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THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION AND WORK ON WOMEN'S
POSITION IN QATAR

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences
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ABSTRACT

After the discovery of oil in Qatar, modern education has expanded on a large scale. Access to education has provided opportunities for work, and has helped to change women's role and status. This thesis attempts to analyse the effect of education and work on women's position in contemporary Qatari society.

The thesis is organized in seven chapters. Chapter one describes the geographical and historical background and the structures of traditional and modern society. Chapter two is mainly concerned with women's position and role in the Arab world in general. Chapter three discusses the general characteristics of a random sample of educated working women in Qatar and their family relationships. Chapter four is divided into two parts. The first part deals with education in Qatar in general with special attention given throughout to the education of women. The second part analyses the respondents' opinions on effects of education on women's position. Chapter five is also divided into two parts. Firstly, the labour force is described and the problems of foreign labour are discussed. The second part analyses the respondents' attitudes towards women's work, its effect on the status of women and the problems facing working women. Chapter six discusses in detail the opinions of twelve pioneer women relating to some social and historical issues. Chapter seven summarises the findings of the study and offers some suggestions for dealing with some of the problems which became evident.

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DEDICATED TO

My Mother
My Brothers Magbel and Jaber

and

The Memory of My Father

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to assess the changes in the position of women in society as a consequence of education and work. It is based on the analysis of the responses of a sample of educated women working in the Government sector of employment. The study will also concentrate on the opinions and attitudes of educated working women towards issues concerning their position, status and rights in the different domains of their social and working lives.

It is hoped that the present study of working women in Qatar will illustrate the interaction between the factors of social change and the changing role and position of women in society. The reason for choosing the Government sector is that virtually all Qatari working women are employed in this sector.¹ Education and work, it is argued, play a considerable role in changing women's position. Furthermore, women's status is a good reflection of the society's current degree of development.

The strong social and economic demand in Qatar for education and work has led this researcher to ask what the effects of these two factors are on women's position in society. This thesis also tries to shed some light on the relationship between women's education and their future work and employment (see chapters four and five). The thesis concludes that except in the teaching field, the government does not link the education of women with their future work or with the immediate economic needs of the country. Another purpose of this study is to examine the reason behind women's choice of employment in



general and the reasons for which they seek paid employment.

The study was carried out at a time when Qatari society is experiencing rapid transformation from an underdeveloped and relatively isolated society towards socioeconomic development in the economic, social, political, educational fields and in family life. All these developments have had an important effect on changes in the position of women in society. The discovery of oil and the revenues it has generated have spurred the rapid economic development of the state and necessitated an increase in the labour force, especially after the major increase in oil prices after October 1973.² The rapid changes in the economies of Qatar and of the other Gulf States, following from the increased availability of capital, has been accompanied by some changes in the political and social sphere.³ In consequence, traditional economic activities have been transformed and the old traditional activities such as diving⁴, have vanished. The strong desire of the country for rapid development has overshadowed other, longer-term considerations of economic or social planning.⁵

The development process in Qatar, as well as in the other Gulf States, requires a bigger labour force than can be provided by the indigenous population. This phenomenon of a large, foreign, immigrant labour force has risen.⁶ Out of the overwhelming majority of the labour force is non-Qatari (85.4% in 1983)⁷ and a large and increasing proportion of the migrant labour force is drawn from non-Arab countries.⁸ The import of labour at such a high rate has thus raised the proportion of non-Qataris in the total population.

This conflicts with the declared government policy of Qatarisation which is intended to reduce dependency on the non-national element.⁹

One crucial effect of oil wealth is thus on the demographic composition of the region.¹⁰ The social and political implications of depending on non-national labour to this extent are great and there are increasing signs of national resistance to this trend.

Another characteristic of the labour force in Qatar as well as in the other Gulf States, is the low participation of women.¹¹ Women's recorded participation in the labour force in the Third World as a whole is low, which is partially the result of the inadequacy in the collection of statistical data, which do not take account of women's work in agriculture and other domestic fields that are not organised by institutions. In the Gulf, however, the percentage of females in the labour force is the lowest in the world due to social mores, value systems and traditions in the society.¹² For example, the percentage of national women in the total national labour force in Kuwait is 13.1% (1980) 13.7% in Bahrain (1981) and 16.8% in Qatar (1983).¹³ In 1982, as a proportion of the total labour force in Qatar, women (nationals and non-nationals) constituted 8%.¹⁴ Therefore, increasing the participation of the female element in the labour force is a principal aim of development. There is more discussion of this issue in chapter five. Also this small number of working women is employed in a limited number of professions (teaching, nursing, etc.) and in certain women's organisations. Traditional activities for women also have been lost and have not been replaced by new opportunities in the modern sector.¹⁵ The

domination of the labour force by large numbers of non-Qataris affects the structure of society and at the same time hinders women's full participation in the labour force.

Many sociological studies have been carried out on women in developing countries which are usually studies of females' participation and position in the Third World. However, the position is different elsewhere, with conditions of poverty and lack of employment etc., while in Qatar, and in the Gulf in general, the opposite is true. There is plenty of money, there are lots of job opportunities, and the male Qatari labour force cannot meet the demands of development. The country is suffering many disadvantages from the high proportion of non-nationals in the population and in the labour force, who do not share the same national interest in the long-term future of the state, nor the language and culture of the area. So what can the country do in the face of all of these problems? One solution is to depend on their own people as much as possible, men and women, and because men are already involved in economic activities, employing women in larger numbers than at present is the solution that remains. El Azhary suggested that,

"In choosing strategies for economic development this (the low labour force participation of women) represents a particular constraint on the ability of the Gulf States to expand their productive capacities through the expansion of their labour forces from within their own population.¹⁶

There are some studies on Gulf women which have been carried out in recent years (see Appendix 2). They examine different aspects of women's education, employment, status and role in society. However, with regard to the effects of education and work on women's position

in Gulf society, very little research has been carried out in this area. This thesis used some of the material from the above studies in order to compare and contrast the findings of this project on the effects of education and work on women in the State of Qatar.

The data for the fieldwork (see Appendix 1 for the methodology used in the fieldwork) of this thesis was collected from women working in the government sector in Doha.

The importance of this thesis lies in that: a) it is one of the first studies of its kind in this field with regard to Qatari society; b) it deals with pioneer women in particular fields of work; and c) it encourages further research and investigation on these issues in order to find ways and means of improving women's status and position in Qatari society.

It is believed that education and work are two of the most important factors in their effects on individual beliefs and attitudes and that further all round education and work in all the sectors of the economy will enable women to assess their capabilities and the range of their potential contribution as professional women and will increase their awareness of possible ways of changing and improving the status quo. This could only be achieved if women realise fully where they stand at present.

By finding out the degree of change which is already taking place in women's roles we can assess the degree of development of this society, because society will not achieve any progress if its people

are backward. As was stated earlier, women's full participation is the only solution available to this society to solve its problems with the foreign labour force. It should be mentioned here that, this thesis is not about the labour force as a whole, but about women. The questionnaire deals with this subject. However, because of the importance of the labour force in the development of women's position, thus special attention is devoted to it.

It is the view of the researcher, moreover, that educated working women cannot be divorced from the overall context of their society and its structure. The historical and geographical background incorporated in this research, therefore, is not studied for its own sake, but as an important aspect capable of throwing light on the present structure and social systems of the society.

The historical and geographical background of the traditional society is dealt with in the first chapter, as an introduction to the socioeconomic and political developments, followed by an account of the discovery of oil and the status and position of women in this context. The second chapter gives some general background information on women in the Middle East. The third chapter is devoted to the analysis of the questionnaire and attempts to explore the issues connected with family life. Education is discussed in chapter four, while chapter five is devoted to work and employment. The sixth chapter analyses the responses in the interviews with the pioneer women. Finally chapter seven discusses specific conclusions and recommendations arising from the analysis of the results of this study.

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CHAPTER 1

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter deals with the geographical historical and social background of Qatari society. In the study of any society, it is essential to understand its structure, in order to set the study in its context. The first part describes the geographical and historical background, population and migration and traditional and modern economic activities, while the second part, which is concerned with traditional society, deals with social structure and the family and finally focuses on the role and social status of women in that society.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Qatar is an Arab country situated halfway along the western coast of the Arabian Gulf. Qatar itself is a peninsula. The total mainland area consists of about 10.900 sq.km, and in addition there are three small off-shore islands. Doha, the capital, lies halfway along the eastern coast of the Qatar peninsula¹. Qatar has a desert climate with a long hot summer and a short and mild winter: summer temperatures varying from 21°C to 31°C and occasionally reaching 40°C - 41°C in August. Humidity ranges from 45% to 95% with an average of 70%. In the winter the temperature is mild, with occasional rain, and a drop in humidity to 45% - 55%.² The terrain of Qatar is generally flat with no high areas except in the west where the highest area is the Dukhan hills, which reach 325 feet in height.³

The country is stony, sandy and barren with natural vegetation consisting of only semi-permanent grazing land around oases. Water is in short supply and to overcome this problem the government employs two means: first, artesian wells and secondly, desalinating sea water. This has affected the development of agriculture.⁴

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The religion of the population is Islam. The political system in Qatar is derived from Islamic teachings as well as the traditional tribal system.⁵

From 1871 to 1916 Qatar was influenced by the nominal control of the Ottoman Empire, and from 1916 to 1971 it came under British control, as far as foreign affairs were concerned.⁶ In fact, the treaty with Britain was to protect British interests only, and not to instigate changes in the country, as Abu Saud comments:

'Britain never really showed a true interest in promoting important social changes in Qatar.'⁷

Since 1971 Qatar has enjoyed complete sovereignty over her land.

The recent political history of Qatar began around the mid and late eighteenth century when a group of the Al Utub tribe,⁸ emigrated to Qatar and settled in the town of Zubarah in the northwestern part of the Qatar peninsula. Then they moved towards Kuwait. In 1766 the Al Khalifa, a group of the Al-Utub tribe, returned to Qatar and settled in Zubarah, which in time they developed and made into an important

centre for pearling and trading.⁹ In 1783 they moved to Bahrain and established their shaikhdom there.

By the mid-nineteenth century the power of the Al Thani family was beginning to be felt. They had emigrated from the Central Arabian peninsula to settle ultimately around Doha.¹⁰ As their relationship with the Ottomans, and later with the British Government, developed, their position was given an added acknowledgement of authority. By the early decades of the present century, the Al-Thani were recognised as the ruling family of Qatar,¹¹ and most government ministers belong to this family.

3. POPULATION AND MIGRATION

A. POPULATION

Qatar is characterised by a very low national population. (See table 1.1) In 1908 it comprised 27,000 Qataris and non-Qataris, and non-Qataris accounted for 22.2% of the total population. In 1939 the total population reached 28,000, out of which 39.3% were foreigners. In 1955 the population reached 40,000 and in the 1970 census, the population was estimated to be 111,133 with an increase to 59.5% of the non-Qatari population. In 1981, the population reached 240,000 with an increase of the non-Qataris to 71.8%. In 1982 the total population was 257,981.

Table 1.1 Estimation of population growth in Qatar

Year	Total	Foreign	% of Foreigners	Year	Total	Foreign	% of Foreigners
1908a	27,000	6,000	22.2	1971a	111,000		
1930a	25,000				130,000		
	30,000			1972a	120,000		
1939a	28,000	11,000	39.3		170,000		
1940a	25,000			1973a	170,000		
1951a	20,000				180,000		
1952a	25,000			1975a	160,000		
1955a	40,000				180,000		
1960a	40,000			1976a	180,000		
	60,000				202,000		
1965a	70,000				210,000		
1967a	70,000			1977a	200,000	150,000	75.0
	80,000			1978a	230,000		
1968a	80,000			1979a	250,000	150,000	60.0
	90,000			1980a	240,000	172,300	71.8]
1969a	80,000			1981b	256,000	161,000	63.0
	100,000			1982c	257,081		
1970a	111,133	66,094	59.5				
	111,000		59.0				
	120,000	71,600	59.7				

Sources: a) M. Al-Kubaisi, Industrial Development in Qatar 1950-1980 A Geographic Assessment, Ph.D. thesis, Durham University, 1984, p.25.

b) A. Al-Mussa, The Demographic Policy and Future of Development In Oil-Producing Arab Peninsula Countries, Bahrain, 1985, p.4.

c) State of Qatar, General Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract, July 1985, p.10.

An analysis of the above figures will lead to the conclusion that population growth is mainly dependent on migration rather than natural growth. It is characterised by two main periods: before the 1950's and after the 1950's with the discovery of oil and oil revenues. Before 1950 Qatar had a substantial foreign population, but Qataris constituted the majority of the total, and the rate of population growth was very low at that period.¹² After 1950, when

oil revenues began to accrue in large amounts to Qatar, this brought more economic projects which demanded more foreign workers for employment, large numbers of foreign workers came to work in the country. The oil wealth effected a decline in infant mortality rates and an increase in life expectancy.¹³ The natural increase in 1970 was 3,152, in 1975 - 3,959, in 1980 - 6,088, and in 1983 - 7,458, which with foreign migration affected the rate of population growth. The rate of population growth can be illustrated as follows: 7.5% in the 1960s,¹⁴ 8.4% between 1970 and 1975 and increasing to 10.3% from 1975 to 1980.¹⁵ The population census carried out in 1986 has not been published yet. Therefore, the demographical analysis for the eighties will depend on estimated figures.

Table 1.2 Population By Age Group and Sex - October 1982

Age Group	Males	Females	Total
Below 1 year	3610	3336	6946
1 - 4	13141	12550	25691
5 - 9	14699	14454	29153
10 - 14	13452	12244	25696
15 - 19	11785	10221	22006
20 - 24	17488	9209	26697
25 - 29	22604	8763	31367
30 - 34	20242	7527	27769
35 - 39	14528	6406	20934
40 - 44	10697	4504	15201
45 - 49	6727	2755	9482
50 - 54	5113	1958	7071
55 - 59	2113	956	3069
60 - 64	2008	877	2885
65+	1813	1301	3114
TOTAL	160020	97061	257081

Source: State of Qatar, Central Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract, July 1985, p.10 T5.

In Table 1.2 the demographic characteristics in 1982 show that the higher rate of population growth is in the male category, representing about 62.2% of the total population, while the female population represents 37.8% of the total population. This is rather unusual compared to most countries where the percentage for both sexes is more or less equal.¹⁶ The most unequal sex ratio is concentrated in the age brackets of 20-34, i.e. in the younger productive age groups.

This unbalanced structure is due to the male foreign labour force as the state requires male labour to participate in the development of the country.¹⁷ The age distribution of the population in Qatar, like other Gulf countries, is young.¹⁸ In 1982, 34.03% of the total population in 1982 were less than 15 years of age. In addition, most of the foreign migrants are young adults.

B. MIGRATION

Migration in Qatar is divided into internal and external. Internal migration began in the 1960s. This was due to the lack of modern services and work in Qatari villages, which encouraged massive internal migration from the villages to the capital, Doha, where 80% of the total population now live. By the 1970s most of the villages had lost their inhabitants. This migration had a negative impact on the rural areas.¹⁹ Due to the policy of neglect of those villages, the population moved out and stopped practising its traditional activities, abandoning and destroying the political and economic dynamism which characterised especially the northern villages.

C. EXTERNAL MIGRATION

It is difficult to find data on external migration as it is one of the State's top secrets connected with the security of the State.²⁰ Therefore, the discussion will concentrate on data which are based on estimates in most cases and have become available from various sources.

External migration has been massive, especially after the discovery of oil and the increase in revenues. This led to rapid development programmes in the construction sector and in the social services. This in turn led to a heavy dependence on a foreign labour force. Hence, immigration increased and the size of the immigrant society grew to the point where the national population has become a minority in its own country.²¹

In the whole of the Gulf area the immigrant population increased from 2,000,000 in 1975 to 4,250,000 in 1980 (an average increase of 22.5% per annum) and this has upset the population balance in the area.²²

Table 1.3 Population Estimates by Nationality and Sex at the end of 1981

Nationality		Male	Female	Total	% of the Total
Qataris	No	47000	48000	95000	37% 27.6 55.8
other Arabs	No	28000	13000	41000	16
	%	16.5	15.12		
Non-Arab	No	95000	25000	120000	47
	%	55.9	29.1		
TOTAL	No	170000	86000	256000	100
	%	66	34	100	

Source: A. Al-Mussa, The demographic policy and future of development in oil producing countries of the Arab Peninsula, Bahrain, 1985, p.4.

Table 1.3 shows that in 1981 the non-Qatari population represented 63% of the total population in Qatar and non-Arabs represented 47%. Most of the non-Qatari population - 74.5% - were from Asia.²³ Qatar, like the United Arab Emirates, has suffered a demographic dilution of its national population whereby they represent a minority group in society and are numerically dominated by non-Arab elements of the immigrant population.²⁴ As mentioned above, the factors which have interacted and contributed to the appearance of this phenomenon are: the small number of the national population, the increased demands for foreign labour and a further increase in oil revenues in 1973 which further expanded the foreign labour market because of the massive investments in infrastructural projects.²⁵

Table 1.4 Non-Qatari Population

	No.	%
1970 (1)		
Arab	23,208	35.1
Non-Arab	42,886	64.9
TOTAL	66,094	100
1979 (1)		
Arab	34,468	20.6
Non-Arab	132,768	79.4
TOTAL	167,236	100
1981 (2)		
Arab	41,000	25.5
Non-Arab	120,000	74.5
TOTAL	161,000	100

- Sources: (1) Al-Kubaisi, M.A. Industrial development in Qatar 1950-1980, A geographical assessment. Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Durham University, 1984, pp 33-34.
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The non-Qatari immigrants as shown in Table 1.44 were a mixture of several cultures, the majority being of non-Arab origin and representing 64.9% of the total of the non-Qatari population in 1970, 79.4% in 1979, and 74.5% in 1981.

Although the law in Qatar affirms a preference for Arab labour, (Law No 3 of 1962, regulating the process of using immigrant labour, Arab and non-Arab),²⁶ the figures seem to indicate otherwise. It would seem that Asian labour is preferred, being cheaper than the rest.²⁷

This phenomenon of migration in Qatar is characterised by a dominant non-Qatari population which has social, political and economic repercussions in society.²⁸ This situation needs to be further studied so that accurate estimates can be calculated of the demand for the foreign labour force and the advantages and disadvantages of such a phenomenon could be explored. There is the whole issue of how far the foreign labour force should be regarded as a temporary or permanent phenomenon and of the granting of national rights to those who settle permanently (one can already quote examples of this). In addition, this has an impact on women in the labour market (see Chapter Five). There is the whole issue of how far the foreign labour force should be regarded as a temporary or permanent phenomenon and of the granting of national rights to those who settle permanently (one can already quote examples of this).

4. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

A. TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES

The harsh geographical and climatic conditions of Qatar did not encourage agricultural development before the discovery of oil. The sea was the main source of income: diving for pearls,²⁹ fishing, trading and maritime transport while pastoral activities, such as

raising domestic animals, was mainly a complementary activity for the coastal settlements but the principal activity in the interior.³⁰

As a consequence of the importance of the sea activities, the majority of the people* lived near the sea, especially in the north of Qatar, which was the centre of economic and political activities at that time. Lorimer mentioned that there were 817 diving ships in Qatar in 1939, with 12,890 men working in them.³¹ The diving industry was not only the main source of income for the majority of the people. It was also a way of life. Its system of working³² and the role of a man in this industry affected a man's status in his community as this career was inherited in the family.³³ This way of life also had implications for the role of women.

It did affect social and economic life, which suffered an economic depression during the diving season, while after the season there was a good deal of economic activity. It was normal for such social activities as marriage, to be postponed until the men returned from the sea with profits.³⁴ The pearl industry began to decline before the discovery of oil for the following reasons: the First World War, the international monetary crisis in 1929 and the subsequent discovery and development of the cultural pearl industry in Japan, and the Second World War. Finally the discovery of oil itself created better employment and fixed wages for the people.³⁵

*Because bedouin people also joined in this diving journey, especially if the year was dry.

Fishing was one of the main activities and the main source of nutrition.³⁶ Trade and maritime transport activities were among the principal occupations of people in Qatar as well as in other neighbouring countries. Qatar traded with its neighbours, Africa and India.³⁷

B. MODERN ACTIVITIES

The oil revenues transformed Qatar from an underdeveloped country into a semi-developed one. Qatar's economy has been dependent on the exploitation of oil and gas since 1950.³⁸ Oil was discovered in 1939 but economic production did not start until 1949.* The force of change in economic resources has brought great wealth to Qatar, which has played an essential role in the adoption of a policy of establishing some other forms of heavy and light industries.³⁹

The income from the export of oil constituted about 92% of the total revenues of the government from 1975 to 1980 and in Qatar, as in other oil-producing countries of the Gulf, oil has been the main economic source for the improvement of the welfare of the people. This policy makes Qatar a country of services and its people consumers.⁴⁰ As a result of the development and the establishment of a modern economic sector, most of the old activities have vanished.⁴¹ And this situation has an effect on women's role at the present time, which has become more that of a consumer.

*Because of the Second World War, production of oil was delayed until 1949.

The basic economic activities in the pre-oil era in Qatar as well as in other Gulf states, revolved around sea activities in the same way as they now revolve around the petroleum sector.⁴² The speed of the economic growth and plans for the modernisation of Qatar, have brought significant changes in women's position and the society as a whole, and the transformation can be directly related to the discovery of oil and its revenues.⁴³

5. TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

A. THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The social structure of the pre-oil era (and to a certain extent of the post-oil era) society in Qatar was based on a tribal system.⁴⁴ The tribes were groups of bedouin people who settled in the Arabian Gulf area as two main types: the pearl-diving tribes (along the coast of the peninsula) and the bedouin desert tribes (in the interior of the country). Although there were and still are essential differences among the two types of tribes, they did not hinder the possibility of the one type adopting the way of life of the other. Many bedouin tribes when they found the opportunity to settle along the coast and their economic life depended on fishing and diving, found the new forms of production easy to adopt.⁴⁵ The first settlements took the form of self-governing communities which comprised the tribe, or part of the tribe, whose members were all related.*

*A very common phenomenon in Doha which still has some communities called after the tribal name, such as Farij al Sulata, Farij al Khalifat, etc.

The tribe was structured in the following way. At the head of the tribe a shaikh was selected by the rest of the members of the tribe as their chief, leader and supreme authority. He had great prestige and was chosen for his seniority, lineage, wisdom and hospitality. He controlled, defended and protected the interests of the tribe. The decision-makers of the tribe were men.⁴⁶

The individual members of the tribe had to show unquestionable loyalty to the tribe and adhere to and defend its customs, traditions, rituals and interests. Any nonconformist attitude was punishable and punitive measures were taken against the offender as such actions could disgrace or make the tribe as a whole suffer.⁴⁷

On the other hand, it was the duty of the tribe to provide its members with protection, safety and defence, as the practices of "blood revenge" and "blood ransom" indicate. For example, "blood revenge" was practised when a member of the tribe was killed by a member of another tribe whereby revenge in a similar fashion was carried out. The payment of "blood ransom" was performed when the whole tribe collected money to pay off the tribe of the victim. In other words, loyalty was demanded by both individual members and the tribe as a whole.⁴⁸

In addition, every tribe had the responsibility to transmit the culture and heritage of their communal society to the next generation. This included the tribe's heroism, oral literature, wisdom and poetry. They were transmitted in the 'majlis', or the tribal guest room, which was the focal point for such activities and

played a vital role in educating the younger generation, specifically the boys.⁴⁹

The close ties among the members of the tribe and its unity were a result of the homogeneity of the tribe, based on consanguineous groups and kinship relationships. The strength of the relationships among individuals depended on blood relationships. The lineage and residence were patriarchal, based on Islamic belief, whereby the son belongs to the father.⁵⁰ Kinship in society was, and still is, based on a very extended family. All the individual members of the tribe are called 'ibna al 'Amm' cousins.⁵¹ The whole kinship system is an essentially social phenomenon based on principles bound by norms and religion. It has made the family a strong and solid unit in which the child takes its first steps and is prepared socially, psychologically, economically and politically for adulthood. It follows from this that his family was his world and his friends were his brothers and cousins.⁵² There is a saying which illustrates these relations quite clearly:

"My brother and I together against my cousin and my cousin and I together against the stranger".

Generally speaking, the traditional society before the oil discovery was a society where all individuals cooperated with each other in order to survive in a subsistence economy. Respect for the basic customs and norms was essential in order to ensure the continuation and survival of a society which had to face the hardships of not only the economic life, but those of the harsh desert and sea environment.

Therefore, the norms were treated as laws to maintain security and bind each member's role, men and women, to that of the society as a whole, and this is reflected in women's position.⁵³

B. THE FAMILY

The family structure in the traditional society of Qatar, like the rest of the Arabian Gulf societies, was of the extended family type,⁵⁴ representing the basic unit of the tribe system. The large extended family was dominant. It comprised grandfathers, grandmothers, their married sons with their wives and children and their unmarried children, as well as some other relatives, occasionally, all living in one house.⁵⁵ This type of family structure was most suited to the traditional economic activities, such as pearling, fishing, trading and herding. The family was the focus of production as its members participated more actively than the hired workers.⁵⁶ The household, incorporating the extended family was the social unit of production and consumption.

The men's responsibility in the family was for economic affairs, and they all cooperated in financing their families. The son, whether married or single, had to hand over to his father his earnings. The father had an absolute right to take decisions as to how these earnings would be spent.⁵⁷ This type of cooperation among the father and his sons, or among the brothers themselves, when the father died, was an expected and appreciated behaviour within the tribal system.⁵⁸ The relatively simple nature of the economic and social structure at that time, in addition to the influence of the

traditional tribal system, strengthened the bonds between all family members and enabled the extended family to carry out its functions for a long time in Qatari society.⁵⁹ The main functions of the extended family were to maintain affection, security and protection as well as to supply the basic needs of its members.⁶⁰ It also acted as the agent for children's socialisation by teaching them to cope with their traditional tribal system. First of all, and later on, they were taught to be faithful to their religion, Islam, then to their family, and finally, dedication to the tribal interests. These principles of the tribal system played an important role in the rearing and bringing up of the children.⁶¹

The performance of the household activities were generally under the direction of the grandmothers.⁶² The mother was in charge of the socialisation of the girls, and gave them simple household duties, which gradually increased as they grew up. The upbringing of girls revolved round preparing them to play the role of a wife and mother in the future.⁶³

While the mother was responsible for the girls, the father took care of the socialisation of the boys when they reached the age of seven. The majlis acted as the socialising place where the elders and the male guests gathered in the evening to discuss family problems and current events, resolve family quarrels, listen to the old men recount their experiences or discourse upon religion and morals.⁶⁴ It was an informal school where the male children learned how to listen and how to perform the rituals of hospitality with their fathers.⁶⁵ This institution played a vital role in society,

socially, economically, culturally and politically, as most of the activities were carried out there: merchants' agreements, marriage contracts and political agreements. As before, the majlis still plays a role in society although to a lesser degree.

The religious education of the boys was also the responsibility of the father who took the boys to the mosque where they learned their religious duties.⁶⁶ Although women do have access to the mosque, it was socially limited only to men. It was another place where socialisation took place. When the boys grew up they accompanied their fathers to their work to help them and learn their skills.⁶⁷

The head of the extended family was the oldest male who was given absolute authority over his family members and others who belonged to it, by the tribal system. He exercised social control over his family as he was responsible to the tribe for the behaviour of his family.⁶⁸ In other words, this was a patriarchal society where men had absolute authority over women. This is still true today. The man took decisions about marriages, relationships and moving to other areas, and no one had the right to oppose his decisions within the family.⁶⁹ Women had no right to object to their father's, brothers' and husband's orders.⁷⁰ They did not participate in any decision making process and their authority was limited to taking care of their children and grandchildren.⁷¹ The role and status of the individual members of this type of family were defined according to sex and age. Males were regarded as superior to females and older persons commanded more respect than younger ones. The husband was the provider of the family while the wife was expected to take care

of the household duties.⁷² A special social status based on sex and age is not only typical of this society. It is a widely spread phenomenon all over the world.

