

The Patriarchal Bargain in a Context of Rapid Changes to Normative Gender Roles:

Young Arab Women's Role Conflict in Qatar

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Abstract

Social norms in patriarchal countries in the Middle East are changing at differing rates. In Qatar, expectations about education have shifted, and women's participation in higher education is normative. However, women's participation in the workforce remains relatively low, and women still are expected to perform all household and child-rearing activities. Interviews with 27 18-25 year-old Qatari women enrolled in college in Qatar are used to illustrate the conflict between norms about education, workforce, and family. Many young women resolve this normative conflict by giving preference to family over work and education. Other women hold conflicting norms and goals for their future without acknowledging the normative conflict. Overall, young women in this sample feared divorce, were uncertain about customary family safety nets, and thus desired financial independence so they would be able to support themselves if they are left alone later in life due to divorce, or the death of their husband. The Qatari government should revisit the appropriateness of continuing to emphasize the patriarchal family structure and socially conservative family norms, if they desire to advance women in their society.

Keywords: Emerging Adulthood, Islam, Middle East, Patriarchy, Qualitative Research, Sex Roles, Social Norms, Transition to Adulthood,

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Norms about women's participation in the labor force are changing as a result of the demands of a global marketplace (Baki, 2004; Mills, 2003). Currently, wealthy countries in the Gulf with small native populations rely heavily on imported labor (Forstenlechner & Rutledge, 2010), and governments in these countries want to increase the number of their native population participating in the labor force. One way governments have worked to achieve this increase is to encourage women to pursue education and find employment (Jakobsen, 2010; Kapiszewski, 2006). This strategy can be problematic for oil-rich Islamic countries with conservative, strongly patriarchal social structures when education leads women to desire to increase their engagement in collective action (Ross, 2008). Women often learn about career options in college despite their participation in higher education being framed in the general populace as a tool to make women better wives and mothers (Ross, 2008). Patriarchal Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC) rely on family structures with a gendered division of labor, wherein men function as breadwinners and women as homemakers (Kandiyoti, 1988; Moghadam, 2003, 2005). This arrangement has been called the patriarchal bargain (Moghadam, 2003, 2005; Sharabi, 1988).

Women in strongly patriarchal countries are considered the keepers of culture and the primary vessels for transmitting values to the next generation (Moghadam, 2013; Olmsted, 2005). Given this, there is pressure on the state from the populace to maintain the patriarchal social order in the home (Hasso, 2010; Olmsted, 2005). Thus, state-building goals come into conflict with customary norms about the family (Alvi, 2005; Hasso, 2010; Kandiyoti, 2001). This tension results in educational and workforce norms becoming more inclusive of women, while family norms continue to assign women sole responsibility for the home (Hasso, 2010;

Moghadam, 2013; Olmsted, 2005). Accordingly, young women who have chosen to pursue a college education are in a unique bind. They have aspirations for future workforce participation (Cherif, 2010; Williams, Wallis, & Williams, 2013), but also are expected to maintain customary feminine roles within the home, including primary responsibility for childbearing and childrearing (Hasso, 2010; Moghadam, 2013; Olmsted, 2005).

Using interviews with 27 young Qatari women, we elucidate these conflicting norms and show how the patriarchal bargain influences young women's aspirations as they transition to adulthood in a context of rapid economic, social, and cultural change. We find that women have aspirations for higher education and employment but *simultaneously* hold customary norms about the family. Thus, young women are in a quandary, caught between social expectations to become a wife and mother and pursuit of personal educational and workforce goals. Competing ideals shaped women's aspirations and choices in different ways and were, at least in part, reactions to fear of future family instability and perceived rising divorce rates in Qatar.

Contradictory Political Goals

Scholars have described the *patriarchal bargain* (Moghadam, 2003; Sharabi, 1988) as women exchanging reproductive services for financial support from men (Kandiyoti, 1988; Moghadam, 2003). Modern conceptions of the patriarchal bargain have been framed as occurring within a "neo-patriarchy" when the "state upholds the traditional order in a modernizing context" (Moghadam, 2003, p. 70). Classic patriarchy often is linked to an agrarian social structure (Sharabi, 1988), whereas neo-patriarchy is an adaptation of classic patriarchy that allows for a relationship between industrialization and customary forms of patriarchy (Sharabi, 1988).

In Qatar, state goals targeting rapid economic growth conflict with state goals of maintaining the neo-patriarchal family structure (Alvi, 2005; Hasso, 2010; Kandiyoti, 2001;

Moghadam, 2003, 2005, 2013). Efforts on the part of the state to increase education among women and the consequent rapid rise in women's participation in higher education (Moghadam, 2013) have engendered fear that the neo-patriarchal state will be undermined as women move into the labor force and away from the private sphere (Hasso, 2010; Moghadam, 2013).

Accordingly, Qatari leaders have kept a delicate balance between religion, as set in Shari'a or family law in GCC countries, and state goals for economic growth. To maintain this balance, GCC states have increased educational opportunities for women, but also have emphasized that women's education is valuable primarily for creating a *strong family*, because an educated woman makes a better companion and mother (Charrad, 2011; Hasso, 2010; Moghadam, 2013).

A consequence of women's increased education in GCC countries has been a shift in how women view civil society (Moghadam, 2013; Williams et al., 2013). As a result, more young women now desire to enter the workforce and become politically engaged with the state (Abu-Lughod, 2006; Cherif, 2010; Moghadam, 2013; Williams et al., 2013). In the United Arab Emirates, young women have become more aware of their rights and status in society, thus delaying marriage in pursuit of education (Hasso, 2010). This pattern appears to hold in Qatar, as evidenced by the rising age at first marriage from 20 in 1986 to 24 in 2014 (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2015) and a parallel rise in enrollment in higher education (Qatar University, 2016).

Increased levels of education among women, however, have not led to a proportional increase in women's employment (Charrad, 2011; Olmsted, 2005; Ross, 2008; Rutledge, Madi, & Forstenlechner, 2014). Thus, as norms about education change, socially conservative norms about women's role in the family persist, and the persistence of conservative family norms presents barriers to women obtaining work outside the home (Moghadam, 2013; Olmsted, 2005;

Williams et al., 2013). This normative lag has resulted in an educated population of women who are outside the labor force, leaving the state unable to access their educational investment.

At the same time, restrictions on divorce have loosened, but divorce as the primary right of men has been upheld (Moghadam, 2003, 2005, 2013). As a result, divorced women often are impoverished, despite the ostensible guarantee of support from their ex-husbands (Moghadam, 2013). Impoverishment is especially likely if women have few natal family on which to rely (Moghadam, 2005; Olmsted, 2005). Thus, the neo-patriarchal social contract is in transition (Kandiyoti, 1988, 2007; Olmsted, 2005). In the past, the social contract promised women that the neo-patriarchal family structure would provide a safety net for them in the event of divorce or death of a spouse. However, women now perceive the family as an institution on which they cannot necessarily depend (Olmsted, 2005). Consequently, women have an increased desire for education so that they can support themselves, yet they continue to face constraints on non-family support systems, such as employment (Kandiyoti, 1988, 2007; Olmsted, 2005). The transitions Qatar and other GCC countries are experiencing threaten the neo-patriarchal bargain and create dilemmas for young women experiencing the transition to adulthood during which they must make choices about education, career, and family.

The Qatari Context

In the early 1900s, most women in Qatar were illiterate homemakers and had little education (Bahry & Marr, 2005). What education they did have was attained through private religious classes (Bahry & Marr, 2005). Following the discovery of oil in the mid-1900s, Qatar experienced rapid economic growth along with changing social norms and values (Al-Muhannadi, 2011). Primary schooling for women began in 1955, but only in 2001 did the Emir of Qatar rule that education was compulsory for all Qatari children (Ministry of Education,

2016). Higher education for women also has increased. In 1973, Qatar founded the national gender-segregated university and admitted 93 women and 57 men students (Qatar University, 2016). Currently, Qatari women students compose 81% of the student body at the national university (Qatar University, 2016).

