Young Adult Women's Aspirations for Education and Career in Qatar:

Active Resistance to Gendered Power

Laurie James-Hawkins

University of Essex

Ghada Al-Attar

Assiut University

Kathryn M. Yount

Emory University

Author Note

Laurie James-Hawkins (ORCID 0000-0002-8085-9346), Department of Sociology, University of Essex; Ghada Al-Attar (ORCID 0000-0002-5881-9065), Department of Public Health and Community Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, Assiut University; Kathryn M. Yount, Hubert Department of Public Health and Department of Sociology, Emory University

Correspondence concerning this manuscript should be addressed to Kathryn M. Yount, Hubert Department of Public Health and Department of Sociology, Emory University, 1315 Clifton Rd., Atlanta, GA 30322. Email: Kathryn.yount@emory.edu

Abstract

Using Komter's theory of hidden gender power in marriage, we explore how young Qatari women's aspirations are influenced by their parents, future husbands, and the internalization of social norms about gender dynamics. Using use a convenience sample of 28 interviews with Qatari women, ages 18 to 25 years old and attending university in Qatar, we explore the ways in which women acquiesce to or resist the gendered barriers they face to fulfilling their aspirations for education and career. Interviews were conducted in Arabic and translated into English. Using a qualitative descriptive design for analysis, interviews were coded deductively following the interview guide and then inductively to allow themes to emerge from the data. Our results showed that women experienced an array of forces that shaped their aspirations. Although women did experience some explicit limitations, women more often self-imposed limitations based on their perceptions of what they thought their parents or future husbands would approve. The majority of women engaged in active strategies of negotiation to achieve their goals. Whereas some women recognized the structural constraints imposed on them by prevailing gender norms, other women found ways to counter identified social constraints. We conclude that Komter's notion of invisible power as entirely unseen should be expanded because many women were "insider-outsiders" and saw how invisible power operated on other women, if not on themselves. We discuss the ways in which structural power affects young women's aspirations in a strongly patriarchal setting.

Keywords: Emerging adulthood, Middle East, Patriarchy, Qualitative research, Sex roles, Social norms, Transition to adulthood, Aspirations

Gendered Power and Young Adult Women's Aspirations for Education and Career in Qatar

Changing roles for women worldwide have placed young adult women in a bind, caught between the customary role of wife and mother and newer aspirations for higher education and career (James-Hawkins, Qutteina, & Yount, 2016). In Gulf countries, such as Qatar, gender norms about women's roles as wives and mothers may have a particularly strong influence on their aspirations (Liloia, 2019). Despite strong gendered familial expectations for women to marry and bear children, competing influences place pressure on women to contribute to the nation-state (Liloia, 2019; Moghadam, 2004) and the financial well-being of their families (James-Hawkins, Qutteina, & Yount, 2016) through work. Thus, women in Qatar find themselves caught between a state that funds and encourages education for women while simultaneously placing strong emphasis on women's longstanding duties within the home (James-Hawkins, Qutteina, & Yount, 2016; Liloia, 2019).

Komter's (1989) theory of hidden power may expand our understanding of factors influencing young adult women's aspirations in such contexts. Komter initially proposed the theory of hidden power to explain gendered power differentials within marriage in a European context and elucidated three types of power: (a) manifest or explicit power over others, (b) latent or indirect power embodied by conforming to others' expectations and anticipating sanctions for non-conformity, and (c) invisible or unobservable power that has been normalized to the extent that it appears natural to the social structure. For example, parents may wield manifest power over their daughters' choices by limiting what university they may attend. Latent power operates through young women limiting their own choices based on concerns about whether they will receive or lose support from their parents and families. In addition, because women expect to marry in their early 20s, and ties between marriage, childbearing, and successful enactment of

customary femininity are strong, latent power may operate through young women's self-limiting in response to the anticipated expectations of their future husband.

Komter's (1989) European conception of manifest power and latent power suggests that women respond to these types of power with inaction. Elsewhere, and perhaps even in Europe, women may deploy direct strategies such as negotiation to contest manifest power or indirect strategies, such as making choices they believe to be in accordance with the wishes of powerful others, to circumnavigate latent power. Komter argued that invisible power cannot be measured; however, other scholars have linked social norms to the idea of invisible power (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019). Individuals may internalize social norms without recognizing that they have done so (Horne, 2003), similar to Komter's notion of invisible power. Interpretation of this process is fraught with complexities; however, scholars have suggested that women in local contexts may recognize how invisible power operates for *other* women in their communities (Chung & Rimal, 2016). Thus, women inside the community may be aware that prevailing social and gender norms can become internalized, and thereby, limit other women's choices (Chung & Rimal, 2016), without necessarily recognizing how those same norms may operate to limit their own choices. Thus, our goal is to see if Komter's analysis might be adapted for use in understanding young Qatari women's educational and career aspirations.

Power, Agency, and Women's Choices

Komter (1989) introduced the concept of hidden power within gender relations, proposing that power exists in manifest, latent, and invisible forms. Manifest power is direct power over others, including overt conflict, argument, or negotiation over a desired outcome between the individual with more power and the individual with less power (Komter, 1989; Sato, Yount, & Schuler, 2015). In marriage, this imbalance often is gendered, with the husband having

more power than the wife (Komter, 1989). However, gendered power operates in other family

relationships, such as father-daughter relations, in Arab countries (Crocco, Pervez, & Katz,

2009) and other countries, such as the United States (Collins, 1998), Vietnam (Horton &

Rydstrøm, 2011; James-Hawkins, Hennink, Bangcaya,& Yount, 2018; Rydstrøm, 1998, 2010)

and Bangladesh (Sato et al., 2015). The idea of latent power suggests that those in subordinate

positions will self-limit in anticipation of the restrictions they believe a powerful other will

impose (Komter, 1989; Sato et al., 2015). Finally, the notion of invisible power signifies the

degree to which gendered power differences are incorporated into norms that are rarely

questioned (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019; James-Hawkins et a;., 2016; Komter, 1989), leading to

decisions that appear to be made freely when in fact they result from "existing relationships of

dominance" (Komter, 1989, p. 191). Invisible power may operate by privileging the desires of

men over those of women, thus limiting women's opportunities to make their own choices. As a

result, even if women perceive that they are exercising free will, they may not recognize how

power processes operate to constrain choices (James-Hawkins, et al., 2016) by sustaining what

Freire (1970) has called the dominated consciousness of subordinate groups.

Komter (1989), however, did not explicitly link the influence of gender norms on

women's perceptions of their own agency, that is, their ability to affect change in their own lives

(Kabeer, 1999). In some respects, Komter's notion of invisible power is similar to definitions of

gender norms or implicit "social rules and expectations that keep the gender system intact"

(Cislaghi & Heise, 2019, p. 4). Thus, although Komter suggests that women are unaware of

invisible power, other scholars suggest that women are aware of invisible power in the form of

gender norms that operate within a society to constrain the choices at least of other women along

gender lines (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019). In some cases, this recognition of gendered norms may be

construed as latent power because women may knowingly comply with these norms even when the norms go against their personal desires (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019). In other cases, women may have a multitude of reasons for acquiescing to gender norms beyond a lack of awareness of the influence those norms have on their own opportunities and choices (Charrad, 2011). Rather, women may simply be working within the social and structural constraints around them to achieve what they want (Charrad, 2010). Thus, women may adopt the dominant norms that limit them because they know they are subject to the rules of the society in which they live (Charrad, 2010) or they may find ways to navigate those norms, without engaging in direct conflict with the decisionmakers in their lives, such as their parents or future husbands.

Bargaining for Power

Women often act strategically within their own homes by engaging in bargaining with those in power, such as parents, other senior relatives, or husbands, to achieve their own goals and to resist constraints placed on their behavior and choices (Pearse & Connell, 2016). But, women's relationships with those who hold power over them, such as their families or husbands, are unique and complex—and so are the strategies that women use to bargain with them in their efforts to reach their own goals (Charrad, 2010). Moreover, prevailing gender norms may limit what is open for bargaining, who has most of the bargaining power, and how a woman attempts to engage in a bargaining process (Pearse & Connell, 2016). Thus, although women experience more pressure in patriarchal societies to conform to prevailing gender norms, they may continue to dream and desire certain paths in their lives (James-Hawkins et al., 2016). The determination to achieve their personal goals remains even when women bow to pressure to conform because of concerns about future stability and social expectations for marriage and children (James-Hawkins et al., 2016). Some scholars have argued that women remain silent and do not bargain

overtly, thus appearing to consent to constraints placed on them by others (Gammage, Kabeer, &

van der Meulen Rodgers, 2016), similar to Komter's (1989) notion of latent power. However,

other scholars have argued that a lack of protest or even direct visible support for the prevailing

gender norms need not mean that women have internalized those norms and, therefore, are

adapting their own internal preferences to those norms (Agarwal & Bina, 1994; Gammage et al.,

2016) because women may have other reasons to comply with social pressures to behave in

certain ways and to make certain choices (Charrad, 2011). Although these strategies demonstrate

women's adaptation to latent power, comparing their personal narratives to their views of other

women and the choices they make may reveal invisible power at work.

Other Influences on Women's Aspirations

Aspirations for education and career are the result of the understanding children,

adolescents and young adults have about the resources and opportunities available to them

(McDonald, Pini, Bailey, & Price, 2011). Aspirations can predict subsequent career choices

(Archer, DeWitt, & Wong, 2014) as well as plans for higher education (Reay, David, & Ball,

2005). High aspirations have been shown to engender resilience among disadvantaged youth,

whereas low aspirations may work to constrain opportunities later in life (Archer et al., 2014).

Researchers also have noted that aspirations tend to vary along class, race/ethnicity, and gender

lines (Archer et al., 2014).

Multiple factors have been shown to influence young women's aspirations. Studies have

demonstrated that parental support affects young adults' career-related behaviors (Garcia,

Restubog, Toledano, Tolentino, & Rafferty, 2012). Parental support can be in the form of

encouragement, instrumental assistance, modeling desired behaviors, or emotional backing

(Cheung & Arnold, 2010), and it is either direct, where parents tell their children what is

expected, or indirect, where children see the educational level that their parents achieved and aspire to match or exceed that level (Sawitri, Creed, & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2015). In a study among Qatari students, those who had parents with Baccalaureate degrees were more likely to aspire to careers in science, technology, and related fields than were students whose parents had lower educational levels (Sellami et al., 2017). Yet, higher education can function for women to determine marriageability (Hakim, 2000, 2002), and in Qatar, women may pursue higher education at least in part because they believe that it will make them better mothers or because they believe that modern Qatari men desire educated wives (James-Hawkins et al., 2016).

The Qatari Context

In Qatar, the opportunities available to young women with respect to education, work, and marriage strongly influence their aspirations (Hakim, 2002). The Qatari government has encouraged Qatari national women to pursue higher education through reforms to the educational system, including the national university (Felder & Vuollo, 2008). The presence of men in educational environments, however, has hindered educational opportunities for women who are uncomfortable with or not allowed to study in mixed-gender environments (Krause, 2009; Salem & Yount, 2019). Gender-segregated universities have been a structural mechanism by which Qatar and other countries in the Gulf have expanded women's opportunities for higher education while sustaining the prevailing gender norm of keeping men and women physically separate (Krause, 2009). In 2016, among Qataris 25 years and older, slightly more women (70.9%) than men (67.8%) had a secondary education (United Nations Development Programme 2018) and more women (37.2%) than men (20.2%) had completed a university or post-graduate degree (Ministry of Development and Planning 2017a). Currently, substantially more women (68%) than men (9%) are enrolled in university (Qatar Planning and Statistics Authority, 2019).