Marriage in Qatari society is perceived as a religious duty.⁷³ In Qatar, as well as in other Gulf countries marriages are arranged by the parents rather than the couples themselves. The preferred type was marriage among cousins, especially close cousins on the father's side (ibn al'amm).⁷⁴ This ensured the fulfilment of the condition of equal descent.⁷⁵ Endogamous marriages were the most common type at that time. If the marriage was exogamous then the condition of equality had also to be fulfilled. Lineage took precedence over wealth as this traditional saying explains:

"Take a man of good descent even though you may live on a mat".

Descent was important as marriage was not an affair between two people but affected the whole tribe.⁷⁶ Marriage was important because it gave the family and tribe strength, power, importance and pride.

C. WOMEN'S ROLE AND STATUS

The role and status of the Qatari women in traditional society was defined on the basis of the Islamic religion and adapted to the socio-economic and cultural context in which they lived. According to the stipulation of Islam:

'He (God) it is who did create you from a single soul and therefrom did create his mate, that he might dwell with her (in love) ...'

(Quran 7:189)

Men and women, therefore, are equal in status. The differences appeared when the division of labour was carried out according to biological and social considerations such as: the 'stronger' sex versus the 'weaker, child bearing and rearing, family life, and provision of the basic needs through economic activities such as pearl-diving, hunting and fighting.

It is necessary to point out some essential factors which interacted to bring harmony and security to the society as a whole and the family, in particular. While the male members of the society were engaged in hunting, pearl-diving and other activities in order to provide the main source of income to the family, the female members were restricted to the household and domestic life: bearing and rearing children, ensuring the stability of the family, taking care of the daughters, etc. However, this role was common only during the season when the men returned from their pearl-diving expeditions or hunting. In their absence women had, in addition, to provide for the family and it is then that they joined in the production processes, such as fetching water, fishing, collecting wood, trading, etc.⁷⁷

Traditionally, the roles and status of each member was defined according to age and sex. The old members had special roles, mainly in supervision, while the young ones were actively involved in the economic and social life. The young were expected to obey the old

and the female members to obey the male members.⁷⁸ However, in the absence of the male population for three to four months, it was inevitable for the women to assume the social and economic roles of men. Women were even involved in construction, a job which normally could be defined as a "man's" job.⁷⁹ For example, if a woman wanted to add an extra room to her house, she would invite her neighbours to breakfast, and after the social graces, would explain her need for assistance. Normally, a free assistance was given by the female 'labourers'. This system, known as 'Al Mufaza'a' prevailed throughout the Gulf Area, and accordingly, people felt it was their duty to help each other without expecting any reward.⁸⁰

The same is true of the women of the bedouin tribes who actively participated in the production process by weaving, trading their goods, fetching water for domestic purposes, preparing and pitching the tents, in addition to their household chores.⁸¹

The above comments concern women of the middle and lower economic classes. A third group of women of that period was that of the merchant and wealthy class whose material needs were provided by their husbands or families. In this case, they were not given any power and their decision-making ability was severely restricted in comparison to the women of the lower classes who had to carry out certain male jobs in the absence of their husbands. The upper-class women, owing to their husbands' wealth and social status expected and accepted their husbands' polygamous practices.⁸²

Neither the above former two groups, nor the latter group of women

had decision-making ability with regard to whom they would marry and the number of children they would have, or any other major decision concerning the family, tribe, etc. These decisions were totally the responsibility of men.

Women were also used by the society to solve tribal conflicts and issues of power through marriage. If two tribes were in conflict, and wanted to negotiate peace, then a man of high status from the first tribe would marry a woman from the other tribe and through this bond the two tribes would achieve peace as they became relatives.

Because of segregation and due to certain customs of the society, the seclusion of women has been extensively discussed in the literature as absolute. Bearing in mind the socioeconomic and cultural conditions of that time, we cannot but come to the conclusion that such absolute seclusion was not feasible, especially among the middle and lower social classes. While culturally a mixed male-female society was unacceptable, there was freedom of movement within their own communities where the majority of members were relatives. Women were not cut off from public life as Abu Saud pointed out:

"Even if women were separated from men within their special quarters... they were still able to find out what was going on in the public sphere.⁸³

Communication was effected through the male relatives or through other women of the neighbouring tribes on their daily trips to fetch water, wood, etc. Therefore, one could consider certain interpretations of the seclusion of women (which understandably leads to men's seclusion, too) as an exaggeration of the issue and a

misunderstanding of the socioeconomic and cultural life and norms of the traditional society. There were links and interaction between the two sexes in the traditional society of Qatar.⁸⁴

In general, women's activities reflected the needs and socio-economic demands of that period. One cannot elaborate on such issues as education and formal studies since the majority of the population was illiterate and that included the male population too.

To summarise, one has to view the traditional society of Qatar and the role and status of women from the point of view of the historical, religious, socio-economic, cultural and environmental conditions prevailing at that time. One should be cautious in judging that society from the point of view of the values and developments of recent years. The above factors determined the life style, role and status of the members of society, whether men or women.

The status of the women was defined according to her role in society as a wife, a mother, a daughter, a cornerstone of the family life and an economic provider when need arose. To appreciate her status we need to understand the division of labour based on biological factors and the structure of the tribal system where men had to be dominant as the decision makers. However, this is not only typical of the Qatari traditional society and its female population. Most societies were built, developed and continue to operate, to a greater or lesser degree, on such patriarchal principles. On the other hand, one wonders whether illiterate, uneducated and inexperienced in public

life, women, would have had the ability to participate as fully-fledged decision makers, public figures or leaders, given the chance and the opportunity to do so.

CONCLUSION

The accrued wealth from the oil revenues led inevitably to changes not only in the material welfare of the country but also in its infrastructure.

Places which were inaccessible became easily accessible to the people of the country: new roads were built criss-crossing the country from north to south, and east and west, leading towards more mobility of the population; Doha, the capital, became the centre of economic and administrative activities, and Umm Said and Dhukhan turned into industrial towns, while the old centres of the traditional economic and social activities died out. More and more people crossed the borders heading to countries and places unknown to them before - Europe, America, Asia, etc.

The indigenous population gradually increased as the mortality rate fell, due to rises in standards of living and the introduction of a welfare state. Schools were opened and a state-enrolled educational system was introduced followed by the opening of the University. This, naturally, led to wider opportunities for education for the whole of the population.

The new educational system, coupled with the new industrial

activities, gave a broader spectrum of job opportunities. New types of jobs connected with the oil industry, with new administrative systems, and diverse commercial ventures replaced the old fishing and pearl-diving activities of the population.

The surge of the economy and education brought about changes in the social and cultural life of a country which had been cut off from the outside world for a long time. The telecommunication system is an important factor which should not be ignored when discussing such changes. The flow of ideas, news, and cross-cultural processes became possible with the introduction of the radio, television and telephone. The people of Qatar became more receptive and open to the outside world. It is natural to expect that people were not and are not passive viewers and listeners. The influx of foreign labour introduced changes in its own right whether in ideas, customs, food or social relations.

The traditional closely knit community system started to crumble under the pressure of the new economic and social processes necessary for the development of the country. Economic independence led to social and cultural independence, felt in all the social layers of the country.

Bearing in mind all these changes, one would expect that they would have occurred not only in the status and position of, poor and rich, bedouin and urban population, but also in the status and position of the female population of the country. They did occur with more and more women being educated and joining the labour market albeit in a

rather restricted and limited manner. The economic independence of those educated and working women wiped away some of the traditional fears of insecurity, spinsterhood and absolute conformity to the norms of a male-dominated society. Women became educated, more self-confident and economically independent to the extent that it has become necessary for the male population to think of reforming if it is to cope with the new Qatari woman, wife and daughter. The changes are taking place gradually and slowly but the road has been widely opened for them by the economic, social and cultural changes, by the first pioneering working and educated women as well as by the advantages a wealthy country can offer to its people. Nevertheless, as the rest of this thesis will argue women have not benefited to the same extent as men from the oil wealth.

In recent years Qatar has faced radical social and economic changes as a result of the oil revenue. The wealth of the country and the development of its educational system and labour market has affected the position and status of both men and women and has brought about changes in the traditional roles of men and women in the society. However, this wealth has also helped to continue the old traditional customs which affect the women's role and position and this will be apparent in the following chapters.

Before we discuss women's position in Qatar as reflected in the study, we will discuss women's position in the Arab world as a whole.

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CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN THE ARAB WORLD

1. INTRODUCTION

Any study on women of the Arab world needs to take into consideration the socio-political and economic conditions of the different Arab countries and their historical and present trends of development.

The Arab world has always aspired towards unity in their socio-political development based on the fact that Arabs share a common religion, language and civilisation. However, the geopolitical situation together with certain historical events in the various countries and the pressure and influence of foreign powers, have contributed to a wide diversity in traditions, customs, political and economic systems, and the present trends of development. The aspirations are still present, but so are the difficulties and problems facing such a unity and common developments. As a consequence, the Arab world is divided into regions which share more or less the same geographical area, similar customs and traditions, similar features of social and economic systems.¹ It is strange, however, that this great diversity is not to be found in the issues facing women in the Arab world.

There is a striking similarity in their social status and position, in their educational levels, in their present struggle to liberate themselves from the bonds of a male-dominated society. The issues of marriage, divorce, children, education, careers and political rights for women are similar in most of the Arab countries.² All these

issues have a common denominator, i.e. the traditional patriarchal system which has pervaded the whole infrastructure of the society whether at home, school or work. Another common denominator is the religious men and their tenets which more often than not are interpreted in favour of men, whether in the social, political or economic spheres.³ A third common denominator which is not only typical of the Arab society, is the historically lower status and position of the woman, which was shared and is still shared by the majority of women in the developing countries.⁴

For the purpose of this study, the women of the Arab world will be discussed according to the different geopolitical regions by giving examples from the Middle East and the Gulf areas. The study will concentrate on the social status and position of women in Egypt, Algeria and Palestine and on their social status and struggles for social, political and economic rights and emancipation which will be later on compared and contrasted to those of the women in the Gulf area. The above countries have been chosen because of their pioneering role in the history and the present situation of the Arab women's struggle to solve their problems.

As mentioned earlier, the patriarchal structure of the society, is shared by all the Arab countries. Women are destined from their very birth to assume a lower position in the family and later on in society, and to obey the father, the brother and husband. At least theoretically, a woman has no right to exercise a decision-making role.

Such a social family structure is widely-spread in the world but in some developed countries women have managed to break the form and become independent of the dominance of man. Needless to say, there is much to be achieved in the Arab world where most women have not even started to question such a family hierarchy.

The other common denominator shared by all the Arab women is the Islamic religion and its interpretation and implementation in society. Men, who are the only ones allowed to interpret the Islamic tenets, the permissible and the non-permissible in Islam, have found it convenient to repeat over and over again those parts of the Holy Quran and the Hadiths and Sunna which suit the male-dominated society. For example, it is drummed into girls and boys from a very early age that men are above women and women must obey. Those parts where women are supposed to be equal to men are more often than not, quoted for either foreign consumption or by women who have joined the struggle for emancipation.

It must be noted that neither the Holy Quran nor the Hadith and the Sunna, have ever encouraged such an attitude to women. Islam as a religion did liberate women and gave them a much higher social status and position than the one they enjoyed in the pre-Islamic era. Infanticide of baby girls, the buying and selling of women, unrestricted polygamy, unjustified divorce, etc., were all abolished with the adoption of Islam. Women acquired a legal status with rights and duties regarding property, inheritance, etc. Muslim women participated on a par with men in the economic life of their respective countries.⁵

With foreign invasions, mainly the Ottomans, the position of women started to deteriorate. The veil was introduced to differentiate the local women from the slaves and hide from strangers' eyes. The seclusion of women (an old Persian and Byzantine custom) took place among the wealthy classes to differentiate those women from the lower classes, soon to be followed by the middle classes.⁶

The seclusion of women, it would seem, was the first step towards the absolute restriction of women's rights and social, educational, political and economic opportunities. From that time onwards women stayed in the background where their role was defined as the producer of children, the mother and the wife until the voice of sympathetic men, such as Qasim Amin was heard and until the participation of the Arab women in the national liberation movements proved that women could carry other duties and responsibilities, and deserved economic and social rights equal to men.⁷

2. WOMEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A. EGYPTIAN WOMEN

The issue of the emancipation of women was raised in "Tahrir al-Maral" "Women's Emancipation" in 1899 and later "Al-Mara al Jadida" 'The New Women, by Qasim Amin.⁸ He argued that there could be no regenerated Arab society without the liberation and education of women. In particular, he called for the restoration of rights to women conferred on them by Islam but which had become so debased.⁹

The way to emancipation of women, as he pointed out, is to give women the right to education, work, reform of marriage and divorce laws, the use of Islamic veil as well as participation in public life. These points were raised within an Islamic country and among Muslim reformists.¹⁰ Qasim Amin, with his revolutionary statements, made himself one of the first pioneers for women's liberation.¹¹

The re-evaluation brought Egyptian women out of their harems into the public arena to participate in the revolution and politics which enabled them to demand their emancipation as well as their rights.¹² They were from the elite, and from all religious denominations. They worked together to emancipate themselves and they were concerned with women from the same background; that is, upper-class women who were secluded away from public life. The fact that this class give more attention to the education of males than females made for a wide gap between both sexes. This made women unable to reach the standard of their males and consequently the gap increased. For these reasons, the feminist movement aimed first of all to emancipate the elite women and not the whole society.¹³

Arab feminism was given a strong push when Huda Sharawy appeared. She was instrumental in encouraging many women to participate in public life. She was among the first women to work in journalism and to fight to improve women's status, in her two magazines "The Egyptian" issued in Arabic and "L'Egyptienne" issued in French.¹⁴

The supporters of the nationalist movement also promoted feminism. But there was opposition to this feminist movement especially when one of the national leaders, Mustafa Kamil, attacked the ideas of Qasim Amin's demands in "al-liwa" newspaper. The reason for Kamil's opposition came as a result of his belief that conservatism in social affairs would prevent any alien, anti-nationalist subversion within society. He argued that social change was secondary in importance and possible only as a consequence of independence. Because most of the women journalists were non-Egyptians, their attitudes found little favour with the nationalists.¹⁵

Before the 1952 revolution in Egypt, women had no political rights and only some economic and social rights, although they proved their worth in the revolution of 1919 when they worked together with men against English Colonialism. Subsequently, women played a growing role in development and modernisation in the country until, in 1956, they received political and social rights.¹⁶

In recent years women in Egypt, especially educated urban women, have improved their position. The feminist movement has had an impact on society and made the men change their minds and accept the demand for emancipation. Egypt is in the forefront of Arab societies in achieving women's emancipation and rights. It is common now to find women working alongside men. Their participation in several occupations is increasing only slowly, but this is due to economic reasons. There is a growing trend towards adopting the life-style characteristics of Western countries, girls have become free, they can go alone abroad to study or travel and make contact with Western

women, as well as choose their husbands, and arrange their own marriages. Polygamy is a rare phenomena these days because of economic factors, education and the feminist movement.

In rural areas of Egypt, in addition to their traditional role, women participate with their families in all economic functions of the agrarian society, as well as helping their fathers or husbands in the fields. However, girls freedom in the rural society is restricted at an early age.¹⁷ Consequently, the shift from childhood to adulthood in the socializing process of the Arab child, particularly of the girls, is very sudden if compared to the gradual transformation of children into youth and adulthood in western cultures. Women's position in rural areas, is even more difficult as more obstacles face them, one of them being lack of education from which they have suffered for generations.¹⁸ The community's view of rural women is still dominated by traditional values. This position may remain until women in this community are employed in paid occupations which may encourage more changes in their social position.¹⁹

Bedouin women share the hardship of desert life alongside their men. In addition to their domestic duties, they assist in everyday activities. However, they have a low status and unequal relationships between the sexes is very common.²⁰

Bedouin, rural and working class women do not seem greatly interested in the differences between the two sexes, because most of their time and energy are taken up with working hard to earn a living. Their level of awareness is very low as they are not educated and are

rarely in contact with any other social groups and cultures to enable them to draw a comparison with regard to their social status and position.

The position of women in Egypt is similar in many respects to that in other Arab countries. However, although urban women participate less in economic affairs than the women in villages or their Bedouin counterparts. They have advantages over their sisters in the rural and bedouin communities. However, in all cases, women do not fully participate in decision-making.

B. NORTH AFRICAN WOMEN: TUNISIA, ALGERIA AND MOROCCO

Women in North Africa also traditionally played a marginal role in social life. However, there were thinkers and fighters for the emancipation of women. In Tunisia, in 1930, al-Taḥer al-Hudād, published his book "Our Family In the Sharia and Society". He demanded the education of girls, vocational training for women, an increase in the participation of women. His demands faced opposition from French Colonialists who considered demands to emancipate women as the first step to national liberation. Opposition also came from the religious leaders, who argued on the contrary, that the feminist movement was very dangerous and could divert attention from the nationalist cause.²¹

In fact it was the participation of Algerian women in the struggle for national independence which changed the status of Algerian women. Since independence, women have had the same rights as men, especially

political rights such as the right to vote, although they largely abstain from this right.²² This attitude may be due to the prevalence of illiteracy among Algerian women, as well as the society's attitudes towards women which has not changed. In addition, it is doubtful whether men wanted women to enjoy their rights after independence or not. After the struggle was ended there appears to have been some regression to the 'status quo'.

C. PALESTINIAN WOMEN

The political situation in Palestine, the Palestine liberation movement and the phenomenon of Palestinian refugees all over the world, have brought about many changes in the social position and status of Palestinian women. They fight alongside men to free their own country and this has gained them the respect of men and society as a whole. They have equal opportunities with men in education and work. However, they are in a special position, as their life-styles, and education and work opportunities depend on the environment where they are brought up. The common bond between them is the fight for the liberation of their country but there are also many differences depending on whether they live and work in America, Europe or in other Arab countries. In general, Palestinian women do not hesitate to take up jobs which bring them in contact with men, they do not consider educational opportunities to be based on sex and this leads them to fields which in many other Arab countries will be considered unsuitable for women. One may add, that Palestinian women are in the forefront, leading women towards a more liberated society.²³

3. MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND REPRODUCTION

Marriage in Arab countries is a family affair: in most cases it is an arranged marriage and among relatives, especially among the rural bedouin and the working classes in the urban area. The phenomenon of early marriage is still practised in the Arab countries. In fact Islam specifically prohibited forced marriage. In practice, however, this has proved difficult to implement, as girls and young women are reluctant to speak up against their father's or guardian's choice of husband for fear of incurring their family's anger.²⁴

Monogamous marriage is the usual form of marriage in the Arab societies, but this does not exclude the existence of polygamy. Polygamy was practised before Islam, no religious laws forbade it, and there was no limit to the number of wives a man could have. When Islam came, it limited this kind of marriage to specific circumstances and the Holy Quran limited the number to a maximum of four. Polygamy was permissible only if a man could provide justice between wives,²⁵ which means equality in maintenance and treatment, the exception being love, because that is not a human choice. If they could not provide justice between their wives, they had to keep to one. The Holy Quran instructs men to:

"marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four. But if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them). Then only one,..."²⁶

And in another verse says,

"... ye are never able to be fair and just as between women. Even if it is your ardent desire..."²⁷

This verse is clearly to forbid polygamy and to direct people to have only one wife if they cannot provide justice, equity and equality between a number of wives. There are some circumstances cited by the Prophet, Mohammed, in which a man can marry another wife; for example, if his wife is barren or sick and will not recover, or the country is at war and the number of women is larger than the number of men.²⁸ In fact, most men who do take a second wife do not follow these conditions. Islam allowed women to stipulate in the marriage contract that the man should not be allowed to marry another woman.²⁹ However, they do not practice this right. Polygamy is no longer common in Arab countries and where it exists it is restricted to two wives only. Polygamy, however, cannot be measured by the number of persons who practice it. The psychological damage to the security of women must also be taken into account.³⁰

The other social phenomenon is divorce, which Islam permitted as the last solution, if life becomes impossible for a couple. The Prophet declared divorce to be the most disliked of lawful things in the sight of God.³¹ Divorce is a man's right, but women can ask the court for divorce in particular circumstances, such as her husband not providing a sufficient maintenance for his wife, or being physically disabled, or if he is absent for a year or more without a reasonable reason, or if he is in jail for three years, when she has a right to ask for divorce after one year.³² Also, women can end a marriage by giving back all the marriage expenses to the husband. Another way found in Islam, but not widely practised by women is that she may have an Isma in her marriage contract, which means the

husband has delegated to her his power to divorce when she wishes. However, usually it is not included.³³ Another characteristic of Arab countries is a high birth rate especially among the working classes, rural and bedouin women,³⁴ who believe that more children will make the men satisfied and willing to stay with them. However, in the urban areas, people have started to change their attitudes towards large families, with both men and women restricting the high birth rate.

4. EDUCATION AND WORK

The limitation of educational opportunities for women in much of the Arab societies, has limited their numbers in different fields of work. There will be no solution to women's problems unless educational opportunity is open to them in all subjects and working conditions are improved.³⁵

Education is an important factor in changing society, several Arab countries recognise this fact and make education compulsory at least at primary level. The expansion of education has introduced new patterns of thought, lifestyle and behaviour, support for the reform of traditional society and demands for the emancipation of women.³⁶

Women in the Arab world work outside home mainly because of economic reasons, and most of them work in low status jobs, or in jobs which are considered an extension to their traditional role such as teaching, and nursing. The majority of women waged employees are in these sectors which involve services, and not production.³⁷ In fact,

the state policies of Arab countries have the declared objective of increasing the number of working women and it is considered (at least legally) an equal right for both sexes. The small recorded participation of women in the labour market is due to many reasons: social, economic, political and statistical. Social attitudes are often still against women's work outside the home. For instance, Susan has found in her study of a Moroccan village that it is generally accepted that women work in jobs which lower their status, especially when this involves contact with males, which is against the traditions of society.³⁸ In addition, because of economic difficulties in the majority of Arab countries, in practise policies give preference to men for jobs over women,³⁹ because they are bread-winners for their families. Furthermore, the statistics do not include domestic and agricultural work, in which women play the major role in many Arab societies.⁴⁰

This difference between the sexes in the majority of Arab countries, came as a result of their patriarchal systems. This kind of society is opposed to women working on equal terms with men although they do work, in most cases, for economic reasons. Their position in society is inferior to that of men.

5. WOMEN IN THE GULF

Women's issues in Gulf societies are women's issues in general, but they are linked to the specific characteristics of each society. Fundamentally, women in the Gulf are not much different than other

Arab women, because they share most of the same difficulties and problems.⁴¹

Women in the pre-oil Gulf area participated with men in the hardships of life in order to survive, although in spite of their economic participation, their social position was inferior and differed from one category to another.⁴² Women, were and still are, suffering from social segregation, where the participation of women in public life is limited. In some cases, their position has worsened. For instance, village or bedouin women when they move from their settlements to towns find themselves segregated and limited in their movement outside the home, and they lose their freedom of movement which they had in their communities, since every community was descended from one tribe and every one was related, but in towns they encounter different categories of people, most of them foreign men.⁴³

A. MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND REPRODUCTION

The social issues which harm Gulf women relate to the practices of marriage, polygamy and divorce. Marriages in the Gulf are arranged and tribal and blood ties are still extremely important in this process,⁴⁴ because marriage is seen as concerned with the association between two families. This was the case and still is so because the tribal social structure of society demands it. Marriage among relatives is still found, but marriage among different tribes which are equal in social status, is the most common expectation.⁴⁵ There are some traditional practices and customs which are still found in

society. For instance, some families do not allow a suitor to see his fiancée, although Islam insists that they should see each other before marriage. The insistence of families on practising this custom is based on social and political reasons. It is found more among tribal than among non-tribal people. This custom may be associated with a high divorce rate; according to A. Hussain's study "Divorced Kuwaiti Women and Work", the major reason for the divorce was the way in which marriages were arranged.⁴⁶ This practice may have led to Gulf men marrying foreign wives. According to Al-Ansarri,

"... the real reason behind the phenomenon of foreign marriage is the nonexistence of suitable opportunities to finalise a choice because suitable conditions are not provided for both sexes to see each other..."⁴⁷

In addition to this phenomenon, another one has appeared in recent years: the increasing numbers of single women in the society. This is due, to some extent to educated couples wanting to see and know each other before marriage. This, however is prohibited by the society.

Polygamy, although a relatively unusual form of marriage, is still a notable phenomenon in some groups of society. For instance, it can be found more among bedouin than urban people, among royal families more than other people and among old people more than the young.⁴⁸ This kind of marriage has nearly disappeared among educated people, as Kamla Nath said:

"Polygamy had disappeared among the educated young, although it was still prevalent among the old..."⁴⁹

The existence of polygamy in society exacerbates the inferior social position of women. Economic wealth has an important role in continuing this phenomenon as men are more able to support two wives. In fact, Gulf women do not agree with this type of marriage,⁵⁰ but they accept it, especially when they have children. The practice of polygamy in Gulf societies may be considered as behaviour contradictory to fundamental Islamic beliefs. Most Gulf women find polygamous marriages disadvantageous for many reasons, such as equality between different family names, children, etc.⁵¹

The other social phenomenon is divorce, where the situation is similar to that in other Arab societies. Whereas it is a man's right, women can ask for divorce through a court. However, many social and physical difficulties face divorced women, such as children living with their father when they reach a certain age. Also, divorced women go back from where they came, namely to their father or brother or another male relative's household until they re-marry. If they do not re-marry, a grown son is required to support his mother. However, a divorced woman becomes a burden on somebody.⁵² In addition divorced women have fewer chances of re-marriage than divorced men. These difficulties and others make women think long and hard before they ask for divorce.

It is interesting that divorce is practised more among bedouin people.⁵³

Also there is a relationship between education and divorce, since the rate of divorce increases among illiterate people and is reduced among educated people.⁵⁴

Gulf societies are in need of more people, and people realise this need, but the use of contraceptive aids among women is common in the Gulf society, especially the educated ones. Thabit's study in the United Arab Emirates found that a small-sized family was a priority in his sample, i.e. not more than four children.⁵⁵ So women in Gulf societies have changed their attitudes towards more reproduction. This may be due to their changing view of themselves, or in order to be able to perform two roles.

In Gulf and other Arab societies the perfect family is seen as one which has children because children, in most cases, are essential to establish the marriage and to continue the line. People like to have boys, especially a male first child, to carry the family name, which is an old custom which persists in Gulf societies.⁵⁶

B. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE GULF

Women in the Gulf area have not had a women's movement and women's organisations until the late 1950s, because of the absence of educated women. 1955 was the first year of the establishment of a women's society, when women in Bahrain founded the Bahrain Young Ladies Society, which drew their members from the elite and was based on voluntary activities, which provided some social services for poor families. This was followed by a similar organisation in Kuwait in

1962. There are now six women's societies in Bahrain and two in Kuwait.⁵⁷

There is no proper women's organisation in Qatar except a women's branch of the Red Crescent which started in 1980.⁵⁸ The establishment of women's societies in the United Arab Emirates started in 1972/3 with the founding of six societies for women, in different Emirates.⁵⁹ Most of these societies are headed by women from the ruling families.⁶⁰ Thus the women's groups in some Gulf States was started by elite women who established the first organisation in Bahrain. In addition, they were the first women participating in the labour market as teachers etc.

