot be completely independent, they are fragile, they need independence but we also emotional support etc. The man may be a brother, a husband, or a father.

Financial independence is another sub-theme under the concept of agency. Participants (n=2) appreciate and value being financially independent.

Aya, a 36-year-old single woman, talked about the time she felt empowered and strong:

After I have completed my studies, but most of all, when I became financially independent. This independence is the most important thing that can be achieved in life. The luckiest people are those who have a job and are financially independent. When a woman is financially independent, she can survive without a man or a family if anything happens to her.

Majeda, a 25-year-old married woman shared the same idea and stressed the importance of financial independence:

A woman should have her own money, even if she is not working, she could have a small business. I mean she should be financially independent, so she does not need her husband to support her. A woman cannot be independent if she needs someone to spend on her.

Participants (n=6) discussed cultural beliefs when they described womanhood. Their responses reflected the influence of cultural perceptions of womanhood on their life experiences. some of them feel proud and brave because they have overcome some social restrictions and stigma, while the others admitted how specific beliefs about women had made them struggle for years. Fear of social judgment and rejection was also mentioned.

Laila, a 56-year-old widow described why she felt fragile for years as a woman, she said:

A woman feels weak if she loses the people she counts on such as husband, son, sister, or friend. I do not have a brother, and when I grew up, the idea of not having a brother made me more vulnerable, because having a brother was perceived as essential for a woman. to protect and support her when she gets older and reaches her forties. After seeing women participating in public life and playing new roles in society, I realized that the idea of the importance of

having a brother is just an illusion imposed on me; an illusion the culture has created, and it weakened me for years.

Hanan, a 50-years-old divorced woman shared the same idea about how cultural pressure on woman can weaken her and keep her in a subordinate position. She said:

I feel weak as a woman when I am under the pressure of cultural beliefs and traditions, and I feel my strength when I accomplished things that women were unable to accomplish in the past, or when I accomplish something other women were not able to accomplish because the community restricted them, and they could not overcome these restrictions.

Nada, a 27-year-old divorced woman stated that she felt strong after divorce, when she overcame the stigma of being a divorcee that society imposed on women like her.

Aya, a 36-year-old single woman, discussed the fear of social judgment as part of a woman's experience:

It depends on how strong the woman is I am a self-confident woman; I can handle the skewed views and ridiculous comments of people in public places or on social media. There are self-proclaimed reformers and guardians of ethics and good manners. They give themselves the right to tell any woman what to do. It is a good thing that our society has produced some examples of women who have gone out of the ordinary. Some women may have challenged traditional frameworks and deviated from customs and traditions. This is good, because when society sees the extreme example of free women, it will, eventually, accept the degree of freedom I need.

Amal admitted that social beliefs about women have put her in dilemma between societal expectations from her and her desires. She spent years struggling and voicing her own thoughts, until divorce happened. She said:

> I started reviewing my thoughts regarding women in my mind before divorce, and divorce gave me an incentive to face anything. But before that I was wondering why I was not honest with myself and why I resisted my own modern perceptions of womanhood It is possible that the social and religious perceptions of women are biased. It is possible that my internal convictions and thoughts are right.

Professional Life:

Career and profession were one of the topic participants (n= 12) raised when they described their perception of womanhood. Their discussion revealed some beliefs related to woman's work, such as not trust, community service, interests, leadership, competition, and the suitable jobs for women.

Hala, a 32-year-old married woman stated that men control and make decisions at her workplace and she felt untrusted because she is a woman. In response to the question about women's vulnerability, she commented:

> In my work, we are four main mangers in the organization, me and three other male colleagues. I am not involved in decision making because work-related decisions are discussed and taken in the Majlis – a special place for men, where they gather in one of the houses - Work issues are solved during the Majlis discussions where my three male colleagues meet, and I am not involved.

At the same time, Hala believes some jobs are more suitable for women than others. She believes that long-hour jobs do not suit married women especially if she has children. Hala stated that she refused some job offers specifically for this reason. She was also hesitant when asked her if she would accept that her daughter works as a pilot. On the contrary, Jamila, a 54-year-old married woman has a daughter who has a

military job in the Air Force. She described the experience:

> I agreed completely to let her work in the Air Force, but her father and uncles refused in the beginning. My brother came to me that night and said, "look sister, the main jobs in Qatar today are for women, so give your daughters an opportunity, let her join the Air Force and do not sabotage her ambition and determination. His daughter, my niece, works as an oil engineer in Ras Laffan. She and the workers go to the site, wear the helmet, and repair the engineering and mechanical tools. My second niece is an aeronautical engineer at Qatar Airways College and is currently repairing an aircraft.

Competition and leadership are one of the motivations behind some participants' work (n=3). It gives them sense of power and pride. Jamila, a 54-year-old married woman admitted changing some beliefs about working with men and participating in Radio and T.V show, because of her desire for leadership and competition She said:

> I got many opportunities to speak publicly and to be in leading positions, but I refused because I do not feel comfortable interacting with men or appearing in media. Now I am thinking, if as a qualified Qatari woman refuse to take these opportunities, then non-Qatari women will get them. Non-Qatari women are not better than us, in the past Qatari women isolated themselves from public participation and appearance to obey God and maintain their religious values Now If I maintain my religious values and clothes I can participate and get a leading position. I once I accepted to talk on a T.V show.

Nada, a 27-year-old divorced woman, and Habiba, a 30-year-old single woman stated that serving community interest and helping their people and society through work gives them a sense of power and importance. Nada said:

> Society needs women in all fields, they are the core of society. The

educational field, for example, depends on her.

Amna, a 41-year-old single woman shares the same idea about community service. Describing the ideal Qatari woman, she said:

> The ideal Qatari Woman is the woman who maintains Qatari customs and traditions, who creates her career path while behaving in a good manner. She has the ability to show her effectiveness in her work and she is able to serve her country and achieve her ambition.

Changes in Qatari Women's Role: This theme emerged from the question regarding the participants' view of their suitability to either the traditional or the modern role. The traditional role was explained as the role limited to familial responsibilities, and private life without delving into the issue of male dominance in society. While the modern role was explained in terms of participation in public life, involvement in politics, acquisition of leadership positions, involvement in national development process and sharing decision making with the males in. Some participants (n=5) were appreciative of the changes in Qatari women's roles, while others (n=11) stated that they accept these changes with caution. One participant admitted that she admires the traditional image of Qatari women because of her grandmother, yet she believes that her grandmother was exceptional and broke many social rules to be independent.

In the group of participants (n=5) who appreciated the changes in Qatari women's role, three discussed the positive aspect of these changes, while two criticized the traditional role of the older generations of women and one of them justified her preference of modern roles over the traditional ones because she is single and has time, at the same time she expresses her concerns about the new changes of Qatar women's role.

The group of participants (n=11) who have concerns regarding changes in

Qatari women's role justified their view: first, they prioritize family over work (n=6). Second, they stated that participation in public life put them under pressure (n=3). Third, they highlighted (n=2) the importance of maintaining culture and social values when participating in public life. Fourth, they showed appreciation of the role played by the old generations of mothers and grandmothers in their families (n=2). One participant did accept the social changes in the role of Qatari women.

Manal, an 18-year-old single woman answered the question about situating herself " between the traditional role and the modern role of a woman:

> The modern role is better of course. In the past, women were convinced that their role was limited to the house and that her subordination to men was acceptable., In the past, a woman accepted that her son was in control of her life because he was a man. She surrendered to the status quo and was unable to live freely. However, women think differently, they think about developing themselves and overseeing their life, but the laws of the state do not allow them to do so. Previously, women saw that celibacy was a misfortune and had harassed her because she did not get married. Now it became normal and marriage is no longer a priority.

While Sharefa, a 47-year-old divorced woman also preferred women's modern role to the traditional role, she mentioned some of its negative aspects:

> One of the reasons for the collapse of the family is the mixing between women and men. The man has seen more women and compared his wife to them. Mixing causes forbidden or romantic relationships between men and women and may lead to divorce.

One the other hand, she discussed the positive aspect of the modern role:

> The modern role of women has some advantages. The mentality of women is

better than the mentality of men in the management of many things: they can handle the pressures of work better, be wiser than men and can solve problems, especially in some fields like education and counseling.

Wedad, a 45-year-old married woman, said:

The modern role of women has increased the pressures on them. The nature of their work has changed. The nature of life has changed. Women have become under great pressure. I do not like the modern role of Qatari women. If I choose between the traditional role and the new role of women, I will choose a role in the middle. My work exhausts me, I do not have the energy to take care of my children and myself.

Majeda, a 25-year-old married woman prefers a role in the middle between the modern and the traditional. She stated that after giving birth to her second son, she chose to stay at home for a year to take care of her baby. She is now unemployed and planning to get a job after her children grow up a little.