The political leadership in Qatar has played a substantial role in encouraging women to pursue their education. Recent policies, such as the National Development Strategy (2011-2016), have called for the empowerment of women and emphasized the importance of women's increased participation in post-secondary education (Qatar General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2011a). Teachers, representatives from higher educational institutions, and policy figures directly encourage young Qatari women to pursue higher education, and the state awards incentives for higher education to high achievers. Educational messages and stories in local newspapers encouraging education are common in Qatar, as are promotional campaigns via street billboards, radios, and other media outlets.

The Qatari government also has encouraged women's labor force participation, although these efforts have been more limited than those promoting higher education for women. Government policies addressing women in the workforce include the National Development Strategy (2011-2016) for Qatar, which calls for the empowerment of women and increased participation by women in Qatar's labor force (Qatar General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2011a). Also, the "Qatarization" policy in 1997 called for the increased participation of Qatari men and women in all employment sectors. Also, the Civil Service Act (Law No. 1) of 2001 and the 2014 Labor Law (Law No. 14) ensured gender equal rights at the workplace. Finally, to improve work/family balance, the 2009 Law on Sheikhan Resource Administration called for improved maternity benefits for working mothers (Al-Muhannadi, 2011).

Despite these efforts to increase women's labor force participation, their participation rose to only 36.3% in 2008, up from 22.3% in 1997 (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2002), and then moved slightly *downward* to 35% in 2014 (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2014). The increase in women's labor force participation by about one-third pales in comparison to the 64% increase in women's higher education by 2007 (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009). The stalling and slight decline in women's labor force participation could be related to competing cultural traditions and values in Qatar. Qatari culture prioritizes women's role in the family, and when Qatari women do work outside the home, they have remained concentrated in occupations considered appropriate and acceptable for women, such as health and education (Bahry & Marr, 2005).

When Qatari women do marry, a male family member, usually the father, negotiates with the male head of the potential groom's family to produce a marriage contract (Rashad, Osman, & Roudi-Fahimi, 2005). This contract generally includes agreements about the woman's future activities, such as continued schooling, working outside the home, and in some cases, support in the event of divorce is also included (El-Haddad, 2003; Golkowska, 2014). Divorce rates in Qatar have fluctuated between 7–10% in the last 10 years (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2014; Shehzad, 2015). These fluctuations added uncertainty to the marital equation for women who, in most cases, cannot initiate divorce (Welchman, 2010). Furthermore, the government has openly supported the role of women as primary in childrearing and the family, and women have been encouraged to prioritize motherhood over employment. This strategy conflicts with government messages attempting to increase women's labor force participation. Further, the state has called for less dependence on domestic help in raising children, making it even more difficult for women to manage family and work. Although there

has been a call for improvements in work-family balance for women (Qatar General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2011b), this call has done little to mitigate the conflict between childrearing and career that young women in Qatar are facing. The objective of the present paper is to elucidate these conflicting norms and explore how young women view these norms and plan to deal with the normative conflict during the transition to adulthood.

Methods

Participants

In-depth interviews were conducted with 27 non-married Qatari women aged 18 to 25 years who were enrolled in college in Qatar at the time of the interview. Of the 27 young women, three were marriage contracted, although one of these was verbal and not written. Two participants were in their first year of college, eight were in their second year, four were in their third year, and nine were in their fourth year and about to graduate. The schooling attainment was unclear for two participants, and one was pursuing a Master's degree at the time of the interview. Five participants planned to discontinue their education once they received their B.A. Ten participants desired a Master's degree, and nine indicated they were interested in a Ph.D. The remaining three participants did not indicate the highest degree they desired. The average number of children in each participants' family was 6.3, with values ranging from 1 to 13. Additional information about the participants is presented in Table 1.

Data Collection

Data collection began in June 2013 and continued until March 2015. To facilitate recruitment, participants received a certificate of participation upon completion of their interview. Informed consent was obtained from each participant, including permission to audio record the interview. One young woman did not consent to the recording, and so a note-taker was

used during her interview. All recorded interviews were transcribed in Arabic and then translated into English. The Institutional Review Boards of collaborating academic institutes in Qatar, Canada, and the United States reviewed and approved the study protocol. The interviews consisted of open-ended questions about women's aspirations and experiences about education, employment, and marriage (See online supplement for interview questions). Trained bilingual Arabic female interviewers conducted the interviews in Arabic or English, depending on the preference of the participants. Interviews were immediately transcribed and then translated into English. Transcripts were then checked against the original Arabic version by a third party fluent in both English and Arabic.

Analysis Methods

Data analysis was conducted using grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Analysis began with the analyst reading all transcripts multiple times. From this process, the analyst developed an overarching research question: How do rapidly changing norms influence young women's choices about their future? Data were then memoed to engage deeply with the data and to facilitate the inductive development of codes. To balance the potential subjective interpretation of data from young Arab women living in Qatar, the analyst (a White, English speaking, American woman) held weekly meetings in English with two bilingual Arab women living in Qatar who had served as interviewers during the data collection. These meetings continued throughout the process of data coding and analysis to ensure balance in the interpretation of the data and to avoid cultural misperceptions of data themes and codes related to Qatari culture. Once the initial data coding scheme was completed, data were coded using line-by-line and thematic strategies (Charmaz, 2014) in NVivo software (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2015). Thus, words of the women interviewed were used to capture how Qatari women view

social norms about women's aspirations in Qatari culture. All interviews were double coded to verify the initial coding process and to code selectively additional sub-themes identified as important to explaining how women deal with conflicting norms in Qatar during the weekly meeting with interviewers living in Qatar (see Table 2).

When coding was complete, each code was examined within and across transcripts to begin to understand individual narratives and broader themes central to the research question about conflicting norms for women. Constant comparison (Charmaz, 2014) was used to clarify women's differing approaches to dealing with conflicting norms. Three typologies emerged from the data: (a) women who held conflicting norms but did not recognize the conflict (seven women), (b) women who recognized the conflicting norms and did not know how to resolve the conflict (seven women), and (c) women who had selected a strategy for resolving the normative conflict (thirteen women). These typologies were then used to facilitate structured comparisons to identify further contextual similarities and differences among the three typologies of women. For example, women who were aware of the normative conflict intended to put specific provisions for their education and employment in their marriage contracts, whereas women who were unaware of the normative conflict did not believe such provisions were necessary.

Saturation was reached when it was determined that the three typologies identified were sufficient to encompass all of the women interviewed. By engaging with the two Arab women living in Qatar who were primary interviewers during the data collection process, the analyst was able to take the inductive codes developed from the data using grounded theory and validate their relevance to the broader cultural context. This strategy ensured that the themes and resulting theory made sense from the perspective of Arab women who live and work in Qatar society. The

two Arab interviewers involved in the on-going validation process also reviewed and commented on the analyst's results as they emerged, and on the final theory that was developed.

The grounded theory approach produced a narrative about how women's descriptions of their plans for education, labor force participation, and marriage and childbearing are influenced by a cultural context of rapidly changing norms. Young women's stories elucidated the conflicting norms and women's individual awareness of the existing conflict. Women's stories also revealed the difficult choices they faced in deciding their future paths in a cultural context of rapidly changing gender norms in which expectations for women are unclear and contradictory.