Concerning the practice of political rights, it has been found that Arab women in those countries which had been under military colonization had gained political rights because of the participation of women in national liberation. In the Gulf area there are only two states which give political rights to their people, Kuwait and Bahrain. However, the practice of these rights is limited to men, although the laws of these states do not reject the idea of women participating in political life.⁶¹

Thus, if women are to change their position and obtain their equal rights, more work is required. We will argue that this involves having a more varied education and helping other women to be educated because education can combat the widespread illiteracy found among women and can increase women's awareness.

CONCLUSION

To summarise the main points of this chapter.

Women's position in Arab societies is different in various social classes and countries. The major change is apparent in the urban educated women, while the others are still influenced by traditional social norm and the conservative attitudes which still exist. Some rights (e.g. political) which have been granted are not exercised by most women.

Women in the Gulf region are even less liberated than women in other Arab societies. Although women in the Gulf have gained more education in recent years (see Chapter 4), they are still suffering from many problems. Because of economic prosperity for instance, polygamy still exists in Gulf society, while economic difficulties played a major role in the disappearance of polygamy in other Arab countries such as Egypt.

The wealth of the Gulf countries could be considered as a two-edged weapon with regard to women's struggle for emancipation and equality. This is so because on the one hand, wealth presents them with many opportunities for work and on the other hand, it could be like opium which hinders women from awakening.

After this discussion of women's position in Arab societies, we will discuss Qatari women's position by analysing the attitudes and opinions of the random sample, as we will see in the next Chapter.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

AND THEIR FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the general characteristics of the random sample containing primary information about the sample such as age, marital status, children, education, occupation, social background and their marriage. Secondly, information is given on their education and employment conditions, including languages spoken, promotion in their occupation, job satisfaction, and some working conditions such as shifts, overtime and daily working hours and annual and maternity leave. The final part will focus on subjects connected with family life, such as the marriage system, reproduction, divorce and polygamy, difficulties of marriage in present society, such as late marriage and the problem of taking a non-Qatari wife and, lastly, changing Qatari family relationships.

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RANDOM SAMPLE

The number of women in the random sample totalled 109. These were women working in the government sector, as the overwhelming majority of Qatari women are employed in this sector. (see Chapter 5). Two thirds of the number in the sample were in the teaching profession and other jobs in educational institutions. The teachers represented 49.5% of the total sample. In the preliminary stage, the sample was divided into two main groups: the teachers and the other

employees, 'non-teachers'. This was done in order to identify possible differences in relation to their occupation. When the results were compared, it became obvious that there were no significant differences in their responses. Therefore, the researcher decided to treat them as one group.

2.1. PRIMARY INFORMATION ON THE RANDOM SAMPLE

a) Age

It was found that the number of working women in the age range 20 to 29 years was the largest. This is not surprising as the educational system has been recently introduced (see Chapter 4) and these are the first graduates from the university or secondary schools (see Table 3.1). The average age is 26. The differences in age between those who are married and their husbands are not large; the average age of the husbands is 30 (see Table 3.2).

TABLE 3.1 Age Group of the Random Sample (women)

age-group	No.	%
20 - 24	40	36.7
25 - 29	53	48.6
30 - 34	15	13.8
35 - 39	1	0.9
TOTAL	109	100

TABLE 3.2 Age Group of Respondents' Husbands

age-group	No.	%
20 - 24	3	5.5
25 - 29	17	30.9
30 - 34	19	34.5
35 - 39	7	12.7
40 - 44	4	7.3
No reply	5	9.1
TOTAL	55	100

b) Marital Status

The marital status of the sample is divided into roughly equal groups between married and single women (see Table 3.3). With regard to their occupation, 60 per cent of the married women are teachers; 40 per cent are non-teachers while 32.3 per cent of the single women are teachers, and 62.7 per cent are non-teachers. This result suggests that it is more likely that teachers will be married because of a combination of two factors. First, a teaching job is considered more respectable for women by the society; second, women who are married or intend to get married choose this profession because the working conditions make it easier for them to carry out their family responsibilities. In addition, teaching is the most usual occupation for all educated women because other choices are limited and this is the field where women have easy access because of government and educational policies.

TABLE 3.3 Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status	No.	%
single	51	46.8
married	55	50.5
divorced	2	1.8
widowed	1	0.9
TOTAL	109	100

c) Number of Children

Most of the married women, as shown in Table 3.4, have between two and three children. This may suggest that working women tend to have a small-sized family. There is a big difference compared to the children of their family of origin. Most of them come from a large-sized family: half of these families of origin have between six to nine children (see Table 3.5). However, it must be borne in mind that the respondents are of child-bearing age and it is expected that eventually they will increase the number of children since most of them have shown preference for at least four children. (See Table 3.3.5)

TABLE 3.4 Number of Children

Children Number	No.	%
1	8	14.04
2	16	28.1
3	13	22.81
4	4	7.02
5	2	3.51
6	2	3.51
No children	10	17.15
No reply	2	3.51
TOTAL	57	100

TABLE 3.5 Number of Children in Family of Origin

Children Number	No.	%
1	2	1.8
2	3	2.8
3	6	5.5
4	9	8.3
5	9	8.3
6	13	11.9
7	15	13.8
8	18	16.5
9	13	11.9
10	7	6.4
11	6	5.5
12	2	11.8
no reply	6	5.5
TOTAL	109	100

d) Educational Level

The respondents have different educational levels, from secondary level and above. Most of the respondents (68.8% of the total sample) have a university degree as shown in Table 3.6, which is a reflection of the importance of a university degree to enter the professional sector in the labour market. Qatari women who are employed are in this professional sector because foreign labour does all semiskilled and unskilled jobs. Most of the married women are holders of a university degree, as shown in Table 3.7, while about 50% of their husbands have a university degree. The table also shows that at least 16.3% of the married women are married to husbands with a lower educational level than themselves. This could reflect a difficulty facing the marriage of the highly educated women. In the end they accept marriage to a man with a lower educational level rather than remaining single, or in some cases, they married while they were students and continued their studies subsequently to a higher level than that of their husbands.

TABLE 3.6 Educational Levels of the Sample

Educational level	No.	%
Secondary and other Institutions	19	17.4
Diploma	13	11.9
University education	75	68.8
Postgraduate	2	1.8
TOTAL	109	100

TABLE 3.7 Husband-Wife Educational Levels

Educational level	Husband		Wife	
	No.	%	No.	%
Primary	2	3.6	-	-
Preparatory	7	12.7	-	-
Secondary and other Institutes	11	20	11	20
Diploma	-	-	6	10.9
University education	26	47.3	37	67.3
Postgraduate	4	7.3	1	1.8
No replies	5	9.1	-	-
TOTAL	55	100	55	100

e) Occupation

Almost half of the sample population are teachers but only 16.5 per cent have entered the higher status professions (groups 3, 7-10, see Table 3.8). This creates a general impression that women are still concentrated in "women's jobs" which are considered as an extension of their traditional role or as easy or suitable jobs for women, while their husbands work in different jobs and hold various positions according to their educational level and qualifications. (See Table 3.9). The importance of migrant labour, in occupying many of the less desirable as well as the prestigious jobs, is also obviously important.

Most of the respondents came from the Ministry of Education (see Table 3.1.1), where they work in teaching or other related jobs. As was mentioned earlier, the concentration of working women in this field is due to the social attitudes towards this field of work which are positive and the other fields where attitudes tend to be more negative as they are considered not suitable for a woman's nature or for that matter for Qataris as a whole. Other studies on Arab societies have also found that women are found in the teaching or related jobs as these are considered most suitable for them, and the best jobs for women.¹

Some of the respondents in the sample started their work in the late sixties, but the majority of them started working in the eighties. This is due to the young average age of the sample. (see Table 3.2.1)

TABLE 3.8 Occupations in the Sample

Occupation	No.	%
1. Teacher	54	49.5
2. Nurse	2	1.8
3. Medical doctor	2	1.8
4. Social worker	9	8.3
5. Administrative	19	17.4
6. Technician	7	6.4
7. Lecturer	2	1.8
8. Headmistress assistant	3	2.8
9. Headmistress	8	7.3
10. Graduate assistant	3	2.8
TOTAL	109	100

TABLE 3.9 Husband's Occupations

Occupation	No	%
Self-employed	2	2.8
Engineering	3	2.8
Office worker	23	21.1
Teaching	3	2.8
Police/Army	11	10.1
Company	5	4.6
Lecturing	1	.9
Medicine	1	.9
Manual work	1	.9
Not applicable	53	48.6
No reply	6	5.5
Total	109	100

TABLE 3.1.1 Place of Work

	No.	%
Ministry of Education	75	68.8
Ministry of Information	4	3.7
Ministry of Public Health	8	7.3
Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	3	2.8
Hamad General Hospital	7	6.7
Qatar University	12	11.0
TOTAL	109	100

TABLE 3.1.2 Year of Starting Work

Year	No.	%
69	1	0.9
70	1	0.9
71	1	0.9
72	1	0.9
73	2	1.8
74	3	2.8
75	2	1.8
76	7	6.4
77	1	0.9
78	5	4.6
79	5	4.6
80	14	12.8
81	7	6.4
82	9	8.3
83	16	14.7
84	27	24.8
85	3	2.8
No reply	4	3.7
Total	109	100

f) Social Background

It is worth mentioning the social background of the respondents: the size of the family of origin, as mentioned before, is large; there is a considerable age difference between the ages of their parents, where the average age of the father is 58 while the average age of the mother is 48; most of the parents are illiterate while most of their siblings are educated; most of their fathers work in the public and private sectors, while their mothers stay at home and perform their domestic role; most of their siblings are students or working, mainly in the government sector. (see Appendix 3).

As this sample was chosen as a random sample, the respondents represent different social, economic and political groups in society.

g) Marriage

It is apparent from Table 3.1.3 that about a quarter of the married women have been married for ten or more years. Among the married women, 53.5% are married to relatives, while 41.4% are married to other Qataris and only 3.4% are married to men from other Arab countries. There is no respondent married to a non-Arab. Marrying relatives consolidates traditional patterns. Of course this can be done because relatives are equally well-off economically. The majority of them were married while they were still students, thus at a young age and approximately half of them married while at university. (see Table 3.1.4 and Table 3.1.5). Most of them finished their education after being married which indicates that marriage is not an obstacle to women's education in this particular sample. (See Table 3.1.5). However, this does not mean that there are no women in the society for whom marriage was not or is not an obstacle to their future education.

TABLE 3.1.3 Year of Marriage

The year	No.	%	The year	No.	%
1968	2	3.6	1978	4	7.3
1969	1	1.8	1979	4	7.3
1970	1	1.8	1980	2	3.6
1971	1	1.8	1981	4	7.3
1972	2	3.6	1982	6	10.9
1973	-	-	1983	3	5.5
1974	1	1.8	1984	5	9.1
1975	6	10.9	1985	1	1.8
1976	3	5.5	No reply	2	3.6
1977	7	12.7			
			TOTAL	55	99.9

TABLE 3.1.4 Educational level at the time of marriage

Q. If you got married while still studying, what level of education did you have when you got married?

Educational level	No	%
Primary level	1	2.2
Preparatory level	5	11.1
Secondary level	15	33.3
University level	21	46.7
Postgraduate level	3	6.7
TOTAL	45	100

TABLE 3.1.5 Completed Education after Marriage

Q. If you got married before finishing your education, have you continued your education?

Yes		No		No replies		Total	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
35	77.8	6	13.3	4	8.9	45	100

TABLE 3.1.6 Relation to Husband

Relation to husband	No.	%
1. Paternal Cousin	12	20.7
2. From the family	15	25.9
3. From the tribe	4	6.9
4. From Qatar	24	41.4
5. From another Arab Country	2	3.4
6. Foreigner	-	-
No replies	1	1.7
TOTAL	58	100

2.2 INFORMATION ON EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

a) Languages:-

These respondents were asked whether they spoke any other languages apart from Arabic. From the analysis of their answers, it seems that the majority speak English and are able to read and write it.

Some commented that this is the foreign language they learned at school. One should mention that the English language is the most widely spoken language at an official level in Qatar. It is also the language of communication not only between the Qataris and the other non-Arabs, but also the language of communication in the hospitals, banks and commercial centres. This is due to Qatar's long standing (historical) link with Britain and current relations with the USA due

to oil production.

All the respondents had some knowledge of English as it is taught as the first foreign language in the schools for seven years and it is a university requirement. There were eight respondents who in addition to English, could speak French and seven respondents who spoke other languages such as Persian.

b) Occupational Structure:-

With regard to their previous employment, only a third of the sample had another job before the present one, some of them had been promoted to a higher-status job such as from a deputy headmistress to a headmistress, and a few were transferred to a similar job but to another place of work (see Table 3.1.7). In other words women's promotion and progress at work can be represented vertically and horizontally. The small number of respondents who had progressed in their jobs could be due to the fact that most of the respondents had started work in the eighties and their present job is the first one for most of them.

c) Job Satisfaction:-

With regard to their job satisfaction, it was found that 67.9% were satisfied while 29.4% were not satisfied with their present jobs. With relation to their particular occupation, 72.2% of the teachers and 63.6% of the non-teachers were satisfied while 24.1% of the teachers and 34.5% of the non-teachers were not satisfied with their

jobs and did not really want them. One can conclude that most of the women are satisfied and content with their jobs, but more non-teachers than teachers do not like their present jobs (see Table 3.1.8). When the respondents were asked what job they would have liked to have, some replied that they would like the same job but in another place, and some wanted a higher-status job which carried more responsibility and was consequently viewed as a more important job than the one they had at present. This could reflect their ambition for a job entailing more decision-making or for jobs which society views as 'important'. These are, of course, few in any society and in Qatar they are held by men. Again this is partly due to the fact that foreign labour does most jobs so Qatari men have to compete for what is left, jobs of responsibility, high government posts, directors of companies etc. This is, of course, a situation which undermines the possibilities for women to advance in their careers.

TABLE 3.1.7 Respondents change of occupation
(first change and present occupation)
Total of 32

Q. If you have ever previously been employed in another capacity, please state:-

Occupation	First occupation	Present Occupation
Teacher	17	3
Nurse	2	-
Medical doctor	-	1
Social worker	1	4
Administrative job	4	9
Woman announcer	1	-
Head or assistant of Department in hospital	-	2
Technician	1	-
Headmistress	3	9
Graduate assistant	3	2
Lecturer	-	2
TOTAL	32	32

TABLE 3.1.8 Job Satisfaction

question (17)	Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
Is your present job the job you really want?	74	67.9	32	29.4	1	0.9	2	1.8	109	100

d) Working Conditions:-

It is apparent from Table 3.1.9 that some working conditions such as shifts, overtime and daily working hours do not present any problems for women. Of the respondents 91.7% did not have a second job outside their government job, and 91.7% did not work on shift timetables. The average of their daily work and desired working hours amounts to six hours per day (see Tables 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). The results suggest that the working conditions for most of the women are considered suitable by respondents since they did not stay many hours out of their home. The question of shifts was removed since the majority of the women did not work on shift jobs. Again foreign labour do the work involving shifts, thus leaving Qataris, men and women, with the easier jobs.

Turning to the question of annual and maternity leaves, the majority of the respondents (75.2%) felt that the annual leave was adequate, while 21.1% were not satisfied with their leave allowance. It is interesting to note that some of the teachers (22.2%), did not think the annual leave was adequate, while the non-teachers seemed to be more satisfied with it. Such a response was somewhat unexpected as

teachers have longer annual leave (three months in the summer and two weeks in the winter) than any other institution. Therefore, their responses may be considered as reflecting a somewhat unrealistic attitude to work and conditions of work. Those dissatisfied with their annual leave were asked to indicate the length they would prefer, most of them desired an annual leave between two to four months, and only a few asked for five or six months. Obviously, this is an unrealistic period for leave if one is considering full-time employment (see Table 3.2.3).

With regard to maternity leave (Tables 3.1.9 to 3.2.3) it was found that 60.0% of the married women had had maternity leave. Over 50% of the respondents and 69.1% of the married women are not satisfied with the length of the maternity leave. Most of them suggest a period of two to three months as a more adequate length for such leave. At present the maternity leave is actually one month. This may be due to the fact that the phenomenon of women working in paid employment is very new, and employment conditions have not been altered to take account of women's needs, nor has there been any legislation. The shortage of women workers available may contribute to employers' reluctance to allow longer leave to their present women employees, because they are unable to replace them. It seems that the length of the maternity leave does create some difficulties for working women. This problem was indicated as one of the most serious problems in question (6) on which were the most important problems facing working women (see Chapter Five). This is difficult to explain as they have assistance in taking care of the children and their houses while at work and most of them (72.7%), have indicated

their confidence in this domestic help, such as servants, nannies and the extended family (see Tables 3.2.5 and 3.2.6 and 3.2.7).

TABLE 3.1.9

No.	Questions	Yes		No		don't know		no reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
9	Do you have employment other than your official capacity?	8	7.3	100	91.7	-	-	1	0.9	109	100
10	Do you work shifts?	7	6.4	100	91.7	-	-	2	1.8	109	100
12	Is your annual leave adequate?	82	75.2	23	21.1	4	3.7	-	-	109	100
14	Have you had maternity leave?	33	60.0	22	40.0	-	-	-	-	55	100
15	In your opinion is the maternity leave adequate?	11	10.1	61	56	28	25.7	9	8.3	109	100

TABLE 3.2.1

Q. How many hours do you work daily?

Hours	No.	%
3	3	2.8
4	3	2.8
5	17	15.6
6	43	39.4
7	25	22.9
8	7	6.4
9	4	3.7
no limit	1	.9
no reply	6	5.5
Total	109	100

Median hours = 6

TABLE 3.2.2

Q. In your opinion, how many hours per day should women work?

Hours	No.	%
3	3	2.8
4	7	6.4
5	24	22.6
6	43	39.4
7	15	13.8
8	6	5.5
9	1	0.9
no limit	1	0.9
no reply	9	8.3
Total	109	100

Median hours = 6

TABLE 3.2.3 - Adequate Annual Leave

Question		No.
13	If no, in your opinion, what is adequate annual leave?	
	Two months	5
	Three months	4
	Four months	7
	Five months	2
	Six months	2
	No replies	3
	TOTAL	23

TABLE 3.2.4

Question		No.
16	If your opinion, what would be adequate for maternity leave?	
	The period	No.
	One month	8
	40-50 days	10
	Two months	15
	Three months	17
	Four months	2
	Six months	8
	Nine months	9
	One year	10
	Two years	5
	No replies	25
	TOTAL	109

TABLE 3.2.5

Question 52	Who manages your house during your absence at work?	F	Rank
	Your husband	-	-
	Your family	27	4
	Your husband's family	39	3
	A servant	197	1
	You when you return home from work	46	2

TABLE 3.2.6

Question 53	Who takes care of your children when you are at work?	F	Rank
	Your husband	-	-
	Your family	88	2
	Your husband's family	47	3
	Nursemaid	132	1
	Nursery School	35	4
	Friends	14	5

TABLE 3.2.7

Question 54		Yes		No		don't know		no reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
54	Do you have confidence in the above services?	43	75.4	7	12.3	4	7.0	3	5.3	57	100

3.2 FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

This part will focus on subjects connected with family life, marriage, reproduction, division of work between the sexes, relationships within marriage and finally the problems of marriage.

a) Marriage

The marriage system is a fundamental system in the social structure of the society. Different norms and principles shape the system according to the society and its culture. Some societies prefer exogamy, i.e. marrying outside the kinship system and some insist on endogamy, i.e. marrying within the kinship system. Inter-marriage exists in tribal societies in which the network of kinship relationships represents the tribal system. This suits some societies and Qatar is one of them. Nevertheless, as Qatari society has been affected by substantial social change, it is expected some changes in these values will have occurred among the respondents.

It seems that some families still demand marriage within the kinship circle, according to the results of the questionnaire. About half of the married women are married to relatives, as mentioned before. It was found that the respondents do not regard marriage to cousins as a better form of marriage as 83.5% of them disagree that this marriage is better (see Table 3.2.8). However, this social custom still exists although women's attitudes towards it may have changed. This result is in agreement with Melikian and El Essa's findings whereby the majority of female students are in favour of the non-traditional pattern of exogamous marriage. While we may agree with this comment, it is doubtful that these women will have the freedom to marry according to their preference.² Thus, the results of this study disagree with Zaher's findings that among university students, many Gulf women prefer marriage to a relative (63.0%).³

As the tribal system still exists in the society, the social equality between the families, such as a tribal descent, continues to be a necessary consideration for women's marriages. Money is not an issue. Most Qataris are wealthy, so descent remains as a crucial issue of status. Most of the respondents regarded this as the first obstacle for a woman who wants to get married (see Table 3.2.9). Social status rated in first place in the Table (69.7%) while economic standards rated lower (13.8%) and whether women had a job or not, only 12.8%. Therefore, equivalent social status is still a requirement for marriage, and marrying relatives ensures that this condition of equality is fulfilled. The result, of course, is greater control over women even though wealth has given them education and jobs.

It would seem that social changes in these customs have not yet reached deep down in society, although women's opinions on these customs have changed. In fact, such customs continue as a necessary basis for a tribal society where marriage does mean a stronger bond between families. It is believed that as long as tribalism is strong in society, this requirement will continue to exist. But tribalism in this context is being reinforced by oil wealth as indicated above. While there is no evidence that there is a change in marriage customs in the society, there is the potential for such a change at the level of the awareness of the respondents.

TABLE 3.2.8

No. Questions	Yes		No		don't know		no reply		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
85 Do you think that marrying cousins is a better form of marriage?	7	6.4	91	83.5	10	9.2	1	.9	109	100

TABLE 3.2.9

Q. No.	Which of the following reasons present obstacles for women to get married?	No.	%
70	The reasons		
	Social Status	76	69.7
	Economic Standards	15	13.8
	If she is employed	7	6.4
	If she is unemployed	7	6.4
	No reply	4	3.7
	TOTAL	109	100

The results in Tables 3.2.9 and 3.3.1 indicate the preferred type of family. They point towards a strong feeling among the respondents in favour of the nuclear family: 92.7% would prefer to live in a separate house and 94.5% did not accept any intervention of the extended family in their own married life. This finding shows that the educated working women are self-confident and they hold new family values about place of residence and privacy, which reflect the desire for independence. However, this desire does not mean that they will separate from their extended family as they still seek help from them in taking care of the children, or the house while they are out at work (as we saw in tables 3.2.5 - 3.2.7). They also seek their counsel when facing problems. (See Chapter Five)

TABLE 3.3.1

Question 71	Where would you prefer to live after your marriage?	No.	%
	In a separate house.	101	92.7
	With your husband's family	6	5.5
	With your family	1	.9
	No replies	1	.9
	TOTAL	109	100

TABLE 3.3.2 By marital status

Q. 71 Where would you prefer to live after your marriage?

		Single		Married		Divorce		Widow	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	In a separate house	46	90.2	52	94.5	7	100.0	1	100.0
2.	With your husband's family	4	7.8	2	3.6				
3.	With your family	1	2.0	-	-				
4.	No replies	-	-	1	1.8				
TOTAL		51	100	55	100	2	100	1	100

TABLE 3.3.3

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		don't know		Not replied		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
86	Do you accept the interference of the family in your own life?	1	0.9	103	94.5	4	3.7	1	0.9	109	100

b) Reproduction as a Factor in Family Solidarity

High level of reproduction, with males as a priority, were basic values in the society in the past because of all the social, economic and political advantages associated with them.

However, the respondents' views towards this value (Tables 3.3.4 and 3.3.5) as a necessary factor for strong family ties, are negative, 81.7%, and they mostly approve of limiting reproduction through contraception (65.1% of all the women respondents, both single and married, and 74.5% of the married women and 65.5% of their husbands). The average number of children the respondents would like to have is two boys and two girls. It would seem that a considerable change in these women's attitude has occurred regarding these values. They reject more reproduction and the priority of boys, and they approve of contraception, and they take decisions as regards the number of children they would have. This may lead to the conclusion that all these changes in attitude may be because they see themselves as partners in their own right and not just as a means for reproduction. There is a profound change on this point because women are now aware of the importance of having a small number of children, and having the ability of bringing them up well and giving them good education. Of course, it is also an area where women can exercise control over their bodies. Finally, they have become more aware of the fact that they have to perform two roles, that of the good mother and wife, and that of a working woman. However, one should bear in mind that lower reproduction is not in the economic interests of a country like Qatar which has a small national population. If it wants to become self-sufficient in labour power, then, large families need to be encouraged.

TABLE 3.3.4

No.	Questions	Yes		No		don't know		no reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
74	Do you think that greater reproduction leads to stronger family ties?	10	9.2	8.9	81.7	7	6.4	3	2.8	109	100
76	Do you approve of contra-ception?	71	65.1	31	28.4	5	4.6	2	1.8	109	100
77	Does your husband approve of contraception?	36	65.5	14	25.5	-	-	5	9.0	55	100

TABLE 3.3.5

Question (78) What is the number of children you would like to have?		
No. of Children	Boys	Girls
1	5	7
2	54	57
3	20	17
4	4	4
5	2	1
6	3	1
No replies	21	22
TOTAL	109	109

Table 3.3.6 shows what the respondents think with regard to the boy's status in society. The respondents think that the main reasons behind the society's attitudes giving the boy a higher status than the girl, is first, because boys will carry the family name, (51.4%) and secondly, that it is the belief of society that males are inherently of a higher status (32.1%). These two reasons seem to be the most important ones in the respondents' opinion. These are social factors which stem from the patriarchal system and one can consider such an attitude as a natural one given the nature of society: boys and men do hold a higher status and position. However, what is more interesting here, is that the economic value of boys rated just 2.8%, although men still hold the responsibility for economic support of their families in present-day Qatari society. The respondents' view seem to be that this role is being reduced due to women entering the labour market and perhaps also their contribution to the family income. A further explanation could be that men's economic importance to their families of origin is gradually declining after marriage. Oil wealth, of course, permits such attitudes to change, as women, when they are employed, do receive high salaries.

TABLE 3.3.6

Question (75) What is the main reason which makes the boy's status higher than the girl's in the Qatari society?		
The reasons	No.	%
Will carry the family name	56	51.4
Economically responsible	3	2.8
Will help in old age	7	6.4
There are more advantages for the family	6	5.5
It is the belief of society	35	32.1
No reply	2	1.8
TOTAL	109	100

c) Divorce and Polygamy

There is a customary belief in the society that women's infertility and giving birth only to girls are sufficient reasons for divorce or for introducing a second wife in the family. However, the respondents, as shown in Table 3.3.7, did not think that infertility and giving birth to girls are valid reasons for a divorce nowadays, whereby 63.3% of them rejected infertility as a reason for divorce, and only 19.3% seemed to think that it is still a reason for a divorce in the present society. In addition, 82.6% disagreed that having only girls is a reason for divorce in the present society. However, the respondents' answers seem to disagree with the general customary attitude in society. One should not ignore the fact that even in present-day Qatar infertility and giving birth only to girls can be and are sufficient reasons for divorce. In other words, this is another area where educated women have changed in a more radical way than men.