Habiba, a 30-year-old single woman prefers the modern role because she does not have many domestic responsibilities:

The modern role of Qatari woman suits me, I hope to reach a leading position in my work, especially since I am unmarried, and I have the chance and time to develop myself and pursue my ambition.

Hanan, a 50-year-old divorced woman, prefers a role in the middle. However, she shows her appreciation of the traditional role, she said:

I do not like to erase the traditional image of Qatari woman because part of it was good. The woman in our society should hold to customs and traditions. There are limits for her public participation. She should not go beyond these limits unless she is forced by life's obligations to do so.

Farida, a 52-year-old married woman answered the same question by saying:

> Is woman's political participation essential? Does it boost her femininity? I believe that there is no reason to compete with men in politics. Men are more qualified to perform in political jobs. They can participate by just giving advice regarding some political issues, but she is not supposed to lead or make decisions. God created her as feminine, if she gets involved in politics, then when will she play her role in taking care of her family and children?

Difference Between Femininity and Womanhood

Since this study investigates the meaning of two words (femininity and womanhood), this section is not a theme that emerged from the research. It is to describe how participants differentiate between these two concepts. Although, participants used these two words interchangeably, they have pointed out some differences. Some participants (n=4) prefer the word "woman" over " feminine " as they believe that the word (woman) means being responsible, reliable, and playing an important role in family and society, while the word " feminine" related more to physical appearance.

Hala, a 32-year-old married woman said:

> The word "woman" is stronger, but I cannot be a woman without being feminine. However, the word" woman" gives me a sense of being reliable and responsible. The strength of the woman is that she can play more than one role at home and work, while feminine could be unreliable or undependable.

Other participants (n=4) have described femininity as a personal trait of a woman or a part of womanhood. They believe that the word "woman" is more comprehensive and gives a deeper meaning than the word" feminine. "

Dana, a 23-year-old single woman said:

> The word woman is wider than the word feminine, I don't know if both words
>
> are somewhat similar, but I love the word" woman" it gives a deeper sense of
>
> power.

Two participants believe that femininity is the soul of a woman. They stated that a woman without femininity is just a physical body and a biological being.

Majeda, a 25-year-old married woman said:

> I feel that the word" woman" is a biological trait, I mean she was born as a girl
>
> then she became a woman, it is a biological thing. While femininity is related
>
> more to emotions and feelings. Not every woman is feminine.

One participant preferred to be described as feminine rather than a woman. Nada a 27- years-old divorced woman justified this by saying:

> The difference between womanhood and femininity is that a feminine woman
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> is someone who puts her needs first and takes care of herself, while a woman
>
> is someone who devotes her life to serve her family at the expense of her
>
> needs.

Summary

In this study, the 17 Qatari women who were interviewed expressed their vision of the meaning of femininity and womanhood. Their answers revealed several classifications that showed the challenges faced by women and their perception   in terms of values and beliefs.

The results showed that the family represents a great value to women when they talk about defining femininity and womanhood. Supporting the family, motherhood and belonging to the family in addition to the balance between family and work came as the definitions of women themselves. The women in the interviews discussed the difficulties and challenges they faced due to customs, regulations, and

personal freedom. However, this did not prevent them from appreciating some customs and traditions when talking about the social developments that have occurred in the role of women in Qatar. Professional life is also one of the things that is affected by a woman's self-perception, as women preferred certain jobs and emphasized the importance of preserving customs and traditions in the workplace. They also mentioned some concern about the lack of confidence in women by officials and their lack of participation in decision-making. Although some women object to men controlling decision-making positions at work, the frequent mixing with foreign men and entering in competition with them is not one of the characteristics that some participants prefer, as it hurts their femininity. Traits such as patience, sacrifice, love, and tenderness were mentioned as the most prominent traits that distinguish a woman and reflect her femininity.

In the next chapter, these results are discussed and interpreted. Recommendations are presented, the challenges faced by the research are explained and the possibility of presenting other research on these results.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

The gender perceptions of an individual are formed by the socialization that begins with the family, then school, friends, and media. The perception of gender is formed on several different stages. Starting with the first stage of categorization at which the perceptions are based on stereotypes that established on no real evidence. Then, in the next phase, casual attribution occurs, when the causes of a particular behaviors are analyzed and judged to be positive or negative (Matlin, 1996). Nevertheless, there are several social and individual factors that shape gender perceptions, such as economic development, urbanization and migration, and political and legal reforms on the collective level. While on the individual level; personal experience, economic and social levels and family support also contribute to changing gender perceptions.

In a patriarchal society, women are subjected to discrimination and marginalization at several levels. At the family level, they are marginalized, and men are given power, and at the level of society laws and regulations promote male domination. In Qatar, as in various Arab and Gulf countries, laws and regulations enshrine the values of a patriarchal society, which is reflected in women's view of their role.

In Qatar, despite the economic and social development that has occurred in the status of women, and despite the changes that have occurred in their role and several empowerment plans, the ability of women to fully engage in development plans is still limited due to the dominance of customs and traditions (Alghanim, 2017). The patriarchal system in Qatar maintains the traditional perception of woman's role, and this has appeared even in educational curricula and in some of the serious procedures taken against faculty members at Qatar University like Hatoon Al Fassi. The National

Vision of woman empowerment reflected concerns of preserving customs, traditions, and family cohesion. It prioritizes the maintaining of traditions over modernizing woman's role.

This study sets out to shed light on the experience of Qatari women and how these social and economic developments have affected their understanding of their role. It also reveals the how patriarchal ideology has colored participants' perceptions of themselves. The national empowerment plans, as well as the economic and social changes have given Qatari women exceptional various opportunities like   work, education, and participation in public and political life. At the same time, Qatari women are expected by the patriarchal culture to maintain their traditional role.

The data suggests that Qatari women participants perceive womanhood and femininity as based on many factors. However, the two words were used interchangeably during the interviews. Femininity was perceived through six main components: (1) Physical Appearance, (2) Modesty, (3) Personal traits, (4) Sexual Orientation, (5) Occupation and Hobby and (6) Relationship with the Husband.

Womanhood was also perceived through six main components: (1) Family, (2) Regulation and Rules, (3) Personal Traits, (4) Agency, (5) Professional Life, (6) Changes in Qatari Women's Role.

<div align="center">Interpretation of the Findings</div>

While the experience of womanhood and femininity vary with each woman, all common twelve themes were a prominent aspect of the participants' perception of womanhood and femininity. These themes affect women differently, each of the themes is described in the following sections.

One of the first definitions given by the interviewees when asked about femininity was physical appearance. Eleven out of seventeen participants defined

femininity in terms of physical appearance. However, nine of them believed that beauty and elegance should not be an obsession. They stated that a woman could look feminine with simple tips. This suggests that beauty may not be a significant aspect of femininity. These findings are in agreement with the findings reported by R.M. Hoffman, L. D . Borders, & J.A. Hattie (2000) as they observed that attractiveness was one of the least categories used to define femininity. In their study, 3.8% of the interviewed women defined femininity as attractiveness and taking care of their appearance by wearing make-up and being elegant.

In this study the high frequency of physical appearance as an aspect of femininity could be understood as an influence of gender stereotypes. Deaux & Lewis (1984) Classified gender stereotypes into four components. People use them to define manhood and womanhood and one of them is related to physical characteristics. Moreover, theories assume that biologically, woman gain femininity, as a definition of gender, through noticeable physical differences and social learning (Mulqueen, 1992).

However, only two participants gave physical appearance a great importance; they admitted setting a separate budget to maintain their beauty through cosmetic surgeries or interventions. Their motivations were fear of losing the husband, boosting self-esteem, looking younger and more modern, and impressing others. This could reflect the impact of gender stereotyping, as a woman is expected to be beautiful and attractive.

Femininity in this study is perceived also as modesty, which is typical to patriarchal perceptions of gender and womanhood. When asked what makes a woman lose her femininity, the interviewees stressed the importance of being bashful and modest in order to maintain femininity. Bashfulness and good manners were more

important determinants than beauty. Another aspect highlighted by the participants when they discussed modesty is covering the body. This idea is not found in the responses of the women who are less than 30 years, though. This could indicate that the perception of young Qatari women is less related to covering the body and more related to physical appearance as it recurs more in responses. This result could be interpreted as the change of the set of values used by Qatari women to judge their behavior in accordance to gender expectations. One of the mechanisms people use to confirm behaviors related to gender roles is by adopting personal gender norms and using them as criteria to judge personal behaviors. By self-regulating the gender role expectations, people incorporate gender roles to the definition of themselves and identities (Eglay, 2016).

Another aspect described by women in this study is the interaction with unrelative men. They stated that being aggressive with men makes them less feminine and less courteous. They also discussed how working in gender mixed places could subject them to sexual harassment. They expressed their fear of being sexually seductive to men and their concern of sexual corruption in mixed places. These thoughts of modesty were not observed by the participants of under thirty years old. which, again, could indicate that younger women in this study are less affected by the patriarchal expectations of women.