Similar social expectations for gender-segregated workplaces have limited women's opportunities to work (Al-Muftah, 2015) often directing them to employment within the public sector (Salem & Yount, 2019). The percentage of Qatari nationals who are employed is 68% among men and 37% among women (Qatar Planning and Statistics Authority, 2018). Gender norms also can limit the occupations that women consider because some occupations are considered unfeminine (Krause, 2009) or require contact with men (Bahry & Marr, 2005; Salem & Yount, 2019). As a result, women may be tracked away from occupations considered socially inappropriate for women, such as construction, flight attendant, or hospitality (Bahry & Marr, 2005); thus some women may be unable to find work in their chosen field (Zoabi & Savaya, 2017). These limitations result in many women working in female-dominated professions like nursing or education (Flores & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2014; Lari, 2016; Zoabi & Savaya, 2017). In this way, women's education is poorly aligned with labor-market demands because gender norms limit women's participation in the labor force more generally (Lari, 2016) and specifically in male-dominated sectors, even if women are highly educated (Flores & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2014).

Despite increased education and some work opportunities for women (Zayed, 1998), most marriages remain pre-arranged by parents, other relatives, or friends (El-Haddad, 2003). Overall, rates of marriage in Qatar are declining for men and women, due in part to a delayed age at first marriage for women as they attain higher levels of education and work in some sectors (Liloia, 2019). Moreover, the mean age at first marriage is decreasing for men (23 years-old) while it is increasing for women (26 years old; Ministry of Development and Planning 2017b). Expectations regarding women's role in the home also may influence women's aspirations. Many women in Qatar expect limitations on education from a future spouse and, thus, may delay

marriage until they have completed university (Author Citation). Family roles also are gendered in Qatar, which may influence job choices for women who expect to be sole caretakers and homemakers (Weisgram & Diekman, 2015) regardless of their employment status. Women who more strongly endorse family roles may avoid jobs considered to be more masculine (Frome, Alfeld, Eccles, & Barber, 2008).

The Present Study

In the present study we used 28 interviews with young adult women attending university in Qatar to address how they are influenced in their aspirations for education and employment by manifest, latent, and invisible power conceptualized as gendered social norms. According to the narratives of insider-outsider women, other women often will self-limit based on their perceptions of what powerful others will find to be acceptable choices for their educational and career goals, highlighting limits to their agency that have been little explored.

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Method

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Participants

We conducted 28 in-depth interviews with unmarried Qatari women ages 18–25 years-old who were attending university in Qatar. Three of these women were contracted for marriage, although only two had a written contract at the time of the interview. A majority (24 of 28) attended Qatar University, the only gender-segregated university in Qatar; the remainder attended mixed gender universities in Education City in Doha, Qatar. Most women came from large families, with an average of 5.7 children per family (range = 1–13). All women, except one, were undergraduates, and 20 had aspirations for post-graduate education after their bachelor's degree with 10 desiring a Master's degree, another nine hoping to obtain a Ph.D., and one woman who mentioned additional education but did not specify a degree goal. Of the 28

participants, two women were in the first year at university, eight were attending their second year, four women were in their third year of university, and nine were attending their fourth year and were near graduation. Of the remaining five women, one was in a Master's program, and for four women, the year of school was not stated. Thus, the majority of women were interested in pursuing education beyond a Bachelor's degree. We limited our sample to Qatari nationals because the cultural messages regarding education and the opportunities and financial support available to them are unique and are not available to non-Qatari's.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred between June 2013 and March 2015. Institutional Review Board approval was obtained from all three collaborating academic institutions participating in the study. Participants were recruited on University campuses in Qatar using snowball sampling techniques. Interviewers obtained informed consent for audio recording from each participant. One woman did not consent to audio recording, so the interviewer took notes. Six trained, bilingual, Arab female interviewers conducted interviews in Arabic or English, as preferred by the participant, and three of the six interviewers conducted 22 of the 28 interviews. Women were asked open-ended questions about their aspirations and experiences in the realms of education, employment, and marriage. For example, women were asked: "What are your aspirations after your university degree is complete?" [ما هى طموحاتك وتطلعاتك بعد الانتهاء من دراستك الجامعية ؟-] and "Are there any obstacles that may prevent you from reaching this ambition?" [هل توجد اى عوائق لكى تحقق تلك الطموحات والاهداف؟] (See the online supplement for the full interview guide in both the original Arabic and with the English translation.) Each interview lasted one hour on average and took place in a private room on the participant's university campus. Ten bilingual Arabic/English speakers transcribed and translated the interviews to English using pseudonyms to maintain

confidentiality. Four of the interviewers transcribed 14 (50%) of the interviews, and six other bilingual Arabic/English speakers transcribed the remaining 14 (50%) of the interviews. All transcriptions were then back-translated by a third-party to ensure accuracy of the transcription.

Analysis Method

We used a qualitative descriptive design (Merriam, 2014) for our analysis, which combines inductive and deductive analytic strategies (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2008). The present paper was one of several papers produced as part of a parent study in which the study group reviewed and contributed to the development of themes throughout the coding process by attending regular project meetings at which the group as a whole discussed and reviewed the current analysis and the analyses for other papers. For the present paper, as part of the larger analysis group, one analyst was responsible for deductively coding each transcript according to the interview categories and questions regarding educational and employment aspirations. The analyst also used methods similar to grounded theory to allow additional themes to emerge from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), allowing for both skepticism and giving the researchers room to simply ask "What is going on here?" (Babbie, 2004). This approach requires that researchers put aside any theories they may have in mind and is not driven by hypotheses or hypothesis testing. Consequently, the analyst and project group were able to identify underlying meanings and conceptual roots of women's stories based on cumulative observations across the interviews (Babbie, 2004).

First, the lead analyst read the 28 transcripts multiple times and produced memos according to the relevant themes emerging from the data, thus, engaging with the data deeply and developing inductive codes, such as power dynamics in women's lives and internalization of prevailing gender norms. The lead analyst (an American, White, English-speaking woman) was

primarily responsible for initially coding the data by question and then coding transcripts using line-by-line and thematic strategies (Charmaz, 2014) with NVivo software (*NVivo*, 2015). To ensure fidelity to the transcripts, the lead analyst was part of a project team that engaged in weekly meetings throughout data collection and analysis, as well as included the project Co-PI and one woman who served as an interviewer and transcriber on the project. Both of these women were Arab and living in Qatar during the project. The project team also included two White American women, one of whom was the lead analyst on the present paper, and one Arab woman living in Canada. Project group reflection on coding and thematic development ensured that the lead analyst was able to incorporate the context and dynamics of the interviews while developing the data-coding scheme and ensuring that the data were interpreted in line with the local context.

Finally, coded interviews were reviewed and coded for additional themes that were uncovered during the thematic coding process. Saturation was reached when no new themes emerged from the data. When the coding process was complete, codes were compared and examined across and within transcripts to facilitate the project group's understanding of women's aspirations and the narratives they used to describe those aspirations. Overall, this process allowed the lead analyst to capture women's stories about their aspirations, as well as influences and restrictions on those aspirations, in their own words while maintaining the input and close involvement of Arab women who were embedded in the local context.

This process of constant comparison (Charmaz, 2014) resulted in the identification of different types of influences on young women's aspirations: direct influence of others, self-limitations, and the influence of broader gender norms, both recognized and internalized. The identification of the different types of influences on women's aspirational narratives facilitated

the use of structured comparisons, which allowed the lead analyst and project group to determine how these forces influenced women and also the ways in which some of the women interviewed fought to realize aspirations that transgressed prevailing gender roles.

Results

The stories women told revealed their efforts to balance their own desires with the restrictions they experienced from their families and prevailing gender norms in society. Women were concerned about their parents' approval of their educational choices and, to a lesser extent, their future careers. However, a large and previously unstudied influence on women's aspirations was their perceptions of what their future husbands may consider acceptable. The majority of young women (19, 68%) appeared on the surface to have internalized gender norms about suitable roles for young women, while just under half of women (12, 43%) struggled with what they saw as unfair and restrictive limitations on their aspirations, although not all of these women explicitly recognized the limitations on their aspirations. Over half of women (16, 57%) resisted restrictive gender norms by negotiating with powerful others to broaden their choices. See Table 1 for more detailed information about each participant and Table 2 for theme descriptions and examples.

Manifest Power: Overt Restrictions on Women's Aspirations

Because the women we interviewed still were at university and had not yet moved into the workforce, most actual parental restrictions on women related to their educational aspirations. Despite women's perceptions of unconditional support from their parents, 36% ($n = 10$) of women interviewed described experiencing actual restrictions on their educational activities and ambitions. In line with customary Qatari gender norms, many restrictions were related to restrictions on women's freedom to travel abroad alone combined with the idea that

women should remain in the direct supervision of a male relative such as a father, uncle, or brother. Rawdah said: "I am not allowed to study abroad." Noora also experienced this restriction: "Well, first I wished to study abroad. My ambition was to study engineering abroad. My father did not agree to me going abroad alone." For all of these women, restrictions on their freedom of movement based on societal gender norms about what is appropriate for women created structural barriers to their aspirations—barriers that they perceived their parents actively enforcing.

A quarter of women (7, 25%) also experienced restrictions on the type of major they were allowed to pursue. This type of restriction usually was based on perceptions about the appropriateness of women engaging in the career that would most likely result from that major and so functioned to limit future career opportunities as well their university course of study. For example, Janna wanted to study medicine and be a doctor; however, she had an aunt who was a doctor and her parents felt that the hours a doctor worked would not be appropriate. She described her parents' feelings this way:

My parents told me that there is no way they are letting me pursue a medical degree. They said "look at your paternal aunt and her night shifts. Night shifts are forbidden." So, I had to forget about science studies. (Janna)

Like Janna, Sheikah wanted to pursue a degree in a professional field, but changed her plans because of restrictions placed on her by her parents. She said:

[My family said] that it is not comfortable to be a lawyer and that there are no jobs that suit women. They would also say that based on my character I would find it difficult to successfully complete this kind of study and so on and so forth. So, there wasn't a big argument about it. I immediately took the idea off my head

and chose English. (Sheikah)

So, despite Janna's interest in science and a career as a doctor and Sheikah's desire to pursue a law degree, both chose other majors when faced with opposition from their parents. Importantly, women did discuss some restrictions placed on their aspirations by their parents that were not entirely related to gender, such as Sheikah's parents feeling that a career in law may not be a good fit to her personality and character, although they also felt that it was not an appropriate job for women more generally.

Rawdah also was interested in a career that was non-traditional for women. She said: "Aviation was my first choice when I graduated from high school. I wanted to enroll in an aviation college. My mother still has not given her consent." Later in her interview, Rawdah discussed refocusing her desires on a different major. When asked if she would change to aviation now if her mother changed her mind, Rawdah indicated that she had gone so far with her current major, she would complete it despite wanting to study aviation. She felt that aviation was simply beyond her reach because it was unacceptable in society more generally, and she was hesitant to waste the time and effort already invested in her current major.