TABLE 3.3.7

No.	Questions	Yes		No		don't know		no reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
72	Do you think that, nowadays infertility is a direct reason for divorce?	21	14.3	69	63.3	16	14.7	3	2.8	109	100
73	Do you think that giving birth to girls in the family, nowadays, is a reason for divorce?	9	8.3	95	82.6	7	6.4	3	2.8	109	100

As previously discussed, the phenomenon of polygamy does exist in Muslim societies and it is allowed by Islam for men to marry up to four wives if certain conditions are fulfilled, such as equality among the four wives. This phenomenon varies in frequency of occurrence according to the differences in the various societies and the differences in economic power, social status, educational standards and politics within the society. The respondents' attitudes were tested to find out whether they would accept such a phenomenon in the society nowadays. The majority of the respondents (78.0%) rejected the idea altogether, while only 4.6% accepted the idea of their husband having a second wife (see Table 3.3.8). The high percentage of rejection points towards the fact that education and work enable women to refuse to tolerate such a phenomenon, whether it is a custom or ordained by society, even at the risk of being divorced or remaining single. Women have started to consider education as a defence weapon against practices which may not suit them (see response to question 29) which makes them feel more secure

as education leads to a better job, in the long run. Therefore, education and work protect women from needing someone else to take care of them, it raises their self-esteem and self-assurance and confidence, and encourages them to reject such behaviour by men. Certainly, the most important reason is that they feel economically independent and able to support themselves which was not the case now and is not the case with uneducated women. This finding agrees with Zaher's study where he states that Gulf women refuse to accept polygamy in spite of economic, social and political reasons.⁴

TABLE 3.3.8

No. Questions	Yes		No		don't know		no reply		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
87 If your husband wants to marry a second wife do you agree?	5	4.6	85	78.0	15	13.8	4	3.7	109	100

d) Difficulties of Marriage

There are many problems of marriage which have occurred in the present society of Qatar. Such problems as late marriage of female graduates and men marrying foreign wives are closely connected with higher levels of education for women which lead to women being more selective about their future husbands and men being wary of marrying highly educated women. As a consequence of their educational level,

women prefer to marry an equally well-educated partner. This phenomenon appears especially among graduate women and it does not occur among men.

i) Late marriage

One of these problems is late marriage as shown in Table 3.3.9 where the respondents felt that late marriage and Qatari men marrying foreign wives are due to a better education for women. This is considered as an apparent disadvantage of women's education.

There is another problem connected with graduate men who tend to marry less-educated women than themselves (see table 3.4.1). It appears that educated women have better opportunities of choice in marriage (76.6%) but 63.3% of the respondents felt that there are fewer offers for marriage for highly educated women such as university graduates. Nearly two-thirds (62.4%) of the respondents considered this as a problem. When this is related to marital status, 68.6% of the single women and 56.4% of the married women, find that this is a serious problem (Table 3.4.2). Both groups are aware of this problem and naturally, single women seem to be more worried than the married ones. In general, educated women have a better chance to choose whom they marry. However, particularly when they reach a high level of education, they become less-sought after. This may be due to men's attitude towards marrying women less educated than themselves which may give them more self-confidence in carrying out their dominant roles. The respondents were asked to specify the reasons behind this phenomenon. The main reasons given

were that the male youth were not sufficiently aware of this problem, the female graduates' qualities of character and that men would find it difficult to control educated women in a more traditional and accepted way for a male-dominated society. (Other reasons are stated in Table 3.4.3).

These reasons are based on the consciousness of women's own values, the pattern of relationships which they will face and their own position in the family on the one hand, and on the other hand, the fact that some men still believe in the old values which make women come second to men and that women have no right to discuss matters and take decisions, especially when their opinions may differ from those of the husband. Obviously, graduate women are more aware of themselves as equal partners in marriage and that leads to the rejection of men's control and acceptance of orders from men without any discussion. This should be a good enough reason for men who fear such an 'untraditional' quality. There is also a psychological reason which makes men avoid being equal partners. Men are brought up to believe that they know more than women, whatever their education is, and this makes them feel superior to their female partner. This negative attitude by men, has led society to consider early marriage for their daughters, i.e. before they complete their education in order to avoid the graduate woman's long period of waiting. This can be considered as a regressive tendency for women's progress, if women are intimidated by this new male weapon.

These results disagree with Qatab's findings that a high percentage of his sample believed that the Gulf men did not hesitate to choose

their partners from among graduate females.⁵

The respondents think that this problem can be solved (see Table 3.4.4) firstly, by raising the consciousness of the male youth (65.5%) and secondly, by encouraging society to give priority to university education (16.7%) The other responses are indicated in the Table below. It appears that the respondents are more or less unanimous that the problem lies in men and their low awareness of the advantage of educated women.

TABLE 3.3.9 Tabulated Responses of Problems of Late Marriage

Question 2 What are the apparent disadvantages of educating Qatari women?

	F	Rank
Late marriage of Qatari females	261	1
The marriage of Qatari males to foreign females	176	2
Others	34	3

TABLE 3.4.1

Q.No. Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
84 Do you think that the educated woman has better opportunities to choose in marriage?	77	70.6	19	17.4	12	11.0	0.9		109	100
89 Do you think that there is less demand for marrying graduate women?	69	63.3	27	24.8	13	0.9	-	-	109	100
90 Do you consider this a problem?	68	62.4	34	31.2	5	4.6	2	1.8	109	100

TABLE 3.4.2 Marital Status - less demand for marrying graduate women

Q.No. Marital Status	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	35	68.6	14	27.5	2	3.9	-	-	51	100
Married	31	56.4	19	34.5	3	5.5	2	3.6	55	100
Divorced	1	50	1	50	-	-	-	-	2	100
Widowed	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100

TABLE 3.4.3 Reasons for Graduate Men's Preference to Marry Less-Educated Women

Q. No.	Some graduate men prefer to marry less educated women, what is the reason for this?	F	Rank
88	Few graduate women	81	8
	Pride and self-deception	233	5
	Weak consciousness of male youth	474	1
	They have less dependence on men	194	6
	Their great demands	166	7
	Age factor	254	4
	Personal characteristics of women	282	2
	Men cannot control them	279	3

TABLE 3.4.4

Q. No.	If yes, what is the solution to this problem?	No.	%
91	Stop early marriage	4	4.7
	Awareness of male youth	55	65.5
	Encouraging the society to give priority for university education	14	16.7
	Others	11	13.1
	TOTAL	84	100

ii) Non-Qatari Wives

The next issue which can be considered problematic in society, and especially for women who in their late-twenties and early thirties are still single, is the mixed marriages between Qatari men and non-Qatari women (see tables 3.4.5, 3.4.6 and 3.4.7). The majority of the respondents consider this as a problem (91.7%). Most of them believe that the main reasons for this phenomenon are economic and social which have appeared in society as a result of the high standards of living: expensive dowries, paid to the future Qatari wife, the numbers of young men who study abroad and may get married there where society is more open and allows easier contact with the other sex, etc.

The respondents blame this phenomenon on men's irresponsibility and unawareness of the consequences of such marriages for the society as a whole. Only 0.9% of the respondents blamed this on women's education and work. With regard to the options for possible solutions to this problem, the respondents felt that the dowry should be reduced (36.9%) young men should be made aware of the problem, (24.3%) and finally, this kind of marriage should be prohibited by law (13.6%).

The respondents seem to think that men are not aware of the seriousness of this problem. However, one wonders whether the professional women feel so strongly against men marrying non-Qatari women because they, themselves, are not given a similar choice, i.e. being able to marry a non-Qatari or non-Gulf Arab man. It is

well-known that women, whether educated or uneducated, are far more restricted in their choice of marrying a national, let alone a non-national. Certainly, the consequences of such inequality in choice of partners may be serious but unless the society as a whole accepts the changing position and role of the Qatari woman, solutions will be difficult to find.

TABLE 3.4.5 Tabulated Responses of Problem of Foreign Wife

Q. No.	What is the reason for Qatari men to marry foreign women?	No.	%
92	Expensive dowry	47	43.1
	Father's fanaticism	5	4.6
	Women's education	1	0.9
	No mixing	6	5.5
	Young men studying abroad	28	25.7
	Weak consciousness of male youth	17	15.6
	Showing off in front of others	3	2.8
	TOTAL	109	100

TABLE 3.4.6

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
43	Do you consider this is a problem?	100	91.7	5	4.6	2	1.8	2	1.8	109	100



TABLE 3.4.7

If yes, in your opinion, how can we solve this problem? (Please choose one)		
Q. No. 94	No.	%
Reduce the dowry	38	36.9
Bring to the youths attention the danger of this problem	25	24.3
Issuing law to stop it	14	13.6
Making the parents more understanding	8	7.8
Make society aware of this problem	12	11.6
Allowing mixing	5	5.8
TOTAL	103	100

e) Changes in Family Relationships

The results in Table 3.4.8 illustrate the pattern of change within the family relationships.

Firstly, with regard to equality between the sexes, it was found that more than half of the respondents believe equality between the two sexes is a natural thing, which they consider as a positive view in a male dominated society. However, there is still some hesitation as to equality between the sexes as almost half of them still believe that man should play a dominant role in the family. This hesitation was confirmed by their responses on authority in the family, when they were asked to state their opinion whether a man should be the

master of the house and if so, why, and whether he should have the final decision (see Table 3.4.9).

The most popular response was that they agree with such dominance simply because 'he is a man', which was followed by that they do not agree with this statement. Most of the respondents chose those two reasons. It seems that some of them agree as a first choice that the authority of making decisions in the house is a man's right, which may be a natural reaction in a particular society where man is the sole decision-maker. The interesting answer lies in the second choice, when respondents did not give men this authority. This could be interpreted as a change in their position in insisting on being equal with men in making decisions in the family. With regard to marital status, it was found that for the first choice, most of the responses were from married women, (60.0%), while the percentage of single women was 31.4%. As for the second choice, the percentage of married women was 32.7% only, while single women represented 49.0%.

It seems that marital situation affects women's response to this question. The majority of married women seemed to accept male authority which may be attributed to the fact that they try to avoid problems and to have a settled marriage, while single women seem to be more challenging and diverse on this point. The difference could be attributed to the experience that married women have had in such a situation.

In Tables 3.5.1 - 3.5.3 the respondents seem to agree that family relationships should be based on mutual respect while they still hesitate in demanding equality and shared authority. Most of them believe that a man respects a woman if he respects her opinion and accepts her suggestions; if he helps her in bringing up the children; if he helps her solve her problems at work; if he helps her in the household affairs; and others which are indicated in the above Table. It seems that respect and partnership are dominant in their thinking about family relationships. When women were asked to state what respect for a husband meant they agreed that this meant: respect for his opinion and acceptance of his suggestions; discussion of his work problems and trying to offer help and, lastly, obedience.

It seems that the respondents believe that a balanced relationship is based on mutual respect, understanding and cooperation, and a partnership based on agreement rather than obedience. This appeared when the majority of respondents (see Tables 3.5.4 and 3.5.5) (91.0%) rejected the statement that the basic job of women is to serve men and the idea (78.9%) that women should always obey men. It was also confirmed when 85.3% of the respondents did not agree with the idea that bringing up children is a woman's duty. This changing view of women as to what is a woman's job, as opposed to the traditional view, and the expectation that a husband should help in the family, can be attributed to their position in the family as an educated, working member whose belief is that the responsibility for children is a parental duty shared between a husband and wife. In other words, most of the respondents believe in a well-balanced relationship based on mutual respect rather than a relationship based

on inequality between men and women. One should however bear in mind the number of those who do not still believe in equality between the two sexes.

If these results are compared with Zaher's study that in general Gulf women reject the idea that men see them only as a means for pleasure and producing children, there is agreement between those findings and this research.⁶

TABLE 3.4.8

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
66	Do you think that inequality between women and men is a natural phenomenon?	59	54.1	44	40.4	6	5.5	-	-	109	100

TABLE 3.4.9

Q. No. Do you think that the men should be the master of the house and his decision final, because:

	The response	F	Rank
67	He is a man	228	1
	Economically responsible	108	4
	More understanding than women	91	5
	The society determines that	117	3
	Do not agree with this statement	222	2

TABLE 3.5.1

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
88	Do you think that family relations among the members should be based on respect instead of fear?	109	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	109	100

TABLE 3.5.2

Q. No.	In your opinion, which phenomena indicate that a man respects a woman?	F	Rank
95	Helping in the household affairs	144	4
	Helping taking care of the children	304	2
	Respecting her opinion and accepting her suggestions	144	3
	Helping solving her problems at work	21	5
	Visiting her in her place of work	21	5
	Introducing her to his friends and relatives	10	6

TABLE 3.5.3

Q. No.	In your opinion, which phenomena confirm that a wife respects her husband inside the family?	F	Rank
96	Obedience	93	3
	Respect of his opinion and accepting his suggestions	254	1
	Discussion of his problems at work and trying to help him in solving these problems	155	2

TABLE 3.5.4

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
79	Do you think the basic job of a woman is to serve a man?	3	2.8	100	91.0	2	1.8	4	3.7	109	100
69	Do you think that women should always obey the man?	12	11.0	86	78.9	7	6.4	4	3.7	109	100

TABLE 3.5.5

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
80	Do you think that taking care of children is a woman's job only?	15	13.8	93	85.3	1	0.9	-	-	109	100

f) The changing status of working women within the family:-

This changing view of themselves is due to their educational status or perhaps is related to the economic role they play in the family as working members. This becomes evident from their responses where

89.1% of the married women think that their husbands respected and valued them as working women. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents believe that their families also respected and valued them as working women (95.4%) (see Table 3.5.6). It would seem that the respondents' image of their position is very positive. The changing view of the family with regard to working women may be due to the women's contribution to the family. The majority of the respondents (82.6%) confirmed that they had close contact with their family which leads us to believe that they should have a clear idea as to what the family thinks of them as working women.

TABLE 3.5.6

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
49	Does your husband respect you as a working woman?	49	89.1	1	1.8	1	1	1.8	4	7.3	100
50	Does your family respect you as a working woman?	104	95.4	3	2.8	2	1.8	-	-	109	100
46	Do you believe that women should contribute to the domestic budget?	90	82.6	9	8.3	9	8.3	1	0.9	109	100

g) Educated working women's self-image

From the results in Table 3.5.7, it appears that most of the respondents do not agree with the view that a woman's success depends on her husband's success. Almost half of the respondents disagreed while over one third agreed. Those who disagree with this idea show that they want to be independent in their work and in their success and to be able to express themselves. Those who disagree may doubt that women can succeed without a man's support in a male dominated society, which is an indication that there are women who still do not believe in their ability to depend on themselves. These results are good indicators of change in women's self-image with regard to their ability to realise their success by themselves. However, there is a conflict between their aspirations for independence and freedom from subordination on the one hand, and having to live with society's values and customs, on the other hand. This internal conflict will continue until the society passes its transitional stage of social development.

Among the respondents, 35.8% still believe that the role of men in Qatari society forces women to make concessions. However, 48.6% have disagreed with this. In relation to marital status, it was found that 39.2% of single women and 32.7% of the married women agreed that women give way to their husband, while 45.1% of the single women and 52.7% of the married women disagreed that women give way because of their husband's role in society which requires such concessions. If the results are considered carefully, then, it becomes apparent that about half of the respondents do not believe that the role of men

requires women to give up their aspirations. It is obvious that single women are against it, while married women are more forceful in their rejection of the idea. Although one detects signs of hesitation on this issue, the mere fact that they have shown disagreement shows that there is an attitude towards enforcing equality which is gradually developing among the respondents and may appear more strongly in the future.

It is interesting to note that when the respondents were asked to indicate whether they agree that women do give way to men, those who did agree stated that women were prepared to give up their education, ambitions, work and stay at home to take care of the house and children, and forget their personal freedom and work only in unmixed jobs. (See Table 3.5.8). Therefore, one may conclude that some women do give up their basic rights and are ready to sacrifice their self-esteem. Although only one third of the respondents gave such answers, it is important and significant to note with regard to women's readiness to sacrifice certain factors such as geographical distances and commuting, as this is not applicable to the situation in Qatar. The majority of the population, especially the educated population, lives in Doha.

TABLE 3.5.7

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
81	Do you think that a woman's success depends on her husband's success?	43	39.4	51	46.8	14	12.3	1	0.9	109	100
82	Do you think that the role of man in society forces the woman to make concessions?	39	35.8	53	48.0	15	13.8	2	1.8	109	100

TABLE 3.5.8

If yes, please indicate them:			
Q. No.	The Concessions (N=39)	F	Rank
83	Staying at home and taking care of it	64	2
	Stop education	81	1
	Stop work and ambition	26	3
	Limited personal freedom	25	4
	Work in unmixed place	8	5

CONCLUSION

The analysis of family relationships suggests that there are changes in women's views on the relationships inside the family whereby they

believe in mutual respect, equality between sexes and fair partnership. However, they seem to hesitate with regard to the ways and means of demanding such equality and further questioning showed that in practice many are uncertain whether they really believe in such equality. The changes in their beliefs and opinions are leading but only gradually, to a change in their position in the family, and hence, in society as a whole. As indicated above, however, oil-wealth and the presence of foreign labour do, in some cases, constitute obstacles to women's progress. It could be seen as a mixed blessing.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION

1. INTRODUCTION

The first part of this chapter will discuss education in Qatar in general, and will give attention to female education. The development of education in society is described from traditional education in Kuttabs (religious schools) to modern education, which means state education with a new system. Also we describe the educational stages in general education, other types of education, and the situation of adult education and literacy; finally we look at university education, both abroad and in Qatar. The second part of this chapter will show the respondents' attitudes towards the effect of education. This section is divided into four main categories: education as a factor in change, the advantages of education, educated women's role in development and man and the educated woman.

2. TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

There was very little formal education in the Gulf area before the discovery of oil. The only form of education was the Kuttab which taught religious studies. The kuttab schools were divided into two types according to their educational level. There were the kuttabs for teaching the Quran and the primary religious principles. These existed in nearly every village. This type was for the poor and the rich, and for boys and girls. The other type taught, in addition to the Quran and the religious principles, the Arabic language, reading

and writing, and arithmetic. This kind of teaching was for the children of wealthy families and especially for the boys. This kind was rarely found.¹

Kuttab teachers, muttawa, for men, and muttawah, for women, were poorly qualified and had a basic knowledge of the Holy Quran, the Hadith (the traditions of the Prophet) and the Arabic language.² Normally, the education was carried out segregating the two sexes, but they could be mixed if the children were less than 12 years of age,³ or if the children in a village belonged to one big family or tribe, or if there was a shortage of local women with sufficient knowledge of the Quran and the Arabic language.⁴ This points to the fact that there was some form of co-education which was acceptable to society. Co-education existed even in the modern educational system in the villages immediately after its establishment. Later, with urban migration, the villages were abandoned and the government closed those schools.

The payment of the kuttab school was carried out in two ways: the wealthy people paid in cash while the poor paid the fees in the form of gifts, i.e. food, dates, etc. The period of study in the kuttab school depended mainly on the muttawa's judgement.⁵

There was post-kuttab education in Qatar which was available in the Islamic school, called Madrasah al Shaikh Al Mani, which was founded by Mohammed Abdel Aziz al Mani. He had received his education at Nijd and was a student of the former Mohammed Abduh of Egypt and of the scholar al Alusi of Baghdad. The school continued from 1918 to

1938 and was well-known in the whole of the Gulf region. It taught Islamic studies such as knowledge of Quran, Islamic theology, jurisprudence, the Prophet's traditions, Arabic language and literature. The school closed in 1938 when al Mani left Doha for Saudi Arabia.⁶

The transformation from the kuttab education to semi-modern education in Qatar started around 1948/49 with the opening of one school in Doha. This school was run by one teacher and had 50 students and was financed by the ruler's private income.⁷

Since 1950/51 the government has given financial support to the development of the school system in the whole country. It developed rapidly in terms of the number of students and staff.⁸ This major development was due to the discovery of oil which enabled the government to finance a modern educational system. In 1954 the girls kuttab school of Aminah Mahmood was selected as the nucleus for the education of girls. This school remained private until 1956/57 when education came under the government's supervision.⁹ Shaikh Al Mani's contribution and encouragement for the first girls's school has been acknowledged by al-Kobaisi:

"... and his great encouragement of girls' education, especially when he composed a religious declaration (fatwa) for the Ruler of Qatar in 1957 saying that the education of girls was entirely consonant with the principles of Islam.¹⁰

This move gave a great boost to female education during that period. Female education in Qatar, as in other Gulf states, started later than that for boys.¹¹



3. MODERN EDUCATION

Neither the Ottomans, nor the British 'protectors' were interested in developing a formal educational system, although both empires had already established modern educational systems not only in their own countries but also in many of their colonies and protectorates of that time. Consequently, education was left to the kuttab schools of Qatar, as mentioned above.

Modern education started officially in 1952 with 246 pupils enrolment and six male teachers in the first school for boys. Three years later, in 1955/56, the first school for female pupils was opened with an enrolment of 50 girls and two female teachers.¹² It is obvious from the figures (see Table 4.1) that the female school was not a popular venture among the potential female school population. It was to be expected, bearing in mind the social, traditional and economic conditions inherited from the pre-oil era where males were the dominant element in society and women had to be protected by not exposing them to the adversities of life. The first schools were characterised by a very high dropout rate for both sexes, and especially for the girls who would just finish elementary school and then drop out to be prepared for their future domestic role as wives and mothers.

With the increase of oil revenues, the expansion of education, both in numbers of schools and school population, increased rapidly. In 1983/84 the number of the school population reached 47,285, out of which 22,898 were female pupils. The total number of teachers was

4545, out of which 2548 were female teachers. Out of a total of 161 schools, 79 were for girls.¹³

The rapid expansion of the female section of education in quantity indicated that many basic social, cultural and traditional attitudes and values were overcome by both parents and society as a whole. The school assumed its rightful role to educate all the citizens of its country.

The Ministry of Education, established in 1956, was responsible for carrying out and implementing the aims and objectives of the educational system as defined by the law:

1. To provide education for all the citizens and to make efforts to create a compulsory form of general education and provide it free of charge in all stages, and to enable citizens to participate in the development of their country.
2. To lay down the general policy of education.
3. To create educational institutions and the supervision of such institutions in order to develop education.
4. To dispatch students abroad on scholarships and supervise them.
5. To plan for:
 - a) The eradication of illiteracy
 - b) The training of teachers

- c) The establishment and design of technical and industrial education
- d) The provision of school health services.¹⁴

As seen from the above law, education is not compulsory but aims towards establishing it as such. The schools are segregated with regard to pupils and staff. (In 1978-79 the Model schools were created as an experiment where female Qatari teachers teach boys of the primary school stage. The aim was to give jobs to the oversupply of female primary school teachers and to try out some social issues in such a situation). The law allows equal opportunities for both sexes though in practice there is still a division of educational opportunities based on the traditional views as to what is appropriate for each sex as well as their future careers.

The Ministry of Education has established an educational system divided into General Education, Technical Education and Vocational Education.

Both sexes have equal opportunities with regard to the General Education type of school. Only male pupils are admitted to the Technical, Commercial, Religious and Industrial Schools.¹⁵

Both sexes are admitted to the Language Teaching Institute and to the Health Training Institute, but only males are admitted to the Administrative Institute,¹⁶ and only females - to the Centre of Training and Social Rehabilitation. The Amal Institute for the Handicapped is open to both sexes.

The division of educational opportunities follow a traditional pattern whereby men and women assume their roles as viewed fit by society. Another consideration is the fact that the vocational and technical schools suffer from low enrolment (see Table 4.2) as schools preparing their pupils for 'manual' jobs, are not considered suitable for the Qatari male, let alone for the Qatari female.¹⁷

However, while the Qatari male can choose whether to join this type of training, the Qatari female is excluded from certain types of vocational training. This is in accordance with the still existing traditional views and attitudes regarding the segregation of the sexes at work and the woman's status and role in society. There are certain jobs which require a mixed labour force, nursing for example, which have a low social status and recruit female candidates of low educational background and 'not-so-high-status-families'. It should not be difficult to imagine the problems female nurses have faced while training and while at work.

For example, after graduation from the Health Training Centre (opened to both sexes in 1969: health inspection and nursing for men and only nursing for women) the female graduates were sent to Lebanon and Ireland for further training. Only two failed out of the total number of 14, and five of the remaining twelve were sent to Scotland for more training. At the beginning all of them faced the problem of adjusting to a 'mixed' work situation where they were exposed to a wider range of social and work experiences. Some could not adjust to this situation and left their jobs.¹⁸ The enrolment of females is

not high considering the fact that nursing is a job which it is accepted that women are needed (see Table 4.3). However, the incentives given to the nursing profession are not encouraging. Such career demands as long hours and hard work, a mixed work sector, etc., are not respected by the Arab society.¹⁹ These factors all contribute to the low number of nurses trained in Qatar.

Another 'female' institution is the Centre of Training and Social Rehabilitation. It was established in 1977 and is under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The aim of this Centre is to prepare and train Qatari women who have not received sufficient qualifications and education and to give them the skills to achieve independence through work.²⁰ The aims of this Centre are as follows:

1. To qualify Qatari women, who receive social aid from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, to be self-reliant.
2. To train Qatari women to raise the standard of their skills in order to prepare them for crafts and work which will suit their aptitudes and abilities so as to become productive members of the society.
3. To help the limited income Qatari families to raise their cultural, economic and social standards.

4. To ensure social welfare for Qatari women. (This is carried out by giving them the chance to participate in different activities during the course of their study at the Centre).

5. To furnish the Qatari women with more skills and knowledge during their study in a way that will improve their technical and cultural levels.²¹

Although the Centre has noble aims, the dropout rates are very high. Some of the reasons are due to family problems, husbands, pregnancies and because some of the trainees are also enrolled in the evening classes of the Ministry of Education which makes it hard for them to cope with both programmes.²² The headmistress of the workshop, in discussion with the researcher mentioned some financial problems connected with the purchase of imported materials and the cost of the labour force. On the other hand, the quality of the finished products is not very high as there is a shortage of experienced employees.²³ This project may fail if timely measures are not taken soon. It is a pity that the wealth of the people allows them to buy foreign goods at the expense of the locally produced goods, as this is not encouraging for such institutions. As a consequence the project may well fail. We think that this work needs more support from the mass media, which would help to make people aware of its work and support it to help build new productive women, make women self-reliant so as to contribute to the national production as a whole.

The Amal Institute for the handicapped was established in order to provide suitable facilities for handicapped children. Before its establishment, Qatar used to send the handicapped to other Arab countries, such as Kuwait, Bahrain and Egypt. In 1978 the government opened special classes for boys of the primary schools. In 1981 it issued a decision to open the Amal Institute for the handicapped, and in the same year a decision was taken to establish an institute for girls. In 1982 the courses started and served the following categories:

1. deaf and dumb
2. hard of hearing
3. mentally retarded.

The students receive artistic instruction and physical exercises as well as social and health services. They also receive monthly benefits. This institute is attached to the Department of Special Education in the Ministry of Education.²⁴

Although this institution works very hard to help those in need, there are some serious problems involving social attitudes. They concern mostly girls whose parents do not wish their daughters to be identified as handicapped as their chances for marriage may be spoiled. Such girls continue to follow the regular classes of the educational system.

The division of educational opportunities and the lack of varied opportunities for women is a serious problem which affects the whole

social and economic development of the country. The economic sector needs more national workers in all spheres as its aim is to replace gradually the foreign labour force with its own. However, when the female potential work force is excluded whether because of social or educational considerations, and when the male potential work force refuses to join the 'manual' sector of the market and aspires towards high-status jobs only, one wonders how the country will meet its needs for further industrialisation and self-reliance.