In fact, modesty with unrelative men, bashfulness and covering the body, as described by women in this study, show an inferiority in the presence of men and a fear of sexual interaction. this reality echoes Rady's argument that values such as modesty, shyness and simplicity in patriarchal systems are gender stereotypical traits related to women only (Rady, 2013). Eickelman (1984) explains that the word "*Mustahiya*" –shy- indicates the feeling of embarrassment brought by behaving

inappropriately in the presence of socially higher positioned people. This concept of modesty or bashfulness is at the heart of all social interaction in patriarchal societies and one of its staple foundations.

The participants identification of modesty as part of femininity reflects the impact of patriarchal ideology on them. Women embrace this notion of gendered modesty which is used to control the relation between them and men, promote male authority and feed the contribution to the sexist practices in the public and private lives.

The participants' perception of femininity as modesty fits with Antoun's study of modesty in patriarchal communities in 1968. He found that modesty has three referents according to the village views he examined: it refers to covering parts of the woman's body; however, it has a broad meaning as it is associated to specific personal traits (bashfulness, humility, diffidence, and shyness). It refers widely to institutions that linked chastity, fidelity, and the inferiority of women to the customs and beliefs that championed a male supremacist discourse.

Modesty as a dimension of femininity could be understood in the light of the historical attribution of tribal honor and the woman's body. According to Antoun (1968) honor is achieved when a woman is fully dressed and thus protected, and is unachieved when a woman is exposed and, hence, subjected to violation. The greater the immodesty, the greater the loss of honor. Immodesty is defined as the exposure of what should be hidden and protected, namely the genitalia. Mir-Hosseini (2012) argues that covered women replaced the (lady of victory) in the pre-Islam era when a veiled Muslim woman symbolized her tribe's identity and honor. As Tribal societies, the GCC countries, including Qatar, expected women's behavior to represent the tribe's reputation and honor (Alghamin, 2007; Baxter, 2007). Words like " Ard",

which means honor, and " *sitr*" which mean being covering are still used to describe women (Alghamin, 2007). In other words, Honor is achieved when women are fully covered and protected.

Modesty as part of the participants' identity relates to what scholars stressed pertaining to the imposition of a dress code such as Baraq- face covering- on women as an enforcement of gender segregation that has made covering the body an integral part of women's identity and promoted the invisibility of women in public places (Antoun,1986; Doumato, 1992; Raday, 2013; Ramanazi, 1985).

Nine of seventeen of the participants have defined femininity in terms of the relationship with the husband. This definition reveals many aspects through which participants evaluate their femininity. On the one hand, the husband's love and support can make a woman feel more feminine. On the other hand, when a man abandons his responsibilities toward his family, it costs his wife her femininity, because she will be compelled to handle all the responsibilities by herself. In other words, playing the role of the mother and the father in the family costs a woman her femininity.

This result could be interpreted as an influence of gender ideology in patriarchal societies. It assumes that women by nature cannot function as men or play their role, and if they had to, then, they will be less feminine and more masculine. The father's role is an authoritative role and the belief that being the figure of authority in the family negates femininity may indicate that Qatari women, in this study, adhere to patriarchal perceptions of femininity. The importance of the husband's love and support to boost a woman's femininity could also indicates the same result. Adopting patriarchal perceptions and being disempowered to develop a self- constructed perception of gender perception. This result is in line with what Jahan (2015) found

when investigating the perception of womanhood among Hindu women in Kundu Para. Jahan (2015) stated that women in this village develops image of the self-based on "otherness" and "belonging." She found that women need to stay related and connected to a protecting male, and selfhood is only perceived by the role they have as daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers.

Perceiving the husband's love and support as part of the participants' identity could amount to the importance of males in patriarchal societies, because it is through men, that women can access power. Moreover, women associated their worth with their relationship with others. linking authority in the family to masculinity and believing that it decreases femininity could emanate from: First (1) the impact of gender stereotyping. the cultural stereotype has a strong impact and affect people performance and intelligence (Begley, 2000). The cultural stereotype of woman in patriarchal society, which assume that women are weak and in need of protection make them feel threaten to handle men responsibilities because it threats their self-perception (Steel and Aronson, 1997). Second (2) the resistance to changes that made by modernizing of woman's role. Women maintenance and protection of the traditional image of woman serves their interests. "False consciousness" could one of the reasons for women resistance, but the main reason is that their realizing of these changes is in an unjointed fashion, which threaten the immediate interests of some women, or cost them the loss of the uncompensated protection (Molyneux, 1985).

Another theme that shows the influence of patriarchal gender stereotyping on women's understanding of their existence is the family. Family was the most frequent theme found in the participants' responses. fifteen of seventeen of the women in this study define womanhood through four familial aspects: motherhood, membership to the family, importance of family support and domestic responsibilities. Their

responses show the importance of family support, and how losing the support of the males could weaken them, especially the father.

Motherhood gives them a sense of importance, as they stated that the mother is the base of society and family. One explanation of motherhood being a part of the interviewees' identity could be the importance of fertility in patriarchal societies. Kndayoti (1998) stated that women, in Middle Eastern patriarchal societies, access authority through their relative males especially sons; through the union of mothers and their sons .Therefore, fertility derives its significance from women's uncertainties and insecurity about procreation . As a result, this invokes a powerful motivation for higher fertility. Participants in this study stated that handling domestic responsibilities gives women a sense of power. Yet, they suffer because of these responsibilities and resist being the family provider and taking the husband's responsibilities.

One of the participants expressed feeling hurt after devoting her life to raise her children, who when they grew up, did not appreciate what she did for them. The result shows two contradictory attitudes towards domestic responsibilities and motherhood. On the one hand, it gives them a sense of power and importance, on the other hand, these responsibilities are perceived as a burden that invokes a feeling of injustice. Since most of the interviewees are working women, this could explain why they feel that domestic responsibilities are a burden. According to Kalifa (1993, 2001) Maintaining the delicate balance between domestic and work responsibilities causes tremendous stress.

Defining womanhood as being a member of the family whether a mother, a wife, a sister, or a daughter could be a result of the patriarchal family justified using religious arguments promoting the traditional image of women as mothers and wives. Another possible interpretation of the importance of the family as a component of

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women's identity could be the cross-cultural gender stereotyping of women. In fact, the same thoughts of having a sense of power from handling domestic responsibilities was seen among women in non-patriarchal societies. Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Buchanan (2008 in their study in the USA, found that female participants perceived their role of caretaker as a reward which gives them a purpose in life. However, they realized that there are responsibilities and limitations associated with being the caretaker. This aspect of womanhood was noticed in both mother participants and those without children.

Although the importance of family as an aspect of women's experiences is not unique to Qatar, there are some factors that have enforced the significance of the family as part of women's being. Qatar's Fourth National Human Development Report (2015) reflects the importance of family ties and acknowledge the rapid social change that affected family dynamics and outcomes. It presents women as central to the evolvement of Qatari family as the constitution acknowledges that "The family is the basis of society." The National Strategic Plan also reflects the importance of the family in Qatar. It links the family directly to women through associating women's empowerment with maintaining the balance between domestic and work responsibilities.

Another aspect that is specific to Qatar is that improving women's life came under the enhancement of the family life process. Therefore, empowering women in Qatar treats them as members of a family not as individuals. This could be understood as an attempt to avoid social resistance of changing women's image and expanding their roles. Maktabi (2016) argues that replacing the Women's Committee with the Doha Institute for Family Studies in 2004 is to prioritize family interests over individual interests. She believes that the new opportunities for Qatari women were

introduced not as a new horizon or a rebellious action against patriarchal attitudes toward women, but as additional privileges to their main roles as mothers and wives.

The result shows some themes that reflect how the Qatari women in this study struggle. These themes are Agency, Regulations, and Rules. Although, as seen previously, participants perceive womanhood and femininity through the lens of patriarchy, they discussed the influence of the imposed restrictions on women's strength in patriarchal societies. Ten participants in this study discussed their independence and freedom in a clear way. While they define womanhood, they show pride in themselves by overcoming social stigma and negative beliefs related to women. They expressed that some cultural beliefs have weakened them for years. For example, Laila described how adopting cultural beliefs about the brother as the protector has invoked her sense of vulnerability for years until she managed to overcome it.

Although the women in this study admitted suffering under the authority and control of relative males, some of them expressed their appreciation of the imposed restrictions on women because they believe that women should be controlled and watched. Moreover, they believe that Qatari women acquired more rights than they should through modernization. This could be linked to Algahnim's (2017) arguments that the patriarchal culture in Qatar still forms the attitude toward gender roles despite the advances that occurred due to globalization and modernization.