Results

Rapid Normative Change

Most young women viewed Qatar as a conservative society, yet women also felt that social norms were changing, as were opportunities for women. How these changes were perceived varied among women. Some compared their opportunities to those of their mothers or of previous generations. "It is our society that thinks that women's place is in the kitchen. The new generation thinks differently" (Janna). From Janna's point of view, change was occurring slowly, over generations, with the society as a whole remaining conservative. Other women agreed that change was occurring, but felt that social norms about women's roles in society were changing more quickly. "Things we deem unacceptable now will be normal in four years" (Noof). Sheikha shared Noof's view that changes in Qatar have been rapid: "Thank God, at this time I feel education is a priority for families. Six years ago, they were thinking that when a girl finishes her secondary school, she should get married..."

Most of the women interviewed placed high importance on completing college, in line with efforts by the government to encourage women's educational attainment. Yet, women

interviewed did not think that all women had support for obtaining advanced education. Fatima described how she viewed the current state of Qatari society:

Qatar is now...filled with contradictions. You would get both extremes. You would get people who until now still think that girls should not leave the house... and people who go out and travel and do whatever they want to do. (Fatima)

The contradictions about which Fatima spoke were clear throughout the interviews, but women recognized these normative contradictions to different degrees and dealt with them in different ways. In the following, we show how gendered norms related to education, work, and family are in flux in Qatar and how young women transitioning to adulthood deal with the resulting conflicts and uncertainties with respect to expectations and opportunities for young women in Qatar today.

Societal Norms in Transition

The new norm: College education for women. Young women interviewed had heard and internalized governmental messages encouraging higher education for women. Women asserted that education held no disadvantages for them. Further, they stated that education was a “right” to which they were entitled. For example, Hissah said: “Education is a right. No one has the right to deprive the right to education.” Khuloud also expressed this idea: “It is [a woman’s] right to pursue an education and hold a degree to support her cause.” Thus, many of the women interviewed felt that higher education for women was normative in Qatari society.

Young Qatari women indicated that their parents, even those who had not attended university themselves, were largely supportive of higher education for their daughters. One participant said: “I see that nowadays everyone is open-minded, even the older generation encourages us to pursue a university degree, even those who never attended university” (Jana).

Thus, according to the young women interviewed, educational norms in Qatar have shifted enough that younger generations felt schooling was a right rather than a privilege. Also, women interviewed felt that older generations from diverse educational backgrounds were supportive of young women's educational aspirations. Women's sense of entitlement to education also may be related to structural changes that have occurred with the creation of a welfare state in Qatar in which education is either free or heavily subsidized for Qatari nationals.

Although almost all women interviewed saw education as a right, they were less clear about how they would use their degrees and training. Badriah described it this way: "We take these courses at the university. They teach us how to take care of babies, how to handle married life, and other matters that allow us to be proper wives for the next generation." Education as a way to improve the quality of mothering was in line with messages used by the government in Qatar to encourage women to pursue a university education.

Norms in disarray: Women in the labor force. Women also identified work norms as changing. However, instead of expressing a unanimous opinion that women have the right to work, women interviewed held divergent views about women working. One woman said: "There are things that were considered taboo about four years ago...for instance working in a gender mixed environment... in my community, this was forbidden; but today, it is no big deal" (Badriah). Another woman concurred, attributing changes to the developing economy:

In my opinion, our economy is developing, and more girls are accessing the labor market. There are many things happening today which you would never have seen a few years back. I mean a few years back, the mere idea of a woman working or driving was unacceptable. But society has evolved (Afra).

Both of these women were optimistic about norms regarding women's labor force participation, which they hoped had, or would, change enough that their personal labor force participation goals would be possible.

Other women had a more pessimistic view of how far Qatari societal norms had moved with respect to women's employment. Nuha thought that the majority of Qatari society still saw women's labor force participation as inappropriate: "I have noticed that rare are those who accept the idea of their wives pursuing their education and reaching high positions...I think rare are those who support women." Nuha worried that restrictions put on her by her future husband would affect her ability to be successful in the labor market. She had aspirations to get an advanced degree and be an ambassador for Qatar, even though she said she knew that society had issues with women in powerful positions. She also felt that it was unlikely that her parents would allow her to pursue an advanced degree. The conflict between Nuha's educational and work goals, and her parents' differing support of those goals, illustrates the cognitive dissonance fostered by an environment in which norms related to gender are changing rapidly in some contexts, such as education, and changing little in others, such as women's responsibility for the family and private sphere. Another participant also felt that support for women in the labor force was not uniform in Qatari culture: "There are still some people who don't allow women to work" (Hanan). She planned to deal with this possibility by making sure she was employed before accepting any offer of marriage. She reasoned that if she were already working, a man who disapproved would not propose in the first place.

Continuity in family norms: Marriage as inevitable. In this sample of young Qatari women, norms about family showed little variation when compared to norms about women's labor force participation. Almost all women interviewed saw marriage as natural, normal, and

desirable for women. Janna said simply: “All women want to get married. Every woman dreams of having a home with children.” Iman agreed saying: “...every girl wants to get married. It's the dream of every girl to get married and have a family.” One participant went so far as to say: “...when there is a woman who does not want to get married... I do not know how to explain her reasons” (Afra). Afra’s inability to understand why a woman would not wish to marry indicates a high degree of normalization of the conventional roles of wife and mother as primary for women in Qatar. Afra’s perspective also illustrates how strong family norms may come into conflict with women’s newer aspirations for education and career.

Other women suggested that marriage was inevitable, regardless of a women’s own desires. Badriah described it this way: “...when the time to get married comes, it is impossible to stop it.” In all of these cases, young Qatari women saw marriage as both inevitable and desirable. Women also planned to marry at a relatively young age, most often before age 25, and bear children within 1–2 years after marriage. Women’s relatively conservative family views often were in direct conflict with their educational and career aspirations but were in line with the customary neo-patriarchal contract in place in Qatari society (see Table 2).

Norms in Conflict: Having Competing Goals

Unrecognized conflict. Some young women simultaneously espoused customary family norms and new educational and work norms without recognizing that their goals were in direct conflict with one another. Khuloud, for example, was unofficially engaged to be married and also wanted to get a Master’s and Ph.D., ideally in the United States. When asked if she foresaw barriers to her aspirations for family and work, she said: “I don’t know, but I think everything will be fine.” Khuloud also indicated that she did not plan to put any conditions about education in her marriage contract when she and her parents formalized it. Her belief that marriage and

childbearing were compatible meant that she would put her aspirations at risk by not guaranteeing her right to higher education and work with provisions in her marriage contract.

Regardless of their educational and work aspirations, most women interviewed strongly felt that they should raise their own children, and viewed leaving children with maids or nannies as inappropriate. Women felt this way about childrearing regardless of their career aspirations. Thus, static family norms about the importance of caring for one's own children conflicted directly with changing norms about women's workforce participation. Janna also stated her intention to attend a university in the United States for an advanced degree. However, Janna simultaneously expressed the following thoughts about marriage and childbearing:

[A woman's] children and her husband should come first... I am responsible for my children, and I should be the one who raises them instead of bringing in a maid to do so... essentially, this is my duty... to raise my children... because they will build society. They are the future of our State. They will develop our State.

(Janna)

When asked what age she believes women should marry, Janna said 24 or 25, despite her plans for a degree outside of Qatar and the fact that she was already 24 at the time of her interview. Although she did not acknowledge the conflict, her plans to marry in the very near future were largely incompatible with her desire to obtain an advanced degree in the United States.