Overall, women chose majors that were acceptable to their parents. However, those who desired a major that was deemed unacceptable sometimes expressed frustration with the limitations placed on them. Although only about one third of women experienced actual restrictions from their parents, those who did often were dissatisfied with the options given them and wished that they had been able to pursue the educational and career paths they themselves had wanted.

Latent Power: Self-Limitations on Women's Aspirations

Far more common than overt restrictions placed on women were women's self-imposed

restrictions based on their perceptions of what either their parents or their expected future husband might desire. Anticipated restrictions from their parents were mentioned by just under half of women (12, 43%), and most women (24, 86%) anticipated that restrictions would be placed on them by their future husbands. These perceptions resulted in women anticipating what their parents or future husband might approve and then making choices based on those expected restrictions. Thus, women were instrumental in restricting their own choices and limiting their own ambitions more often than there were any overt restrictions imposed by powerful others. Although had women not self-restricted in this way, it is possible that more women would have experienced actual restrictions from their parents.

Expected parental restrictions. Almost half of women (12, 43%) anticipated parental restrictions and worked to avoid those restrictions by making decisions they felt would be easily accepted, negating the need for their parents to actively impose any restrictions. Badriah described this self-limitation: "I always choose what I am certain my parents will accept." By choosing what she already is certain will be acceptable to her parents, Badriah limits her own aspirations, focusing her future goals on a narrow range of choices she thinks will be deemed acceptable by her parents and society more broadly.

This process of self-limiting operated similarly to the restrictions that others imposed on women. Nuha described this process: "I really want to travel. I want to grow and learn outside my country. But my parents … will not let me." However, Nuha later revealed that she had not actually approached her parents about studying abroad because she felt certain they would not allow it. A similar process occurred with Alia's choice of university: "Honestly, I feel that my parents would not approve if I had chosen a mixed university, they would have said no." Similar to the case with Nuha, Alia had never asked her parents about attending a mixed-gender

university, but instead she simply applied to and enrolled at a gender-segregated university. Expected restrictions from parents sometimes extended to ideas about future employment. Johara talked about the possibility of one day working at a gender-mixed institution: "My parents will not accept the idea of me working in a gender-mixed place…I believe it is related to people's gossip and to religion." Johara felt that limitations her parents put on her were due to their subscription to gender norms regarding appropriate activities and employment for Qatari women.

Expected restrictions by future husbands. Most women (24, 86%) were skeptical about whether their future husbands would agree to their educational and occupational plans. Because most of the young women interviewed were in their early 20s and also named the early 20s as the ideal age for a woman to marry, concerns about restrictions by their future husbands were very real to them. Women were also aware that not marrying, or ending up divorced if they did marry, would put them in the position of dependency and vulnerability, and women saw education and employment as a way of safeguarding against this possibility (James-Hawkins et al., 2016). This concern led women to worry about whether they would be allowed to complete their educational plans once married and whether or not their husbands would allow them to be employed after marriage.

Sabah, who was interested in pursuing post-graduate education at some point, had the following to say about her concerns about her future husband and the likelihood that he would be amenable to her plans and aspirations: "I'm now reaching the age of marriage and my would-be husband may not agree to [my] plans." Like Sabah, Afra had plans for future education, but she knew she was nearing the time when it is considered appropriate for Qatari women to marry and feared her plans would be disrupted: "If I were to enroll in a Master's program here, I might get married, and this could hinder my education. My husband might not accept it." Sabah and Afra,

like other women, were concerned about a future husband's possible restrictions on their pursuit

of post-graduate education. However, because the women interviewed were all attending

university, for most women concerns about a future husband's restrictions on her pursuit of

education were far less evident than concerns about possible restrictions on their future

employment.

Women recognized possible restrictions on work imposed by gendered norms in Qatari

society, with 71% (N=20) of women stating that a woman would need their future husband's

agreement if she wanted to work. When Huda was asked if she felt a woman needed permission

from her husband to work, she said: "It is normal that she takes permission from [her husband].

His opinion is the most important." Other women feared that their husband would not allow them

to work at all. Johara described her fears this way:

> [A woman's] husband could forbid her from having a job in the first place, this is
>
> possible. There are men who still live in the past. They do not want their wives to
>
> have a job. They do not like this idea. They want a woman to always be in need.
>
> (Johara)

This fear was supported by the prevailing practices they saw around them because women they

knew were married and were not permitted to work. Lolwa described her thoughts about this

prohibition:

> The husband can prevent his wife from going to work and I personally know
>
> many wives who cannot work because of their husbands. Their husbands claim
>
> that family income is their own responsibility and that the wife must stay at home
>
> and raise the children. (Lolwa)
>
> In addition to worries that their husbands would prevent them from beginning work,

women also worried that they would have to stop work when they married if they were already employed. Rawdah said: "Oftentimes…even if his wife is an employee, the first thing [a husband] will do is ask her to quit her job because he wants her to focus only on him. To stay at home waiting for his return." Two women, including Rawdah, felt that it was inevitable that they would be asked to stop working when they married, and they self-limited their choices of majors and future occupations with this expectation in mind.

Almost one third of women (8, 29%) felt that working before marriage would smooth the way for them to work after marriage. Thus, many of their decisions about the timing of marriage and about their choices for work were influenced by their own conjectures about what their future husband might want. Alia described her reasoning for wanting to secure employment prior to getting engaged and married:

> If I am employed before I get married and he still asks for my hand in marriage,
>
> then he should not object to the idea afterwards…But if we get married and then I
>
> get a job, it will be different. He might even reject the idea. (Alia)

Like Alia, Aisha also felt that working before marriage would allow her to continue to work after marriage. She said: "I feel like if I started working before I get married, it will not be a big deal, whereas if I got married and then decide to work, he might refuse to let me do that." Thus, women spent time and energy considering ways in which they could ensure that they would be allowed to work after marriage.

In addition to women who plan the timing of their eventual marriage according to what a future husband might want, 39% (N=11) of women also explicitly selected their major and future career path based on their assessment of what would be considered appropriate by their future husband. Noora said:

There are some specializations in the university that I feel girls avoid because

most of the work is in factories and they may even spend their nights there…the

husband will not accept that his wife does this kind of work, I mean to stay out for

a long time and work in factories. (Noora)

Whereas some women limited their choice of major broadly as Noora did, other women who were considering specific career paths made the decision not to pursue them because of their perception that their future husband would not approve. Khuloud said: "They say that no man will marry you if you are a doctor. They will not want you." Thus, women made decisions and molded their aspirations to fit what they expected would be the wishes of their future husbands.

Two women felt that women working was specifically associated with perceived rising divorce rates. Alia said: "We have a high divorce rate and one of the reasons being women choosing to work." Noof agreed with Alia, and she described the women she knew for whom work and marriage had proved to be incompatible:

In our society, every husband … is the one who imposes his decision on his wife.

This is one of the major reasons for divorce. I know a few women… their

husbands made them choose between them and working in a gender-mixed place.

Of course, they chose to work, so eventually they divorced. I am not talking about

one woman. I am talking about four! (Alia)

Although not everyone directly feared divorce as did Alia and Noof, most women (20, 71%) felt that a future husband would heavily influence their future decisions about work.

Women acknowledged that they would not know what a man was like until they were actually married, and so they would not be able to ascertain if their fears were accurate until it was too late. Fatima described this dilemma in the following way: "Even if we were engaged for

a long time, God knows what is going to happen. Maybe he would only [show] the best in him during our engagement period." In the end, for women, working was perceived to be fraught with complications. Some felt that working before marriage would open the way to working after marriage, whereas others felt that working would lead to eventual divorce. For almost all women, however, their perceptions of what their future husband may or may not want them to do often powerfully constrained their aspirations and decisions about their futures.

Invisible Power: Internalization of Prevailing Gender Norms

Although Komter (1989) felt that invisible power was something that could not be measured, other scholars have equated invisible, or structural, power to the internalization of social norms (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019), which scholars have measured in some contexts (Horne, 2003). The majority of women in our sample (19, 68%) had internalized the customary gender norm of women as mothers, which presented the most common normative constraint on women's education and career. We argue that the internalization of this norm and the prevailing norms of woman as wife and homemaker demonstrate invisible power at work in the Qatari context. The majority of women had clearly internalized socially based norms for women's educational and career aspirations that stress women as primarily responsible for the home and children. Janna put it this way: "In my opinion, a woman's place is … with her children. That is her main function in life." Despite this view, the 24-year-old Janna had aspirations to travel outside Qatar to obtain a postgraduate degree in a western country while simultaneously saying that she wanted to marry at age 24 or 25. Thus, although Janna espoused the view of women as natural mothers in line with prevailing gender norms, she also had aspirations for education and travel that deviated from this norm, suggesting that although she recognized the gendered power structures at work, she did not necessarily see them as relevant to her own aspirations.

Hanan saw work outside the home as a barrier to taking proper care of her children: "I think work is not important for women, because a woman will eventually get married. So, she doesn't need to work. If she works, she will fall short of providing her children the care they need." Hanan stated that she desired to work at a ministry after she completed her education. Her aspirations to public sector employment, which has more accommodations for working mothers, may be linked to her views of women as natural mothers.

However, not all women who agreed with Hanan's views of women as natural mothers aspired to traditional gendered occupations. For example, although Iman agreed with Hanan saying:

> [Childrearing] is part of a woman's responsibility at home. It is not necessary for a
>
> woman to work. If a woman gets married then she has her house and children to
>
> take care of and she should give them priority. If she cannot take care of her
>
> children and give them enough attention, then that's it, she does not have to work.
>
> (Iman)

However, at the same time, Iman desired to work as a research scientist in the private sector, a profession that is less accommodating for mothers. This contrast between her feelings regarding her responsibility as a mother and her aspirations for future employment suggest that although she may state her agreement with women's primary role being that of mother, she did not necessarily see that adherence to prevailing gender norms would impact her own life choices.

Overall, the majority of women interviewed strongly subscribed to the idea that home and family should be a woman's primary occupation and that working outside the home should not be allowed to interfere with that responsibility in any way. Interestingly, women discussed gender norms framing women as mothers as if all women saw placing women's role as mother

above all else as a forgone conclusion. At the same time, women often had employment

aspirations that were incompatible with gendered norms of women as first and foremost as

mothers. Thus, women espoused gender norms in line with Qatari society more generally, but

they did not always apply those norms to themselves and their own aspirations. Furthermore,

they usually did not recognize the inherent contradiction between being a full-time mother and a

full-time worker. Yet women often did recognize how this contradiction operated to limit the

aspirations of women around them. Thus, although they appeared to recognize how invisible

structural power operated on other women, this did not necessarily impact how they saw their

own life trajectories evolving (James-Hawkins et al., 2016).

Among those women who explicitly supported the idea of women working, three-

quarters of women (75%) felt strongly that only certain jobs were suitable for women. The views

of these women were largely in line with descriptive norms evident in Qatar regarding gender-

segregation and working hours that allowed a woman's primary role to be that of wife and

mother, such as family-friendly work policies for women in the public sector (Salem & Yount,

2019). These views influenced their aspirations for the future. Janna felt that certain occupations

were inappropriate for women, although she desired post graduate education and future career:

> When a girl decides to specialize in a major which is more for men, she will look
>
> out of place. Our traditions dictate that a girl cannot specialize in aviation for
>
> example. She cannot specialize in majors made for boys. (Janna)

The idea that there were certain majors and occupations that were "made" for men was

echoed by Zamzam, who had plans to work in a school or ministry, both considered acceptable

places of employment due to gender-segregated workplaces and shorter work hours for women.