The attitudes of participants could be explained in the light of Algahnim's argument that people develop their attitudes toward women's roles based on the formed and constructed gender roles. These attitudes restrict and limit women's participation in public life and despite women's desire to adapt new roles instead of being just mothers and wives, they surrender to patriarchal systems and male

authority when they face social resistance.

The women in this study discussed women's independence and claimed that the fear of social judgment hinders them and control their agency. One of them admitted having double standards because she does not want to be negatively judged. Some of the interviewed women showed concerns about meeting the social expectations of gender roles in the public space and they find it hard to stand the pressure of conservative relatives.

The family authority was also discussed as an issue related to woman's agency. Jamila reported that her husband used to take decisions related to their children without asking her. This result could be interpreted in the light of the argument of bargaining patriarchy societies that was discussed by many scholars. The man, as the protector, is expected to lead the family, and women's obedience and submissiveness are expected in exchange of male protection, which feeds the male authority and power in the family.

It is a dynamic interaction between dominants and dominated, as women persistently and patiently try to push the boundaries further, their attempts are not open confrontations with family members. (Courpasson, 2000; Kandiyoti, 1988; Qasimi, 2010). Although Jamila experienced some oppression from her husband by excluding her from decision-making about her children, she believes that obeying him is a religious obligation, which left her with few options. Yet, she reported that when her daughters grew up, their conflicts with their father gave them more agency.

Her response could be read in the light of using religion to promote the idea that women's obedience of God is achieved through the obedience of the husband. Consequently, by acting against her husband's will, the woman is committing a sin. According to Ramazani (1985) religion was used to maintain male authority in the

family and society and to face the social changes that come about in the aftermath of women's education and work.

Another aspect of agency is financial independence. Women, in this study, reported their appreciation of being financially independent and emphasize its importance in a woman's life. Financial security gives them a space to negotiate their rights, enjoy more independence and survive without the family or the husband's support. Nonetheless, these women stated their needs for man's protection and support and expressed their needs of emotional security. There is a conflict between two beliefs: the importance of financial independence and women's emotional vulnerability and need of man's protection. The need of the agency of males could be understood as Glakowaka (2017) describes it: "" the invisible cost of visible gains. " Women seek agency through their adjustment to the traditional gender rules although they like being financially secure.

Aya and Majeda reported that being financially independent increases women's agency. This result corresponds well with what Jahan (2015) found with Hindu lower-class women who have a higher self-esteem than   those from higher classes because of the financial independence they achieve by working and participating in public life. The same phenomenon was seen in Kuwaiti society, Alessandra L. Gonzalez (2013) found that interviewed Kuwaiti women consider economic independence as one of the most important issues because of its huge influence on   social change. For them, economic independence has done what none of the women could have done through social means and changes of the traditional family in Kuwait.

Women, in this study, discussed the influence of some regulations and rules on their life. They perceive these regulations as a controlling mechanism that weakens

them. Examples are male guardianship, women's reproduction rights, violence against women, divorced and widowed women's rights, the isolation of women from public places, long working hours, and Qatari women naturalization rights. These could reflect that the women in this study are aware of the dominance and influence of patriarchal thoughts.

These regulation and rules were discussed as responses to what makes women vulnerable or what Qatari women needed. Although participants discussed the negative impact of these rule, one of them believes that children of Qatari women should not be naturalized. Her justification stems from a typically patriarchal perception of womanhood. She explains that children are affiliated to their father, that is why Qatari women who are married to non-Qatari husbands should not ask for their children to be naturalized.

Regulations and rules as an aspect of discussing womanhood is understood, because the policy that the GCC built is based on patriarchal ideology, where women are perceived primarily as wives, mothers, as well as needy of men's protection (Al Mughni, 1993; Doumato, 1992). Therefore, gender inequality is a construction of the nation or state. What the women of this study experience is structured in the system and they are aware of it.

The responses pertaining to this issue are in accordance to Mir-Hosseini (2012) argument that women are hindered by serious legislative inequalities in their life. Many of these inequalities are because of the laws governing and protecting the patriarchal system and introducing it as a part of Shari'a to organize the power relation within the family, which gives a holy view of the patriarchal family.

Maintaining patriarchal ideology in Gulf societies amidst the rapid changes required a political intervention to legitimate its social practices. So, to face the

change of family structure, legal Islamic and conservative ideologues in the 1980s and 1990s insisted on returning to patriarchal family laws, and they succeed in some countries. Qatar is not an exception, as the rules in family law acknowledge the male guardianship of female relatives and does not consider adult females as independent legal subjects. Consequently, they do not enjoy the same rights as their male counterparts Awadi (2006). Because male authority in patriarchal families was threatened by the centralizing state, the government empowered men and patriarchal systems.

Under the theme of professional life, women in this study have shown adherence to the patriarchal norms. The results show preference of certain jobs for women, such as those with less working hours, and not related to technical fields such as engineering. Although, one of the women -Jamila- has her daughter working in the Air Force, this could not have been achieved without the support of male relatives. The uncle, as Jamila, said was behind her decision to let her allow her daughter to work in such a job.

Occupation and hobbies were discussed in defining femininity, as some women in this study believe that certain jobs such as technical and mechanical jobs and hobbies such as boxing make women less feminine. The results are related to the Fourth National Development Report in Qatar (2015). The report highlights one of the main challenges that Qatari women face on their professional path. One of these challenges is women's insufficient use of their educational credentials and skills to be economically empowered. The report associates this to some social and cultural beliefs. Felder and Voullo (2008) found the same attitudes among high school Qatari girls whose choice of career and professional life is shaped by social expectations. For instance, low pay and lesser skilled jobs are not culturally accepted for women.

The preference of certain jobs and their relation to femininity could be interpreted as a gender role organization created by culture. Eagly (2016) argues that in industrialized economies, the organization of gender roles suggests that women are the caretakers of children and home and work in caretaking jobs. Whereas men are the providers and work in jobs that require physical strength and leadership skills. It could also be understood as the influence of gender stereotypes, because one of the components of gender stereotypes is occupation, which leads women to develop special skills and attitudes to meet the social definition of femininity.

The responses under this theme " Professional life" shows prioritizing of familial responsibilities over work, as well as working to serve community interests. Which could reflect the preference of collective interests over the individual interests. Hence, the observed perception of woman as a mean or a devotee to achieve the group best interests, whether by building the nation through participation in public life or by giving birth to new generation and raising them, both are duties to meet a collective interest not individual. Womanhood and femininity are linked to domestic role, motherhood and serving the community's interests (Almughni, 2003; Mir-Hosseini, 2012), which could explain why one of the participants stated that being not trusted in her work weaken her as a woman. Being ignored when making work decisions by her male colleagues is when she feels the vulnerability of being woman in her society. Serving collective interests as well as building nation as a justification to participate in public life enforces the gender inequality by perceiving woman work as a part of collective efforts rather than an individual ambition, which does not expect nor guarantee her to be involved in decision making.

Women were involved in public life under a patriarchal approval and justification, which is reflected on the gender-based treatment –Hala - receives in her

work. The same woman behaves according to patriarchal expectation when conflicting with her male colleagues, she believes that acting aggressively with her male colleagues make her less feminine. There is a contradiction seen her response as she wants to be equal to her colleague males and involve in making decision on one hand, and on the other she believes that she should act like them in solving problem to maintain her femininity. This contradiction is inherited in patriarchal system, where woman is believed to be equal to men there is no reason to differentiate between them, at the same time they are biologically different, which leave them with illusion of liberation (Mughani, 1993). It could also be a part of the gender inequality continuous system in Qatar as women do not enjoy the same right of their male counterpart (Awadi, 2006).

Prioritizing family responsibilities is linked to the challenge that women's ability to maintain a balance between their traditional roles as wives and mothers, and their new roles as partners in the national development process. Due to the time spent away from their families or challenging the traditional roles by participating in public life, it is difficult for Qatari women to achieve the required balance. (Al Malki, 2016; Alarkaban, 2016; Khalifa, 1993, 2001, 2004).

The responses to the question whether they saw themselves fit more in the traditional roles or the modern roles, showed how women in this study participated in public life. Most of the participants (n= 10) prefer a middle role between the modern and the traditional. This middle role means maintaining cultural values while adopting new roles aligned with the national women empowerment discourse.

Qatar's strong Arab and Islamic identity pervades all aspects of family life and continues to inform the family structure. Nonetheless, the changes brought on by external pressures and internal evolution are changing family dynamics. The changes

point to a society that is expanding its cultural imprint and progressing in positive ways while staying true to its Arab identity. Women are central to this positive and evolving nature of the Qatari family. Even as they adhere to valuable traditions, women are adapting to the requirements of modernization. They exemplify the new opportunities available to all Qataris as a result of the country's rapid economic growth and social transition.one of the participants expressed the intricacy of the "in the middle' role   saying: " it is hard , but try to keep a balance."