The problem exists also at the tertiary level of education, at the University of Qatar. The majority of the student population consists of female students (61.1% in 1984/85). They choose to enter University (even when some of them would have preferred to do something less academic), not only because they want to receive further education, but also because there is a limited number of job opportunities after the secondary school level. Once at the University, their future career prospects are still further curtailed by forcing them to study subjects which trains them only for the teaching profession and related jobs to the educational field. The scholarships for students abroad were cut in 1976. At present they are awarded only for the medical sciences at the Universities of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Bahrain and Kuwait. Men are in a more favourable position as they can choose where to study and what to study at this level, whether they receive scholarships or go on their own private means.²⁵

It would seem from the above that the Ministry of Education has created a policy not only for the physical segregation of the sexes

but also in the opportunities for further studies (at the Universities or Colleges), the career opportunities for women as well as their job opportunities which does not encourage or further develop the female population of Qatar. It is a short-sighted policy, especially at a time when certain sectors of the economy are overstaffed while others are in severe need of national work force. This has already been signalled to the various authorities by the University of Qatar but decisions as to some changes in the Ministry's policy are still under study.

The policies of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Public Health seem to be more positive towards opening up more job opportunities for women. All the other Ministries, including the Ministry of Finance and Petroleum, which has the largest variety of job opportunities for women, seem to keep their doors closed to the potential female work force of Qatar.

TABLE 4.1 Student Numbers in Government Schools from 1951/52 - 1983/84

The Year	Boys	Girls	Total
1951/52	240	-	240
1952/53	320	-	320
1953/54	457	-	457
1954/55	560	-	560
1955/56	100	50	1050
1956/57	1388	122	1510
1957/58	1879	451	2330
1958/59	2408	1423	4667
1959/60	3244	529	2987
1960/61	4023	1942	5965
1961/62	4667	2450	7057
1962/63	5353	2751	8068
1963/64	6145	3381	9526
1964/65	6981	3872	1085
1965/66	7906	4811	12717
1966/67	8301	5405	13706
1967/68	8685	5651	14336
1968/69	9371	6281	15652
1969/70	10122	7101	17223
1970/71	10704	7827	18531
1971/72	11883	9096	20979
1972/73	12957	10435	23392
1973/74	13821	11654	25475
1974/75	14885	12924	27809
1975/76	15855	14087	29942
1976/77	17051	15336	32387
1977/78	17572	16321	33893
1978/79	18354	17306	35660
1979/80	19367	18284	37651
1980/81	20588	19356	39944
1981/82	21908	20702	42610
1982/83	23466	21950	45416
1983/84	24387	22898	47285

Source: Ministry of Education. Annual Report 1983/84, p. 247.

TABLE 4.2 The enrolment of boys in vocational and technical education at secondary level in 1983/4

SCHOOL	Qatari		non-Qatari	
	No	%	No	%
Commercial School	69	78	19	22
Religious Institute	89	25	261	75
Industrial School	112	85	20	15
TOTAL	270	47	300	53

Source: Ministry of Education. Annual Report 1983/84, p. 134.

TABLE 4.3 Graduates of Nursing School by Nationality 1972-1983

Nationality/ Year	Qatari	Non-Qatari	TOTAL
1972	10	-	10
1973	11	-	11
1974	8	-	8
1975	2	3	5
1976	5	4	9
1977	3	1	4
1978	6	4	10
1979	6	1	7
1980*	-	-	-
1981	8	6	14
1982*	-	-	-
1983	5	4	9

Source: Central Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract, 1984. p. 124.

*There are no graduates due to change in duration and discipline of study.

4. ADULT EDUCATION AND LITERACY

The Adult and Literacy education started under the supervision of the Ministry of Education in 1956 for males and in 1976 for females, when the government recognised the need for this type of education for women.²⁶ The curriculum of the women's study is as follows:

1. The subject of study should be directly related to the women, and her spiritual, health and personality needs to help solve her problems.
2. It should be directly associated with family life and her household.
3. It should be linked with the socialisation of children spiritually, mentally, psychologically, socially and in matters of health and with protecting them from risks.²⁷

The aims in the curriculum point towards educating women to further develop their traditional roles and not preparing them for an economic role in society.

The high percentage of illiterate women (51.3%) may be due to the late start of female adult education. The male illiterates represent 48.9% of the total male population which includes the foreign labour force, the majority of whom are illiterate.²⁸

Most of the women who attend the illiteracy programme and the evening

classes are Qatari (72%), while only a minority of men (39%) are Qatari (see table 4.4).

TABLE 4.4 Students in evening classes and illiteracy programmes in 1983/84

Educational Stages	Qatari		Non-Qatari	
	M	F	M	F
Primary	983	1005	2615	600
Preparatory	1054	599	794	109
Secondary	517	467	552	115
TOTAL	2554	2071	3961	824

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1983/84, p. 206.

This could be due to the increase in the number of the male foreign work force, most of which is illiterate, or poorly educated. They participate in these programmes in order to improve their education and achieve better jobs. On the other hand, the large number of Qatari women in these programmes could be due to the spread of awareness about education and its value in society.

5. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

University education started in 1960/61 when the Ministry of Education sent the first group of students to universities abroad. They were all males and it was in 1967/68 that the first females were sent to overseas universities.²⁹

In 1963, the Ministry of Education opened a new Department of Scholarships and Cultural Relations in order to organise university education in countries abroad for Qatari students who had completed their secondary education in Qatar. The majority of the university Qatari students, whether they studied full-time or on correspondence courses, obtained their University education through the government scholarship scheme.³⁰

The largest number of Qatari students took correspondence courses, especially when scholarships were cut in 1975/76, run by the Universities of Lebanon and Egypt. The majority of Qatari females were enrolled in this kind of education due to the authorities' and society's attitude to female education abroad. Most of the students were employees in the government sector and wanted to improve their qualifications. These courses also served those who had lower academic standards and could not enter the full-time university courses.³¹ However, gradually, their number declined until it reached 13 female students in 1984. The reasons for this were the Civil War in Lebanon, the relatively low standards of these courses and the existence of evening studies at the University of Qatar.

Since 1975/76 the government has not offered scholarships to females to study full-time in universities abroad, except for those students who follow medical sciences as mentioned before. Those who study abroad are the spouses of either Qatari men who are receiving university education, or employees in the Qatari embassies abroad.³²

According to al-Misnad the authorities explained their decision as follows:

'For the sake of public welfare and the common will, we decided that first, University scholarships abroad will be restricted to boy students only. Second, girls' scholarships will be confined to the Doha College for Teacher-Training. Any scholarships and University awards abroad for girls are not allowed.³³

The above decision which indicates a negative attitude towards female students and their studies abroad and the priority given to the men by the authorities and society in general, stemmed from the customs and beliefs prevalent in the Gulf area which is male dominated, giving secondary importance to women's role in education and public welfare in general.³⁴ How can uneducated women fulfil successfully their roles as mothers, wives and fully-fledged citizens of their society and its welfare, is a question which did not bother the decision-makers of that time. Qatar completely barred female university students from studying abroad at undergraduate level when the national university opened.³⁵

6. THE UNIVERSITY OF QATAR

In 1973/74 the male and female teacher-training colleges were officially opened, with the assistance of UNESCO and the United Nations Development Programme to meet the demand for university education and the demand for better qualified teachers for the secondary schools, and to discourage female education abroad.³⁶

The colleges were the nucleus for the future university which opened in 1977. The colleges were reorganised into four faculties: the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Faculty of Education, the Faculty of Shariah and Islamic Studies and the Faculty of Science. The Faculty of Engineering was opened in 1980/81³⁷ and the Faculty of Administrative Sciences and Economics in 1985/86³⁸. These Faculties are accommodated in two buildings and are segregated into two campuses for men and women. All undergraduate courses are of at least four-year duration. The study system is based on the American credit-hour system.³⁹

The enrolment in the University was increased from 150 students in 1973/74 to 4,577 in 1985/86. (See Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5 The enrolment of students in university of Qatar from 1973/74 to 1985/86

Year	Qatari		Non-Qatari		Total
	M	F	M	F	
1973/74	48	72	9	21	150
1974/75	94	128	27	61	310
1975/76	196	269	139	159	763
1976/77	184	306	147	226	863
1977/78	276	443	189	326	1234
1978/79	294	591	311	368	1564
1979/80	334	838	388	465	5025
1980/81	468	1180	470	555	2673
1981/82	621	1468	652	632	3373
1982/83	776	1698	754	587	3815
1983/84	801	1929	187	554	3471
1984/85	1086	2201	763	608	4658
1985/86	1163	2048	712	634	4557

Source: University of Qatar, Guide to the ninth group of graduates in 1984/85, p. 43.

The academic staff at the University of Qatar, like other staff in the Gulf Universities, is dominated by non-nationals (94%),⁴⁰ mostly coming from other Arab countries, mainly from Egypt. In order to reduce this dependence on non-national academic staff, the government should encourage female education abroad equally with male students and introduce new policies which positively encourage women to take a more active role in this field. However, university education in Qatar seems advantageous to the majority of Qatari women, especially in those cases where they are not allowed to study abroad by their families.

Nevertheless this did deprive women of the right to varied education at universities abroad. Al Misnad finds that this policy exists

because of:

'... lack of opposition from Qatari intellectuals, educationalists, and general members of society to the official policies of the government which has encouraged the authorities in denying the right of access to full-time university education to Qatari women at universities abroad.⁴¹

The government introduced a new policy in 1981 for postgraduate students which no other Gulf government follows: i.e. females should be accompanied by a 'mahrum' meaning a close relative who in Islamic law is forbidden to marry her, (for example, a brother, a father) or, if she is married, her husband⁴². This is yet another obstacle in women's education and has had serious problems for those graduate assistants of the University of Qatar who cannot find such a male. The University tried to solve the problem by providing accommodation in a boarding house supervised by female staff. This has developed at the Egyptian Universities where just one half of the female postgraduates are enrolled (54.9%). While this has provided a partial solution, there is still the danger that most women postgraduates will be restricted to similar experience and educational opportunities and denied a more varied university education in the world. It is apparent that yet once again, the female population is deprived of the right to choose. It is worth mentioning that Egypt was chosen not only because of the legal restrictions on women studying abroad but also because of the Egyptian system of education, which allows students to follow courses on a part-time basis. This suits the social attitudes of Qatari society, as the female students can then stay at home part of the time. It is necessary for women to be allowed greater freedom in

choosing their studies and careers and encouraged to actively participate in all the domains of social life.

7. WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION

In the next part of this chapter we will discuss women's opinions about the effect education has had in changing women's position.

a) Education as a Factor in Changes

The respondents, as illustrated in Table 4.6, consider education as the most important factor which leads to changes in society, followed by such factors as economic change, work, urbanisation and modern ideology. In fact, the respondents did not rate these other factors as highly as education which leads to such changes as people's thinking, attitudes and beliefs. This agrees with many studies on the influence of education as stated earlier.

TABLE 4.6

Question No.	In your opinion what are the factors which promote social changes?	Frequency	Rank
27	Urbanization	268	4
	Economic change	307	2
	Modern ideology	245	5
	Education	472	1
	Employment	279	3

b) The Advantages of Education for Women's Position

When the respondents were asked to state the advantages of education of women, they responded that it had first increased their self-confidence, second, it had helped to improve women's social position, third, it had raised their status in society and fourth, it had made women more well-informed and hence, able to hold intelligent discussions. The psychological factor seems to be the most important one to Qatari women, which is a positive response as it reflects a positive self-view. The second and third are social factors, and while the differences in numbers between these factors are not that great, the respondents had different attitudes towards these advantages because of their different personalities and social and cultural backgrounds (see Table 4.7). The majority of the respondents, 87.2% thought that education had changed their status in the society, while only 7.3% felt that it had not (see Table 4.8). This was also confirmed in the responses to another question, whereby 96.3% of the women perceived a difference between educated and uneducated women. This is reflected in their thinking, attitudes, ambitions, ways of bringing up children, social status and economic independence. It would seem that acquiring knowledge leads to self-confidence and self-assurance and the results seem to support this view. It is interesting to note that economic independence did not rate very highly as one would expect in other countries. In fact, it came last, and as we mentioned before, this may be due to the fact that men are still considered socially and legally responsible for supporting women (see Table 4.9).

However, the overwhelming majority of the women (98.2%) regarded education as an important resource for their future (see Table 4.8), as a result of which they can enter the labour market and support themselves if the need arises. Women feel encouraged by their ability to depend on themselves, although this result contrasts with the low ranking of economic independence for educated women in comparison with uneducated women as we saw before. This feeling that education is the means to security reflects the traditions of the past where women had to depend on the support of a man and thus were expected to be obedient and subservient. Now education has given them social and psychological values which have encouraged self-confidence, independence and self realisation. This result agrees with Zaher's finding that most Gulf women desire education in order to secure their material future with or without the support of a man.⁴³

TABLE 4.7

Question No.	What are the advantages of educating Qatari women?	Frequency	Rank
19	Has helped to improve the position of Qatari women.	266	2
	Increased women's self-confidence	291	1
	Made women better informed and given them the ability to discuss	259	4
	Help to raise women's status in society	260	3

TABLE 4.8

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
25	Do you think that education has changed your status in society?	95	87.2	8	7.3	5	4.6	1	0.9	109	100
21	Being an educated woman, do you feel there are differences between an educated and uneducated woman?	103	96.3	2	1.8	2	1.8	-	-	109	100
29	Do you think that education is a weapon in the hands of women against social insecurities?	107	98.2	-	-	2	1.8	-	-	109	100

TABLE 4.9

Question No.	If yes, in which fields?	Frequency	Rank
	Thought	496	1
	Attitudes	446	2
	Degree of aspirations	369	3
	Children's upbringing	363	4
	Economic independence	263	6
	Social status	280	5

c) Educated Women's Role in Development

The majority of the respondents believe that educated women have a significant role to play in developing their country. They think that education makes women a more positive asset in developing their country, as shown in Table 4.1.1, where most of them believe that the development of society depends on the participation of women together with men in the different fields of life; 73.4% of the respondents support the idea and only 22.9% do not agree with this idea. To the question as to whether educated women contribute to the development of their environment, 94.5% responded positively while only 3.7% did not agree and 1.8% of the respondents did not know. However, the majority of the respondents believe in limiting the jobs for women as will be discussed below.

To the question whether they think that education is a factor which helps a woman to be a good mother and a wife only, the responses were rather surprising as only 45.9% think that education is more than just a means of helping them carry out their traditional roles, while 50.5% disagreed and felt that education only helps to develop their traditional roles (see Table 4.1.1). One could explain this result as a conflict between modern and traditional values whereby women do not express what they really think because of the pressure of society and most notably that of men who have undertaken to explain women's education within the framework of the traditional values. (Many an article, lecture and discussion has appeared in the press which emphasises the role of the educated mother and wife). The high

percentage of those who disagreed can be attributed to what many women think what is 'proper' to say or write in public. This can lead to a certain amount of insincerity when replying to such questions. This view can be supported by the fact that all of the respondents are working and none of them have opted for the traditional roles of only being a mother and wife.

This result seems to be very close to Zaher's finding that the majority of Gulf women who seek education, desired to bring up their children in a better way, i.e. to improve and become better in the fulfilment of their traditional roles as mothers and wives.⁴⁴

When this result and question was compared to the marital status, it was found that one third of the single women and almost half of the married women supported this function of education, while more than a half of the single women and almost half of the married women disagreed. It seems that single women are more open than married women. This can be attributed to the fact that married women feel responsible in carrying out their duties as mothers and wives, while the case has not arisen yet with the single women. Married women have two roles to perform, that of a working woman and that of a mother and wife. It seems that women are torn between wanting to enter the labour market and participate fully in developing their society on the one hand, and on the other, reconciling this with the very emotional view of the society, religion and to some extent (especially in non-traditional fields of work) their families, of their role being that of an educated mother and wife. All these factors have contributed to their ambivalent answers as to education

as a helping factor for either a traditional role or an economic role in society. However, the fact still remains that they are already attempting or prepared to attempt to fulfil both roles.

TABLE 4.1.1

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
34	Do you agree that the development of society depends on the participation of the women together with the men in the different fields of life?	80	73.4	25	22.9	4	3.7	-	-	109	100
26	Do you think that the educated women can help in developing their environment?	103	94.5	4	3.7	2	1.8	-	-	109	100
23	Do you think that education is more than a means of helping a woman to be a mother and wife?	49	45.9	55	50.5	4	3.7	1	0.9	109	100

d) Man and the Education of Women

Education has affected both sexes in their relationships. Most of the respondents (over three quarters) felt that education has made men show more respect for women than they had before, due to the

changes which have occurred in men's views of women which has led to changes in their behaviour. Only 15.6% of the respondents do not think that education has made men have more respect for women and just 7.3% do not know. Over half of the respondents think that educated men are prepared to accept women's changing role. There was considerable variation in relation to marital status. It was found that 45.1% of the single women and 83.6% of the married women believe that educated men accept women's changing role, while 33.3% of the single women and only 7.3% of the married women think that educated men do not accept the changing role of women. It seems that the majority of married women are more confident in their response that men are changing and this confidence is the result of having experienced these changes in practice and the fact that most of them are married to an educated spouse. In general, both groups believe that such changes have occurred in men's attitudes towards women. Most of the respondents (84.4%) think that educated women can show more understanding for their husband's problems at work as a result of which the couple could be more united (see Table 4.1.2). One can conclude that education may well have an additional effect in helping smooth married life. This agrees with Zaher's finding that most Gulf women want education in order to be able to communicate with their husbands.⁴⁵

In other words, education has affected the relationships between men and women in society by changing both men's and women's attitudes to each other and therefore, reduced the gap between them.

TABLE 4.1.2

Q.No.	Question	Yes		No		Do not know		No Reply		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
31	Do you think that education has made men respect women more?	83	76.1	17	15.6	8	7.3	1	0.9	109	100
32	Do you think that the educated man is prepared to accept the changing role of women?	74	67.9	21	19.3	14	12.8	-	-	109	100
33	Do you think that the educated woman can show more understanding for her husband's problems at work?	92	84.4	13	11.9	4	3.7	-	-	109	100

CONCLUSION

The question as to how far Qatari women's position in society has been affected by the spread of education is not an easy question to answer. There is no doubt that education has improved the status of women to a certain extent. However, several factors have combined to prevent full advantage being taken of the opportunities offered. These factors are typical for the whole of the Gulf area and include: traditional customs fossilised in some circles of the society, transitional attitudes and values appearing after the discovery of oil and the organisation of the educational system, journeys abroad

and greater exposure to other peoples customs and values,⁴⁶ the influence of the mass media, various religious movements, and last but not least, confusion in the policies and no clear strategy of the educational authorities as to why they have introduced university education in the first place if the nature of that education directs the female population to disciplines in which the country has already had a surplus of labour force (i.e. teaching).

In order to find solutions to such problems and improve the position and status of the Qatari women, it is necessary to increase women's awareness as to the status quo and encourage them to rely more on themselves in their fight for equal rights and opportunities in education. It is the role of the educated women to become the avant-garde in this movement which aims to achieve national development in all the spheres of the country. Under the present circumstances it will be difficult to achieve all the goals and aims as the society is still going a transitional stage of development.⁴⁷

However, educated women can take the lead and try to take positions of decision-making and policy-making power where the voice of women can be represented by women themselves.

There is no doubt that education is an important factor in changing society towards accepting new values and attitudes.

The present questionnaire tried to identify those changes as seen and assessed by the random sample of educated working Qatari women.

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CHAPTER FIVE
WORK AND EMPLOYMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on the labour force in Qatar generally and the female labour force in particular. It will discuss women's work and the importance of education for women who want to enter the labour force. It will also focus on the obstacles facing women in obtaining work and the limited fields of employment available for women in society. The second part of the chapter deals with the respondents' attitudes towards work. We also examine their motives for working, their perceptions of the effect of women's work on men's opportunities and of the concentration of working women in social service jobs, the difficulties facing working women, the dual role they have to play, anti-working women attitudes and women's self-evaluation.

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Qatar, like other Gulf Arab States is characterised by a small-size population where the nationals represent a minority. After the discovery of oil, the wealth accrued by the oil revenues and the rapid economic development of the state necessitated an increase in the labour force. Suddenly, the country faced an influx of foreign workers from different parts of the world who took over the building and development of the country. In the late 1970s, there was a sudden growth of the labour force at the rate of 10.7% per annum.¹

The national labour force represented 15.2% of the total labour force in 1983. This indicates the heavy dependency on a foreign labour force which comprises not only highly skilled workers but also many unskilled and semi-skilled workers.²

"...under the current directions of economic development, migrant labour is no transitory aspect of the situation. Although governments may reassure their peoples that once the industrial infrastructure is installed migrant labour will no longer be so necessary, the economic projects currently underway, particularly in Qatar and the UAE, could simply not be operated on the basis of indigenous work forces."³

There are estimated statistics about the labour force in the Government and mixed sector in 1985 but there are no statistics about labour in the private sector for the same year, so we have used the 1983 statistics for the three sectors.

It is a fact that the non-Arab element in the labour force is high. This came about as a result of inefficient planning, absence of economic strategies and foresight. As Niblock pointed out, this may lead to economic and social problems with long-term effects on the profile of the country.

"... indigenous labour forces are too small to support an industrial infrastructure geared to satisfy the major needs of society; this raises crucial issues as to the kind of societies which will develop, reliant on migrant labour in the long-term, if wide-ranging industrialisation is carried through."⁴

It is obvious that such a large foreign element will have certain negative effects on the development of the country in the social and economic spheres. Some of the problems have already surfaced: a) the Qatari national does not enter the productive spheres of the economic domain⁵ leaving the manual and the menial jobs to be carried out by the cheap Asian labour force b) the Asian and Iranian workers have introduced the drug addiction problem among the Qatari youth, a problem which is seriously threatening the potential future labour generation of the country⁶ (a study carried out by the University of Qatar) c) the majority of the imported labour force is a short-term 'mercenary' force which tries to earn high profits within the relatively short period of work in the country without taking particular interest in the development of the host country d) there is a negative effect on the vocational training of the younger generation which is not interested in joining the productive areas of the economy except in high-status office positions e) the weakening of the national identity shared by Qataris and other Arabs due to the large non-Arab labour force, which has led to alien patterns of behaviour in everyday life and has created a multilingual society⁷ whereby 'broken' or pidgeonised Arabic is a common phenomenon f) the permanent migrant force may form strong minorities which may be dissatisfied in the long run as they do not have political, economic and social rights, e.g. the Iranian minority.

"... the social changes accompanying economic development, and the political dynamics necessary for formulating and implementing coherent long-term development policies, may be incompatible with the traditional patriarchal systems now in power."⁸

All the above problems have led to a marginalisation of the national role in the labour force and society in general,⁹ and women's role in the labour force in particular.

3. DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE

The national labour force is mainly concentrated in the government sector: 85.8% of the total national labour force (see Table 5.1, 1984) where 16.8% were national females. The mixed sector, i.e. private and government owned shares in companies, had 9.6% nationals, including only four women. The private sector had 2.7% nationals and only one female national in 1983 (see Table 5.1). The high percentage in the government sector is the result of a government policy to guarantee employment to all Qataris willing to work. Government employment also provides security, prestige and such privileges as land, loans, social allowances, etc. This is also typical of other Gulf countries.¹⁰

The non-Qataris, and especially the Asian workers, predominate more in the private sector as the private sector has a choice in selecting its employees and seeks the cheapest labour available, thus minimising the employer's direct financial costs¹¹ (see Table 5.2).

One should not minimise the contribution of the foreign labour force to the economic life of the country and its assistance in accelerating the general development of the country by carrying out the development projects and schemes. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the above mentioned problems, it is of paramount importance to plan

and prepare carefully the national manpower for the future so that the country does not depend totally on a temporary, imported labour force¹². Nationals should be trained and prepared to carry out the responsibility for development¹³. Thus a step towards gradual Qatarisation and Arabisation should be taken at this stage of the country's socio-economic development. However, this will need some careful planning so that economic expansion is restrained in areas which are not vital for the country's economy, e.g. prestige projects, so that reliance on migrant labour is decreased.

"Without a radical revision of economic policy, the indigenous population of the smaller Gulf states (Bahrain excluded) stands little chance of regaining a majority position within their own societies, and the migrant majority of the population will become increasingly non-Arab."¹⁴

TABLE 5.1 - Employees in Government sector by nationality and sex
31/12/83

Sex/ Nationality	M		F		T	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Qataris	10570	38.9	2568	40.7	13138	39.3
other Arabs	7666	28.2	2338	37.1	10004	29.9
Foreigners	8923	32.9	1402	22.2	10325	30.8
TOTAL	27159	100	6311	100	33470	100

(1) Excluding the employees of Qatar General Petroleum Corporation (4351)

Source: Central Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract, 1984, No. 4, p. 44-45

TABLE 5.2 Employees in mixed sector by nationality and sex on 3/12/83.

Sex/ Nationality	M		F		T	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Qataris	366	9.7	4	4.5	370	9.6
other Arabs	729	19.3	35	39.3	764	19.8
Foreigners	2676	71.0	50	56.2	2726	70.6
TOTAL	3771	100	89	100	3860	100

Source:- Central Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract 1984, No.4, p. 58.

TABLE 5.3 Employees in private sector by nationality and sex on 31/12/83

Sex/ Nationality	M		F		T	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Qataris	1811	2.7	1	0.1	1812	2.7
other Arabs	9905	14.5	334	37.6	10239	15.1
Foreigners	55150	82.5	553	62.3	55703	82.2
TOTAL	66870	100	888	100	67758	100

Source:- Central Statistical Organization Annual Statistical Abstract 1984, No.4, p. 63.

4. THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE

Qatar (together with some of the other Gulf states) is in a unique situation in socio-economic terms. It belongs to the developing countries in some aspects and yet it has already built an economic bases which is not typical to those countries. This came about as a result of the wealth which afforded the country such as status. However, with regard to the employment of women, women's job opportunities and choice of fields of work, Qatar still closely resembles the developing countries. Although Qatari women do not now do the domestic work that dominates the working lives of most women in poor countries, but their position is in some ways similar to those women, e.g. lack of choice, lack of equality, gender stereotypes.

Although the laws and decrees of the country give equal opportunities to men and women and equal salaries, in practice one finds that Qatari women still carry the stigma of the pre-oil era. The society as a whole has not overcome its traditional views and attitudes as to the role of the woman in society. The Qatari woman is still in subordination to the all-powerful man who has the right to decide and choose for her whether in private or in government committees of executive, decision-making status. Her most important function is still viewed as that of the obedient daughter, wife and mother. This social attitude of the male-dominated decision-making sources, has created problems both for women as part of the labour force and for the country as a socio-economic unit.

The total female labour force represents 8% in 1982 of the total labour force in Qatar. Many of these are migrant workers. The percentage of women of economically active age (15-59) was 53.9% of the total adult female population in 1983.¹⁵ Qatari women working outside the home represented 16.8% of the indigenous labour force in 1983, (cf Kuwait - 13.1% in 1980 and Bahrain 13.7% in 1981) (see Table 5.4). Women's participation in the work force increased during the period between 1970 and early 1980 which followed the patterns in other Gulf countries. This is not surprising as this was the period of rapid economic growth (as mentioned above) and of growth in the secondary and university education.¹⁶ However, the percentage of working women is still very small and it is indicative of the extent of wasted labour among the female population.

The Qatari woman has lost much of her role in domestic work as most of it is carried out by foreign labour. In other words, one wonders what exactly society prescribes to all those women who are obliged to stay at home. The economic waste is unreasonable in a country which relies on foreign labour and yet neglects 50.5% of the Qatari nationals.¹⁷

Virtually all working Qatari women (99.81%) are found in the government sector. They take positions in the services sectors, mainly in teaching, nursing and social services. This is also typical of the Gulf area in general.¹⁸ Only very few Qatari women (exclusively of African origin) work in manual occupations such as cleaning and domestic work, again in the public sector. The low

participation rate of women in the labour market is due to a complex of factors of socio-economic, educational and religious nature.