She said:

It is also difficult for a woman to be a judge. You feel she does not belong there in

the court. It is okay for her to be a lawyer. But to be a judge and rule in cases?

This is more of a man's job. (Zamzam)

For Zamzam, the idea of a job in which a woman wielded power, such as that of a judge, was not

appropriate. She later went on to emphasize that women should aspire to jobs considered

traditional for women: "I have not met anyone yet [with a non-traditional job], but if I did, I

would convince her to quit. I do not like women who hold an untraditional job." Zamzam felt not

only that she herself should only engage in a job which was considered appropriate for women,

but that other women should be discouraged from straying outside this framework.

Resistance to Gender Norms: Negotiating Support for Aspirations

Faced with different ways in which their aspirations were limited, women developed

strategies that could be used to navigate the prevailing norms so they could achieve the

educational and employment outcomes they desired. One strategy women discussed using to

achieve their aspirations was negotiation. Just over half the women we interviewed (16, 57%)

described a process of negotiation in which they convinced their parents to allow them to pursue

their ambitions. Women in our sample felt strongly that "everything can be achieved through

dialogue and discussion" (Muna). Muna went on to say: "[If a woman wants to work] she can

take the permission of her guardian such as her father. She can always get this permission by

dialogue and negotiation."

These women also felt that the negotiation process was dependent on their own degree of

motivation. Zamzam said:

If it is something I like, I can go to my parents and convince them I want to do it.

Until now, no one has been able to force me into doing anything. I am the one

who is supposed to convince others…that they are wrong and I am right.

Muna and Zamzam, and others like them engaged in an active process of negotiating permission

to pursue their own goals, which suggests that Komter's (1989) definition of both manifest and

latent power as forms of power to which women passively submit may not fully articulate the

pathways women may utilize to resist both manifest and latent power. Indeed, 57% (N=16) of

the women we interviewed stated explicitly that it was the woman's responsibility to advocate

for herself and to negotiate for their own desires and goals. Amna put it best: "You should

negotiate if it is what you want." Thus, women felt that, if they were highly motivated to do

something, then it would be worth the effort they would have to expend to convince their parents

to allow them to do it even in the face of initial parental disapproval. For example, Afra told this

story:

> I managed to convince [my parents] that I could strike a balance and that I did not
>
> have a problem working [in the private sector]. They tried to advise me to seek a
>
> job in the public sector where the working hours are less and the salaries are
>
> better. But I did not mind working in the private sector. (Afra)

Although her parents did not think working in the private sector was the best idea, Afra was able

to convince them to allow her to accept a private sector position.

Two women (7%) had somewhat novel strategies for negotiating support for their

aspirations. Zamzam stated that she always obtained her father's approval first, and then relied

on him to convince her mother:

> I love sports so I decided to work in this field. At first, I talked to my father about
>
> it. I did not want to talk to my mother before talking to my father… I have never
>
> tried talking to my mother about something my father does not accept. I always

talk to her when I am sure I have his approval. (Zamzam)

Whereas Zamzam relied on her father to negotiate her mother's approval, Janna employed a somewhat more covert strategy by deciding to move ahead with her plans to participate in sports and tell her parents after arrangements had been made: "I just let them know it was already done. It is better than asking them for permission… This way they cannot refuse." Janna relied on the idea that if she had already begun an activity, her parents would not ask her to stop doing it. Overall, contrary to Komter's (1989) notion of women as passive recipients subject to the rules of powerful others, more than half the women in our sample relied on negotiation with those powerful others to pursue their goals.

Resistance to Gender Norms: Recognizing and Contesting Structural Constraints

Whereas the majority of women (19, 68%) adopted patriarchal norms and the accompanying limits on their aspirations and opportunities without appearing to be aware of the structural influences on their lives, there were examples of women who recognized and at times acted against those gendered norms (or invisible power as per Komter, 1989). In these cases, women knew what society expected of them and acknowledged the power those expectations had over women's life choices. This understanding led to frustration for about one third of the sample (9, 32%) who felt that women in Qatar were limited in their life choices and ambitions compared to men. Fatima said:

> I feel in Qatar, even when women have ambition, it is hard to really [develop
>
> themselves]. I mean even when they find a job, it is hard for…women to evolve.
>
> So, the situation of women here is very difficult. Our life is very complicated.
>
> (Fatima)

Alia agreed with Fatima, poignantly stating that "A man in Qatar, no matter what happens, he

stays free. A woman, I do not know. Regardless of how successful she is, she will never have

wings for herself." Thus, Fatima and Alia and women like them recognized the limitations

imposed on them by societal gender norms, and they struggled to reconcile these limitations with

their own ambitions for their future.

Most of the women who recognized the limitations women faced also felt powerless to

change their circumstances (N=6, 21% of the full sample). Iman said, "If [my husband refuses to

let me work], what else can I do?" Janna also felt this way: "You only have these two options.

Well, what happens if you do not want either? Not one? What do you do then?" Interestingly,

although Janna expressed this sentiment toward the end of her interview, earlier on she had

exhibited strong adherence to gendered norms which dictate that women are natural mothers,

indicating that it is possible for women to both be influenced by invisible power and to question

it at the same time. In any case, although Iman and Janna, and others like them, were aware of

limitations imposed and felt they were unfair, they often did not feel that there was a way to

change their lives to fit their aspirations. Hissah felt that "it is really hard to fight society and

your family to do what you believe in." Thus, some women recognized gendered social norms

which placed constraints on their lives and at times felt restricted by the expectations of those

around them.

About one-third of the women were outspoken about the challenges women in Qatar

experienced (9, 32%) in terms of freedom to make their own life choices, and they questioned

how the limitations on their aspirations have affected their well-being. Fatima said:

This is reality and [women] have to live with it every day. [A woman] should get

a job in a specific place, she should pursue a specific major, she should marry a

specific person, she should tolerate that person even if he is not the right man for

her, she should stay with him, and if she gets a divorce, she should live as a

burden on society and her parents. What kind of a life is that?... Only men are

becoming successful. What is it with this mentality? Till when will it remain?

(Fatima)

Although 32% (N=9) of women were explicitly opposed to restrictions on women, 39%

described ways in which they personally had engaged in behavior that challenged normative

gendered expectations. For example, Zamzam talked about the ways in which she has engaged in

behavior usually reserved for men:

I have done so many things that no other girl in my family would consider, let alone

do. I went to college, I participated in sports, and you know how girls never want

to participate in sports. They never go out to the street. (Zamzam)

Thus, many women, in their own ways, pushed against the gender norms which may limit women's

aspirations in Qatar, although not all of these women appeared to recognize that they were doing

so.

Two women explicitly acknowledged older women in their lives they felt had worked to

pave the way for Qatari women to expand their aspirations. Nuha talked about her mother whom

she felt had challenged gender norms regarding appropriate aspirations for women:

There were a lot of obstacles that [my mother] had to overcome. Even women

who were around her, they gave up to the reality. They all got married and some

just because of society and the parents. But my mom was always in the library

with her book. I mean, she believed that education is something important in a

human life. When she was promoted to higher positions in her work, women who

knew her did not reach what she reached, and it was because of her education.

They all feel proud of my mother now. (Nuha)

Some women, then, did recognize and challenge prevailing gender norms, revising the notion of invisible power as outlined by Komter (1989). Thus, some women functioned as "insiders" who were aware of the "invisible" structural constraints placed on other women whom they considered as "outsiders," although insider women often did not recognize how invisible power operated in their own lives. Overall, whether or not women recognized constraints on their own or other women's aspirations, all were impacted to some degree by gendered expectations for their behavior, their future plans, and their lives.

Discussion

The present paper is novel in its application of Komter's (1989) theory of manifest, latent, and invisible power to understand the influence of kin on young adult women's aspirations for higher education and employment in Qatar. We challenge Komter's idea that manifest and latent power operate passively, with women making no efforts to resist. Instead, we suggest that women use different types of negotiation to resist these forms of power and to achieve their goals. We also suggest that women often are aware of invisible power as it operates on *other women*, although they may not recognize its influence in their own lives, which questions Komter's (1989) assertion that invisible power is always unseen by those whom it influences. Whereas Komter (1989) recommended assessing inconsistencies in narratives as evidence of latent power operations, our analytic strategy of examining the narratives of "insider" women who describe the operation of invisible power on other women while practicing forms of self-restriction is a novel approach to uncover how invisible power operates in women's lives. This approach to examining the idea of invisible power raises a critical question about what it means to be "fully conscious" in gender unequal societies where power processes still

operate.

Among the women we interviewed, manifest power was evident in parents' restrictions on which university young women attended and on what major they chose to pursue, which was largely associated with the type of career for which the major would prepare women. Women illustrated the influence of latent power by indicating that although they were aware of the influences of kin on their choices, they did not feel that they could question or challenge those expectations. Instead, many women considered it to be easier to limit their aspirations themselves based on what they expected their parents would permit or their anticipated future husbands might accept. For example, many women chose majors that would lead to careers considered appropriate for women and which would likely result in their working in a gender segregated environment (Author Citation). Women stressed the importance of considering their future husbands' wishes, likely because almost all expected to marry soon after completing their education, making such considerations salient to their immediate future.

However, some women sometimes relied on active strategies of negotiation to achieve their goals and to work against both manifest and latent power. Women evidenced knowledge of invisible power in the form of internalized gender norms (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019; Gammage et al., 2016) about what is and is not appropriate for women; however, those who identified invisible power generally saw it as something that operated on other women rather than on themselves. This inability to identify how structural constraints may impact their own aspirations, while simultaneously being able to identify how others' aspirations are limited, highlights precisely how invisible power operates to constrain women's choices.

Although our findings corroborate those on the influence of parental approval and modeling on their children's aspirations (Khalifa, Alnuaim, Young, Marshall, & Popadiuk,

2018), we also find that expectations of a future husband's desires may have a strong influence. This finding is salient because it reveals the high price for marriage prospects that non-conforming women might pay when pursuing aspirations that are perceived to transgress gender norms. Whereas prior research has found that highly gender-structured countries may lag behind in educational aspirations and achievement (Shah, 2016), we find that the Qatari women we interviewed have a multitude of aspirations for higher education and employment. However, the women we interviewed also feel immense pressure to ensure that those pursuits align with societal gender norms about appropriate roles for women. This finding may be in part due to Qatari governmental policy encouraging education for both men and women (Felder & Vuollo, 2008) and in part by the availability of gender-segregated universities (Krause, 2009). Indeed, the majority of young women in Qatar (68%) are enrolled in university, with enrollment of women far outstripping that of men (World Economic Forum, 2020).

Studies of Muslim women in other contexts similarly have found women willing to fight for their career aspirations (Jelen, 2011), as some in our sample also were willing to do. Women may also be working within the social and structural constraints that exist in their society to achieve their goals (Charrad, 2010). Most women we interviewed, however, suggested they would defer to their future husbands' wishes when it came to career paths, self-limiting their options based on what they felt their parents or future husband *might* desire or reject. Also, whereas in some contexts career aspirations are limited explicitly by existing opportunities for women (Noureen, 2011), limitations in our sample appeared to be primarily self-imposed, in line with notions of latent power (Komter, 1989), although women did use negotiation as an active strategy to work toward achieving their goals. Although almost all women in our sample felt that they would not marry until after they completed their university education, they remained fearful

of the consequences of pursuing a gender-nonconforming career. Perceived consequences took the form of a loss of parental support and potential lack of marriageability. Yet, some women in our sample recognized and struggled against the limitations imposed on their aspirations. These women worked to challenge prevailing gender norms by negotiating in various ways with their parents and social institutions in an effort to pursue the majors and subsequent careers they desired.