Women in this study revealed some concerns regarding being involved in modern roles. Mixed gender workplaces are not preferred by some participants as they believe it could lead to corruption and sexual affairs. Moreover, it could cause the family to collapse because men could compare their female colleagues with their wives and may even marry a female colleague. However, they believe that, in some jobs, women are better than men. This could be interpreted as a result of the "gender modesty" ideology that imposes gender segregation and promotes the idea that interaction between men and women could lead to sexual corruption (Antoun,1968; Doumato, 1992). The participants' concerns reflect what Almugni (1993) upholds that working outside home has made Kuwaiti women extend their social space as driving a car extended their geographical space. This change introduced women to new roles and statuses out of the family system and made them interact with unrelated men they are not generally allowed to meet   according to social conventions. However, these extended social and geographical spaces, as well as new roles and statuses had not lessened gender segregation as a social practice or reduced its importance.

Women in this study show their appreciation of traditional roles and the efforts of their mothers and grandmothers within the family. In fact, most of the interviewees

value their role as mothers and wives. One of the participants is against women's participation in political life. Although some women (n= 4) find that the modern role suits them more, they stress the importance of maintaining cultural and religious values and prioritizing familial responsibilities when adopting this modern role. This confirms the views of the scholars who have stated that one of the obstacles that faces the process of revising and renewing the image of Qatari women and of introducing new roles and responsibilities to Qatari women, is life and family responsibilities. (Al Malki, 2016; Khalifa, 2003; Alarkaban, 2016). However, some participants criticized the traditional role and believed it hinders women's advancement and imposes restrictions on them.

In this study, the result which reflects the dominance of the patriarchal perception of gender roles among participants, is in line with Moghadam's (2003) discussion that the material bases of classic patriarchy have eroded due to several factors, such as: capitalism; infrastructural development; women education and work, and legal reform. As a result, a shift from the classical patriarchal household unit to a modernized one has been observed among Muslim families especially in urban areas. Nevertheless, the patriarchal gender contract is still intact. The appreciation and adherence to traditional values among women, in this study, were observed in other studies by other scholars (Alghanim, 2017; SESERI, 2012; Micheal, 2015).

Power and Femininity

Although the women in this study used the two words " femininity and womanhood interchangeably, eight of them preferred to be described as a " woman " because it gives them a sense of worth and power. According to them the word "woman" means being more responsible than feminine. Their responses echo what other scholars discussed about the importance of others in a woman's life and the

responsibilities they have, whether it is the familial or professional responsibilities. These became an integral part of the identity of the participants and a key component in their understanding of gender roles.

Four participants believe that femininity is less comprehensive than womanhood. However, for them, it is the emotional part of their identity as women "the soul of the woman" as one of them described it. One of the participants prefers to be described as feminine rather than a woman, because she believes that the word " woman" means someone who takes care of everyone but herself, whereas "feminine" describes the woman who takes care of her needs. This also echoes the impact of taking care of others and taking responsibilities on the participants' perception of themselves as women.

Another interpretation of the preference of most participants for the word woman over the word female is because they associate it with strength and responsibility, while their interpretation of female related more to softness and beauty. The preference for strength over beauty has its indications, it implies that the participants see themselves as more than just a body and that they find in the empowerment they obtained through work or education, an opportunity to build a self-image different from the stereotypical image of women.

Despite their adherence to some gender values that the male society holds, these women realize their ability to play a role other than the traditional one expected of them. The word "woman" and the word "responsibility" also denote the desire of women to participate in decision-making and their preference to be described as responsible rather than feminine. This may be one of the strategies that women follow to gain power in the male community so that they accept giving them responsibilities.

The impact of patriarchal values on the participants is a result that could be

understood in the light of what Albert Bandura called "the learning environment." Bandura (1977) highlights the effect of different learning environments on human behaviors especially children, as they imitate the social models of their gender, develop socially accepted gender behaviors, and respond to the criticism or rewards of these behaviors. The set of behaviors for each gender is the basic organizing principle each culture needs, as every society has defined which   social roles, language, occupations, and behaviors that are appropriate for each sex.   Bern (1981) considers the social perceptions are hidden assumptions about how males and females should be. These assumptions are rooted in each culture and reproduced generation after generation. Consequently, individuals tend to play different roles within social structures, and they are judged and evaluated based on social perceptions of femininity and masculinity.

According to Standpoint theory, knowledge is structured according to social position, and Qatar as a patriarchal society acknowledges the male authority in families and promotes male guardianship. The Family Law and the National Strategic Plan promote the traditional role of women; therefore, accordingly women are not the dominators or the producers of knowledge. Women in this study have been forced by the patriarchal structure of society to adopt a new and modern role under a gendered system that supports inequality and interferes in the women empowerment plans within a patriarchal approach.

Women in Qatar are required to participate in public life as partners in the development process while keeping traditional values – which could contradict with modern values- such as gender segregation, modesty and prioritizing familial responsibilities. Such expectations do not apply to their male counterparts. The interviewees in this study are trying to find balance between the traditional and the

modern role. They are still striving to modify their definition of the concept "in the middle" between modernity and traditions, shape its borders and adjust to it according to their life experiences.

The adherence to the traditional role that is seen in this study could be interpreted through the pressure of social expectations. The gender stereotype of the role of women makes them believe that to be a woman means to be mainly a wife and a mother. They know that they are expected to be the caretakers of the family. Because of their simplicity, gender stereotypes are used when people lack the required information to judge a situation. Women in this study could use the traditional gender norms to evaluate and define themselves in the lack of an awareness of the inequality of these gender norms. They understand their experiences as women within a cognitive framework that justifies and accepts patriarchal gender perceptions.

Women, in this study, adopt the patriarchal social norms despite their awareness of the pressures they undergo, they think that obedience is easier than rebellion. According to Lindsey (1994) people learn that behaving in an inconsistent manner with gender expectations often raises a negative social reaction including denigration and social exclusion. These negative responses to the inconsistent behavior make adhering to the prevailing gender roles easier than ignoring them. In the patriarchal system, women are exposed different types of oppression. Many kinds of oppression appear by consecrating the idea of the superiority of men over women. Gender persecution occurs within the family by granting the men authority over the women.

Another form of discrimination against woman is the legal oppression that appears in laws and regulations that promote the authority of men and intensify the marginalization of women. The subordination of women Qatar is still enshrined in the

laws and regulations. For instance, laws are not granting female land and house unlike their male counterpart, and the inability of Qatari women to transfer their nationality to their children. This inequity reinforces the control of men and their guardianship as the privileged sex, and accounts for the many reservations about CEDAW (Al-Ansari, 2010; Khalil Bou Hazaa, 2012).

The effect of this discrimination on the participants women appears in their encouragement of some sexist laws committed against them in their society. One of the participants, Hala, 32 years old, support preventing Qatari women who married to non-Qatari man to pass her nationality to her children. she thinks that her children have acquired the Qatari nationality because their father is Qatari, not because she is Qatari, therefore, according to Hala, Qatari woman who know about this law and choose to marry a non-Qatari man should accept this discrimination, in other words, she should bear the consequences of her decision and should not claim the Qatari nationality for her children. One participant also agreed that restrictions should be placed on the freedom of women because, as she said, women reflect the morals of the house in which they grew up and bear the reputation of their families and the reputation of their children.

Even though these two participants have educational qualifications - MA and BA and are working. Al-Mughni,(1993)   and Abu Bakr, (2013) confirmed that women under the patriarchal system seek to preserve their gains by not provoking society's anger. They adhere to the prevailing gender values in society and are afraid of violating them.

Individual Perceptions of Womanhood and Femininity

Although women in this study showed adherence to the patriarchal approaches to gender, they expressed some individual beliefs in their definition of womanhood

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and femininity. For instance, one of the participants, a 36-year- old divorced woman, defines womanhood as creativity and procreating. She explained that developing this understanding of womanhood was a long and difficult journey. As a matter of fact, it was hard for her to adopt new norms and beliefs that contradict with what she had been taught. Through reading and questioning her belief system regarding women and gender, she gradually developed an individual understanding different from the one endorsed by the patriarchal system. Divorce set her free from all the inherited beliefs and encouraged her to hold on her own thoughts even more.

At the end of her interview, she said: " I want to send a message to all women through your research: "Do not be afraid, eliminate your fear." She wanted to deliver this massage, because fear stopped her from perceiving herself separately from the social and familial expectations. In her response, she has not mentioned motherhood as an essential part of her being. On the contrary, motherhood for her was an oppressive experience, because it was her husband's decision to have children.

Another participant, who is 37 years old and single, expressed a kind of individuality in defining womanhood. She believes that neither marriage nor motherhood are essential for her. She is not planning to have children because she has her nieces and nephews. She will get married if she finds the right man who could be more like a friend and she does not fear loneliness if she does not get married.