Unresolved conflict. Other young women recognized the conflict between women's obligations to family and their aspirations for work. These young women worried that circumstances would force them to give up their career plans for a family, despite their desire to continue their education or obtain employment. One participant said: "I feel even if a woman tried to balance ... her job and her family she will not be able to...I want to work, but I also

should see and stay with my children” (Layla). Layla felt obligated to achieve her personal career goals by working but *also* to be home with her children, and thus was uncertain what her future path would be. Sabah expressed a similar concern that family obligations might keep her from achieving other goals: “As a girl, of course, I would love to have a family...but I don’t know whether [having a] family is going to prevent me from achieving my goals.” Sabah planned to take off the first 3–4 years of her child’s life and then return to the workforce, although she did not consider how having more than one child may impact her employment goals. One participant described this conflict well: “Children need their mothers in the end...it hinders the development of a woman...It is tough... it makes me afraid. I want a family. I want a job. I want a promotion” (Amna). While Amna wanted both a family and career, she feared that she would be unable to reconcile the two. All of these women described how the government’s support for advanced education and customary gender roles created a quandary for young women, especially as they were transitioning to adulthood.

Resolved conflict: Giving preference to family. Some of the women interviewed resolved normative conflict by giving preference to family over career. Nuha said this: “[A woman’s] two first fundamental jobs are being a wife and a mother.” Nuha’s statement describes the central conflict young women in Qatar often find themselves facing. She was leery of marriage to a conservative man who might try to limit her education and labor force participation, but she also felt that wife and mother were her fundamental roles in life. Nuha’s conflict highlights how many young women in Qatar today are caught between society’s expectations and their own aspirations.

Other women solved normative conflict by framing their education as a tool for becoming a better mother rather than as preparation for joining the workforce. Nijla said: “I think

that the advantages are if women can complete their studies, they can raise a well-educated generation because if women are well educated, obviously their children will also be well educated.” Other women indicated that they did not see work as compatible with childrearing. One woman said: “If I have a baby, I would quit [work] right away” (Rawdah). Another participant concurred: “It is known that this is the responsibility of the wife to do everything related to the upbringing of the kids” (Shaha), directly referencing customary social norms about women as keepers of the private sphere. Another woman had a unique approach to the conflict:

At the end of the day, raising your kids take priority...I may not be able to achieve what I want...because of my children...I do not know what will happen next...hopefully, if I cannot achieve it...I will have my own children...they would be my achievement (Alia).

Alia felt that if she was unable to work after she had children, and thus was unable to reach her current career goals, she could simply reframe her goals. By measuring her personal success by her future children, rather than by her own career, Alia reconciled conflicting norms. Overall, women interviewed tended to subscribe to customary patriarchal gender roles in the family sphere. Thus women saw the home as the domain of women, and work and support of the family as the domain of men, even when women wished to participate in the public sphere and to have a career alongside having a family.

Resolved conflict: Working in the public sector. Another way woman dealt with the normative conflict they faced was to point to examples of women they knew who were managing work and motherhood without problems. For example, Sara said: “At the moment I believe children do not prevent you from working...There are a lot of women who have had children and pursued their education, then started working.” Sara’s solution to the conflict was to work in the

public sector, where she could work limited hours and leverage other benefits designed for working mothers. Other women also saw the public sector as a solution to the conflict between family and work norms:

Society has evolved, and it has become more developed. If we were talking about this five or ten years ago, I would tell you that children do indeed affect a woman's ability to work, but nowadays they no longer do. I do not expect this to happen in Doha today (Noof).

Like Sara, Noof planned to work for a government ministry, where she felt she would have more support as a working mother.

Consequences of Rapid Normative Change

Fear of divorce. Most women interviewed perceived that divorce rates in Qatar were rapidly increasing. Amna said: "The divorce rate is so high." The overall divorce rates in Qatar are low in absolute terms (8%; Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2015). Yet, women's perceptions of a high and *increasing* divorce rate caused them to worry about how they would survive financially if their future husbands divorced them. Women also were concerned that divorce in Qatar remained the right of husbands, leaving women particularly vulnerable economically in the event of a divorce. This fear led women to place primary emphasis on education as a protective factor. For example, Zamzam talked about feeling that education was the only way to protect herself from destitution in the event of a divorce: "No one can influence you, and no one will have a say in your life if you obtain your degree...if you ever get divorced, you have your degree. So you can work and provide for yourself..." Zamzam further described how she felt a college degree would protect her future:

My degree is my weapon. If you have a degree, then you should not worry about anything else. Even if everyone turned against you. Your degree is your most important asset. It is your weapon and key to the world. (Zamzam)

Like Zamzam, Aisha also felt that education was of primary importance for women in Qatar:

...illiterate people might think that the most important thing is to get married and start a family. But they are not forward-thinking...the most important thing is to have a university degree, so...if everyone abandons you, you can use your...degree to find a job. (Aisha)

It is important to take note of how Aisha framed the necessity for women to be educated. She felt that education itself motivated women to seek additional education to protect their futures. These young women were aware of social expectations necessitating that they focus on being good wives and mothers, and they worried that the bargain such expectations entailed would fail to protect them. As a result, they sought ways to protect themselves from future abandonment and destitution. Women struggled to reconcile their career aspirations with the gendered expectations of their roles within the private sphere, which portray women as natural mothers and dictate that they put motherhood above all else. For young women, this expectation translated into a fear of abandonment, fear of divorce, and a keen desire for independence—both economic and otherwise.

Empowerment and the desire for independence. Some young women equated education and work with women's empowerment. These women believed that it was necessary for women to be educated and to work to feel worthwhile, as well as to prove their worth to others. Noof illustrated this when she described why she had turned down a marriage proposal:

When he said he did not want me to work or to complete my education I had to end it. I mean he proposed to me knowing that I am pursuing my education. Why does he want to ruin my future? (Noof)

Noof's reasons for turning down the proposal demonstrated how young women were beginning to view education and work as their path to independence and a solid future. Nuha felt similarly to Noof about a woman's imperative to work:

[Working] empowers her and allows her to play a role in society especially in a man dominated community. A woman must work to prove her worth: I am a woman, I am working, I am still here. She must not confine her role to family, husband, and children. When a woman works, she will start being herself. She will grow stronger. (Nuha)

The ability to prove their worth and to be able to achieve their aspirations was important to the women interviewed. However, most realized that these goals were at odds with the neo-patriarchal bargain that governed their society.

Women also described an independent woman by talking about decision-making ability and being able to resist societal pressure to conform to conventional ideas about femininity, including pressure to remain in the home. Aisha described an independent woman: "She would be brave; she would have faced pressure from society and her husband, and she would have come out victorious. She is an independent person who works and handles her own expenses." Thus, the majority of women interviewed, regardless of their plans for the future, felt that women's economic independence and ability to achieve their aspirations were important to their futures.

In addition to seeing education and work as facilitating women's independence, a few women also saw these resources as protective in avoiding control and/or abuse at the hands of their future husbands. One woman felt that working was protective against emotional abuse in a future marital relationship:

If she does have a job he will see her as independent and a woman of value who does not need him...But if she does not have a job she can be humiliated...He will feel as if he has the right to humiliate her because he is the one spending on her so she needs him, and she needs his money (Johara).

Another woman felt that education by itself was enough to allow women to protect themselves from abuse at the hands of their future husband:

[Education] is very beneficial, not only for Qatari women but for all women in general...It helps a woman grow more aware of her rights. Honestly, there are numerous women who ignore their rights. They find themselves succumbing to all kinds of abuses (Afra).

The identification of education and work as protective suggests that young women's views of the family as the main source for their protection was weakening. Rather, the women interviewed saw the family and marriage as fragile and uncertain institutions. Women also felt that entering into marriage and a new family carried with it the possibility of abuse.