Our findings add to the literature about familial and normative influences on young adult women's aspirations. We suggest that in settings such as Qatar, where rigid gender norms continue to operate (Salem & Yount, 2019), although they are potentially in flux (James-Hawkins et al., 2016), notions of appropriate femininity as held by parents and the culture generally heavily influence women's aspirations, often in the form of concerns about what decisions will be in line with the desires of future husbands. These factors, including parental concerns about their daughters being able to find suitable husbands, also likely influence parental choices about whether or not to restrict or to support their daughters' aspirations. Manifest and latent power appear to influence how young women's aspirations evolve. Invisible power also likely operates in the form of internalization of prevailing gender norms. However, we argue that invisible power is not always totally "invisible" to those it affects because women may see and acknowledge how it acts on other women. However, we are somewhat limited in our understanding of how power processes influence women's aspirations, in that invisible power is difficult to distinguish from women's choices to conform to prevailing gender norms. Still, some women did appear to recognize the prevailing gender structures and norms that governed their lives, and a few fought against that power to attain aspirations they had, which went against customary pathways for women in Qatar.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Some limitations to our analysis should be mentioned. First, we recruited only women attending college for our study, and 24 of the 28 women we interviewed (86%) attended a gender-segregated university in Qatar. It is important to note that the concentration of the sample at the one gender-segregated university in Qatar likely means that the women themselves and their families were highly likely to subscribe to prevailing gender roles for women. This orientation toward prevailing gender roles also was likely to influence the aspirations of the young women interviewed. Thus, the experiences and thoughts of women interviewed may not represent women who attended gender-mixed universities or women who did not attend university at all. However, research suggests little difference between the views of women who attend gender-segregated versus non-gender-segregated universities in Qatar (Mitchell, Paschyn, Mir, Pike, & Kane, 2015). Nonetheless, 68% of young women in Qatar today do enroll in university (Ministry of Development and Planning 2017a), and most of those women attend a gender-segregated university (General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2012). Future research would benefit from recruiting larger samples of women who are attending gender-mixed universities to see how their stories and aspirations may differ from those reported here.

Second, our data cannot be generalized beyond the sample of women we interviewed. However, given the high number of young adult women who attend a gender-segregated university, and the equally strong notions of appropriate femininity in Qatari culture, we suggest that our findings likely align with the thoughts of many young adult women in Qatar. Finally, although there was a project group involved in the analysis process which included Arab women living in Qatar, the majority of the actual coding was done by an American White woman, who was not living in Qatar, and this process may mean that some western views were overlayed into

the coding process. However, the project group met regularly and involved review and feedback from the group members which included Arab women living in Qatar. The Arab women living in Qatar participated closely in the interpretation process to check findings and ensure that a Qatari perspective was present in the analysis as it progressed.

Practice Implications

The different forms of power that exist in virtually all societies act on young adult women to limit their opportunities—directly, through self-regulation, or through structural constraints. Our paper has relevance for those working with young adult women to help them realize their aspirations, such as counselors or activists who are working to support women's mental health and to engage them in a process of discovering their authentic aspirations, including for education and career, if they choose. Individuals working in schools should be aware of the ways in which different types of power may influence women and help young women to identify and address how power shapes their future plans. Importantly, those working with young adult women should be aware that while young women sometimes can see how structural power works on others, it may be difficult for them to determine the ways in which prevailing norms and structural power may limit their own choices. This information also is useful for policymakers, who should consider how different policies may operate to sustain or to dismantle power structures that may disadvantage young women and prevent them from realizing their potential.

Conclusion

Opportunities for higher education and employment have increased dramatically for Qatari women. With major economic changes and a strategic shift towards a knowledge-based economy, women are needed more than ever to participate in the labor market and to take up

positions in a range of sectors. However, prevailing gender norms about respectable work for women and the ascribed characteristics of women that enhance marriageability are much slower to change (James-Hawkins et al., 2016). In the present study, we found that although women reported manifest power over educational and occupational choices, expressions of latent power also were apparent in the form of self-imposed limitations based on expected parental and a future husband's rejection. In addition, although many women held views that aligned with prevailing gender norms and acted accordingly, some women recognized the structural constraints imposed on women in Qatar. National strategies for women's empowerment need to take into account the impact of local gender norms on women's choices and on their willingness to take up available opportunities. Fear of censure and/or negative backlash may be powerful deterrents that undermine supportive national policies and legislation. More research is needed to elucidate the strategies by which women attempt to circumvent barriers to the fulfillment of their educational and career aspirations.

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Table 1
Participants' Characteristics

Pseudonym	Age	Aspirations for post-graduate education	Work aspirations	Desired age at marriage	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation
Afra	22	Yes	An Embassy	20–21	Military	Housewife
Aisha	20	Yes	Ministry/Public Institution	24	Retired Military	Housewife
Alia	19	Yes	School Principal	22	Retired	Teacher
Amna	24	Yes	Ministry/Ambassador	Unknown	Businessman	Retired Teacher
Badriah	21	Unknown	School	25–25	Deceased	Housewife
Dana	20	Yes	Social Worker	20–25	Retired Government	Housewife
Fatima	25	Yes	University or School	26–27	Government	Retired Librarian
Hanan	18	No	Ministry	Unknown	Military	Housewife
Hissah	19	Unknown	Unknown	21–23	Unknown	Businesswoman
Huda	20	No	Public Sector	23–24	Military	Housewife
Iman	18	No	Research Scientist	$\geq$18	Lawyer	Housewife
Janna	24	Yes	Unknown	24–25	Businessman	Secretary
Johara	24	Yes	Own Business	25–26	Military	Teacher
Khuloud	19	Yes	School	20–21	Businessman	Housewife
Layla	21	Yes	Ministry	19–21	Businessman	Housewife
Lolwa	20	Yes	Unknown	24–26	Businessman	Retired Nurse
Muna	20	Yes	Human Resources	20	Government	Retired Teacher
Najla	18	No	Private Sector (Oil)	22 or 23	Retired	Housewife
Njood	21	Yes	Government	$\geq$30	Retired	University Professor
Noof	22	Unknown	School or Ministry	22–23	Military	Housewife
Noora	22	Yes	Private Sector	23–25	Military	Retired Teacher
Nuha	24	Yes	Museum	$\geq$25	Military	Housewife
Rawdah	24	Yes	Ministry or Airline	25	Military	Housewife
Sabah	21	Yes	Ministry	21–25	Retired Government	Teacher
Sara	24	Yes	Public Sector or Own Business	$\geq$26	Retired Businessman	Retired Teacher
Shaha	18	No	Private Sector	22 or 23	Government	Housewife
Sheikha	23	Yes	Unknown	after BA	Retired Military	Housewife
Zamzam	19	Yes	School or Ministry	$\geq$22	Retired Businessman	Housewife

Table 2

Emerging Themes, Coding Description, Examples, and Frequency

Theme	Description	Example	Frequency
Manifest Power: Overt Restrictions on Women's Aspirations	Women identified direct limitations on their aspirations by their parents	"It would have been impossible for me to attend another university. All universities here in Qatar, besides [university name] are a mixed campus. It was my father's choice." (Alia)	10 (36%)
Latent Power: Self Limitations on Women's Aspirations—Expected Parental Restrictions	Women anticipated restrictions that may be placed on them by their parents and acted in accordance with those expectations	"Had I suggested a mixed place of work, [my parents] might have some reservations. They might say no. But...because it is not a mixed place of work, they cannot have any objection towards it." (Janna)	12 (43%)
Latent Power: Self Limitations on Women's Aspirations—Expected Future Husbands' Restrictions	Women anticipated restrictions that may be placed on them by their future husbands' and acted in accordance with those expectations	"They say that no man will marry you if you are a doctor. They will not want you." (Khuloud)	24 (86%)
Invisible Power: Internalization of Social Norms	Women's discussion of their own views in line with prevailing gender norms about appropriate aspirations for women	"When you have a family, even if your husband did not mind, you would find it wrong [to work]." (Afra)	19 (68%)
Resistance to Gender Norms: Negotiating Support for Aspirations	Women engaged in active negotiation with powerful others to achieve their desired goals	"I can always persuade [my parents]." (Alia)	16 (57%)
Resistance to Gender Norms: Recognizing and Contesting Structural Constraints	Women recognized the structural limitations placed on them by gendered social norms and sought to resist or change them	"I suspect that society cannot comprehend that women have their own rights as well and have the right to practice those rights." (Fatima)	9 (32%)

Interviewer Protocol

Kin Influences on Qatari Women's Transition in the Labor Force: A Panel Study Daughters' SSI Guide

A.   Introduction and Socio-demographic Information
    1)   Tell me about yourself – your name, your age…
        a)   Name_____
        b)   Age in years_____
    2)   What neighborhood do you live in now? How long have you lived there?
        a)   Neighborhood of current residence_____
        b)   Years lived in neighborhood of current residence_____
    3)   Can you tell me who the members of your family are? [If not covered, probe:] How many (younger/older) (brothers/sisters) do you have? Which siblings are engaged or married?
        a)   Father living / deceased_____
        b)   Mother living / deceased_____
        c)   Number of older brothers_____
        d)   Number of older sisters_____
        e)   Number of younger brothers_____
        f)   Number of younger sisters_____
        g)   Married younger/older brothers_____
        h)   Married younger/older sisters_____
    4)   Can you tell me a little bit about your parents' work? [If not covered, probe:] Do your parents work? What are their occupations? What are the household's (other) sources of income?
        a)   Father working/ not working_____
        b)   Father's occupation_____
        c)   Mother working/ not working_____
        d)   Mother's occupation_____

5) What is the highest educational level and grade you completed? Are you currently in school, technical college or university? Which one? What is your specialization, if any?
    a) Highest educational level_____
    b) Highest grade/year completed at that level_____
    c) Currently in/ out of education_____
    d) Current educational institution_____
    e) Specialization_____
6) Have you ever worked? What about now - I know you're not working, but are you currently looking for work?
    a) Ever worked/ not_____
    b) Currently looking for work/ not_____
7) Are you engaged in the milcha phase? Have you ever been engaged before?
    a) Currently in milcha / not in milcha_____
    b) Previously engaged before/ not_____

B. Future Ambitions
[Transition:] Now that I've gotten to know you a little bit, let's begin the in-depth questions. Feel free to take your time answering these questions.
1) First, I'd like to ask you about your hopes and ambitions for the future. What are all the things you'd like to do or achieve in the next 5 years?
   [Probe: What else would you like to achieve?]
2) [Probe: What about education? In the next 5 years, what would you like to achieve in your education?] What obstacles, if any, might there be in achieving your educational goals?
3) [Probe: What about work? In the next 5 years, what would you like to achieve in terms of work?] What obstacles, if any, might there be in achieving your work-related goals?
4) [Probe: What about marriage and children? In the next 5 years, what would you like to achieve with regards to marriage and children?] What obstacles, if any, might there be in achieving your goals in marriage and childbearing?
[Transition:] Now I'd like to learn more about your experiences and views on education…

C. Education
1) [For those currently in school:] What were all the reasons that you continued your education beyond the prior stage of schooling? [Probe: What made you decide not to stop school sooner?]