One of the participants, a 32-year-old married woman, has a different understanding of femininity. She believes that to be feminine means to put yourself first and try to satisfy your needs. For instance, she is against the traditional image of the mother who sacrifices her needs to serve her family. However, she adopts the patriarchal perspective in other issues.

Personal traits like being " brave, ambitious, creative " were used by the

participants to describe themselves as women. These traits are different from the stereotyped image of womanhood in patriarchal societies. They show a certain degree of individuality in developing values and norms related to gender. This could be a result of the national discourse of women empowerment in Qatar. Another interpretation is the level of education and the kind of experiences these women have. According to Haraway, (1988) women who developed their skills through education and awareness, can have a personal point of view which is different from that of the dominant group. However, this needs further investigation in future studies of gender and womanhood.

The change of gender values is linked to several societal or individual factors, and for these women may be due to several factors, including the economic growth and development that occurred in Qatar during the past years. This led women to participate in various economic activities or to practice unusual jobs such as engineering, sports and leadership positions. Although there is often a time lapse between practices and changing values, it may be that the simple change evinced by these women is a result of economic growth and political and legal reforms. Qatar has witnessed simple political activity for Qatari women, such as their candidacy for the Municipal Council and their presence in the Consultive Council. Despite the limitedness of the political participation of women in Qatar, it may have contributed a little to women's adoption of values that are different from the prevailing values in the patriarchal society.

Correspondingly, questioning and changing gender values may be an individual process due to different experiences. This is what happened with a 36-year-old, divorced woman who said that she was suffering from an internal struggle about understanding her role as a woman. It took years of research and reading before

she could understand things in a way different from the traditional interpretation of the role of the woman. The same applies to a 37-year-old single woman, who has a different view about marriage and children, she does not see that marriage and children are necessary, and her educational level may be the reason for her different views of herself as a woman. She holds a master's degree and is an intellectual reader who works in a multicultural environment.

Family support is also especially important in changing gender values, and this is what happened with Jamila regarding her daughter's work in the Air Force. It would have been difficult for her to accept the matter without the intervention of her brother - the girl's maternal uncle - who encouraged her. when Jamila saw that the matter was socially acceptable to her brother, she agreed to let her daughter join the Air Force.

Tensions and Contradictions

The responses reflect a degree of uncertainty among the participants. On the one hand, they expressed how they felt oppressed when they cannot make decisions relating to their life or their children. On the other hand, they are not against the social restrictions imposed on women. The justification of this, as one of the participants said is that " the woman is the holder of her family's and children's reputation and honor, that is why she needs to be controlled or watched."

This uncertainty was seen in Jamila, a 54-year-old married woman, who was wondering if modernization honored or dishonored   Qatari women. She admitted getting benefit from the new opportunities for women in Qatar, but she hesitates to take full advantage of these opportunities, because she is uncertain where this could lead her. Hala, a 32-year-old married woman, was uncertain why she would not like her daughters to work as pilots. At the same time, she complained about a gender-

based treatment at her work. In the light of Standpoint theory, this uncertainty could be understood, as Sandra Harding and other standpoint scholars have elaborated, when perspective of an individual contradicts with the perspective of the group to which they belong. This tension could be understood also as a result of the conflict between the individual's own perception and the social stereotypical expectations.

The responses of the participants showed a kind of anger and discontent with the restrictions imposed on women. For example, Hanan, a 50 -year- old divorced woman expressed reassessment because of the tribe's control but shown her pride to bypass and transcend many tribal restrictions and achieve a lot as a woman. Nonetheless she concurrently admits that she covers her face - wears a veil - only when she visits governmental institutions where her full name and identity will be known. She justified her act of covering that she does not want to be seen by men. she considers that could be an offensive to her tribe. She does not wear a veil and does not cover her face when she goes to the market or public places because, according to her, no one will know who she is. This contradiction also appears in the answer of Sharifa, a 48-year- old divorced woman, who stated with anger that because she is a woman, she was not supposed to meet some important personalities such as ministers. She added that some transactions require the presence of a man. At the same time, she considers that mixed workplaces may cause corruption in society and encourage men and women to establish affairs outside of marriage.

These contradictions and resentment reflect the participants' fear of the space of freedom granted to them in the aftermath of social change. This space may not be large, but the participants are still not able to fully take advantage of the provided freedom. A possible explanation is that this is caused by their fear of ostracism and stigmatization that a woman may be incurring if she violates the prevalent gender

perceptions. This fear may also be the result of the inability of Feminist movements in the Arab region or in the Gulf region, and Qatar specifically, to implement the principle of gender equality or to raise the awareness of the existence of discrimination against women. Feminist activity in Qatar was limited to voluntary and charitable activities and issues of discrimination against women were not directly touched. The Feminist movement in the Gulf region, in general, was subjected to criticism and violent attacks and accusations that it had the agenda of corrupting society by calling for gender equality.

CHPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This study sheds light on a sensitive topic that has not been sufficiently addressed in previous studies: what a woman considers part of her being and identity, and what is required to enable and empower her. Perhaps in the midst of her daily preoccupations and involvement with contemporary life, the Qatari woman is no longer consistently heard or heeded. Sometimes she is conflicted, and unable to meet the expectation of women's empowerment. However, the awareness of this conflict is present, and the Qatari woman senses it, and expresses it in several situations. I have chosen now to bring this topic to the light with this study of the vision of Qatari women in their conceptualization of womanhood and femininity, and a comparison of this concept to the values of the national woman empowerment plan, to put under the microscope the consistency of the perception of womanhood and femininity of the Qatari woman, the image of woman in patriarchal society and the most important expectations for woman empowerment plan.

This study aims at giving a chance to Qatari women to describe how they perceive themselves as women and females and highlights significant issues that are related to their perception of gender. The result suggests that womanhood and femininity are perceived through twelve main components. Femininity was perceived through (1) Physical Appearance, (2) Modesty, (3) Personal Traits, (4) Sexual Orientation, (5) Occupation and Hobby and (6) Relationship with Husband. While womanhood was perceived through: (1) Family, (2) Regulations and rules. (3) Professional life. (4) Agency, (5) Professional Life and (6) Changes in the Role of Qatari Women.

Women in this study show a strong adherence to patriarchal norms regarding gender. Their perception of womanhood and femininity aligns, to a great extent, with

the patriarchal perception of womanhood and gender. Family, motherhood, and the obedience of the husband are found as core elements in the participants' definition of womanhood and femininity.

Although the women in this study admit suffering under some patriarchal regulations and traditions, it seems that this suffering is not a motivation to relinquish patriarchal norms and develop individual perceptions of their gender. I believe that the women in this study fail to recognize the link between adopting a patriarchal perception of womanhood and perpetuating oppressive practices against them: whether these practices are regulated by the state or the family.

The findings also reveal a contradiction toward family responsibilities, on the one hand it gives them women a sense of worth and importance, on the other hand, it burdens them as they resist being the provider and the figure of authority in their family. This could be understood as an attempt from women to access power and authority through the accepted roles of women in a patriarchal society such as mothers, wives, sisters or daughters and simultaneously seeing new possibilities.

While women in this study expressed a positive attitude about seeing Qatari women participating in public life and adopting nontraditional roles, they emphasized the necessity of maintaining the traditional and cultural values, reconciling family and work responsibilities, and prioritizing family. These women admit the complexity of trying to keep the balance between the traditional responsibilities as mothers and wives and the new opportunities offered for them to participate in the development process. Nonetheless, they have not suggested changing the gender distribution of family responsibilities as a solution. On the contrary they are resistant to a new distribution of family tasks as it could cost them their identity as women and females. They still classify family duties and responsibilities through the binary opposition of

femininity and masculinity.

It is important to recognize the link between women's perception of womanhood and femininity and the extent to which they can get benefit of women empowerment plans. The opportunities that are offered to Qatari women to participate in the public life should not contradict with the norms and attitudes Qatari women hold to about their gender.

These patriarchal beliefs about gender could hamper woman's empowerment plans. Hopefully, more Qatari women will recognize and review   the patriarchal gender beliefs they were indoctrinated into. Such a comprehension will enable them to moderate their views and accordingly adjust their perceptions of   womanhood and femininity to allow them to participate more in the public life and adopt an individual perception of themselves rather than a collective one.

The adherence to the patriarchal perception will be ongoing if Qatari women keep bargaining with their patriarchal society instead of challenging and rebelling against it. What could dismantle the patriarchal discourse and narrative about women is seeing women playing new roles. In Qatar as a rentier states, women's participation in the workforce is not strong enough to change or challenge the social expectations. In fact, the resistance to such a system is not radical. When women take any decision that resists the dominance of patriarchal ideology they are indirectly negotiating their own space and going against the grain of the predominant narrative. Patriarchal norms and attitudes are not just related to the external environment, but exist inside of us, in our mind as well.