Women's conviction that education and work were necessary for women suggests that ideas in Qatar about femininity and what constitutes a "good woman" are changing. Such changes directly challenge the neo-patriarchal bargain, which promises support and protection by men in exchange for women's work in the home. Some women subscribed to the neo-patriarchal bargain, and thus felt that being a good woman meant being a well-educated wife and mother. Other

women felt that being a strong and independent woman was what it meant to be a good woman, and they related these concepts to education and employment in a direct challenge to the traditional neo-patriarchal bargain.

Discussion

In our study, we have identified how young women's aspirations are shaped by a context of rapid economic, social, and normative changes. Emerging adult women in Qatar were experiencing changes in what it means to be a woman in an Islamic, strongly patriarchal society today. We elucidated contradictory norms and showed how they shaped young women's aspirations. Some women held entirely contradictory norms without recognizing the conflict, and the women who did recognize the conflict devised solutions that were not necessarily compatible with customary definitions of femininity. Normative conflict has engendered doubts among young women about their future marriages, with some women seeing the marital family as a location for potential abuse rather than for protection. Women actively feared divorce and the low social position ascribed to divorced women in neo-patriarchal society. This fear of divorce motivated women to redefine what women's empowerment and independence might look like in an evolving Muslim society, rather than relying entirely on their husbands. Thus, we conclude that, although in the past being a "good woman" meant being a dutiful wife and mother, young women in Qatar are changing what it means to be a "good woman" in Muslim society as a way of coping with a context of rapid normative change in Qatar society.

Women discussed being caught between expanding opportunities and increased pressure to maintain their role in the home as wife and mother. Some women engaged in self-editing of their goals and preferences in accordance with Komter's (1989) notion of latent power. These women made a choice to support the status quo, largely due to fear of the potential consequences

of going against dominant social norms about gender (Yount, 2011). The idea of latent power supports Mernissi's (1987) argument that women themselves often are complicit in trying to maintain the patriarchal bargain at the onset of major normative changes. Others have argued that young women self-sanction their own behavior in a state of rapidly changing norms from concern for their reputation and future prospects under old forms of patriarchy (Crabtree, 2007; Hasso, 2010). This self-sanctioning may mean that, as a state goal, education for women is better in theory than in practice, because women limit their own opportunities so they can conform to the neo-patriarchal bargain demanding women maintain their primary role within the home (Crabtree, 2007; Hasso, 2010). Women's stories also illustrate the importance of considering the influence of changes in gender norms when considering broader changes in education, economic structures, and other extra-marital opportunities for women (Kevane, 1998).

The "dilemma of educated womanhood" (Erdreich, 2016, p. 120) in which rates of education have risen without a consequent decline in women's family responsibilities has been found in vastly different contexts such as Kenya (Kamau, 2004), Peru (Stromquist, 1992), Korea (Park, 1990), and the United Arab Emirates (Williams et al., 2013), among others. Scholars emphasize that attitudes and norms about women's work are determined by culture and religion (Erdreich, 2016), and as such, changes in educational levels will do little if religiously based norms about women's primary role as keeper of the private sphere are not addressed (Hasso, 2010; Moghadam, 2013). Whereas government efforts often appear to work from the perspective of increasing education to combat gender inequity, researchers' have found that increased education alone is necessary but insufficient to bring about real change in women's positions in society (Erdreich, 2016; Fronk, Huntington, & Chadwick, 1999).

Scholars have suggested that higher levels of education for women paired with an emphasis on women's primary roles as wife and mother, as has been done in Qatari culture, renders education as a possible mechanism for renewed commitment to traditional values subjugating women (Fronk et al., 1999). Similarly, scholars have suggested that increased economic resources, should women work, do not guarantee movement toward gender equality or more power for women (Kabeer & Natali, 2013; Lim, 1997; Salem, 2011). Thus, others have found, as we did, that increased education for women may put pressure on women to try to balance education and work with their responsibilities in the private sphere. Consequently, women compromise their goals either by not working at all when they have completed their education (Erdreich, 2016), or by working in the public sector where there are explicit mechanisms set up to encourage women to prioritize the home and family (Kemp, 2013; Williams et al., 2013).

We also found that women's reactions to normative change were complex. Although some women in our sample did cling to customary feminine roles for women in accordance with notions of latent power, the majority felt that it was important for women to ensure their future security by becoming financially independent from their husbands, as has been found by scholars in contexts such as Arab women in Israel and Egypt (Yount, Zureick-Brown, & Salem, 2014; El Saadawi, 2007; Moghadam, 2013). Women's perspectives on financial independence as necessary suggest that, at least in Qatar, younger women may be changing their views about "good womanhood," and thus, are moving away from adhering to the neo-patriarchal bargain. Women talked about achieving their goals and being able to rely on themselves, as well as being able to provide for their children, if necessary. Women also worried that marriage and family could stand in the way of their independence. Other scholars have found that women immigrants

from strongly patriarchal countries, such as Korea or Vietnam, face similar dilemmas to the young women interviewed for our study regarding trying to balance expanded opportunity structures with their customary responsibilities within the home (Min, 2001; Thao & Agergaard, 2012).

Another important motivator for women's desire to pursue education, career, and financial independence was a growing fear of divorce. Many of the women interviewed were concerned that their marriages would not last, putting them at the mercy of an ex-husband who may not be inclined to support them financially. Although divorce rates have fluctuated to some extent in recent year, the divorce rate is objectively low (8%), and it remains unlikely that young women marrying in Qatar will experience divorce. Importantly, however, young women's *perceptions* that marriage was fragile and divorce was likely suggested that their adherence to the idea of exchanging obedience for protection in a customary patriarchal family was eroding. Fear of divorce and its actual consequences for Arab women in strongly patriarchal societies has been found in other contexts as well such as Arab women in Israel (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1998).

Finally, scholars have suggested that exposure to the media in the current global culture may be presenting women with new cultural models that encourage women to seek independence (Erdreich, 2006). Yet, these new ideational exposures are occurring in a larger cultural context in which families still impose restrictions on their daughters regarding education and workforce choices (Williams et al., 2013). Also, there are few examples of independence for women in Islamic cultures represented in the media (Matar, 2007). Instead, there is low participation of Arab women in the Arab media. Whereas western media presents a different picture of women is easily accessible in Qatar (Matar, 2007), it is within a context that is considerably different from the one in which Qatari women live their day-to-day lives. Still, as

social media access and use continue to increase among women in Qatar and other similar Arab countries, it may serve as a way for women to gather political strength and communicate their frustrations through social networks which extend beyond the Arab world (Newsom & Lengel, 2012).

Limitations and Future Research

Some limitations to our research should be noted. First, women in our sample were young and spoke from positions of relative inexperience. These women may be at a stage in life where their thoughts and aspirations are ones they have learned from family and the media, rather than practical plans for their future based on experience and wider exposure. Second, governmental messages may influence women to the extent that they internalize the messages they hear without identifying the conflicts that exist between their familial and work aspirations. However, despite their inexperience and the multitude of governmental messages in their environment, most women in the sample were realistic about the competing expectations they faced and were aware of the specific cultural expectations that powerful sectors of society had for them. Longitudinal research that permits an evaluation of changes in women's aspirations over time as they make the transition to adulthood would be valuable for clarifying how women deal with changing normative expectations as they progress through the life course and are faced with concrete situations in which they must make actual choices about education, career, and marriage.

Second, our sample was drawn from willing participants at university campuses in Qatar, and their aspirations and opinions may not be reflective of other young Qatari women. Further, 24 of the 27 women attended a gender-segregated university, and as such, were more likely to be conservative in their views of women's role in society than women attending mixed-gender

universities might be. However, women talked about their experiences and choices in the context of gender-segregated education and did appear to be aware of how gender segregation plays out in the larger society. Future research should recruit a larger sample of women attending gender-mixed universities in Qatar to see if aspirations and perceived conflicts differ for women whose families are willing to allow them to attend school with men present.