TABLE 5.4 - The percentage of national women in the labour force
1970s-1980s

Year	% of national women in total national labour force
Bahrain	
1971	4.9
1981	13.7
Kuwait	
1970	3.3
1975	8.3
198-	13.1
Qatar	
1970	2.9
1980	10.7
*1983	16.79

Sources:

Al-Misnad, S. The Development of Modern Education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar, with Special Reference to the Education of Women and their Position in Modern Society, Ph.D. thesis, 1984, Durham University, p. 451.

*Central Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract 1984, No. 4, p.p. 44-45, 58, 63.

A. SOCIAL FACTORS

In most developing countries the development of the infrastructure of society precedes that of the material base. In the capital-rich

countries, i.e. in the Arabian Gulf, the oil revenues have contributed to the rapid development of the material base which has over-taken that of the infrastructure. Thus, cultural and educational gaps have occurred which naturally have led to social conflicts.¹⁹ The Gulf society was not and is still not ready to face the modern needs which the material base requires. This is evident in several contradictory attitudes and social conflicts with regard to women's work outside the home, her choice of future career, her status, which is still considered below that of a man, and her role with regard to positions demanding leadership and decision-making qualities.

The conflicts and contradictions exist because society as a whole has not acquired the awareness and consciousness of such development and also due to the fact that oil wealth helps reinforce traditional values. Thus it will take a long time before the patriarchal and tribal social systems disappear. Until then, fathers and brothers will still consider their daughters and sisters as weak and feeble human beings who need protection and who are the carriers of the honour of the family.²⁰ This inevitably bars women from joining the working force, especially in fields which do not 'befit' her 'woman's nature', i.e. private companies, offices shared with men, engineering and construction jobs, etc. One would expect that educated women would react against such protection. However, religious beliefs, such as the unquestioning obedience to a father or husband, make it difficult for a woman to fight such attitudes. This passive acceptance of her role and position will further drain from the labour market a valuable and urgently needed work force. In

Qatar, women have not yet found strength, impetus and courage to fight against such attitudes.

On the other hand, one wonders how society expects a mother and a wife to fulfil her role successfully if she does not gain the necessary experience which could develop her intellect and ability to raise educated and well-informed children. It has become a common statement to quote her importance as a mother and wife but this statement has not been defined as to what exactly it means in present-day Qatar and whether she can actually carry out her duties if her education, experience and training are restricted and limited to those roles.

It is observed that women are still considered a degree lower than men and therefore not able to take decisions for themselves, let alone for others, regardless of their education. This further exacerbates their low standing and belittled role in society.

These are some of the deeply-rooted social and traditional beliefs which encourage society to keep women in an inferior position and give her a subordinate role to play in society.²¹

B. EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

Education, qualifications, and training are prerequisites for entering the labour force. All these opportunities are easily available to Qatari women and men with the exception (as seen in Chapter 4) that women's opportunities are restricted, which leads to

limited opportunities for future jobs and careers. This is likely to be a factor in women's low participation in economic activities.²² Most women who successfully complete their secondary education enter university, since university degrees and qualifications are the keys to professional jobs. Except for the nursing school, there is no vocational school for women who are less academically minded. Therefore, such women are compelled to stay at home and await marriage. The rest who are fortunate enough to enter University studies, are restricted to the teaching profession regardless of their talents, inclinations and wishes. For example, the Faculty of Engineering, and the Department of Geology and Marine Sciences are open as majoring subjects for men only.

While men have the choice of continuing their studies abroad, women have no such choice except if they want to follow medical science, or choose Egypt as one of the few countries where women can carry on their postgraduate studies, either residing there or by correspondence. These short-sighted educational policies have led to a discrepancy between women's education and the actual needs of the national labour market. It would seem that women's education is more of a cultural venture rather than preparation for their future contribution to society.²³ This is another way of keeping women outside the labour market which is not discouraged by the authorities although there are no written laws for such severe restrictions of women's economic activities.

As mentioned above, there is no vocational training for women except nursing. There are vocational schools for boys - the Religious

School, the Vocational Training Centre and the Commercial and Industrial schools. However, neither the schoolgirls nor those who did not have the academic aptitude to enter the university, have been offered anything else as an alternative. It is an unfortunate case for a country which invests heavily in education otherwise, and yet, has eliminated from the very start of its planning and strategies a considerable number of the labour force.

The phenomenon of illiteracy has not been totally eradicated in the Gulf countries. According to a statistical study on illiteracy in the Gulf area, there are 7.5 million illiterates, out of which 4.5 million are females. This figure represents 55.9% of the total Gulf population.²⁴ The need to eradicate illiteracy has been long recognised. It is difficult to quote accurate figures of illiteracy in Qatar as the population figures have not been released yet. However, according to Statistics of the Ministry of Education there were 8,072 registered adults for illiteracy and evening classes, of which 2,712 were women in 1984-85.²⁵ These figures cannot be considered indicative as to the number of illiterates as these concern only those who have registered in the formal educational system. One should mention here that the illiteracy programmes have been remarkably weak and are marked with very high dropout rates.

Unless women are given the opportunity to gain access to a wider and more versatile type of education, their job opportunities will continue to be limited overwhelmingly to the teaching profession.

C. ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economic factors are the most common factors in the world which drive women to work outside the home. However, Qatar, like the other capital rich countries, is exceptional in this respect, as it has one of the highest incomes per capita in the world, averaging \$75,000 per annum.²⁶ This factor, added to the traditional view of man's responsibility to fully support his family and the availability of a cheap labour force, has led to the absence of women from some economic fields and a lack of their full participation in the labour force.²⁷ However, wealth means that a woman does not need to work and if she does hold a job, then it is not considered demeaning and represents less of a threat to the honour of her family.²⁸

Nevertheless, it is necessary to think in more positive terms when there could be an acute need for a female labour force. At present, the import of foreign labour has hindered the preparation of a versatile national labour force and has eliminated and rendered marginal the female labour force in economic activities.²⁹

D. MANPOWER PLANNING

Achieving of a balance between the supply of labour and the demands of the socio-economic development programmes needs clear manpower planning.³⁰ Women's 'man-power' has not been incorporated into the plans and programmes, so as to make use of this resource. This unplanned female labour force may be deemed one of the reasons which drives women towards certain jobs.

A university degree has become almost a requirement if women are to work at all. This is the result of a government policy which guarantees jobs for all graduates.³¹ Therefore, all women who wish to work, try to obtain a degree although there is no guarantee that they will then work in their specialist field of study. The different subject areas of the teaching profession have not been planned carefully which has led to a surplus in some areas and shortage in others. This situation creates confusion, frustration and educational waste. The cost is high while the productivity is low since some subjects are over-supplied with specialist graduate teachers, while others, suffering from a shortage, have to rely on graduates without the relevant degrees. There is a need for a new law and policy which will ensure women's rights and equality between the two sexes.

E. THE EXTREMIST RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

The active participation of women in the economic life of the country is not encouraged by the extremist religious movement, which tries to put pressure on women to return home and take up again their roles as mothers, wives and housewives. This is a narrow-minded view which does not take into consideration the realities of Qatari society. Virtually all households employ domestic help such as nannies, maids, drivers, gardeners, etc., whether the woman works or not. Thus, the Qatari woman's domestic role has fundamentally changed and is now restricted only to supervision which is not a full-time occupation. Such views have a negative effect on society and could waste the

country's finances in trivia.

A very good example is the opening of the new University campus. Some extremist religious groups tried to agitate and put pressure on and create confusion in society by spreading rumours of the establishment of co-education in the new campus. This was contrary to the design and structure of the building which followed the strict specifications of the educational policy for non-coeducation.* Such groups have the strength and the ability to put pressure on Qatari women by using religion for their own interests. This intimidates women who already have low status in society and makes them hesitate in challenging society for the improvement of their roles and status, for fear of this group's harmful criticisms with regard to their reputation as good Muslims. This interference has contributed to a less-than-complete participation in the economic life of the society and has slowed down the increase of women's numbers in the labour force.

In the period of the Islamic civilisation, the religion of Islam was a force of social and cultural change. Muslim women in the early period of Islam were totally involved in the socio-economic, political, military and legal affairs of the society.³² The religion of Islam itself encourages both men and women to work if they are able to do so. It also does not restrict women to one field only.

*This event happened in January 1985.

In encourages women to work where they are needed in society, as Qaradawi has pointed out:

'... the Prophet (peace be on him) intended to train the Muslim to safeguard his dignity, to develop self-reliance, and to be far-removed from dependence on others.'³³

It is interesting to note that this movement appears to be interested more in women's affairs and issues while neglecting other important issues and problems facing the Arab societies which need urgent consideration and reform. This movement is confusing traditional and social values with ideological and religious values which do not necessarily come from the Islamic religion as such. It does not evaluate the needs of the Qatari society which at this transitional stage cannot afford to be further confused and pulled backwards. What the society needs, and in particular women, is an understanding, reasonable movement, interested in reforms, which will assist in and contribute to the development of society, taking up the issues seriously and considering them from different angles and points of view.

5. THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE AND EDUCATION

Some kinds of work have a need for highly-qualified personnel, and for these, education is a necessary prerequisite. The Qatari working women phenomenon is a consequence of educational progress, and therefore, the possibility of certain kinds of work for women increases with the acquisition of an academic qualification.³⁴ The close relationship between the growth of education for women and their increased participation in the national labour force can be

seen from the data given in Table 5.5, which shows that the Qatari women working in the government sector who have education to secondary level and above represent 77.3% of the total Qatari female labour force working for the government (which employs virtually all working women). This shows the strong correlation between women's education and work. This phenomenon is also found in other Gulf countries, as Al Misnad has stated:

"If women are to have much chance of entering the employment market, it is essential for them to possess appropriate educational qualifications."³⁵

Also Al Essa found that in Kuwait the educational level of the Kuwaiti female labour force is higher than that of the males³⁶ which suggests that there is a strong relationship between female education and work (although that relationship could work either way).

TABLE 5.5 - Qatari female employees in government sector by educational status, 31.12.83

Educational Status	No	%
Illiterate or read and write	514	20.0
Primary	45	1.75
Intermediate	49	1.91
Secondary	503	19.59
Diploma	603	23.5
B.A., B.Sc.	830	32.32
Higher Diploma	11	0.43
M.A., M.Sc.	4	0.15
Ph.D.	2	0.078
Others	5	0.195
Not stated	2	0.078
TOTAL	2568	100

Source: Central Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract, July 1984, No.4, p. 41.

6. FIELDS OF WORK

There are only a few employment fields in which the participation of women has become acceptable in society. In a study conducted by Al-Subayi in 1984 on women's education and work in the State of Qatar, it was found that teaching, social work, medical practice and nursing are the most preferred among her samples of Qatari men and women, female students and male and female employees, and teaching takes first place as a choice of career.³⁷

The women work only in particular occupations, and most of those in the labour force are found in jobs where their work relates to other female or children.³⁸ It is worth mentioning here that the Qatari female labour force does not differ much from that of the women in the other Arab Gulf states, where teaching and nursing are the largest employers of women, as Al-Essa has mentioned about Kuwaiti women:

"Women's participation in the labour force is not only low but their occupational choice is limited, by custom and tradition to the fields of education, health and social welfare."³⁹

In Qatar it has been found that women are concentrated in particular fields (see Table 5.6) such as:

A. THE TEACHING FIELD

It has been found that the Ministry of Education takes a large share of the Qatari female labour force (80% of the total female work force

employed in the government). This is a high percentage and their participation in this field shows that they conform to their customs and values and are reluctant to challenge them. It is likely that the reasons for their working in this field are the social view that it is the most suitable job for women: a) because it is not mixed⁴⁰ and b) because of the working conditions such as short daily hours, summer leave and the nature of the work, all of which helps married women to reconcile their work and their duties at home. However, concentration in this field has led to a surplus of teachers and a shortage in other fields.

According to a study carried out by the Ministry of Education the expected number of females graduating from the University of Qatar during the five years 1985-1990 will reach 2,484 and there will be additional graduates from overseas universities. In the same period the Ministry will need just 571 graduates, while at the same time the number of secondary graduates during this period will reach 5,336 students.⁴¹ Since there will be no work for them because they are not prepared for joining the labour market from the secondary level of education, as many as possible will continue their studies in the University, which will increase the number of its graduates and the problem of finding them employment will become even more serious than it is at present.

This problem has been discussed by a Committee specially appointed to study the problem and draw up a scheme for opening up other fields for female graduate work (see later).

Work at the University of Qatar is one of the acceptable fields for women, despite the fact that there is some contact with male staff⁴². Female employees of the university represent 7.2% of the total Qatari female labour force. While women as teachers are making a significant contribution, the situation in the teaching profession at the University level is quite different, however, as it is still predominantly a male domain as well as a place with a large number of non-national staff.⁴³ The largest number of female university employees is engaged in the administrative area which is sex-segregated.

B. THE NURSING FIELD

Nursing is another field which society regards as acceptable for women to work in, as it is considered suitable for women's nature because it is viewed as 'caring' and 'emotional'. In fact, the proportion of working Qatari women in this field is still small. Only 123 national women work in the Ministry of Public Health, which include nurses and other employees. In addition, there are 132 Qatari women who work in Hamad General Hospital. This number is too small, especially since the need for them is very high as a study carried out by the Ministry of Public Health has found out. According to this study the need for nurses in five years time will reach the total of 1562.⁴⁴ However, in spite of its feminine nature, nursing has low social status compared to teaching because of society's attitudes towards nurses, who work in a mixed field. This attitude affects nurses' self-esteem and capability, as mentioned by a nurse in an interview with a magazine:

"... there is another important point standing in the way of our performing our work well. It is the lack of awareness of the importance of nursing in the view of the patients and their visitors, of course all of this is in addition to the lower position of nurses in the eyes of society which affects their capability in carrying out their humane duty."⁴⁵

In addition to its status, nursing requires longer working hours in comparison with the teaching profession⁴⁶ which makes women hesitate in joining this field, in spite of the fact that it is easier to be promoted, as the numbers of Qatari employees is low.⁴⁷

Nurses suffer from social pressures and psychological difficulties. They were among the earliest groups to enter the mixed field. It was assumed that for technical reasons, they had to wear short uniforms, which provoked criticism from society. The first group of pioneering nurses worked for eleven years and not a single one married. Their solution to this problem was to veil themselves during the time when the veil started to be worn. They also began to wear long uniforms and subsequently some of them did marry.⁴⁸ This example is indicative of the pressure to which women are exposed when they try to challenge their society. Many families do not allow their daughters to work in this field and other fields which are not sex-segregated as it is easy for their reputation to be ruined, as a result of which their marriage chances could be spoiled. This is another way of limiting women's participation in different fields of work.⁴⁹

C. OTHER FIELDS

The representation of women employed in other fields is low (see Table 5.6). The figures prove once again how low and restricted women's participation is in the economic activities of the country in general.

TABLE 5.6 - Female employees in Government sector by Department
31/12/83

Department	No.	%
Qatar Monetary Agency	1	
Qatar University	178	6.92
Hamad General Hospital	93	3.6
Ministry of Finance and Petroleum	4	0.155
Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	21	0.82
Ministry of Communication and Transport	11	0.43
Ministry of Public Health	105	4.1
Ministry of Education	2068	80.34
Ministry of Information	47	1.83
Qatar General Petroleum	6	6.23
TOTAL	2574	

Source: Central Statistical Organization, Annual Statistical Abstract, 1984, No. 4, p.p. 44-45.

7. WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TO WORK

The remainder of this chapter will discuss the responses of the sample of working women to questions relating to work and employment.

A. MOTIVES FOR WORK

Table 5.7 shows the respondents' views as to the basic factors which encourage women to enter the labour market. Education is cited as the first motive, followed by ambition, self-realisation, serving their country, filling their spare time and finally, for economic reasons. These results show that having education enables and encourages these women to enter the labour market. However, the psychological motives are also important in impelling them to do so, so that through interaction at work they could satisfy these needs. The economic reasons came as the last motive for women's work which confirms that economic reasons are not a serious motive for women's work in Qatar due to the fact that Qatar is a wealthy country and also traditionally women do not have to support the family as it is men's responsibility to do so. This agrees with Al Subay's results that economic factors are not a motive for women's work in Qatar.⁵⁰ It disagrees with the study by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of Bahrain where the economic factor was the most important motive for women's work.⁵¹ One should bear in mind that Qatar's wealth exceeds by far that of Bahrain. With regard to the economic factors which came last in the ranking, more than two-thirds of the respondents' disagree with the proposition that affluence has weakened women's position and enthusiasm for work. Therefore,

economic factors are not a motive for working women, but also not an obstacle to entering the labour market.

With regard to the characteristics which women need to enter the labour market, the respondents (see Table 5.8) believed that they should have suitable qualifications, experience, good personalities, suitable external appearance and finally a family name. This agrees with the responses to another question (see Table 5.9) where the women overwhelmingly agreed that education is the best means to enter the labour market. This result shows that employment depends on qualifications more than on social factors such as family name, social background. It is important for women to have the type of job which will positively affect their position. More than two thirds of the respondents believe that the kind of job they have influences their social status and they find that having qualifications gives them the opportunity to raise their social status (see Table 5.9) With relation to their occupation, we found that 68.5% of the teachers and 76.4% of the non-teachers agree that the type of work affects women's social status, while 29.6% of the teachers and 14.6% of the non-teachers think that it has no effect at all. It seems that non-teachers are more concerned with this effect.

TABLE 5.7 The Motives of Women's Work

Question No.	There are some factors which help women enter the labour market, please arrange these factors according to their importance:	F	R
41	Spare time	326	5
	Ambition	415	2
	Economic reason	260	6
	Self-realization	405	3
	Education	492	1
	Serving the country	359	4

TABLE 5.8

Question No.	What qualification do women need to be employable? Please arrange them in accordance to their importance	F	R
42	Experience	432	2
	Educational qualification	457	1
	Family name	116	5
	Personality	303	3
	External appearance	158	4

TABLE 5.9

Q. No.		Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
28	Do you think that education is the best way to facilitate women's employment?	101	92.7	6	5.5	2	1.8	-	-	109	100
60	Do you think that the type of work a woman does affects their social status?	79	72.5	24	22.0	5	4.6	10	0.9	109	100
47	Do you agree that affluence has weakened women's enthusiasm to work?	21	14.3	79	72.5	9	8.3	-	-	109	100

B. THE EFFECT OF WOMEN'S WORK ON MEN'S OPPORTUNITIES

Most of the respondents disagreed with the proposition that their work would eventually lead to a future decrease of opportunities for men's employment (see Table 5.1). However, when asked as to who should have priority if there was limited employment, it is interesting to note that almost all of the respondents, (93.6%) gave priority to men. There is a willingness among them to give up work in favour of men. This attitude does not mean a step backwards but merely an awareness of men's role and responsibility for supporting their family in a male-dominated society where it is unacceptable for men to be unemployed while women support the family. Therefore, because of society's expectations of men, women are prepared to give

way to assist men in performing the role expected from them (see Table 5.1.2).

TABLE 5.1.1

Q. No.	Question	Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
44	Do you think that the employment of women will lead to a future decrease of opportunities for men's employment?	7	6.4	87	79.8	15	13.8	-	-	109	100

TABLE 5.1.2

Question No.	If there is a limited demand for employees who should have priority?	No.	%
45	Male	102	93.6
	Female	2	1.8
	No reply	5	4.6
TOTAL		109	100

C. CONCENTRATION OF WORKING WOMEN IN SOCIAL SERVICE JOBS

It was mentioned before that more than two thirds of the respondents believe that the development of society depends on both sexes. Among

the respondents 48.6% believe that both sexes have the same level of ability, while 42.2% disagreed. This fact is significant and it is an indication of a big change in their views with regard to equal ability for both sexes, taking into account the fact that they live in a male society which still insists on the superiority of the male. This points towards women's more positive view of themselves. Women are still conditioned to live according to men's culture and to believe that men are stronger than women in physical and mental terms. This idea, which has been inherited from the past and continues to exist, is deeply rooted in the upbringing of children who are after all, raised by their mothers. It is therefore, a mark of considerable progress that nearly half the respondents consider men and women to have the same level of ability.

Most Qatari working women are concentrated in social service jobs, such as education, nursing and social work, although they believe in equal ability between the two sexes. It also appears from Table 5.1.3, that the majority of respondents believe that there are women's jobs and men's jobs. The high percentage of 90.8% appear to be in conflict with the above mentioned belief on equal ability. In fact, this result agrees with many studies on the Gulf where women reserve a few jobs only for women.⁵² The reasons for the high concentration of women in the social services jobs, as indicated by the respondents are: they are suitable for the woman's nature, they are in the field of their qualifications, it is the only sector open to women and that they are approved by society. These are the most important reasons quoted. The rest are indicated in Table 5.1.4. The correlation between their attitudes and the pattern of jobs

available in society is very high.

The idea of suitability according to biological factors is an idea which still persists in present-day Qatar. This persistence could be attributed to many factors, such as socialisation at home and school, the influence of the mass media, society's traditional attitudes and the religious movement, which plays a major role in confirming this division. Thagib mentions that the majority of women's jobs are less important, i.e. they carry limited responsibility and the majority of them are white-collar workers, such as teachers. This seems to be as a result of their socialisation which tends to make women choose some fields of specialisation and avoid 'men's jobs'.⁵³ The second choice response, that women are concentrated in social service jobs because of their qualifications, is obvious as it shows the sort of education they receive, i.e. concentrated only in certain areas. (For more details see Chapter on Education). The third choice emphasised the limited opportunities for women with regard to work, due to their education and fear of society's disapproval if they ventured into other fields.

With regard to technical fields, it was found that the respondents think that these fields are not suitable for a woman's nature, society disapproves of them and finally there are certain difficulties which are inherent in such jobs and make it necessary for men to do them (see Table 5.1.5). When the results are analysed, it seems that the respondents divided the jobs according to gender differences in nature and social roles rather than ability as such as the difficulty of technical jobs ranked last. The responses are a

very good indication of the society's attitudes in which the social roles are segregated between men and women. Therefore, it is not surprising that the respondents found the following as suitable jobs for women: first - teaching; second - nursing; third - medical doctors, then - administrative jobs and social workers. The rest are indicated in Table 5.1.6. With regard to men's jobs, the respondents named a much greater variety than those for women. (See Table 5.1.7). In fact, most of the studies on the Gulf area agree with this result, whereby their samples believe in limited jobs for women and where women have indicated the same jobs as suitable.⁵⁴

The respondents' division of jobs according to sex points to their view and their attitude to society's pressure, which regards work as an extension to their traditional role. In other words, women's entrance into the labour market is affected by common values with regard to suitability and biological nature since the process of social acceptability is still very important to them. It is well-known that challenging this system will affect women's reputation, their family's status and even their family's peace. One may wonder if there is any use in diversifying the choice of jobs for women to enter, when women themselves seem to be rather timid in initiating such a diversification. While women may not be still prepared to take the initiative, it is believed that the spread of awareness among both women and men is very important at this stage of the development of the society.

TABLE 5.1.3

Q. No.	Question	Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
61	Do you think that women and men have the same level of ability?	53	48.6	46	42.2	9	8.3	1	0.9	109	100
63	Do you believe that there are jobs for women only and others for men only?	99	90.8	8	7.3	2	1.8	-	-	109	100

TABLE 5.1.4

Q. No.	What are the reasons behind the concentration of Qatari women in the service sector	F	R
59	Suitable for women's nature	587	1
	A good salary	165	7
	A comfortable job	202	6
	Sufficient leave	134	8
	The only sector open to women	369	3
	Family choice	297	5
	In the field of their qualification	435	2
	Approved by society	306	4

TABLE 5.1.5

Question No.	What is the reasons behind the lack of working women in the technical field?	F	R
62	The difficulty of such a job	127	4
	The disapproval of the members of society	253	2
	Not suitable to a woman's nature	267	1
	Non availability of jobs in this field for women	162	3

TABLE 5.1.6

Question No.	What kinds of jobs are more suitable for a woman?	F	R
64	Teacher	873	1
	Nurse	530	2
	Medical doctor	354	3
	Administrative job	248	4
	Social worker	161	6
	Housewife	83	7
	Manual work	46	8
	In mass media	36	9
	Others	177	5

TABLE 5.1.7

Question No.	What kinds of jobs are more suitable for men?	F	R
65	Engineering and Industry job	591	1
	All jobs suitable for men	548	2
	Military service	438	3
	Medical job	415	4
	Vocational and technical work	384	5
	Administrative job	319	6
	Political and leader job	230	8
	Private work	267	7
	Every work need a physical power	121	12
	Teaching	157	10
	Pilot and driver	209	8
	Lawyer	145	11
	Manual work	110	13
	Others	195	9

D. THE ADVANTAGES OF WOMEN'S WORK

When the advantages of women working in the country are scrutinised, one expects that through work, the social status of women is raised, the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of the nationals, which leads to a reduction of the need for a foreign labour force, self-sufficiency is achieved and finally women themselves rise to leading and decision-making positions.

Table 5.1.8 seems to confirm these advantages. The results indicate that the respondents think that work has increased their social status. However, women have not yet reached leading positions in society. Most of their jobs do not seem to encourage or give them an opportunity to reach decision-making positions. It is also true that the authorities do not seem interested in encouraging women to achieve such positions. This is not unlike other Gulf societies.⁵⁵

The rest of the above mentioned advantages are of an economic, national and political nature since they involve the development of society in these aspects. Although women believe in working in certain jobs only, they are aware and conscious of the consequences of dependence on foreign labour, which do not or may not help society's development. Their positive attitude is an encouragement for all concerned although it is strange that they think that all those problems could be solved without their full participation in all the areas of work. Qatari women (with the exception of those in the university and nurses) do not work in jobs which have the largest number of non-nationals. One wonders how they are going to replace

the non-nationals if they do not enter the labour market in those areas.

TABLE 5.1.8

Question No.	In your opinion what are the advantages which may occur as a result of employing women?	F	R
43	Reduction of the foreign labour forces	350	3
	Concentration of the country's wealth in the hands of the nationals	355	2
	Women accepting leading positions	201	5
	Raising the social status of women	358	1
	Achieving self-sufficiency	304	4

E. DIFFICULTIES FACING WORKING WOMEN

Some of the rapid and unavoidable changes which have occurred in the society as a whole and those connected with working women, have created several problems and difficulties for women. The problems are serious and could hinder the full participation of women within society. These problems and difficulties can be grouped under two main headings: those related to the dual role women have to play and those created by certain anti-working women attitudes.

1. Dual Role

As was mentioned before, women as mothers find it difficult to cope with the one-month maternity leave. More than half of the respondents are not satisfied with the length of time and most suggested between two and three months of maternity leave. The respondents pointed to this problem as one of the most serious facing working women as shown in Table 5.1.9. Considering the problems in order of seriousness, the following ranking was obtained: children, husband, work problems and finally, the family. The ranking of children as first and husbands as second, points to difficulties connected with their role as mothers and wives, i.e. their traditional role. The problem of children arises mainly because there is no regular system of good nursery schools which should be provided to ease and facilitate mothers who work and improve their children's life. With regard to the problem of husbands, this may be due to the fact that men still have not adapted to the changing role of women, although two-thirds of the respondents had mentioned previously that educated men do accept women's additional role as a working member of the society.

Later, the respondents were asked to indicate what they thought were the important problems among those which could result from women's work. The respondents indicated in order of seriousness: first - more responsibilities, second - neglect of the house, third - family disorganisation and contact with men, and fifth - economic independence for women. The results show (Table 5.2.1) that women seem to find it difficult to cope with the two roles and the

increased load of responsibilities which leads to domestic problems. It is however not very clear as what these problems are exactly, as women do receive help with their domestic work as they all have servants or members of the extended family who are trusted as we saw in a previous chapter.