2) [For those not currently in school:] What were all the reasons for stopping your education when you did? [Probe: What were the reasons for not continuing to the next stage of education?]

3) [For those who went to post-secondary school]: What were all the reasons for selecting the post-secondary institution that you did? How important was going to a women-only institution to you and others who had a hand in the decision? [Probe: How did the decision for you to go to vocational college versus national university versus international university come about?]

4) Who has had a say in decisions about your education, and what has each person's opinion been, including your own? Whose opinion had the greatest weight/ influence in the end? What discussions, if any, took place around each educational decision you had to make, and did you participate in the discussions? [Probe: Why were you able/ unable to act on your opinion?]

5) Now I want to talk about Qatari women generally, not necessarily about you. What are the advantages for Qatari women to get university educations? What are the disadvantages for Qatari women to get university educations? [Examples for interviewer, do not read: make friends, social status, better job prospects, better marriage matches/ compromise reputation, narrower marriage possibilities]

[Transition:] Now I'd like to learn more about your experiences and views on employment…

D. Employment
Behaviors

1) [For those who have ever worked:] You told me earlier that you worked in the past - can you tell me more about this job or internship? [Probe: When, where, and for how long did you work? How did you get the job?]

2) [For those who have ever worked:] How did the decision for you to work come about? Who had a say in this decision, and what was each person's opinion, including your own? Whose opinion had the greatest weight/ influence in the end? What discussions, if any, took place around this decision, and who participated in the discussions? [Probe: Why were you able/ unable to act on your opinion?]

3) [For those who have ever worked:] What, if anything, had you heard about the reputation of the workplace you worked at before you started your employment there? What counts as a 'good reputation' in your opinion? Was the workplace you worked at gender segregated? How did these two factors (reputation and gender segregation) affect the decision to work there? Why was each of these factors important/ not important to you or to others?

4) [For those currently searching for employment:] How long have you been searching for work? How did you go about searching for a job/ where did you search?

5) [For those currently searching for employment:] How did the decision for you to look for a job come about? Who had a say in this decision, and what was each person's opinion, including your own? Whose opinion had the greatest weight/ influence in the end? What discussions, if any, took place around this decision, and who participated in the discussions? [Probe: Why were you able/ unable to act on your opinion?]

6) [For those currently searching for employment:] In your job search, how important is it for you that a potential workplace has a good reputation? What counts as a 'good reputation' in your opinion? How important is it to you that a potential workplace is gender segregated? Would either of these two factors (reputation and gender segregation) affect your decision to accept a job? How and why?

7) [For those not currently searching for employment:] Have you ever considered looking for a job or internship for the present, and why or why not?

8) [For those not currently searching for employment, AND not currently in school:] How did the decision for you (not) to look for a job come about? Who had a say in this decision, and what was each person's opinion, including your own? Whose opinion had the greatest weight/ influence in the end? What discussions, if any, took place around this decision, and who participated in the discussions? [Probe: Why were you able/ unable to act on your opinion?]

9) [For those not currently searching for employment:] If you were to look for a job someday, how important would it be for you that a potential workplace has a good reputation? What counts as a 'good reputation' in your opinion? How important would it be to you that a potential workplace is gender segregated? Would either of these two factors (reputation and gender segregation) affect your decision to accept a job? How and why?

10) (Apart from the past job/ internship that you told me about / Apart from the job search you're doing now), have you ever searched for a job, and if so, can you tell me more about it? [Probe: When was this? How long did you search? How did you go about searching for a job/ where did you search? What was the outcome?]

11) [For those who ever searched for employment in the past:] In your job search, how important was it for you that a potential workplace had a good reputation? What counts as a 'good reputation' in your opinion? How important was it to you that a potential workplace was gender segregated?Would/ did either of these two factors (reputation and gender segregation) affect your decision to accept a job? How and why?

Attitudes

12) At this stage in your life, what would the advantages and disadvantages of being employed be for you?

13) In your opinion, what are the advantages, if any, of working for unmarried Qatari women? [Examples for interviewer, do not read: make friends, make connections, keep busy, social status, income, better marriage matches, other.] What about the advantages for married women?

14) If you were to get a job someday, which of these advantages would you get from working, and why or why not?

15) In your opinion, what are the disadvantages, if any, of working for unmarried Qatari women? [Examples for interviewer, do not read: make friends, make connections, keep busy, social status, income, better marriage matches, other.] Do you think unmarried Qatari women should work? Why or why not? What about the disadvantages of work for married women? Do you think married Qatari women should work? Why or why not?

16) [If not mentioned above, probe:] How easy or hard is it for married women to combine (waffaa ma bein) work and family? Why or why not? [Probe: Does this depend on the job, [Examples for interviewer, do not read: its hours, its location?], and if so, how? Does this depend on the woman, [Examples for interviewer, do not read: rich, poor; children, no children?], and if so, how?]

17) To what extent should husbands take on more responsibility in the home when their wives work? Why or why not? [Probe: To what extent should the husbands of working women oversee (or do) more of the housework, or take a bigger role in looking after the children?]

18) If a married woman wants to work, what would the ideal timing of her employment be with regards to having children? [Probe: Do you think she should work before, during, or after having young children, and why or why not?]

19) If a married woman wants to work, what would the ideal sector of work or ideal occupation be for her? Why?

20) If a married woman wants to work, do you think she should have to get her husband's permission first? Why or why not? What about an unmarried woman – should she have to get someone's permission before working? Why or why not?

21) In your opinion, what should women who are working do with their earnings? Who do you think should control the earnings of married and unmarried working women? [Probe: Who should control the earnings of unmarried women? What are your reasons for saying (person mentioned)?Who should control the earnings of married women? What are your reasons for saying (person mentioned)?]

22) What do you think of Qatari women who work in workplaces with both men and women? [Probe: Why do you think so? What are the advantages and disadvantages of working in a mixed gender workplace? Examples for interviewer, do not read: meet marriage partners, endanger her reputation, reduce her marriageability, antagonize her family, other.] Does your opinion depend on whether the woman is married or unmarried?

23) In your opinion, what do other Qataris think about women who work in gender mixed workplaces? Do their views on gender mixed workplaces depend on whether the woman is married or unmarried?

24) [For those who are currently working in a gender mixed workplace:] How (if at all) do you think working in a gender mixed workplace affects your life

[Examples for interviewer, do not read: meet marriage partners, endanger her reputation, reduce her marriageability, antagonize her family, other.]? Why does it affect your life? How do your family members feel about your employment in a workplace that is gender mixed? Why do they feel this way?

25) [For those who are not currently working in a gender mixed workplace:] If you were presently employed in a workplace that was gender mixed, how (if at all) do you think this would affect your life [Examples for interviewer, do not read: meet marriage partners, endanger her reputation, reduce her marriageability, antagonize her family, other.]? How and why would it affect your life? How do you think your family members would feel about your employment in a workplace that was gender mixed? Why would they feel this way?

26) If you were to get a/another job in the future, how do you think your life would be affected by working in a gender mixed environment [Examples for interviewer, do not read: meet marriage partners, endanger her reputation, reduce her marriageability, antagonize her family, other.]? Do you think this would differ according to whether you were married or not? How and why would it differ?

27) Tell me about the employment of your closest female relatives [Probe regarding her mother and older sisters]. [For each relative mentioned:] How do you think (name's) employment/ lack of employment affected her life? [Probe]

28) What jobs are usually taken up by men in Qatar, but are rarely taken up by women? Which of your close female relatives, if any, have jobs that are usually done by men in Qatar, like (masculine job mentioned above)? [Probe regarding her mother and older sisters] [For each relative mentioned:] What do you think of her decision to pursue this occupation? How do you think (name's) occupation affected her life, if at all? [Probe]

Aspirations

29) [If not mentioned above, probe:] Thinking of your future, would you like to work before marriage? Why or why not?

30) [If respondent wants to work before marriage:] What would your ideal job be before marriage? [Examples for interviewer, do not read: self-employed or regular employment; occupation, sector, income; hours, location; gender of employees] [Probe: What are the characteristics of a good job for you?]

31) Would you like to work after marriage? Why or why not?

32) [If respondent wants to work after marriage:] What would your ideal job be after marriage? [Examples for interviewer, do not read: self-employed or regular employment; occupation, sector, income; hours, location; gender of employees]

33) [If respondent wants to work in the future:] Thinking of your future, what factors would help you to secure (a) job(s) like your ideal job(s)? What factors might prevent you from securing (a) job(s) like your ideal job(s)?

34) [If respondent wants to work after marriage:] Would you like to work continuously, or would you like to stop permanently or temporarily once you have children? If yes, when would you like to stop/ start again, and why?

35) [If respondent wants to work after marriage:] Thinking of your future, do you think you will be able to realize this aspiration about the timing of your work? Why or why not? What do you think you're likely to do in terms of working during childrearing?

[Transition:] Now I'd like to talk a little bit about marriage and children…

E. Marriage and childbearing
Behaviors

1) [For those who were previously engaged:] Tell me about your previous engagement: how long did it last and why did it end? Who had a say in the decision to end the engagement, and what was each person's opinion, including your own? Whose opinion had the greatest weight/ influence in the end? What discussions, if any, took place around this decision, and who participated in the discussions? [Probe: Why were you able/ unable to act on your opinion?]

2) [For those who are currently engaged:] Tell me about your current engagement: Since when have you been engaged in the milcha phase? How did your groom approach you or your family? [Probe: Was it through family members, through friends, through you, or on his own?]

3) Who, if anyone, sought your opinion about whether to accept his proposal, and if so, what was your opinion? Who had a say in the decision to accept his proposal or not, and what was each person's opinion, including your own? Whose opinion had the greatest weight/ influence in the end? What discussions, if any, took place around this decision, and who participated in the discussions? [Probe: Why were you able/ unable to act on your opinion?]

4) Can you tell me about any negotiations between the groom's side and your side about your education, your work, conditions for divorce, or other matters in your marriage? Were any of these conditions written in your marriage contract?

5) [For those not previously or currently engaged:] Have you ever received any marriage proposals? If yes, who had a say in the decision to reject these proposals, and what was each person's opinion, including your own? Whose opinion had the greatest weight/ influence in the end? What discussions, if any, took place around this decision, and who participated in the discussions? [Probe:] Why were you able/ unable to act on your opinion?

Attitudes

6) What is the ideal age for a girl in your circumstances to marry? What are all the reasons why this age is ideal?

7) For a girl in your circumstances, what is the ideal age to have the first child?, What are all the reasons why this age is ideal? What is the ideal number of children, and why?

8) When a girl in circumstances like your own gets engaged or married, how important is it for her to negotiate her education, her work, her education, and conditions for divorce with her groom? Why or why not? [Probe: What other

matters should she negotiate with her groom?][Probe: What conditions about divorce should be written into the marriage contract, if any? Why or why not?]

[Transition:] Finally I'd like to talk a little bit about your day to day life…

F. Agency

Spatial Mobility

1)   On a typical day, where are all the places that you go? [Probe:] Where else?

2)   To which of these places do you go freely, require consultation or permission, or require accompaniment? How do you decide whether to consult or take permission or not?

3)   To what places locally would you like to go, but haven't been? Why not? [Probe:] To what places locally can you only go at certain times of day or only with certain people?