Practice Implications

For the Qatari state to benefit from their educational investment and increase women's participation in the labor force, the government must first understand the normative context in which women live, as well as the beliefs and aspirations women hold. The Qatari state and other strongly patriarchal countries must take into consideration that although educational and workforce norms may be more inclusive of women, they coexist with conflicting family norms that largely limit women's access to the labor force. Family norms should assign women and men equal household and childrearing responsibilities to resolve this conflict. Accordingly, increasing women's participation in the workforce implies that the Qatari state refrains from giving conflicting messages that prioritize marriage and motherhood over employment. To achieve real change in women's positions in society and increase their labor force participation means a decline in the family responsibilities assigned to women. In other words, to achieve economic growth, the government needs to revisit the appropriateness of the patriarchal family structure and socially conservative family norms. Thus governments in highly patriarchal countries that wish to advance women in their societies need to encourage men and women to share more equally within the private sphere.

Conclusion

We studied how rapid change in Qatar is producing conflicting norms for young women during their transitions to adulthood. The government of Qatar has made great strides in changing norms about education, such that the women we studied felt that a university education was a “right.” However, the government has made less headway in changing norms about women’s employment, particularly when it comes to reducing the need for gender segregation. Norms about women’s roles within the family have remained static, in part as a way for messages about increased women’s education to be palatable to the general populace. These conflicting norms have created contradictory choices that some young women in Qatar are struggling to navigate.

An increase in women’s participation in the workforce requires that more strategies be put in place to support women in their roles as wives and mothers. The private sector in particular needs to make changes in workforce policies because many private companies in Qatar remain largely unaccommodating to women’s participation in the workforce. We conclude that the advancement of women requires moving beyond supporting higher education for women. Societies also must address fundamental gender inequalities by supporting women in moving outside the private sphere by implementing broader support for childcare and childrearing in private companies doing business in Qatar. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the government must proactively change their messages suggesting that education for women is primarily to support them in their roles as wives and mothers and instead support women’s entry into the labor force as productive contributors to civil society.

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Table 1

Selected Demographic Characteristics, Young Qatari Women

Pseudonym	Age	Projected age for getting married	Projected age of having first child	Highest educational aspiration	Conflict Typology
Afra	22	20-21	21-22 or 1 yr. /marriage	M.A. or Ph.D.	Unresolved
Aisha	20	24	25	M.A.	Unrecognized
Alia	19	22	22- 23	M.A.	Resolved
Amna	24	Don't Know	Don't Know	Ph.D.	Unresolved
Badriah	21	25	Soon after marriage	Don't Know	Resolved
Fatima	25	26-27	28-29	Ph.D.	Unresolved
Hanan	18	Don't Know	Don't Know	B.A.	Resolved
Hissah ^a	19	23	Don't Know	Don't Know	Unrecognized
Huda ^a	20	23-24	1-2 yrs. /marriage	B.A.	Unrecognized
Iman	18	18 and up	Soon after marriage	B.A.	Resolved
Janna	24	24-25	Don't Know	M.A. or Ph.D.	Unrecognized
Johara	24	25-26	26-28 or 1-2 yrs /marriage	M.A.	Unresolved
Khuloud	19	20-21	21-22 or 1 yr. /marriage	Ph.D.	Unrecognized
Layla	21	19-21	1 yr. /marriage	M.A.	Unresolved
Lolwa	20	24-25	1-2 yrs. /marriage	M.A. or Ph.D.	Resolved
Muna	20	20	22	M.A.	Unrecognized
Najla	18	22-23	24	B.A.	Resolved
Njood ^a	21	30	Don't Know	Ph.D.	Unresolved
Noof	22	22-23	24 or 1-2 yrs. /marriage	Don't Know	Resolved
Noora	22	23-25	Don't Know	Ph.D.	Resolved
Nuha	24	25 and up	27 or 1 yr. /marriage	M.A.	Resolved
Rawdah	24	25	26	M.A.	Resolved
Sabah	21	21-25	23-24	M.A.	Unresolved
Sara	24	26 and up	Don't Know	M.A.	Resolved
Shaha	18	22-23	2 yrs. /marriage	B.A.	Resolved
Sheikha	23	After Education	Soon after marriage	M.A.	Resolved
Zamzam	19	22 and up	Soon after marriage	Ph.D.	Unrecognized

^a Woman attended a mixed gender university in Qatar.

Table 2

Emerging Themes

Subtheme	Description	Example
Rapid Normative Change		
Recognition of Changing Norms (<i>n</i> = 20, 74%)	Women recognized the changes in norms about women's roles and opportunities.	"Qatar is now...filled with contradictions. You would get both extremes. You would get people who until now still think that girls should not leave the house...and people who go out and travel and do whatever they want to do." (Fatima)
Societal Norms in Transition		
The New Norm: College Education for Women (<i>n</i> = 27, 100%)	Education was identified as a right for Qatari women.	"Education is a right. No one has the right to deprive the right to education." (Khuloud)
Norms in Disarray: Women in the Labor Force (<i>n</i> = 22, 81%)	Women acknowledged norms about women participating in the labor force were in flux.	"In my opinion, our economy is developing, and more girls are accessing the labor market. There are many things happening today which you would never have seen a few years back. I mean a few years back, the mere idea of a woman working or driving was unacceptable. But society has evolved." (Afra)
Continuity in Family Norms: Marriage as Inevitable (<i>n</i> = 22, 81%)	Women felt that marriage was necessary within Qatari culture for all women.	"All women want to get married. Every woman dreams of having a home with children." (Janna)
Norms in Conflict: Having Competing Goals		
Unrecognized Conflict (<i>n</i> = 7, 26%)	Women simultaneously held positive norms about the need for women to obtain education and work outside the home and norms that dictated that women's primary role was as a wife and mother, but did not see the conflict between these two norms.	"I might face some problems but now I haven't really thought of any." (Is marriage contracted and would like to pursue an advanced degree in the U.S. but does not plan to put any stipulations in her marriage contract.) (Muna)
Unresolved Conflict (<i>n</i> = 7, 26%)	Women recognized the conflicting norms for women	"I feel even if a woman tried to balance ... her job and her family

	but were uncertain as to how to resolve that conflict.	she will not be able to...I want to work, but I also should see and stay with my children.” (Layla)
Resolved Conflict: Giving Preference to Family (<i>n</i> = 13, 48%)	Women recognized the conflicting norms for women and had decided that they had to preference family and customary family roles for women.	“At the end of the day, raising your kids take priority...I may not be able to achieve what I want... because of my children... I do not know what will happen next...hopefully, if I cannot achieve it... I will have my own children... they would be my achievement.” (Alia)“At the moment I believe children do not prevent you from working...There are a lot of women who have had children and pursued their education, then started working [in the public sector].” (Sara)
Resolved Conflict: Working in the Public Sector (<i>n</i> = 16, 59%)	Women recognized the conflicting norms and decided that they could resolve the conflict by working in the public sector which has mechanisms in place to help women balance work and family.	
Consequences of Rapid Normative Change		
Fear of Divorce (<i>n</i> = 13, 48%)	Women felt that the changes in norms had increased divorce rates and therefore that they themselves were more in danger of being divorced by their husband and having to support themselves.	“No one can influence you, and no one will have a say in your life if you obtain your degree...if you ever get divorced, you have your degree. So you can work and provide for yourself...” (Zamzam)
Empowerment and the Desire for Independence (<i>n</i> = 13, 48%)	Associated with women’s fear of divorce was a strong desire to be self-reliant and independent from all men, including their fathers and future husbands.	“She would be brave; she would have faced pressure from society and her husband, and she would have come out victorious. She is an independent person who works and handles her own expenses.” (Aisha)

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?