The result raises an important question: to which extent could the women in this study overcome social and cultural restrictions, or act against gender expectations in their society? A recurrent expression that is often used it to describe their

acceptance of modernizing Qatari women's role is "there is a limit ". By using this sentence, they show their commitment to the patriarchal allocations of levels of freedom and agency created for women and their resistance to change.

The participants' responses show a rebellion against some social and cultural restrictions, and at the same time an acceptance and justification of others. This duality towards the patriarchal ideology could reflect their uncertainty and hesitation to break free from the norms of their society. This might also evince their low-self-esteem in relation to their capacity to make sound judgements and take decisions. This doubleness dates back to the 70s when women started working. It is remarkable how such an uncertainty still prevails today. It could be a result of inherited illusion of liberation as AlMugni (1993) described it, because patriarchal system holds two contradictory beliefs toward women. on one hand they are believed to have the same abilities as men and there is no reason to differentiate between them, on the other hand they are biologically different as they can give birth to children- encourage women to adapt the traditional role of woman which is a mother and a wife.

In fact, in the patriarchal culture, where the collective identity is more important than the individual identity and the tribe is more important than its members, the gender norms and values are fixed and difficult to change. independence and individuality are essential requirement in order to change the inherited gender norms, also the family support is another important factor to adopt new gender values, but when the family itself is the nucleus and basis of the formation and the maintenance of patriarchal culture, it becomes difficult for Individuals to form gender values of their own, especially women, because this could leave them exposed to social rejection and penalties. Moreover, state institutions are an essential part of the continuous patriarchal gender discourse, therefore women through adopting some

patriarchal gender values, maintain their obtained gains. However, the waves of liberation and emancipation women exposed to through the social changes in Qatar, as well as the women empowerment practices have pushed women to unconsciously reviewing and wondering about the dominant gender norms. The contradictions and tension among participants are a phase between questioning the collective identity and desiring to form an individual identity. It is a result of being between two contradict trends, one is modern and ambitious and the other is tradition and backed with Islamic thoughts.

The process of construction gender values in a male dominate culture- where values such as obedience, submission, fear of change and rejection are promoted- is a strict and rigid process where there is almost no space for objection and rebellion from women, because any rebellious action could cost the family and the tribe its reputation and cost the woman her life. Therefore, and since the family, school and peers are the main sources for indoctrination of gender perceptions, the process of indoctrinating and affirming the patriarchal gender values becomes a smooth process with almost no opposition. This process is protected and supported under a public patriarchal system that adopted by the state institutions. When this process is backed with an extreme Islamic gender thoughts, then independence and individuality in developing gender norms are neither welcomed nor encouraged, in the worst case scenario it is forbidden and could lead to legal punishment like what happened to Dr.Alfasi when she taught gender and women from more liberated perspective at Qatar University.

The woman empowerment plan in Qatar has elements of patriarchal culture, as it contains some gender inequality aspects. for instance, it encourages Qatari women to maintains the cultural and traditional values while adopting new role, without

specifying which norms that they should hold. Which contributes to the confusion women face regarding their expected role. Furthermore, the plan emphasizes on the importance of being wife and mother through linking domestic responsibilities to increasing the number of working women, without discussing the impact of gender inequality in the division of housework on women. The empowerment plan has not indicated directly to the rooted gender inequality system in family and state. It also has not aim to change some gender inequality practices such as the permission of the father to issues a birth certificates or other legal patriarchal practices. This could be a result of : (1) the decision makers are members of the patriarchal system (2) the need to cope with the social and tribal structure of Qatar society that is based on gender inequality (3) the strength of the Islamic gender discourse that could put decision makers in confrontation with a social rage if directly criticize the gender inequality practices.

The influence of presentations of woman in Islamic gender discourse could hindered the process of reviewing and criticizing the patriarchal gender norms. If the embedded practices in woman empowerment dialogue are forbidden and considered as sin by some Islamic scholars, and the support of woman's rights from feminist and human rights activist is insufficient, then the confusion and hesitation the participants have shown is understood and justified. In fact, slight changes in patriarchal gender practices such as interacting with nonrelative males or uncover the face could invoke social attacks. Therefore, being expose to social and religious attacks at slight attempts to act according to woman's own developed norms, return woman back to the accepted cultural beliefs system.

Limitations of the Study

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The topic of this study is appropriate to be investigated through a qualitative research perspective. Although, interviews capture the rich data. A triangulation could add more enrichment to the study by adopting at least three different ways of collecting data. Quantitative data collected through questionnaires and a statistics analysis could support the result from the interviews.

Although this study does not aim to generalize the result to Qatari women, a more diversification of participants could reveal more aspects of the perception of womanhood and femininity. The majority of the participants are married women (n=9), have high school diploma or more (n= 17), and are working women (n= 13). If, for instance, more divorced, widowed, or unemployed women had participated, more themes could have emerged.

Moreover, my experience as an insider Qatari woman may have influenced the way the interviews were conducted and interpreted. Although this experience was important in leading the interviews and asking the proper questions to collect information, it is an emic perceptive. The Emic researcher could fail to recognize some significant information by merely conducting and analyzing interviews especially considering the familiarity with the culture and society.

Subjectivity is another issue with Emic research because it shapes the research process when the researcher could bring her background and attitudes to the results. In doing so, it fosters a deep and meaningful interpretation to the study. However, some producers were taken in this study to limit subjectivity and to increase credibility, such as (pilot study, member check and memo analytic). Despite these limitations, the outcomes of the research about perceptions of womanhood and femininity among women in this study could pave the way for further studies.

Implication of the Study

The results of this study have many implications whether on the institutional level or on the personal and individual level. National women empowerment plans, social and women institutes, and Qatari women could benefit from this study. It provides more insight into how Qatari women perceive themselves and their role.

If Qatar wants Qatari women to be more involved in women empowerment plans and participate more in the national development process, then Qatar should consider reviewing some regulations and rules that enforce the patriarchal ideology. Moreover, the national dialogue of women empowerment should review the traditional beliefs and attitudes that limit Qatari women's adaptation of new roles. The dialogue should raise awareness among Qatari families about what possibilities their daughters can get and the importance of these opportunities for their future.

Another area that could benefit from a better understanding of how womanhood and femininity are perceived, is the social institutions that provide services for women and family. By understanding how Qatari women identify themselves, these services could be adjusted to suit them better. It could enhance the family and the psychological counseling services provided by these institutes. It can also give further insight into the extent of the relation between some familial issues and Qatari women's perceptions of themselves.

This study also encourages organizations and institutes to apply some practices to increase the number of women in their workforce. Applying flexible work schedule for women could help them maintain balance between family and work. Reviewing the current HR policies to reduce the gender pay gap could also encourage women to participate more in public life.

The result could also be considered as a call for Qatari women to review their perceptions and understanding of gender, and to create a more individual

understanding of their womanhood and femininity. If any woman is torn between the imposed traditional perception of womanhood and gender and her own beliefs and norms, this study could give her more insight and courage to acknowledge and develop her individual perception.

<div align="center">Contribution to the Current Literature on Women and Gender</div>

Many Studies have examined the obstacles of women empowerment plans in Qatar through social restrictions, number of women in leadership position, education and career, and the balance between work and family responsibilities. However, The current women and gender literature in Qatar have overlook an important aspect in examining woman empowerment plans, which is the experience of Qatari women, how they describes their experiences as women, and how they perceive their role, which is an important dimension to empower women. This dimension has not received the required attention in the previous studies; therefore, this study provides a different approach to woman empowerment in Qatar through examining the gender beliefs system that Qatari women have structed. This study came to put the national dialogue of woman empowerment in a new context where the women's voice is the core of any development plans.

The current gender and women studies did not examine in depth the link between the influence of the patriarchal mentality on forming gender perceptions among Qatari women, and their participation in public life and their ability to make decisions. Although there are studies state and confirm the dominance of patriarchal culture in Qatar, the gender values of Qatari women have not been examined and compared to the patriarchal values to find out to what extent they are able to independently and individually build their own perception of womanhood and femininity .

This study investigates indirectly the impact of patriarchal thoughts on Qatari women through asking participants to describe their definition of womanhood and femininity. Through long and deep conversations this study reveals central parts of the constructed gender identity among the participants. It is not about their attitudes towards the patriarchal dominant thoughts, but the reflections of it on the constructed meaning of womanhood and femininity, which paves the way for further studies to investigate woman empowerment plans from an insider perceptive.

This study also highlights the effectiveness of the standpoint methodology, where the knowledge is constructed on the experience of marginalized groups in society. Standpoint Methodology acknowledge women's ability to produce more comprehensive knowledge due to their social position. It also sheds light on the applicability of standpoint methodology in conservative societies such Qatar.it encourages researchers to utilize an insider perspective rather than an outsider perspective when investigation women's experiences. it an attempt to produce more knowledge based on the experience of dominated group. Therefore, this study tries to create a balance in the knowledge produced by both dominated and dominate groups regarding gender and woman in Qatar.