This anxiety about their children as well as their role as a wife could be attributed to inexperience in coping with two roles and perhaps only time and experience may prove whether women in Qatar are able to cope as working women and mothers and wives at the same time.

When the respondents were asked whether in their opinion work and the house were two conflicting roles and which one they would choose to perform, more than half of the respondents responded that they would try to make the two roles compatible. One third of the respondents chose the house and only 2.8% of them chose work. The first choice is a positive attitude and an expected one while the second one shows that the family seems to outweigh any other considerations (see Table 5.2.2). With regard to marital status it was found that more than two-thirds of the single women and half of the married women chose to make the two roles compatible, while one fourth of the single women and half of the married women would give priority to the house and 3.9% of the single women and none of the married women chose work. It seems more married women give preference to the house. Although it is interesting that even among the single women, a quarter gave priority to the household, the much higher figure for the married respondents indicates the higher level of their domestic responsibilities and the presence of a husband and (mostly) children.

Table 5.2.3 shows that most of the women rejected the suggestion that problems at work affected their house, while 22.9% agreed. In relation to marital status, it was found that the majority of the married women, 80.0%, did not acknowledge that there were any negative effects on their house and just 18.2% agreed that there were and 68.6% of the single women disagreed while 29.4% found it affected the house. It seems that the majority of the respondents disagreed that work had any negative effects on the house. It is interesting to note that more married women than single women disagreed with the proposition that going out to work had negative effects on the house. Maybe they were unwilling to admit such a possibility, or perhaps the married women felt that their experience showed that there were not negative effects on their homes, while single women did not have such experience, but expected that they would if they were married.

When the question was reversed as to what effect the domestic problems had on their work, most of the respondents disagreed that there were any (82.6%). Broken down by marital status, 85.6% of the married women and 80.4% of the single women rejected the idea that domestic problems affected their work.

These responses appear to demonstrate some confusion. If we compare them with the responses to other questions about the relationships between the two aspects of their 'dual role' (see table 5.9) the contradictory responses could be the fault of the question maybe, insincerity on the part of women who are trying consciously or subconsciously to follow the general trend and inclination in society

who are against working women. This result agrees, to a certain extent, with the Bahraini study (Ministry of Labour) where 63.5% of the women disagree that their work problems affect their family life.⁵⁶

The results in Table 5.2.4 and 5.2.5 show the elicited responses on whether the respondents discuss the above mentioned problems at home or at work. It appears that for most, domestic problems are not discussed at work (84.4%) while only 12.8% discuss them with their friends at work. They did so in order to consult their friends and ask their opinion as their friends would be more experienced, and also to ease their mind by simply talking about them. Those who do not discuss their problems at work pointed out that they considered them as private, or that they did not want their problems to affect productivity at work, or they did not want to burden other people with their own problems. The reverse question, discussion of work problems at home, revealed that half of them did discuss such problems with the family for counsel, who may have experience in such matters, or simply because they trusted the family as advisers. Another reason given was that they could feel more relaxed and comfortable after a discussion and the third reason was that they wanted to involve their family with their work conditions, etc. (see Table 5.2.6). However, half of the respondents indicated that they did not discuss their work problems at home.

These apparent attempts by some of the women to separate the two areas of their lives could indicate, as do the responses to some other questions, the ambivalence and contradictions involved in

reconciling home and employment. One can assume that these controversial answers are an effort to prove that women can cope with work outside the house and a reaction to the anti-women work attitudes. Whatever their innermost thoughts are, the responses seem to be rather confusing.

To sum up, it seems that family solidarity and unity seem to be far more important as women are more reluctant to discuss their domestic problems openly and prefer the family as their sole counsellor. This may also point towards more loyalty to the family rather than to work. The extended family is still a significant factor in their life as its members are not only counsellors but also look after their children (see Chapter 3). This result agrees with the Bahraini study which found that two thirds of the working women sought help and advice from their family when they face a problem at work.⁵⁷

It is not surprising as the conditions of work and the psychological make-up of the society are such as to make women trust their family rather than anybody else, their colleagues at work or friends, or their boss. This is somehow determined by the very structure of the society, being tribal, and the fact that there are no advisory positions at work, where women could turn to when they face problems. Most of the decision-making positions are taken by men and one can hardly imagine a woman discussing either her work problems or her family problems which may affect her work, with a male boss or advisor.

TABLE 5.1.9

Question No.	What is the most important problem of working women in Qatar?	F	R
55	The Children	342	1
	The husband	150	2
	The family	73	4
	Problems at work	117	3

TABLE 5.2.1

Question No.	Some people think that the employment of women has created several problems. "Please rank them according to their importance".	F	R
51	Family disorganization	245	3
	Contact with men	245	3
	Neglect of the house	344	2
	More responsibilities for women	402	1
	Economically independent women	244	5

TABLE 5.2.2

Question No.	If work demands and house demands are conflicting which of them will you choose?	No.	%
58	Work	3	2.8
	House	40	36.7
	Reconcile them	65	59.6
	No replies	1	0.9
TOTAL		109	100

TABLE 5.2.3

Q. No.	Questions	Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
56	Do problems at work affect you in your house?	25	22.9	82	75.2	1	0.9	1	0.9	109	100
57	Do domestic problems affect you at work and reduce your ability to work?	14	12.8	90	82.6	5	4.6	-	-	109	100
92	Do you usually discuss domestic problems with your friends at work?	14	12.8	92	84.4	2	1.8	1	0.9	109	100
100	Do you usually discuss your problems at work with your family?	54	49.5	53	48.5	1	0.9	1	0.9	109	100

TABLE 5.2.4

Question No.	Why do you discuss your domestic problems with friends at work	No.	%
98	To consult them	5	35.7
	To ease my mind by talking to them	2	14.3
	No reply	7	5.0
	TOTAL	14	100

TABLE 5.2.5

Question No.	Why don't you discuss your domestic problems with friends at work?	F	R
99	It is private	144	1
	It will affect the work productivity	10	3
	Do not want to annoy the others	11	2

TABLE 5.2.6

Question No.	Why do you discuss your work problems with family?	F	R
101	For advice and counsel	117	1
	To feel relaxed	24	2
	To involve the family with work conditions	21	3

2. Anti-Working Women Attitudes

In Tables 5.2.7 and 5.2.8 the respondents seem to be very enthusiastic about working outside the home. However, there is a serious problem which working women are facing at present, and that is an open hostility towards working women. The respondents were asked two questions: firstly, 'Do you agree with some people that women should stay at home and never work outside?' and secondly, 'Do you agree that a woman should leave her job to become a housewife after marriage?' They were also asked to state reasons for their answers. The issue of women going out to work is still not clear in society: the attitudes range from complete rejection of the idea of working outside the home to rather confused idea as to places and positions women should occupy. The society has not fully absorbed some modern ideas with regard to women's full participation in the development of their country and their self-realisation in the wider circle of the outside world.

These and other excuses have led to persistent anti-working women movements and have fostered the idea among certain women that staying at home is better than going out to work. Those who support such ideas more than once have used religion as a back-up argument in their favour. Of course, given the ease with which foreign labour can be imported they can sustain their argument.

With regard to the first question, the majority of the respondents disagreed with these demands (78.9%) while 13.8% agreed, and 7.3% did not know. According to marital status, 80.4% of the single women and

78.2% of the married women did not support this demand while 11.8% of the single women and 14.5% of the married women are in agreement with such an idea.

As far as the second question is concerned, 63.3% of the respondents were not in favour of staying at home after marriage, while 25.7% were in favour. The results according to marital status showed that 56.9% of the single women and 69.1% of the married women were not in favour.

It is encouraging to find that in general the majority of the women are not in favour of staying at home to perform the so called traditional roles, especially when they have been educated to perform such useful functions as participating in the development of their country without neglecting their homes.

This conclusion agrees with Qutub's findings where 70.5% of his sample were not in favour of staying at home and leaving work to make room for men, and more than half of his respondents refused to give up their work in order to perform the traditional role after marriage.⁵⁸ However, one should not ignore the quarter of the respondents who agreed to leave their work in order to perform the traditional role after marriage. This is an indication that there are still women who are not sure why they study and obtain qualifications if they are going to stay at home. It also points to the fact that traditional views still persist even among some working women with regard to work versus staying at home.

Those who agreed with the first question gave as a reason that working women could not cope with two roles at the same time. In their opinion, working women could not make house and work compatible as the house needs them more, i.e. children, housework and husbands. Those who did not agree stated such reasons as that women are needed for the development of the country, that educated women can and should be able to make house and work compatible and that work is important for the self-realisation of women. The rest of the reasons are insignificant as they scored very low on the percentage scale (see Tables 5.2.9 and 5.3.1).

Given that the sample consists of working women only, it is surprising that 13.8% are in favour of women staying at home and more than a quarter are prepared to give up work after marriage. It seems that the anti-working women attitudes in society do cast doubts in women and do create confusion, regardless of the need of society for women's participation in the economic development of the country. In a segregated society, does this mean that if national women stay at home, then more foreign women should be employed to teach, nurse and perform social work services? It does not seem that the extreme Islamic movement and some other supportive groups of such reactionary attitudes do any favour to the country when they try to keep a large percentage of the population out of work without any suggestions as to who exactly is going to fill those vacancies which should be the responsibility of the nationals.

TABLE 5.2.7

Q. No.	Question	Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
37	Do you agree with some people that women should stay at home and never work outside?	15	13.8	86	78.9	8	7.3	-	-	109	100

TABLE 5.2.8

Q. No.	Question	Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
38	Do you agree that women should leave their job to become a housewife after marriage?	28	25.7	69	63.3	11	10.1	1	.9	109	100

TABLE 5.2.9

Question No.	If you agree with this demand, why?	No.	%
39	She cannot reconcile house and work	3	10.7
	If the house needs her	25	89.3
TOTAL		28	100

TABLE 5.3.1

Question No.	If you disagree with this demand, why?	No.	%
40	For the development of the country	20	36.4
	Educated women can reconcile work and house	3	5.5
	For self-realization	4	7.3
	For social security	16	29.1
	Because it is backward for women	2	3.6
	Women who have started work, should continue work	6	10.9
	To fill the time	3	5.5
	Because she can use servants	1	1.8
	TOTAL	55	100

F. SELF-EVALUATION

This part of the study tries to elicit information from the respondents as to how society values them as workers performing an economic role and what respondents think of women's role and work in society.

It appears (Table 5.3.2) that more than half of the respondents think that their work is not fully valued by society, while 38.5% feel that society does appreciate the contribution of their economic role. According to their occupation, 61.1% of the teachers and 54.5% of the non-teachers felt that their work is not fully valued by society,

while 38.9% of the teachers and 38.2% of the non-teachers think that society values women's economic role. More than half of the respondents do not believe that society evaluates women by the value of the work they do. In general, work does affect women's social status although there are other considerations, too. The family of origin's social and economic status still play a major role in assessing women's status. This is not surprising in a wealthy tribal society where the individual is better known by his family while his individuality, personality and wealth do not play such an important role.

Nevertheless, there were those who believe that a woman's value is based on her work. This leads one to believe that there is a change in women's position in society although the change is not drastic or revolutionary. Contrary to expectations, most of the teachers said that they thought that society did not value them. This is surprising as traditionally society believes that teaching is the most respectable job for women. However, this could be attributed to certain problems existing in the organisation and policies of the educational institutions. In relation to marital status it was found that most of the single women, (64.7%) and half of the married women (50.95) thought society did not value their role, while 31.4% of the single women and 45.5% of the married women believe that society does value their economic role.

It seems that married women feel that they are higher up in the scale of evaluation. This may be due to the higher status married women enjoy in society. The single women's lower status could be due to

the fact that they are still single at an age which is unacceptable to society (over 25) or merely because they are single and working. Even if they have reached a certain level of education and position at work, society still regards them as inferior. While society does value education in women nowadays, the traditional view of marital status still confuses the issues with regard to their social status.

The last question was: Do you have any comments you would like to add about women's work and their role in the society? This was poorly answered, maybe because it was open-ended and normally respondents do not like to answer open-ended questions. Another reason could be due to its position at the end of the questionnaire. The nature of the question asking for their comments on their own role at work, could bear some of the blame. However, it is indicated that the respondents themselves are not clear enough about these issues. The respondents who replied to this question numbered twenty-seven and some of their comments were contradictory. The following are some of the more important comments:

- a) the opportunities in education and work are limited and society should provide more educational and employment opportunities to assist women to perform their role in developing their society.
- b) men should play an active role in encouraging and supporting women who should be treated equally. This would give them more self-confidence especially if they can work in any place without fear of detrimental effects on their status and reputation, as

the development of the society depends on the participation of both sexes.

G. WOMEN'S BASIC ROLE IS IN THE HOUSE

It appears that women are still facing many obstacles in society which are centred around limited educational and work opportunities, and men's and society's attitudes to educated and working women. This has led to low participation of women in work. There are still women who still believe in a woman's traditional role, i.e. mother, wife and housewife, although they have opted for work rather than staying in the house, whether married or single.

TABLE 5.3.2

Q. No.	Question	Yes		No		don't know		No reply		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
35	Do you think that women's contribution as paid workers is properly valued by society?	42	38.5	63	57.8	4	3.4	-	-	109	100

CONCLUSION

The imbalance between shortage of supply and greater demands on the national labour force has led to more demands on foreign labour, which has contributed to neglect of the issue of training a national labour force to replace the foreign labour force in the economic activities of the country. This has played a significant part in the position and role of women. Thus, with regard to the female labour force, several factors were found to prevent women from complete participation in the economic activities of the country. It was also stated that such a valuable resource at a time when the country needs it, is not put into full use nor is it kept in reserve as an appropriate future labour force.

In order to find solutions to these problems it will be necessary to spread greater awareness among the members of society, including women, about their own needs and the needs of society.

The women in the sample believe that their work has helped to change their position in society. Nevertheless, most of them agree with the current attitude that women in general ought to work in the services sector. They consider this is suitable for women because of their nature and they also divided jobs between the two sexes, mentioning that, for instance, teaching and nursing are the most suitable jobs for women. This attitude suggests that the best solution to solve labour force problems would be to reorganize the labour market so that women nationals can replace foreign and national men in most office jobs such as, that of secretaries, typists etc., and at the

same time the Qatari men can move into different fields currently filled by foreign labour. This may give better productivity and by this move we can shed some of the foreign labour and utilise more of the potential of our own people.

More studies in the field of women's contributions to society should be carried out so that women become more conscious and aware as to the role they can play in developing their own society.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE INTERVIEWS WITH PIONEER WOMEN

1. INTRODUCTION

The Interview schedule was constructed to elicit information from pioneering working women on the following:

- (a) their awareness of some present social issues;
- (b) their attitudes to and opinions of those issues;
- (c) their views on the emancipation of women;
- (d) their views on the effect of education and educated people on society;
- (e) their support for women's work in general and women's employment opportunities in different areas of the country's economy;
- (f) their suggestions for changes with regard to women's status and position in society.

(See Interview Schedule in Appendix 1)

A small sample of 12 educated working women, pioneers in different fields, was chosen. The interviewees came from different social and economic backgrounds. The aim was to find out whether there is a change in the status, position and attitudes of this particular group of women, as a result of their personal challenge to society's norms, customs and traditions, and whether such challenges may bring about positive results in women's fight for their rights and an improved social position.

2. THE INTERVIEWEES

The twelve women were chosen from different fields of work in which they were pioneers. The interview lasted an average of about three hours. (Some interviews lasted over four hours and others two hours, depending on the individual's willingness to discuss in detail the relevant issues.) The interviews took place either at work or in their own homes, mostly the former.

The interviews were all carried out by the researcher herself, using the interview schedule. The schedule consisted of two parts: part one, dealing with personal and primary data, such as age, marital status, educational level, occupation and place of work, year of starting work, conjugal and original families, etc., and part two, dealing with open-ended questions, including some present social issues, such as traditions and customs, polygamy, divorce, reproduction and the effect of education and educated people on society. Part Two tried to discover, in addition, their opinions of and support for women's work, fields of work, job opportunities, etc. The open-ended questions also discussed the history of the feminist movement in Egypt, trying to elicit some information on attitudes to women's emancipation.

2.1 PRIMARY INFORMATION - THE INTERVIEWEES

The primary information about the interviewees shows (in table 6.1) that this sample is older in age than the larger sample. The family size of each interviewee is small considering their age: two of the

five married interviewees, have two children each; one has one child; one has three children and one has none. This could be because these women are more aware of family planning issues than those in the larger sample - or they have felt that only very small families are compatible with their careers. One could not draw any final conclusions however about the final size of the interviewees' families, as they are still of child-bearing age and there is always the possibility of them having more children.

2.2 PRIMARY INFORMATION - THE INTERVIEWEES' FAMILIES

The majority of the interviewees come from a large-size family, i.e. each of them have six to nine siblings, excluding some of the half-siblings, who do not reside in the same house. Two of the twelve interviewees did mention their half-siblings as they live in the same house. This is natural as the Qatari original family has always been large.

Eight of the interviewees had a university first degree, while three of them hold Ph.D. degrees and only one had a Diploma of Advanced Training which means that the interviewees are all highly qualified. They work in various jobs as shown in the table below.

TABLE 6.1 Primary Information - Interviewees

<u>Age</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Place of Work</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Children Married Women</u>	<u>No.</u>
24	1	Single	6	Univ. Degree	8	Lecturer	3	University	3	One	1
						Nurse Asst. Manager	1	Hospital	1	Two	2
25-	9	Married	5	Ph.D.	3	Manager	1	Red Crescent Society	1	Three	1
						Research Assistant	1	Gulf Organisation for Industrial Consulting	1	None	1
35-	2	Divorced	1	Diploma with Adv. Training	1	Medical Doctor	1	Women's Hospital	1		
						Lawyer	1	Ministry of Justice	1		
						Engineer	1	Ministry of Information	1		
						Teacher	1	Gir's School	1		
						Social Worker	1	Ministry of Labour in Social Affairs	1		
Social Worker and Author		Not Appointed Yet	1								

The married interviewees were married in the seventies (three), and eighties (two). None of the married women married before finishing her first degree: one married as a postgraduate student, three after obtaining their first degree, and one after receiving her Ph.D. degree. Compared to the larger sample, all the pioneer women married at a mature age and not as students (see Chapter Two).

The interviewees' husbands' age ranged between 29 and 42, while their own age ranged between 26 and 37. The husbands of four interviewees hold a university degree and one a Ph.D. degree which points to similar educational levels between the husband and wife. Only one woman has a higher level of education than her husband, though she married him when they had similar qualifications. Most of the interviewees' husbands work in government institutions.

3. OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

A. TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS IN MARRIAGE

The interviewees were asked to express their opinions on some social issues and practices concerning marriage, such as a suitor who is not allowed to see his fiancée, a woman who is not consulted about her future marriage, etc. These are customs which are not Islamic but still widely spread in the society. The pioneer women felt strongly about these practices and discussed them extensively. All the interviewees disagreed with and disapproved of such practices. While they agreed that the society still does not allow a suitor to see his future wife, there is some doubt about the woman not being consulted about her marriage, judging from the following comment:

'... I do not believe that there are many families who do not ask their daughter's opinion, but they still do not allow her to see her fiancée...'

It seems that the interviewees believe that some changes have occurred in this direction but many traditional customs still exist. The sources of such practices are traced to:

"... the source of these customs derives from the society's attitudes about women being inferior to men..."

Another interviewee thinks that these sources are to be found in tribal societies, and tribalism seems to be the main reason for perpetuating such practices. Tribes insist on carrying on the traditions of the tribe and thus pass these practices from generation to generation, a process which is a serious obstacle to women's progress.

With regard to ways and means of changing such practices, most of the women feel that in order to change this situation, it will be necessary for women's role to become more active in society and make women understand that they alone can change things, i.e. it is women's responsibility to bring about changes in their social status and position. One interviewee commented:

'... changing the present reality is mainly dependent on women's role...'

Another interviewee said:

'...women can change these customs, if men themselves give them up and concede certain rights to women...'

Two of the women think that the role of the religious men in promoting changes in society is very important. One of them criticised the present religious movement which seemed to conform with the society's present attitude towards women and did not seek to reform society.

Changes could be made by the spread of awareness in society and especially among women on these issues according to the interviewees. This could be achieved through education, the mass media and changes in the socialisation process of children. It is clear that the interviewees are aware of their role in changing these customs which affect their status and position in society. They seem to be prepared to play an active role in order to remove the obstacles which stand in the way of women's progress.

B. POLYGAMY

Although monogamous marriages are the most common form of marriage in the society, as previously mentioned this does not exclude the existence of polygamous marriages, notably among some social groups.

As one of the interviewees said:

'... I would like to limit this phenomenon, especially among the bedouin people...'

In principle the interviewees do not agree with polygamy as most of the replies indicate:

'... It is a blow to a woman's prestige...'

'...As a contemporary woman, I think, that no woman can accept another woman as a co-wife to her husband...'

'... We do not accept it although religion permits it...'

'... It is wrong...'

'... I do not believe in polygamy ...'

'...I do not like it...'

'... I do not support it...'

Only one woman did agree with it but only under certain circumstances:

'...I agree with it, if the Islamic conditions are fulfilled.'

It seems that the pioneer women do not accept this phenomenon in society although religion allows it. This agrees with the responses in the larger sample, where 78.0% of the women refused to accept a second wife (see Chapter Two). This also agrees with Zaher's study where he states that women in the Gulf Arabian States do not like polygamy, especially the educated women.¹

Some of the interviewees (later on) were inclined to accept polygamy only if the Islamic conditions were fulfilled, but they all stated that the Islamic conditions are not fulfilled in present-day polygamy which contradicts the fundamental Islamic belief on this issue. For example, some women said:

'... Some men abuse this permission and this is why it is incorrect practice...'

'The way it is practised at the present time is very bad because justice is not done...'

'... men take advantage of this religious command ...'

'... It does not comply with the Islamic conditions in most of the cases, and it is used in a wrong way.'

Women do not see any advantages in polygamy which tends to create more problems among the wives and spread hatred among half-brothers and sisters:

'... by accepting a married man, a woman can behave badly towards another woman and destroy another family...'

'... the disadvantages of this kind of marriage are experienced by both sides...'

'... it cannot solve the problems between a couple, it can only add problems to the existing ones...'

'... this sort of marriage has unfortunate consequences for the children and wives, such as spreading hatred among the children and the wives...'

The interviewees find many disadvantages in this type of marriage which ultimately affects society. This comment is in agreement with Soffan's assertion in her book on 'Women in the United Arab Emirates'.

'The mere possibility of family turmoil prompts most women to state that there are no advantages at all to polygamy'²

When asked about the abuses occurring in polygamy, wealth was found to be the most serious culprit for the continuation of such practices in the society. To quote one of the interviewees:

'... economic wealth makes it easy for them...'

Or as another one stated:

'... it is because of high economic standards that the man can marry more than one woman...'

Some of the women think that it exists just for men's pleasure, as in:

'... the second wife should realise that she is wrong, because she is just a pleasure for the man...'

'... having a second wife is just like renewal process...'

To sum up, women agree that men have abused this permission by not adhering to the Islamic conditions and most of them rejected polygamy in a contemporary society. The interviewees thought that the solution to this problem lies in women and their active role in changing such practices.

'... women should solve this issue, especially the educated women, who should be more active in solving this problem, by refusing to be a second wife... and spreading Islamic awareness in society...'

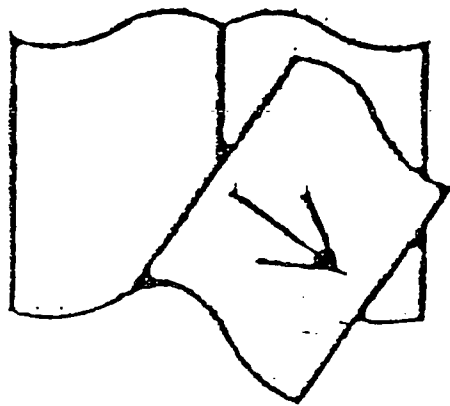
'... only women can change this position, the second wife should be more active and only agree when the first wife has agreed to such a marriage whereby the Islamic conditions are fulfilled...'

'... to solve this problem, marriage should be a basic right and a man should see his fiancée, by this will limit polygamy will be limited ...'

It seems that the majority of the interviewees give the whole responsibility to women on this issue. However, none of them have mentioned any jurisprudence, whether Islamic or civil, in being involved in protecting women who are wronged by such practices, or in taking an active role in spreading awareness of the right way of carrying out such practices. While some mentioned the use of the civil courts for this type of marriage, there does not seem to be any

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All the interviewees agreed that men misuse this permission, for example:

'... the method of use in society is wrong because it is all in man's hands which makes them dominant over the woman, and as a consequence, women come to feel insecure...'

'... the way it is practised is wrong, and this misbehaviour shows that men do not respect women which is a problem in society...'

It seems that women are concerned with this issue, especially, when divorce is misused against a woman. While it is hard for women to obtain a divorce, men have much more freedom and rights in this case. This makes women think that such freedom for men is unfair as men and women should be equal and have equal rights with regard to divorce.

Three interviewees think that the high rate of divorce in the society (321 cases in 1984)⁴ is a result of the way partners are chosen in marriage and they suggest that both sexes should have the opportunity to marry the person they choose. This is in line with Hussain's study, 'Divorced Kuwaiti Women and Work' where she found that one of the most important reasons for a divorce was the way partners in marriage were chosen.⁵

The question about the use of the Civil Courts in divorce cases was answered favourably by the ten women who supported the idea and added that serious reasons should be presented by both partners in the court.

The two women who did not agree with the use of the Civil Courts gave their reasons as follows:

'... it will not worth it, because these issues are personal between the couples and they should discuss them together...'

'... the introduction of Civil Courts for such issues is difficult because there is no awareness of such courts in the society...'

Some interviewees suggested the awareness of such issues should be spread in the society in close co-operation with the religious people and the mass media by stressing the importance of women's role in demanding for their rights. This can be achieved, it was suggested by establishing a Women's Union which will represent women's rights in society.

D. CONTRACEPTION

Large families are no longer the norm as they used to be, although society is in need of more people. The nationals realise this need, but the use of contraceptive aids among women is common in the society, especially among the educated working women. (65.1% of the larger random sample approve of contraception and most of them want no more than four children).

Thabit's study of women in the United Arab Emirates found that a small-size family was a priority in his research population, i.e. not

more than four children.⁶ It seems that women in Qatar and in the Gulf societies in general, have changed their attitudes towards large families.

The interviewees seemed to be divided on this issue. Some supported contraception, some did not and others support it on certain conditions, such as the needs of the country. Seven of the interviewees supported it with regard to some countries, such as Egypt, Morocco and India which suffer from over-population. As Qatar suffers from under-population, contraception is an issue which can be argued against, as the rate of growth of the national population increases more slowly than the numbers of foreigners in the country. This, for a number of reasons, could be argued not to be in the interest of the country. As one of the interviewees commented:

'... vis-a-vis the Qatari society, I disagree with it, because of the high economic standards and the national population being a minority in its own country... but we should have more children for as long as we can bring them up and educate them well...'

'... in Qatar under the present conditions, with so few nationals, I am against the use of contraceptive aids, but this is a personal freedom for each woman to decide upon...'

Some of these seven women supported it on the grounds of high economic standards and the effect on women's health. There was one woman who was totally against it and who argued that educated women should not use contraception as they are the women who have the ability to bring up good citizens for this country and it is a mistake to limit their children. In fact, this particular interviewee has been married for six years and has only one child.