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Father living / deceased_____ b) Mother living / deceased_____ c) Number of older brothers_____ d) Number of older sisters_____ 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> e) Number of younger brothers_____ f) Number of younger sisters_____ g) Married younger/older brothers_____ h) Married younger/older sisters_____
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- 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?

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Father working/ not working_____ b) Father's occupation_____ 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> c) Mother working/ not working_____ d) Mother's occupation_____
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- 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?

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Highest educational level_____ b) Highest grade/year completed at that level_____ 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> c) Currently in/ out of education_____ d) Current educational institution_____ e) Specialization_____
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- 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, regular employment, or family business; occupation, sector, income; hours, location; gender of employees, why]* *[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, regular employment, or family business; occupation, sector, income; hours, location; gender of employees, why]*
- 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 amraba/ maksurat el jinab?*

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

دليل ----- البنات

أ. مقدمة ومعلومات اجتماعية ديموغرافية

1. عرفني بنفسك – اسمك وعمرك
 - a. الاسم -----
 - b. العمر -----
2. ما اسم الحي الذي تعيشين فيه ومنذ متى وأنت تعيشين فيه؟
 - a. الحي الذي أسكن به حالياً -----
 - b. السنوات التي عشتها في هذا الحي -----
3. هل يمكنك أن تخبريني من هم أفراد أسرتك؟ [إذا لم يتعرض لها المستجيب فاستفسر 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. [لا يسأل للأب المتوفين] هل يمكنك أن تعطيني بعض المعلومات عن عمل والديك؟ [إذا لم يتعرض لها المستجيب فاستفسر الاجابة] هل يعمل والداك؟ ما هي الأعمال التي يمتنانها؟ 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؟ هل أنت 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 -----

ب. الطموحات المستقبلية

[انتقال] الآن وبعد أن تعرفت إليك قليلاً لنبدأ في الأسئلة المعقدة. 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 تقرر 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؟]
- 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؟]
- 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

1. هل سبق لك العمل أو التدريب العملي؟ 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 -----

السلوكيات

1. [لمن سبق له العمل] أخبرتني سابقاً أنك سبق لك أن عملت – هل يمكن أن تخبريني المزيد عن هذه الوظيفة أو العمل أو التدريب العملي؟ [استفسر: متى وأين ولمدة كم عملت؟ كيف حصلت على العمل؟]
2. [لمن سبق له العمل] كيف تم اتخاذ قرار انخراطك في العمل؟ من كان له دور في اتخاذ ذلك القرار وماذا كان رأي كل واحد من هؤلاء بما في ذلك أنت؟ من كان لرأيه الدور الحاسم أو التأثير الأكبر في النهاية؟ ما هي النقاشات، إن وجدت، التي تمت حول هذا القرار ومن شارك في تلك النقاشات؟ [استفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ رأيك؟]
3. [لمن يبحث حالياً عن عمل] منذ متى وأنت تبحثين عن عمل؟ كيف قمت بعملية البحث عن عمل/ أين بحثت تحديداً؟
4. [لمن يبحث حالياً عن عمل] كيف تم اتخاذ القرار الخاص ببدء البحث عن عمل؟ من كان له دور في هذا القرار وماذا كان رأي كل 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 هذا القرار ومن شارك في تلك النقاشات؟ [استفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ رأيك؟]
5. [لمن لا يبحث حالياً عن عمل] هل فكرت في البحث عن عمل أو تدريب في الوقت الحاضر؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟
6. [لمن لا يبحث حالياً عن عمل] كيف تم اتخاذ قرار عدم البحث عن عمل؟ من كان له الدور الأكبر في هذا القرار وماذا كان رأي كل 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 هذا القرار ومن شارك في تلك النقاشات؟ [استفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ رأيك؟]

7. [بعيداً عن العمل السابق الذي أخبرتني عنه/ بعيداً عن البحث عن العمل الذي تقومين به الآن] هل سبق لك أن بحثت عن عمل، وإن كان الأمر كذلك، فهل يمكنك أن تخبريني عن ذلك؟ [استفسر: متى كان ذلك؟ كم من الوقت استغرقت في البحث؟ كيف قمت بالبحث عن عمل/ أين بحثت؟ وماذا كانت النتيجة؟]

المواقف والاتجاهات

8. في هذه المرحلة من حياتك، ما هي المزايا والعيوب في رأيك لأن يكون الشخص يعمل؟
9. في رأيك ما هي المزايا، إن وجدت، في العمل بالنسبة للمرأة القطرية غير المتزوجة؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: تكوين صداقات، تكوين علاقات، تجعل الإنسان مشغولاً بشيء ما، مكانة اجتماعية، دخل، فرص زواج أفضل، أخرى] وماذا عن المزايا بالنسبة للمرأة المتزوجة؟
10. إذا قدر لك أن تحصل على عمل في يوم ما، أي من هذه المزايا ستحصلين عليها من العمل، لم؟ ولم لا؟
11. في رأيك، ما هي العيوب، إن وجدت، الناتجة عن عمل المرأة القطرية غير المتزوجة؟ [أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: تكوين صداقات، تجعل الإنسان مشغولاً بشيء ما، مكانة اجتماعية، دخل، فرص زواج أفضل، أخرى] هل تعتقدين أنه 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 سابقاً فاستفسر] هل التوفيق بين العمل والأسرة أمر سهل أم صعب بالنسبة للمرأة المتزوجة؟ لم؟ لم لا؟ [استفسر: هل يعتمد هذا على طبيعة العمل نفسه؟] أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: ساعات العمل، موقع العمل [وإذا كان الأمر كذلك فكيف؟ هل هذا يعتمد على المرأة نفسها، أمثلة لمن يجري المقابلة، لا تقرأها: غنية، فقيرة، لديها أطفال، ليس لديها أطفال؟] وإن كان الأمر كذلك فكيف؟