4)   To what places internationally would you like to go but haven't been? Why not?

5)   Do you have a driver's license, and if so, how long have you had your driver's license, and how often do you yourself drive?

Economic Decision-making

6)   What are all the things that you own (on your own or jointly) that are of value? If you wanted to sell one of these things, from whom would you need to get permission or to consult with before selling it? Why or why not?

7)   Do you have any spending money of your own, and if so, from where do you get it? Can you tell me about the last time you received spending money? [Probe: Who gave it to you? What did you spend it on? From whom did you have to get permission or to consult before spending it?][Probe: Is this typical is this example of how you spend your money?]

Local Terms and Indicators of Women's Agency

8)   What are all the ways that a woman shows that she's in control of her life? [Probe:] How does a woman behave / what are all the things a woman can do when she is not maghlubah 'ala amraha/ maksurat el jinah?

تأثير الأهل على انتقال المرأة القطرية إلى سوق العمل: دراسة نقاشية

دليل ------------ البنات

أ. مقدمة ومعلومات اجتماعية ديموغرافية

1. عرفي بنفسك – اسمك وعمرك ...
   a. الاسم ------------------------
   b. العمر ------------------------

2. ما اسم الحي الذي تعيشين فيه ومنذ متى وأنت تعيشين فيه؟
   a. الحي الذي تسكن به حالياً ---------------------------
   b. السنوات التي عشتها في هذا الحي --------------------

3. هل يمكنك أن تخبريني من هم أفراد أسرتك؟ [إذا لم يتعرض لها المستجيب فلتفسر الاجابة] كم لديك من الإخوة/الأخوات الأصغر/ الأكبر منك؟ من من هؤلاء مخطوبة أو متزوجة؟
   a. الأب على قيد الحياة/ متوفي ----------------------------
   b. الأم على قيد الحياة/ متوفية ----------------------------
   c. عدد الإخوة الأكبر سناً ----------------------------
   d. عدد الأخوات الأكبر سناً ----------------------------
   e. عدد الإخوة الأصغر سناً ----------------------------
   f. عدد الأخوات الأصغر سناً ----------------------------
   g. الإخوة الأصغر/الأكبر المتزوجون ----------------------------
   h. الأخوات الأصغر/الأكبر المتزوجات ----------------------------

4. هل يمكنك أن تعطيني بعض المعلومات عن عمل والديك؟ [إذا لم يتعرض لها المستجيب فلتفسر الإجابة] هل يعمل والدك؟ ما هي الأعمال التي يمتهنانها؟ وما هي مصادر الدخل الأخرى للأسرة؟
   a. الأب يعمل/ لا يعمل ----------------------
   b. عمل الأب ----------------------
   c. الأم تعمل/ لا تعمل ----------------------
   d. عمل الأم ----------------------

5. ما هو أعلى مؤهل تعليمي أو أعلى صف دراسي/سنة دراسية وصلت إليه؟ هلأت الآن في المدرسة أم في كلية تقنية أم في الجامعة؟ وما هو تخصصك، إن وجد؟
   a. أعلى مستوى تعليمي ----------------------
   b. أعلى صف دراسي/سنة دراسية وصلت إليها في ذلك المستوى ----------------------
   c. حالياً في / خارج النظام التعليمي ----------------------------

d. المؤسسة التعليمية الحالية -------------------------------

e. التخصص -------------------------------

6. هل سبق لك العمل؟ وماذا عن الآن – أعلم أنك لا تعملين الآن ولكن هل تبحثين عن عمل الآن؟

a. سبق لي العمل/ لا لم يسبق لي أن عملت -------------------------------

b. حالياً أبحث عن عمل/ لا أبحث عن عمل -------------------------------

7. هل أنت مخطوبة؟ هل سبق لك أن خطبت من قبل؟

a. حالياً في الملكة/ لا لست في مرحلة الملكة -------------------------------

b. سبق لي أن خطبت من قبل/ لا لم يسبق لي أن خطبت من قبل -------------------------------

| | ب. الطموحات المستقبلية |

[انتقال] الآن وبعد أن تعرفت إليك قليلاً لنبدأ في الأسئلة المعمقة. لك الحرية في أخذ الوقت المطلوب للإجابة على هذه الأسئلة

1. أولاً، أود أن أسألك عن تطلعاتك وطموحاتك للمستقبل. ما هي الأشياء التي تودين عملها أو تحقيقها في السنوات الخمس القادمة؟
   [استفسر: ما هي الأشياء الأخرى التي تودين تحقيقها؟]

2. [استفسر: وماذا عن التعليم؟ في السنوات الخمس المقبلة، ما الذي تودين تحقيقه في مجال تعليمك؟] وما هي العوائق، إن وجدت، التي يمكن أن تقف في وجه تحقيقك لأهدافك التعليمية؟

3. [استفسر: وماذا عن العمل؟ في السنوات الخمس المقبلة، ما الذي تودين تحقيقه في مجال العمل؟] وما هي العوائق، إن وجدت، التي يمكن أن تقف في وجه تحقيقك لأهدافك في مجال العمل؟

4. [استفسر: وماذا عن الزواج والأطفال؟ في السنوات الخمس المقبلة، ما الذي تودين تحقيقه فيما يتعلق بالزواج والأطفال؟] ما هي العوائق، إن وجدت، التي يمكن أن تقف في وجه تحقيقك لأهدافك فيما يتعلق بالزواج والأطفال؟

[انتقال] الآن أريد أن أعرف المزيد عن خبراتك وآرائك حول التعليم ....

| | ج. التعليم |

1. [لمن هن حالياً في المدرسة] ما هي الأسباب التي ساعدتك على الاستمرار في الدراسة بعد المرحلة الدراسية السابقة؟ [استفسر: ما الذي جعلك تقررين عدم التوقف من قبل؟]

2. [لمن لسن في المدرسة حالياً] ما هي الأسباب التي دعتك للتوقف في دراستك في المستوى الذي توقفت فيه؟ [استفسر: ما هي الأسباب وراء عدم الاستمرار في التعليم حتى المرحلة التعليمية التالية؟]

3. [لمن التحقن بالتعليم ما بعد الثانوي] ما هي الأسباب وراء اختيارك للمؤسسة التعليمية التي تدرسين بها الآن؟ ما هي أهمية الذهاب إلى مؤسسة تعليمية للبنات فقط بالنسبة لك وبالنسبة لمن كان له دور في اتخاذ هذا القرار؟ [استفسر: كيف تم اتخاذ قرار ذهابك إلى كلية مهنية أو جامعة وطنية أو جامعة دولية؟]

4. من كان له دور في القرارات المتعلقة بتعليمك وماذا كان رأي كل واحد من هؤلاء بما في ذلك رأيك أنت؟ من كان لرأيه الدور الحاسم أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، إن وجدت، التي تمت حول كل قرار تعليمي كان عليك اتخاذه وهل كان لك مشاركة في تلك النقاشات؟ [استفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ رأيك؟]

5. والآن أريد أن أتحدث عن المرأة القطرية بشكل عام وليس بالضرورة عنك أنت. ما هي المزايا التي تنالها المرأة القطرية من الحصول على تعليم جامعي؟ وما هي العيوب التي تحصل عليها المرأة القطرية من الحصول على تعليم جامعي؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: تكوين صداقات، المكانة الاجتماعية، مستقبل وظيفي أفضل، فرص زواج أفضل/ تضحية بالسمعة، فرص ضئيلة للزواج]

[انتقال] الآن أريد أن أعرف المزيد خبراتك وآرائك حول العمل ...

د. العمل

السلوكيات

1. [لمن □بق لهن العمل] أخبرتني □ابقاً أك□بق لك أن عملت ─ هل يمكن أن تخبريني المزيد عن هذه الوظيفة أو العمل؟ [□تفسر: متى وأين ولمدة كم عملت؟ كيف حصلت على العمل؟]

2. [لمن □بق لهن العمل] كيف تم اتخاذ قرا□ انخراطك في العمل؟ من كان له دو□ في اتخاذ ذلك القرا□ وماذا كان□ أي كل واحد من هؤلاء بما في ذلك□أت؟ من كان لرأيه الدو□ الحا□م أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، إن وجدت، التي تمت حول هذا القرا□ ومن شا□□ في تلك النقاشات؟ [□تفسر: لماذا كنت قاد□ة/غير قاد□ة على تنفيذ□أيك؟]

3. [لمن يبحثن حالياً عن عمل] منذ متى وأ□ت تبحثين عن عمل؟ كيف قمت بعملية البحث عن عمل/ أين بحثت تحديداً؟

4. لمن يبحثن حالياً عن عمل] كيف تم اتخاذ القرا□ الخاص ببدء البحث عن عمل؟ من كان له دو□ في هذا القرا□ وماذا كان□ أي كل من هؤلاء بما في ذلك□أيك□أت؟ من كان لرأيه الدو□ الحا□م أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، إن وجدت، التي تمت حول هذا القرا□ ومن شا□□ في تلك النقاشات؟ [□تفسر: لماذا كنت قاد□ة/غير قاد□ة على تنفيذ□أيك؟]

5. [لمن يبحثن حالياً عن عمل] هل فكرت في البحث عن عمل أو ت□□يب في الوقت الحاضر؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟

6. [لمن لا يبحثن حالياً عن عمل ولسن حالياً في المد□ة] كيف تم اتخاذ قرا□ عدم البحث عن عمل؟ من كان له الدو□ الأكبر في هذا القرا□ وماذا كان□أي كل من هؤلاء بما في ذلك□أيك□أت؟ من كان لرأيه الدو□ الحا□م أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، إن وجدت، التي تمت حول هذا القرا□ ومن شا□□ في تلك النقاشات؟ [□تفسر: لماذا كنت قاد□ة/غير قاد□ة على تنفيذ□أيك؟]

7. (بعيداً عن العمل السابق الذي أخبرتني عنه/ بعيداً عن البحث عن العمل الذي تقومين به الآن) هل□□بق لك أن بحثت عن عمل، وإن كان الأمر كذلك، فهل يمكنك أن تخبريني عن ذلك؟ [□تفسر: متى كان ذلك؟ كم من الوقت □تغرقت في البحث؟ كيف قمت بالبحث عن عمل/ أين بحثت؟ وماذا ك□ات النتيجة؟]

المواقف والاتجاهات

8. في هذه المرحلة من حياتك، ما هي المزايا والعيوب في□أيك لأن يكون الشخص يعمل؟

9. في□أيك ما هي المزايا، إن وجدت، في العمل بالنسبة للمرأة القطرية غير المتزوجة؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: تكوين صداقات، تكوين علاقات، تجعل الإ□سان مشغولاً بشيء ما، مكا□ة اجتماعية، دخل، فرص زواج أفضل، أخرى] وماذا عن المزايا بالنسبة للمرأة المتزوجة؟

10. إذا قد□ لك أن تحصلي على عمل في يوم ما، أي من هذه المزايا□تحصلين عليها من العمل، لم؟ ولم لا؟

11. في□أيك، ما هي العيوب، إن وجدت، الناتجة عن عمل المرأة القطرية غير المتزوجة؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: تكوين صداقات، تكوين علاقات، تجعل الإ□سان مشغولاً بشيء ما، مكا□ة اجتماعية، دخل، فرص زواج أفضل، أخرى] هل تعتقدين□أ□ه ينبغي على المرأة القطرية غير المتزوجة أن تعمل؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟ وماذا عن العيوب الناتجة عن عمل المرأة المتزوجة؟ هل تعتقدين أن على المرأة القطرية المتزوجة أن تعمل؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟

12. [إذا لم يكن قد ذكر □ابقاً ف□□تفسر] هل التوفيق بين العمل والأ□رة أمر □هل أم صعب بالنسبة للمرأة المتزوجة □فسه؟ لم؟ لم لا؟ [□تفسر: هل يعتمد هذا على طبيعة العمل□فسه؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: □اعات العمل، موقع العمل] وإذا كان الأمر كذلك فكيف؟ هل هذا يعتمد على المرأة□فسها، [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: غنية، فقيرة، لديها أطفال، ليس لديها أطفال] وإن كان ذلك كذلك فكيف؟

13. إلى أي مدى ينبغي على الأزواج تحمل مسؤولية أكبر في البيت عندما تكون الزوجة تعمل؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟ [□تفسر: إلى أي مدى ينبغي على أزواج النساء العاملات الإشراف أو عمل المزيد من أشغال المنزل أو تحمل مسؤولية في□عاية الأطفال؟

14. لو أن امرأة متزوجة تريد أن تعمل ما هو التوقيت الأ□سب لعملها فيما يتعلق بالأطفال؟ [□تفسر: هل تعتقدين□أ□ها يجب أن تعمل قبل أن يكون لديها أطفال صغا□ أو أثناء ذلك أو بعد ذلك؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟

15. لو أن امرأة متزوجة تريد أن تعمل ما هو المجال الأ□سب لعملها أو العمل الأ□سب لها؟ لماذا؟

16. لو أن امرأة متزوجة تريد أن تعمل هل تعتقدين□أ□ها ينبغي أن تحصل على إذن زوجها أولاً؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟ وماذا عن المرأة غير المتزوجة ─ هل ينبغي عليها الحصول على إذن من شخص ما قبل أن تعمل؟ لم؟ لم لا؟

17. في رأيك، ماذا ينبغي على المرأة العاملة أن تعمل بالمال الذي تكسبه؟ من برأيك ينبغي أن يتحكم في المال الذي تكسبه المرأة العاملة المتزوجة وغير المتزوجة؟ [⬜تفسر: من ينبغي أن يتصرف في المال الذي تكسبه المرأة العاملة غير المتزوجة؟] وما هي الأ⬜باب التي تجعلك تقولين (الشخص الذي ذكر)؟ ما هي الأ⬜باب التي تجعلك تقولين (الشخص الذي ذكر)؟

18. ما⬜أيك بالمرأة القطرية التي تعمل في مكان مختلط؟ [⬜تفسر: ولماذا تنظرين لها بهذه الطريقة؟ ما هي المزايا والعيوب للعمل في مكان مختلط؟]

19. من فضلك أخبريني عن عمل أقرب⬜ثى من أقربائك [⬜تفسر حول أمها أو أختها الكبرى]. [لكل شخص قريب ذكر] كيف ترين أن عمل (⬜م الشخص الذي ذكر) أو عدم عمله قد أثر في حياتها؟ [⬜تفسر]

20. ما هي الوظائف التي عادة ما يستحوذ عليها الرجال في قطر ولكنها⬜ا⬜اً ما تتواجد فيها النساء؟ مَن مِن أقربائك المقربين، إن وجد، لديها عمل عادة ما يزاوله الرجال في قطر مثل (مهنة⬜جالية ذكرت⬜ابقاً)؟ [⬜تفسر حول أمها وأختها الكبرى] [لكل شخص قريب ذكر] ما⬜أيك في قرا⬜ها الا⬜تمرا⬜ في عملها؟ كيف ترين أن عمل (⬜م الشخص الذي ذكر) قد أثر في حياتها، إن كان هنا⬜ تأثير أصلاً؟ [⬜تفسر]

تطلعات

21. [⬜تفسر إن لم يكن قد ذكر ⬜ابقاً] عندما تفكرين في مستقبلك هل تريدين أن تعملي قبل الزواج؟ لم؟ لم لا؟

22. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل قبل الزواج] ما هي الوظيفة المثالية التي تريدين العمل فيها قبل الزواج؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: عمل حر أو عمل عادي، المهنة، المجال، الدخل، ⬜اعات العمل، مكان العمل، جنس الموظفين الآخرين] [⬜تفسر: ما هي مواصفات الوظيفة الجيدة بالنسبة لك؟]

23. هل تودين العمل بعد الزواج؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟

24. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل بعد الزواج] ما هي الوظيفة المثالية التي تريدين العمل فيها بعد الزواج؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: عمل حر، أم عمل عادي، المهنة، المجال، الدخل، ⬜اعات العمل، مكان العمل، جنس الموظفين الآخرين]

25. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل في المستقبل] عندما تفكرين في مستقبلك، ما هي العوامل التي⬜تساعد⬜ في الحصول على وظيفة أو وظائف تمثل وظيفة مثالية بالنسبة لك؟ وما هي العوامل التي قد تمنعك من الحصول على وظيفة تمثل وظيفة مثالية بالنسبة لك؟

26. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل بعد الزواج] هل تريدين العمل بشكل متواصل أم⬜أك تريدين أن تتوقفي كلياً أو مؤقتاً بعد أن يكون لديك أطفال؟ إذا كا⬜ت الإجابة بنعم فمتى تريدين أن تتوقفي/ أن تبدئي مجدداً ولماذا؟

27. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل بعد الزواج] عندما تفكرين في مستقبلك، هل تعتقدين⬜أك قاد⬜ة على تحقيق هذا التطلع الخاص بتوقيت العمل؟

[⬜تقال] الآن أ⬜يد أن أتحدث قليلاً حول الزواج والأطفال ...

هـ. الزواج والأطفال

السلوكيات

1. [لمن كن مخطوبات ⬜ابقاً] أخبريني عن خطوبتك السابقة: كم ⬜اتمرت ولماذا⬜تهت؟ من كان له دو⬜ في قرا⬜إهاء الخطوبة وماذا كان⬜أي كل من هؤلاء بما في ذلك⬜أيك⬜أت؟ من كان لرأيه الدو⬜ الحا⬜م أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، إن وجدت، التي تمت حول هذا القرا⬜ ومن الذي شا⬜⬜ في هذه النقاشات؟ [⬜تفسر: لماذا كنت قاد⬜ة/غير قاد⬜ة على تنفيذ⬜أيك؟]

2. [لمن هن مخطوبات حالياً] أخبريني عن خطوبتك الحالية: منذ متى و⬜أت مخطوبة؟ كيف توصل الخاطب إليك أو إلى أ⬜رتك؟ [⬜تفسر: هل كان ذلك عن طريق أفراد الأ⬜رة، أصدقاء، من خلالك⬜أت، أم قام بذلك بمفرده؟]

3. هل هناك من طلبك/أبك فيما إذا كنت توافقين على هذه الخطبة؟ ومن هو إن وجد؟ وإن كان الأمر كذلك ماذا كان/أبك؟ من كان له دور في قرار قبول الخطبة من عدمه وماذا كان/أي كل من هؤلاء بما في ذلك/أبك/أت؟ من كان له الرأي الحاسم أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، إن وجدت، التي تمت حول هذا القرار ومن الذي شارك في هذه النقاشات؟ [تفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ/أبك؟]

4. هل يمكنك أن تخبريني عن أي مفاوضات تمت بين أسرة العريس وأسرتك حول تعليمك وعملك وشروط الطلاق أو أي أمور أخرى تتعلق بزواجك؟ وهل تم تضمين أي من هذه الشروط في وثيقة عقد الزواج؟

5. [لمن لم يسبق لهن الخطبة ولسن مخطوبات حالياً] هل سبق لك أن حصلت على أي عرض للزواج؟ إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، فمن كان له دور في قرار رفض هذه العروض وماذا كان/أي كل من هؤلاء بما في ذلك/أبك/أت؟ من كان لرأيه الدور الحاسم أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، التي تمت حول هذا القرار ومن الذي شارك في هذه النقاشات؟ [تفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ/أبك؟]

المواقف والاتجاهات

6. ما هو العمر المثالي للزواج بالنسبة لفتاة في مثل ظروفك؟ ما هي الأسباب التي تجعل من هذا العمر مثالياً؟

7. بالنسبة لفتاه في مثل ظروفك، ما هو العمر المثالي للحصول على أول طفل؟ ما هي الأسباب التي تجعل من هذا العمر مثالياً؟ ولماذا؟

8. عندما تخطب فتاة في مثل ظروفك أو تتزوج ما تتزوج ما أهمية التفاوض بينها وبين العريس حول تعليمها، وعملها، وشروط الطلاق؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟ [تفسر: ما هي الأمور الأخرى التي ينبغي أن تتفاوض حولها مع العريس؟] [تفسر: ما هي شروط الطلاق، إن وجدت، التي ينبغي أن تكتب في وثيقة العقد؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟

[انتقال] وأخيراً أود أن تتحدث قليلاً حول أمور حياتك اليومية ...

و. الفاعلية والمشاركة

الحركة المكانية

1. في اليوم العادي ماهي الأماكن التي تذهبين إليها؟ [تفسر: هل هناك أماكن أخرى؟]

2. إلى أي من هذه الأماكن تذهبين بحرية، أو تحتاجين إلى مشاورة أو إذن، أو تحتاجين إلى مرافق؟ كيف تقررين ما إذا كنت تريدين المشورة أو أخذ الإذن أو لا؟

3. ما هي الأماكن المحلية التي تودين الذهاب إليها ولكنك لم تذهبين إليها بعد؟ ولم لا؟ [تفسر] ما هي الأماكن المحلية التي يمكنك الذهاب إليها فقط في أوقات محددة خلال اليوم أو فقط مع أشخاص محددين؟

4. ما هي الأماكن العالمية التي تودين الذهاب إليها ولكنك لم تذهبين إليها بعد؟ ولم لا؟

5. هل لديك رخصة قيادة؟ وإن كان لديك ذلك، منذ متى وأنت لديك هذه الرخصة وكم عدد المرات التي تقومين/أت بقيادة السيارة؟

اتخاذ القرار الاقتصادي

6. ما هي الأشياء التي تملكينها (بمفردك أو بالشراكة) والتي تعد ذات قيمة؟ إن أردت بيع أي من هذه الممتلكات ممن تحتاجين إلى أخذ الإذن أو الاستشارة قبل بيعها؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟

7. هل لديك مال للإنفاق خاص بك، وإن كان الأمر كذلك، من أين تحصلين على هذا المال؟ هل يمكنك أن تخبريني عن آخر مرة حصلت على مال للإنفاق؟ [تفسر: من أعطاك ذلك المال؟ على ماذا أنفقت ذلك المال؟ ممن كان ينبغي عليك الحصول على إذن أو استشارة قبل إنفاق ذلك المال؟] [تفسر: هل ما ذكرته في هذا المثال هو ما تقومين به بشكل دائم؟]

الشروط المحلية والمؤشرات على فاعلية ومشاركة المرأة

8. ما هي الطرق التي يمكن للمرأة أن تظهر من خلالها بأنها هي من يتدبر أمر نفسها؟ [تفسر:] كيف تتصرف المرأة / ما هي كافة الأمور التي يمكن للمرأة أن تقوم بها حين لا تكون مغلوبة على أمرها أو مكسورة الجناح؟