Finally, the contradiction of participants' attitudes towards woman's rights indicates that women in Qatar are not a homogeneous group regarding gender norms- as it may appears in some studies- but rather a disparate group with contradictory and conflicting views regarding gender values. Therefore, this study presents deeper insight of the extent of the differences between groups of women. It also reveals the extent of the influence of different cultural backgrounds on their attitudes towards women's issues. Moreover, it indicates the importance of in-depth study on women's issues, because there are aspects cannot be discovered through questionnaires or

observations, but rather with long and deep conversations to reveals many beliefs that do not appear to the surface.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PRPTOCOL FORM AND QUESTIONS

How are womanhood and femininity perceived among Qatari women?

Interview Protocol

Institutions: _____

المؤسسة :

Interviewee (Title and Name): _____

الاسم :

Interviewer: _____

اسم الباحث :

What is your present position? _____

وظيفتك :

What is the highest degree you have?

مؤهلك العلمي :

How old are you? _____

العمر :

You marital statues

الحالة الاجتماعية :

Womanhood and femininity interview:

Introductory Protocol

Dear participant:

In order to facilitate the data collection process, I would like to record the interview by a voice-recorder .if you do not like the audio recording then I can record your responses in a writing way. This interview is for research purposes only, all the personal information will be kept confidentially   the interview will be destroyed after

finishing this thesis. I want to declare that: (1) this interview is voluntary and you can withdraw from it whenever you like, (2) I promise to respect your privacy and undertake not to mention any personal information in the search, (3) The purpose of the interview is purely scientific and does not aim to harm the participants. Finally, thank you for agreeing to participate.

The benefit of this participation: Your participation will contribute to information and studies on women and gender in Qatar. It will contribute to any plans aim to serve Qatari women.

Procedures: We have planned this interview will be between 45 – 60 minutes. During this time, we have several questions that we would like to cover.

بروتوكول تمهيدي

عزيزتي المشاركة:

لتسهيل عملية جمع البيانات ، أود تسجيل المقابلة بواسطة مسجل صوت. إذا كنت لا تفضلين التسجيل الصوتي ، فيمكنني تسجيل ردودك بطريقة كتابية. هذه المقابلة للأغراض البحثية فقط ، وسيتم الحفاظ على سرية جميع المعلومات الشخصية وسيتم اتلاف المقابلة بعد الانتهاء من هذه الرسالة. أريد أن أوضح لك أن: (1) هذه المقابلة طوعية ويمكنك الانسحاب منها متى شئت ، (2) أتعهد باحترام خصوصيتك وأتعهد بعدم ذكر أي معلومات شخصية في البحث ، (3) الغرض من المقابلة علمية بحتة ولا تهدف إلى الإضرار بالمشاركين. أخيرًا ، شكرًا لك على موافقتك على المشاركة.

فائدة هذه المشاركة: ستساهم مشاركتك في المعلومات والدراسات حول المرأة والنوع الاجتماعي في قطر. كما سوف تساهم في أي خطط تهدف إلى خدمة المرأة القطرية

الإجراءات: خططنا أن تكون هذه المقابلة ما بين 45-60 دقيقة. خلال هذا الوقت ، لدينا العديد من الأسئلة التي نود تغطيتها.

Introduction

My name is Tarfa Nasser Al-Nuaimi, a PhD student in the Gulf Studies. I am doing my PhD thesis on Qatari women's perceptions of womanhood and femininity. You were chosen as a Qatari woman. My research focuses on the concept of women and femininity among Qatari women. The construction of these two concepts, and where Qatari women find themselves more, whether in the traditional role of in the modern role.

مقدمة

اسمي طرفة ناصر النعيمي طالبة دكتوراه في دراسات الخليج. أقوم بإعداد رسالة الدكتوراه الخاصة بي حول تصورات المرأة القطرية للأنوثة و لكونها امرأة . لقد تم اختيارك كامرأة قطرية. يركز بحثي على مفهوم المرأة والأنوثة لدى المرأة القطرية. بناء هذين المفهومين ، واين تجد المرأة القطرية نفسها أكثر سواء في دورها التقليدي أو في الدور الحديث.

Interview Questions:

How do you describe being a woman?

How do you describe being feminine?

Is the concept of womanhood different from femininity and how?

What makes a woman lose her femininity?

When do you feel fragile as a woman and when do you feel your strength?

Between the traditional role of Qatari women where her life was confined to her family and home and between the modern role, where she became involved in the development of society and the state seeks to empower her.. Where do you see yourself, and why?

How do you describe the ideal Qatari woman?

اسئلة المقابلة:

كيف تصفين كونك امرأة؟

كيف تصفين كونك أنثى؟

هل مفهوم الأنوثة يختلف عن الأنوثة وكيف؟

ما الذي يجعل المرأة تفقد أنوثتها؟

متى تشعرين بالضعف كامرأة ومتى تشعرين بقوتك؟

بين الدور التقليدي للمرأة القطرية حيث اقتصرت حياتها على أسرتها ومنزلها وبين الدور الحديث حيث انخرطت في تنمية المجتمع وتسعى الدولة إلى تمكينها .. أين ترى نفسك ولماذا؟

كيف تصفين المرأة القطرية المثالية

Post Interview Comments and/or Observations:

ملاحظات او تعليقات بعد المقابلة:

_____
_____

_____
_____

Pleases read the following statements carefully and tick the box below if you agree:

يرجى قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية ووضع علامة في المربع أدناه إذا كنت توافقين:

I confirm that I have read and understood the information in this document and have had the chance to ask questions.

أؤكد أنني قد قرأت وفهمت المعلومات الواردة في هذا المستند وأتيحت لي الفرصة لطرح الأسئلة.

I understand that participation is this study is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any time without justifying or explaining the reasons behind my withdrawal and without being subjected to undesirable consequences. In addition, if I do not to answer any particular question or questions, I can decline.

أفهم أن المشاركة في هذه الدراسة هي تطوعية ولدي الحق في الانسحاب في أي وقت دون تبرير أو شرح أسباب انسحابي ودون التعرض لعواقب غير مرغوب فيها. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، يمكنني ان ارفض ان أجيب على أي سؤال أو أسئلة معينة .

I understand that the answers I give will be saved confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials and will not be mentioned in the

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result of this research.

أفهم أن الإجابات التي أقدمها سيتم حفظها بسرية. أفهم أنه لن يتم ربط اسمي بمواد البحث ، ولن يتم ذكره في نتيجة
هذا البحث

I agree to tape-record this interview or recode it through writing. I understand that the audio recording or the written transcript of this interview will be used only for to get information through analysis phase. Where I will not be personally identified. The result could be used in conference presentation, or in published article in journal that developed as a result of the research. I understand that no other use will be made of the recording interview, and no one will have access to the recorded interview but the researcher and the research committee. The research committee will have access to the anonymous recorded interview.

أوافق على تسجيل هذه المقابلة على شريط أو إعادة ترميزها من خلال الكتابة. أفهم أن التسجيل الصوتي أو النص
المكتوب لهذه المقابلة سيُستخدم فقط للحصول على المعلومات من خلال مرحلة التحليل. حيث لن يتم تحديد هويتي
شخصيا. يمكن استخدام النتيجة في عرض مؤتمر ، أو في مقالة منشورة في مجلة بحثية ، أفهم أنه لن يتم استخدام
المقابلة اي استخدام آخر ، ولن يتمكن أي شخص من الوصول إلى المقابلة المسجلة سوى الباحث ولجنة البحث.
ستتمكّن لجنة البحث من الوصول إلى المقابلة المسجلة بدون معرفة هويتي .

تسجيل كتابي writing recording   تسجيل صوتي Audio recording

I understand that the interview will be destroyed after the researcher finish the PhD thesis.

افهم ان هذه المقابلة سيتم اتلافها بعد انتهاء الباحث من رسالة الدكتوراة

I agree to be interviewed.
أوافق على اجراء المقابلة

_____   _____

_____

Name of participant	Date	Signature
اسم المشاركة	التاريخ	التوقيع

●   _____   ____

Name of the researcher	Date	Signature
اسم الباحث	التاريخ	التوقيع

For further inquiries, feel free to contact me on:

للمزيد من المعلومات يمكنك التواصل معي عبر الهاتف او البريد الالكتروني :

Email :200669100@qu.edu.qa

البريد الالكتروني : 200669100@qu.edu.qa

Mobile Number : 74749464

رقم الهاتف : 74749464

Copies: _Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, and the information sheet. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the main project file which must be kept in a secure location._

النسخ : عندما يتم توقيع هذه الاتفاقية بواسطة الباحثة و المشاركة سيتم تسليم نسخة موقعة للمشاركة ، كما سيتم الاحتفاظ بنسخة موقعة في الملف الرئيسي للبحث بطريقة امنة وسرية.