13. إلى أي مدى ينبغي على الأزواج تحمل مسؤولية أكبر في البيت عندما تكون الزوجة تعمل؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟ [استفسر: إلى أي مدى ينبغي على أزواج النساء العاملات الإشراف أو عمل المزيد من أشغال المنزل أو تحمل مسؤولية في رعاية الأطفال؟
لو أن امرأة متزوجة تريد أن تعمل ما هو التوقيت الأنسب لعملها فيما يتعلق بالأطفال؟] [استفسر: هل تعتقد أنها يجب أن تعمل قبل أن يكون لديها أطفال صغار أو أثناء ذلك أو بعد ذلك؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟]
14. لو أن امرأة متزوجة تريد أن تعمل ما هو المجال الأنسب لعملها أو العمل الأنسب لها؟ لماذا؟
15. لو أن امرأة متزوجة تريد أن تعمل هل تعتقد أنها 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؟
16. 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؟ [استفسر: من ينبغي أن يتصرف في المال الذي تكسبه المرأة العاملة غير المتزوجة؟ ما هي الأسباب التي تجعلك تقولين (الشخص الذي ذكر)؟ ومن ينبغي أن يتصرف في المال الذي تكسبه المرأة المتزوجة؟ وما هي الأسباب التي تجعلك تقولين (الشخص الذي ذكر)؟]
17. ما رأيك بالمرأة القطرية التي تعمل في مكان مختلط؟ [استفسر: ولماذا تنظرين لها بهذه الطريقة؟ ما هي المزايا والعيوب للعمل في مكان مختلط؟]
18. من خلال **(بحثك عن العمل/ عملك حالياً/ تجريبه عملك السابقه) ...** ايش قد مهم بالنسبة لك ان الوظيفة تكون في بيئه عمل ذات سمعه طيبه؟؟ ايش مفهومك للسمعه الطيبه... ايش قد مهم بالنسبة لك ان الوظيفة تكون مب مختلطه؟؟ هل هالعاملين (السمعه الطيبه و عدم الاختلاط) ممكن يحددون أو يأترون على قرارك باختيار وظيفه؟؟ شلون و ليش؟؟
19. ايش هي نظرتك للمرأة القطرية التي تعمل في مكان عمل مختلط؟ ليش تفكرين هشكل؟ ايش هي الايجابيات او السلبيات للعمل في بيئه مختلطه؟؟ هل ممكن يأتّر على فرص الزواج... بسبب نوع من الازمه للاهل..ممكن يضير او يسيء لسمعتها... بعيد نفس السؤال..هل هالنظره تختلف لو كانت متزوجه ولا غير متزوجه؟
20. بصفه عامه ايش هي نظره القطريين للمراه التي تعمل في بيئه عمل مختلطه؟ هل هالنظره تختلف لو كانت متزوجه ولا غير متزوجه؟
21. لو اشتغلتي في المستقبل في بيئه عمل مختلطه...هل تعتقدين ان العمل في هالمكان (بيئه مختلطه) ممكن يأتّر على حياتك؟ ليش؟؟ شلون أفراد عائلتك ممكن يحسون من التحاقك ببيئه عمل مختلطه؟؟ ليش ممكن يحسون بهالشعور؟؟...هل تعتقدين هالتأثير ممكن يفرق لو كنت متزوجه عن لوكنت غير متزوجه؟؟؟
22. من فضلك أخبريني عن عمل أقرب أنتي من أقربائك [استفسر حول أمها أو أختها الكبرى]. [لكل شخص قريب ذكر] كيف ترين أن عمل (اسم الشخص الذي ذكر) أو عدم عمله قد أثر في حياتها؟ [استفسر]
23. ما هي الوظائف التي عادة ما يستحوذ عليها الرجال في قطر ولكنها نادراً ما تتواجد فيها النساء؟ من أين أقربائك المقربين، إن وجد، لديها عمل عادة ما يزاوله الرجال في قطر مثل (مهنة رجالية ذكرت سابقاً)؟ [استفسر حول أمها وأختها الكبرى] [لكل شخص قريب ذكر] ما رأيك في قرارها الاستمرار في عملها؟ كيف ترين أن عمل (اسم الشخص الذي ذكر) قد أثر في حياتها، إن كان هناك تأثير أصلاً؟ [استفسر]

تطلعات

1. [استفسر إن لم يكن قد ذكر سابقاً] عندما تفكرين في مستقبلك هل تريدين أن تعلمي قبل الزواج؟ لم؟ لم لا؟
2. [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 عائلي أو عمل عادي، لماذا؟، المهنة، المجال، الدخل، ساعات العمل، مكان العمل، جنس الموظفين الآخرين] [استفسر: ما هي مواصفات الوظيفة الجيدة بالنسبة لك؟]

3. هل تودين العمل بعد الزواج؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟
4. [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، ساعات العمل، مكان العمل، جنس الموظفين الآخرين]
5. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل في المستقبل] عندما تفكرين في مستقبلك، ما هي العوامل التي ستساعدك 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؟
6. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل بعد الزواج] هل تريدين العمل بشكل متواصل أم أنك تريدين أن تتوقفي كلياً أو مؤقتاً بعد أن يكون لديك أطفال؟ إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم فمتى تريدين أن تتوقفي/ أن تبدئي مجدداً ولماذا؟
7. [إن كان المستجيب يريد أن يعمل بعد الزواج] عندما تفكرين في مستقبلك، هل تعتقدين أنك قادرة على تحقيق هذا التطلع الخاص بتوقيت العمل؟ [انتقال] الآن أريد أن أتحدث قليلاً حول الزواج والأطفال ...

هـ. الزواج والأطفال

1. هل أنت مخطوبة؟ هل سبق لك أن خطبت من قبل؟
سمعنا من قبل بعض البنات القطريات انهم ما يفضلون الزواج؟؟ برأيك، ايش السبب؟؟

السلوكيات

1. [لمن كن مخطوبات سابقاً] أخبريني عن خطوبتك السابقة: كم استمرت ولماذا انتهت؟ من كان له دور في قرار إنهاء الخطوبة وماذا كان رأي كل 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 هذا القرار ومن الذي شارك في هذه النقاشات؟ [استفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ رأيك؟]
2. [لمن هن مخطوبات حالياً] أخبريني عن خطوبتك الحالية: منذ متى وأنت مخطوبة؟ كيف توصل الخاطب إليك أو إلى أسرته؟ [استفسر: هل كان ذلك عن طريق أفراد الأسرة، أصدقاء، من خلالك أنت، أم قام بذلك بمفرده؟]
3. [لمن هن مخطوبات حالياً] هل هناك من طلب رأيك فيما إذا كنت توافقين على هذه الخطبة؟ ومن هو إن وجد؟ وإن كان الأمر كذلك ماذا كان رأيك؟ من كان له دور في قرار قبول الخطبة من عدمه وماذا كان رأي كل من هؤلاء بما في ذلك رأيك أنت؟ 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؟ [استفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ رأيك؟]
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 رأي كل 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 هذا القرار ومن الذي شارك في هذه النقاشات؟ [استفسر: لماذا كنت قادرة/غير قادرة على تنفيذ رأيك؟]

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؟ كيف تشعر لو ان بنتك في المستقبل تدخل جامعه مختلطه أو مكان عمل مختلط؟
 8.
 9. عندما تخطب فتاة في مثل ظروفك أو تتزوج ما أهمية التفاوض بينها وبين العريس حول تعليمها، وعملها، وشروط الطلاق؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟ [استفسر: ما هي الأمور الأخرى ينبغي عليها أن تتفاوض حولها مع العريس؟] [استفسر: ما هي شروط الطلاق، إن وجدت، التي ينبغي أن تكتب في وثيقة العقد؟ لم؟ ولم لا؟] [انتقال] وأخيراً أود أن نتحدث قليلاً حول أمور حياتك اليومية ...

و. الفاعلية والمشاركة

الحركة المكانية

1. في اليوم العادي ماهي الأماكن التي تذهبن إليها؟ [استفسر: هل هناك أماكن أخرى؟]
 2. إلى أي من هذه الأماكن تذهبن بحرية، أو تحتاجين إلى مشاورة أو إذن، أو تحتاجين إلى مرافق؟ كيف تقررین ما إذا كنت تريدين المشورة أو أخذ الإذن أو لا؟
 3. ما هي الأماكن المحلية التي تودين الذهاب إليها ولكنك لم تذهبن إليها بعد؟ ولم لا؟ [استفسر] 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 تذهبن إليها بعد؟ ولم لا؟
 5. هل لديك رخصة قيادة؟ وإن كان لديك ذلك، منذ متى وأنت لديك هذه الرخصة وكم عدد المرات التي تقومين أنت 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 ستحتاجين 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؟ [استفسر: من أعطاك ذلك المال؟ على ماذا أنفقت ذلك المال؟ ممن كان ينبغي عليك الحصول على إذن أو استشارة قبل إنفاق ذلك المال؟] [استفسر: 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؟ [استفسر:] كيف تتصرف المرأة / ما هي كافة الأمور التي يمكن للمرأة أن تقوم بها حين لا تكون مغلوبة على أمرها أو مكسورة الجناح؟ وماذا عن قدرتها على اتخاذ قراراتها بنفسها أو التنقل أو الذهاب إلى أماكن بحرية؟