When she was asked why she did not have any more children, she replied that she should have, but for personal reasons she did not plan to have any more.

Four of the interviewees supported the use of contraceptive aids and the limited number of children in the Qatari family because the present economic conditions may not last for long, the foreign labour would go and the burden of a growing population would appear in society. Moreover, that burden would have to be carried by women alone, as one interviewee put it:

'... I agree with it because the burden and responsibility of more reproduction lies on women..., where in our time, men leave all the responsibility of looking after children to women, so if they take care of a small number of children, they will do it better than if they are caring for a large number of them, especially, since children now have many demands which should be satisfied...'

It seems that more reproduction is still valued highly in society and regarded as a national duty because of the small size of the population in Qatar, although in principle, most of the interviewees agree with the use of contraception. These responses are rather different from those of the larger sample and Thabit's results. The reason could be that pioneer women are more aware of the complexity of society's problems than other women.

E. EDUCATION

Education is considered as an important factor in society which helps raise women's position and makes people able to help in promoting

social changes in society.

The interviewees were asked to express their opinions on the role of education and educated people in raising women's position in society and social changes in general. Eleven women replied that education has an important and active role to play in raising women's position and status in society. It changes people's views and attitudes towards women and helps women increase their own self-confidence and self-assurance.

Two out of the twelve women confirmed that education did change women's status, though the type of education provided in the society is not what it ought to be. The following quotation expresses an educationalist's view point:

'Education has changed women's position and helped to raise their status, but time is still needed to reach the desired status because the present kind of education tends to produce a negative human being who is more prepared to accept the reality of our present social conditions.'

One woman did not think that education had changed women's position:

'women have no role and status in society because of social, economic, political and religious conditions which stand in women's way.'

With regard to the role of educated people in helping create changes in the society, it was found that ten out of the twelve women agree that educated people have an active role to play in changing society

and one of them commented that most of the support for women's issues came from educated men rather than uneducated men. The other two agreed that educated people play a role in change if certain conditions are met:

'... educated people have a great role to play in stimulating changes in society, if they are in high status positions.'

'... educated people can play a role in creating change and development, if this is done within a clear programme and within strategies fundamentally parallel with the comprehensive development plans of the society.'

In general, the interviewees agree that education has affected women's position in society and in order to change society, there is a need for more attention to be paid to educational policies as education is a major force in changing women's position. They also agree that the educated people of society have an important role in determining the direction of social changes in society. This agrees with Al Misnad's research where she states that the effects of education appear in women when the educated women and their societies campaign and rally for political rights for women.⁷ This result agreed with the larger sample, where 87.2% of the women agreed that education helps in changing women's position in society.

F. WORK

All the interviewees consider work as a fundamental necessity for women, because work helps women develop their personality, mental independence and self-assurance. It gives them importance,

responsibility and experience, and satisfies their ambitions. Economically speaking, it is vital for supplying the national labour market where it lacks national workers. It encourages them to become active members of society through their participation in the life of their country. The interviewees support for work is comparable to if somewhat greater than that of the larger sample where 78.9% rejected the attitude that women should stay at home and never work outside, and where 63.3% disagree that women should leave their jobs to become housewives after marriage. This disagreement is based on the belief that women's participation in the development of the country is of paramount importance. The following comments are made by some of the interviewees:

'... It is necessary at least to have the choice whether to work or not...'

'... women should work but they should not neglect their children as a result of their work...'

'... women are working for many reasons and they can perform perfectly well if they are given trust, which gives them encouragement and makes them more developed ...'

'... women are coming late to the labour market, but their participation in the fields they work in is clear and effective. Maybe they can play a greater role if they are given the opportunity and open up the fields in front of them to show their hidden potential...'

The interviewees were divided on the issue of job suitability for women. Six women supported the idea that women should work in every kind of job to satisfy their own ambitions and fill the gaps in the market demand so that they can actively participate in the

development of society. In other words, they believe that all fields of work are suitable for women as long as it is within their capacity as individuals.

'... women can work in every field, but the traditional customs stand as an obstacle in their way to fully participate... and in time, women might reach leading positions because women are as able as men and if they are given the opportunity, they will be able to as well...'

It is obvious that the above comment puts the blame on the various obstacles presented by society to stop women from fully participating in the development of society.

The remaining six interviewees think that women can work in most jobs except those which need physical strength, for example, construction. This group of women divided the jobs according to sex depending on physical abilities. There is an important difference between these pioneer women and the larger sample and society as a whole. The former defines only some jobs as unsuitable for women because of their physical strength, not because of their different 'nature'. In general, the interviewees show more support for wide-ranging equality between the sexes than those in the larger sample.

G. JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

Eleven interviewees confirmed that job opportunities for women are restricted to a few jobs such as teaching and the medical jobs. Only one interviewee disagreed saying that:

'... some jobs are offered to women, although women tend to take jobs mainly in education and nursing...'

The same interviewee believes that women have begun to ask for jobs in different places but only on a very small scale, and this is the reason why most working women are found only in some fields of employment. Furthermore, she believes that if women were to ask for other jobs, they would get them, as there are cases of a few women who have successfully applied for such jobs.

The rest of the women mentioned some factors which restrict the job market for women. Some interviewees mentioned more than one factor and this is why the total of the answers is more than eleven.

Six interviewees felt that employment in society is basically linked with the social structure, its customs and traditions. Therefore, social circumstances are dominant in the division of labour, which gives priority to men. Two women mentioned that it is because of the negativism of women who do not demand work in other fields, and they believe that if women asked they would be employed in different fields. There are two women who said that women are employed according to their qualifications. Other factors were each mentioned by one woman. For example, lack of educational opportunities for women, the recency of the phenomenon of working women, the mistrust society shows to women and therefore the closing of doors to working women, the issue of women working being fairly new, so women did not know how to fight for their own rights, etc. One interviewee believes that the oversupply of teachers will force the question of other fields for women and encourage the opening up of a wider range

of jobs to women.

She also believes that although most women prefer to gain university degrees, because of the limited educational opportunities for women, it is the responsibility of the state to provide alternatives.

With regard to positions of leadership and decision-making jobs, one interviewee said:

'... men have a high position in employment because of the high level of their education, but if women have the same level as men and do not have the same position, it may be considered unfair in society and it is the duty of women to demand their rights...'

Another interviewee's comments were:

'... women's jobs in Qatar are socially and economically inferior to those of men, because the leaders' jobs are in men's hands which enables them to make decisions...'

Another interviewee hopes that women will gain leadership positions:

'... there is a possibility that women take leadership jobs
...'

One interviewee mentioned that there are women in leadership positions:

'... in the University women become heads of departments which means they have begun to fill up such positions...'

There is an agreement on the limited job opportunities for women in society and that women's jobs were inferior to men's. Although the interviewees gave different reasons for this situation, the social reasons came as a main factor of obstruction to women's advancement in society. This differs, for example, from the situation in Morocco where the main factor is of an economic nature.⁸ As mentioned in previous chapters, the economic factors are not significant in Qatar but what limits the job opportunities of women stems from society's attitudes towards women working. As a result of limited educational opportunities women are restricted only to certain types of jobs. Therefore, in order to find a solution to enlarging job opportunities, it is necessary to enlarge educational opportunities first. It is also necessary to spread such awareness among the members of society as to make them accept the idea of women working in different fields without damaging their social status and reputation.

H. THE EFFECT ON WOMEN'S SOCIAL STATUS OF WORKING IN MIXED FIELDS

Seven interviewees agree that jobs where there is contact with men lowers the status of women in society and the reasons they gave are as follows:

'... The contact with men at work does affect women's social status in Qatari society because of the domination of traditional beliefs and customs. Education does not change men's and women's views about women's work, it just qualifies them to have certain certificates and certain jobs. Besides the socialisation and the culture of society plays an important role in this attitude towards women's work...'

'... there is an idea in society that there is a difference between the sexes and if they (women) have contact with men, it will harm the woman, and the problem here lies in the socialisation which makes both of them see each other as sexual objects... If we bring children up in mixed environments and have co-education from the primary school, then, they will be used to each other...'

Two of the interviewees attributed this phenomenon to the underdevelopment of the society, its value system and its social structure. In other words, the more underdeveloped society is, the more backward it is in its opinions of women. One interviewee mentions the existence of tribalism which is the main reason for the lack of awareness with regard to the social status of working women.

Four women disagree that contact with men lowers women's social status. They mentioned that while at the beginning women working outside the home, were not acceptable to society, as the number of working women started to increase, the idea became gradually more acceptable among the members of the society. While one interviewee did sound encouraging on this point, she also mentioned the case of the nurses where they did suffer and still suffer from unfair comments with regard to the nature of their job: short uniforms, mixed field, involving contact with men, etc. The result was that none of those nurses married until they changed their uniforms and veiled themselves. Society seems to be rather cruel to women who wish to work in mixed fields. Their job opportunities are further curtailed by their families or husbands who try to protect their reputation and the family honour.

One interviewee had the opposite view that the reasons behind the success of women in mixed fields were self-respect and being

respected in their jobs and represent the family element perfectly without any stains on reputations and pride. Two other interviewees do not believe that working in mixed fields lowers women's status and one of them went even further:

'... when women work in mixed fields they become more valued in people's eyes and there is no disapproval in society as long as it agrees with women's specialised qualifications, it does not affect women's status negatively in society...'

It seems this interviewee is rather optimistic as society does disapprove of women working in mixed fields whatever her qualifications and special qualities may be. This is shown in many studies. She herself works in a mixed field and perhaps she perceives her own status as high but that may not be the view of others round her.

With regard to type of work, eight interviewees felt that it does affect the social status of women in society, while one woman commented that the type of work affects both sexes' social status, not just the women's. Two women felt rather differently. One believed that work could increase rather than decrease the status of Qatari women:

'... The case of Qatar is different, because the working woman is an educated person and so their work increases their social status, while the reason why women do not work in lower jobs is connected with economic affluence...'

One interviewee argued that work was not a significant factor for the social status of women:

'... a woman's character affects her social status by raising or lowering it according to her behaviour and not according to her work...'

It seems that more than half agreed with Susan's study that status depends on whether women have or have not contact with men at their work place.⁹ This could be the reason why many women in Qatar work in separate fields, away from men. This points to the fact that women are still afraid to enter mixed fields because of their family's or society's attitudes towards women's work which could affect their own as well as their family's reputation.

I. LEGISLATION AND JOB PRIVILEGES

There is no law concerning women and work, as a result of which laws, rules and customs favour men. There is an urgent need to introduce labour legislation for women which show more awareness of women's conditions. It is necessary for women to start demanding their rights as five interviewees pointed out:

'... there is no law for working women in our society. No legislation makes distinctions about work. There are only some practices, which contain discrimination between working men and women which is not necessary and should be abolished...'

Five of the interviewees supported the idea that the authorities should pass suitable laws and that women should fight for their rights.

With regard to job privileges such as land and loans, seven women support the idea of equality between the sexes to have the same privileges when they do the same jobs. Four interviewees agree that women can have some of these privileges in some circumstances, for instance if the woman is the main source of the family income. Two of these four women mention that men have a right to have these privileges because they have the main responsibility for the family, while women do not usually have such a responsibility as they are supported by their father or husband.

It seems that the need for independent access to accommodation for women is not perceived to exist in this society.

One woman finds it is difficult for women to have these privileges nowadays but maybe with a new proposed law, it will be possible for some groups, because there are some suggestions to give working women the same privileges such as loans and land in some special circumstances. One should mention that a married woman can have these privileges now if she is married to a man with lower qualifications than her own.

It appears that more than half of the interviewees believe in equality between both sexes as long as they perform the same job. They also insist on the need to change the present labour legislation which does not consider a woman as a working member in society.

J. QASIM AMIN'S MOVEMENT

The issue of the emancipation of women dates from the publishing of 'Tahrir al Mara (Women's Emancipation) in 1899' and later 'Al Mara al Jadida (The New Women)' by Qasim Amin. The way to the emancipation of women, he argued, is to give women the right of education and work and reform marriage and divorce laws, the use of the Islamic veil as well as participation in public life. These points were raised within an Islamic country and among Muslim reformists.¹⁰ Amin, with his revolutionary points, made himself one of the first thinking pioneers in an enlightened era which was a decisive period for the formation of a new Egyptian reality in particular and the Arab world in general.¹¹

All the interviewees support Qasim Amin and his demands and consider him as an important supporter of women's issues, such as education and work, as the fundamental rights for women. In his time he provided crucial help for the rise of women and his influence is reflected today in the fact that Egyptian women reach leadership positions. The interviewees feel the need for such men in the present society of the Arab world, as two interviewees remarked:

"... in Qatari society we need a man like him who values the women's issues."

"... we still, in the present time, are in need of these demands..."

The other women also supported his demands as the basic rights for women as citizens, as these demands are their rights which will lead towards improving their ability to perform their role in society and participate in the family budget. It seems they feel that their work is a form of security, self-realisation, economic independence which raise women's status.

In general, women support Amin and his demands:

"... he was a revolutionary"

"... he was a fair man ... etc."

Qasim Amin faced a lot of opposition from national leaders, such as Mustafa Kamil, who attacked his ideas. Mustafa Kamil's opposition was based on his conservatism with regard to social affairs. He believed that the country needed to get rid of foreign dominance first and such issues as social change were secondary in importance, and possible only after independence.¹² Mustafa Kamil's ideas are rejected by nine of the interviewees, while three of them tried to justify his ideas as stemming from certain historical circumstances, such as the fact that he was a national leader and his aim was a national revolution which needed his sole concentration. Any wider spread of his efforts would have taken him away from the national liberation issues.

Two of the nine women who rejected his opposition explained their views as follows:

"... he opposed it, because he was a man and because of his view of women..."

"... because of women's emancipation and attaining the specific standards and that is why he opposed Qasim Amin's demands..."

With regard to his ideas, it was found, that eight women believe that social changes in society are fundamental to political changes which lead to national liberation of the country. As a consequence of social changes and the emancipation of women, women can help in the liberation of the country. A national liberation movement also gives women the opportunity to emancipate themselves. The interviewees disagreed with Kamil. They argued that social reforms could arm society with an awareness which could enable the rejection of unwanted interference and influence by foreigners.

Three of the interviewees gave as an example the Qatari society, which although liberated from foreign political rule, has not emancipated its women as yet. Qatar was ruled indirectly by the English without a military occupation, so there was no indigenous national movement or struggle against a colonial power. One could assume that the existence of a nationalist movement gave a chance to women to participate and prove themselves as a valuable force in the society who should be given their rights. There are other examples in the Arab world where women did take part in the national movements of their countries and thus gained a better position in society than their sisters in countries where such movements were absent.

K. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN EGYPT

Many factors helped create the existence of a women's movement in Egypt during that period. They were pioneers and affected the whole of the Arab world. Nine women out of the twelve agreed that the existence of colonisation, a nationalist movement and Amin's demands drove them to establish this movement which played an important role in increasing women's awareness about their position and the need for supporting such a movement. Three women felt that the reason was just Amin's movement and the other national movements, while the others attributed it to their awareness and contact with Western cultures.

The success of this movement, they felt, was reflected in its role in women's position in Egypt and the Arab world:

"... it was a good one because it has affected the whole of the Arab world..."

"... This movement helped women in Egypt a lot and we still learn from it..."

"... As a consequence of this movement, women in Egypt are able to raise their voice and they have now a representative as a Member in the Parliament..."

"... It was a reason for the emancipation of women..."

It seems that in the interviewees' opinions this movement was a positive and important movement which lead women towards demanding and gaining their rights, and towards their own emancipation.

Qatar still lacks such a movement which can stand up for women's rights and help spread awareness among women in particular, and in the society, in general. One interviewee tried to give the reasons for such an absence:

"... the present abundance of wealth in society is the reason why we are not asking for our rights..."

It is well-known that the members of the Egyptian women's movement were from the elite class, and they worked together to emancipate themselves and other women from the same social and economic backgrounds. The upper and upper-middle class women were badly treated by their men who secluded them away from public life.¹³ This is why this movement started among those elite women who were concerned with their own position and situation.

Eight women felt that this one-sided direction of the movement made the movement rather weak from this point of view as an interest should have been shown in the emancipation of the women of all classes and social layers and not only the elite classes. The lower classes needed to become as much aware of their low position in society as the upper class women. Three of the women defended the rather limited nature of this movement which they find reflected the ideas and opinions and interests of its own members who happened to

be from the upper classes. Two of the interviewees thought that the women's movement followed the right direction:

"... it is natural for these classes to be interested in their own class, and the fault lies with the lower class women..."

Certainly, one can question such a statement as the lower classes lacked education, economic means and the right environment in order to become aware of their own social position and status. Women of such poor economic background give priority to food. Although the movement did affect the lower classes later on, these women are still not emancipated and suffer from their low position in society, in class and gender terms.

It seems that although the interviewees agree with importance and significance of this movement for women, they disagree with some of its policies.

L. POLITICAL RIGHTS

Arab women who lived in countries which were under colonisation and participated in national liberation movements, gained certain political rights.¹⁴ In the whole of the Gulf area there are only two states which have granted people political rights, Kuwait and Bahrain. However, in practice, the exercise of these rights is limited to men, although the laws of these states do not reject the idea of women having political rights.¹⁵ Although the laws grant equality and democracy, the reality is different. In some states

such rights are practised in a limited way and in others they do not exist at all, either for men or women.

At present there is an attitude in the Arab countries which is reflected in the Algerian women's situation, who even when given such rights, prefer not to practice them. The interviewees were asked their opinion about abstention of Algerian women from exercising their political rights. Some of them gave more than one reason which increases the answers to more than twelve. The answers were grouped as follows: Eight women felt that such an attitude could be attributed to the dominance of the traditions in society and the pressure of men who in one way or another forced women to abstain from exercising their political rights:

"... although the country has been liberated, women are still dominated by tradition..."

"... it is a result of pressure from the government and the present circumstances of the country..."

In their opinion, women in Algeria are still not emancipated from the bonds of their traditional attitudes which give priority to men with regard to practising political rights.

Four women argued that this could be attributed to differences between men and women whereby jobs are divided into those which are for men and those for women, and the political field seems to be men's jobs, as men are seen as better in leadership positions.

"... the women are shy..., emotional and have a subjective views of themselves..."

Women's ability they felt, does not help them to carry out political duties which constitute a considerable burden and require certain characteristics such as a strong character, psychological strength and an ability to hold discussion. In their opinion, women are not made to have political rights.

To sum up, the interviewees found that the situation of men and society's attitudes are not positive towards women in practising and exercising their political rights since they do not encourage women to participate in the political life of their countries. However, women need to be active in politics since it is the only way towards gaining their rights.

The remaining five interviewees felt that the lack of education and high illiteracy rates in Algeria, lead to low awareness and thus to a belief that women should not practise and exercise their political rights.

In general, the attitude was that the social and personal aspects were the main reasons for the abstention of Algerian women from exercising their political rights. Therefore, the spread of awareness among women in particular, and society, in general, is of paramount importance in order to build up women's self-confidence and trust in their own ability to participate in the political life of their society.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the main findings of this chapter, will be summarised as follows:

- a) Women agreed that many of the old customs and traditions still practised are negative and they insist that they must be changed by women themselves.
- b) The permission for polygamy and divorce have been abused by men by not adhering to the Islamic principles and conditions. Most of the interviewees rejected polygamy in the present society and agreed that divorce should be conducted in the civil courts in order to limit the misuse of both issues in society.
- c) Contraception in society is acceptable in principle. There were some interviewees who did not agree with its use in Qatar because of the small size of the national population.
- d) The interviewees valued the role of education as a force for change. Education has a great role to play in changing women's position in society, it helps women's improvement of their status and educated people have an important role to play in stimulating changes in the society.
- e) All the interviewees supported women's work and some of them supported the idea of equal opportunities for jobs. Most of them agreed that job opportunities in the present society are

rather limited. Two groups of the interviewees were distinguished: those who believe that women should work in all fields in society and those who felt that women should work in those fields which are suitable for women's physical ability. In general, women in the Gulf enter just a few fields of work. Most of the women agreed that the social status of women is affected when they work in mixed fields. Most of them work in mixed fields.

- f) All the interviewees supported Qasim Amin's ideas and most disagreed with Mustafa Kamal's opposition. They valued the feminist movement in Egypt as a pioneering movement which affected the other movements in the Arab world. Most of them disagreed with the policy of this movement as regards its limitation to the upper and upper-middle class women.

- g) The interviewees regarded social and personal aspects as the main reasons for the abstention of the Algerian women from exercising their political rights. Therefore, the spread of awareness among Arab women is important. Some believe that for women to gain this right in the society, women should participate in the different socio-economic fields which will lead to gaining socio-political and economic rights.

It is obvious that there is a great awareness among these pioneering women. It is suggested that women themselves have a fundamental responsibility to review their position and organise themselves in order to establish a women's organisation which will discuss and take

an interest in women's issues and ultimately fight for women's rights in the different fields of the social and economic life of the country. One of their main responsibilities should be to spread awareness among the women in society and encourage the education of women, as education can play a vital role in the long run. This will lead to an increase in women's self-confidence to stand up for themselves and demand their basic rights. This organisation should associate with other women's movements in the Gulf area. The Qatari women should become more active and positive in demanding their rights by means of education and an increase in awareness among themselves and active participation in the economic, political and social life of the country.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

1. CONCLUSIONS

This study focused on a range of changes in women's position in society, with particular attention given to education and work as important factors of social change.

The central hypothesis of the study is that education and work have affected women's position in society. In order to test this hypothesis, a random sample of educated Qatari working women was interviewed. It is believed that the hypothesis has received some support.

Furthermore, the results of this study have raised important issues concerning the present status of women and the time and effort needed to overcome the uncertainties, obstacles and negative reactions which characterise the present transitional state in which Qatari society finds itself. There are many conflicting values, persistent traditional attitudes and psychological under-currents which society is not yet ready to resolve. All of these factors create an unstable social and cultural environment for women where they find it difficult to carry out their functions and responsibilities given the changes which are taking place in their economic and traditional roles.

The significance to women of education and work in supporting rapid social changes in women's position, is confirmed by the answers to questions used to elicit the range of change in women's position in society and her social status as a result of education and work.

There is evidence that family relationships and women's attitudes towards marriage have changed to a certain degree, in spite of the traditional customs, practices and extreme religious movements which still persist and put pressure on changes in marriage.

Education has a great effect on women's position and does contribute to changes in women's views of themselves and society in general. For instance, 94.5% of working women believe that the educated women can play an important role in speeding the development of their own environment. Educated women seem to be facing many problems based on their dual role as working women and as mothers and wives, and on the traditional attitudes of men and society as a whole towards women. This is due to the fact that women have begun to achieve the same educational levels as men, and to enter paid employment, which has led to an increase in their self-confidence, self-assurance and independent thinking. Men still continue to believe that women should be subordinate and obedient. There are some women who reject this view and feel they are equal to men. There are some women that share the view of men.

Women insist on their right to work outside the home although there is little evidence of widespread change with regard to the traditional view of "women's jobs" and "men's jobs". They still

support the view that there are types of jobs suitable to the nature of a woman. For example, 90.8% of respondents of the random sample insist that there are certain jobs suitable for women by nature such as teaching and nursing. This may be partially due to the fact that foreign labour is extensively used throughout the labour market, and plus many jobs are seen as jobs for foreigners only.

Further progress in women's position and social status will be realised by active support for their new responsibilities and economic roles in all employment fields, and a different attitude towards the reliance on foreign labour. Individual women, however positive, active and strong they are, will not be able to bring about changes all alone. However, all-round education, increased maturity and experience in different areas of the social and economic life, will make them more confident in facing the new, changing, social situation. This can be achieved by allowing women to take decisions, at least in matters which concern themselves as educated and working women, who have the potential to offer as much to society as they can and are offering in their traditional roles as mothers, wives and housewives.

Given that there is still a widely held belief that only certain types of jobs are suitable for Qatari women, the way forward may be to encourage the filling of more of such 'suitable' jobs (nursing, secretarial work, and so on) by Qatari women instead of by foreign labour or Qatari men. This would then free more of the male national labour force to fill jobs in other sectors now occupied by foreigners.

2. THE OPENING UP OF WORK FOR FEMALE GRADUATES

The imbalance which has been created, is forcing the government and other responsible bodies in the country to reconsider policy and practice with regard to manpower planning and strategies. It seems that the government has made a serious effort to find other fields for women to work in which are outside the scope of the traditional sectors: teaching, nursing and the University. A Committee was appointed to study and find solutions to the problem. The committee was composed of eight male members from different employment fields. This Committee met from 15 January to 20 April 1985 and they recommended the following:

1. All those in responsible positions should cooperate to put together a clear educational policy, connected with the education of women and the needs of the society.
2. It is necessary to make an effort to find new job opportunities for Qatari women in other sectors.
3. The new fields of work should provide basic conditions which should take into consideration the values and traditions of the society and its religion.
4. As the present fields of work for women are still thought by many to be the most suitable, these fields should be expanded.

5. University and Secondary school graduates should be able to work in different ministries and government institutions on condition that the religious and traditional basics are applied.¹

It seems that the government has started considering this problem seriously. The Council of Ministers decided to appoint another committee to study the subject in full detail. It is hoped that this study will help women in the society to participate fully in the labour market so as to be able to contribute to the development of the country. It is commendable that the government has made the first step towards the full employment of women in the country. However, the members of this committee were all male and there was not a single woman to present the women's point of view at a meeting which after all discussed women's employment issues.

3. RECOMMENDATION

On the bases of the findings it is recommended that in order for women to achieve their full rights and equality-at-work and social life and full participation in economic life :-

- (a) The main role of emancipation and change of women's social position in society is women's task. The changes should accrue within the women and not be forced upon them by the males. They have to believe in their ability to participate in the process of development. This can only be achieved if the women try hard to build their self-assurance and depart from attitudes which emerged with excessive wealth from oil revenues.

Self-confidence and self-esteem are important factors in encouraging women to achieve important roles, when these psychological incentives are more important than the material ones.

(b) Education and training of females will lead to more participation and understanding of their role in both the social and economic development of the country. This will certainly lead to less dependence upon a foreign labour force which could be reduced. This in turn would permit females to play their full role in society.

(c) Authority, from its side, should produce new legislation to protect the working female, especially in cadre promotion prospects and job privileges and in the field of maternity protection. This will create a healthy atmosphere in work and society.

(d) There should be reforms of the legislation concerning marriage, divorce and polygamy, such as fixing a suitable age for marriage at which the girl is able to give her informed consent, ensuring that polygamy and divorce are properly organised and monitored. Laws should be passed to protect family life and discourage the splitting up of families resulting from easy divorce and polygamy.

- (e) Women's institutions are an important way of enabling women to meet together. There is an important challenge facing women's societies in planning to lift women from their isolation and segregation and to ensure their participation in developing their society.
- (f) The role of the mass media is an important one. Through a cultural and propaganda campaign, a change in the negative traditional and widespread attitudes to women will take place. This campaign should be according to the principles of true Islam.
- (g) The authorities realize that importing a foreign labour force will not be possible forever, so important steps should be taken towards depending on their own people by training and reorganizing the national labour force. This will lead to a lesser dependence on non-national labour, which is their stated policy.
- (h) Finally, it is important that more social research and statistical study have to continue especially in this period of development where noticeable and rapid changes occur within society.

Unlike many other Arab countries, Qatari women do not have the economic need to work. However, they do join the labour force, although still in small numbers, because work is an area where they can find independence, realisation of their ambitions and aims. This

will not be achieved without facing many difficulties and problems. However, if Qatari society is to develop and flourish, the potential contribution of women must not be ignored.

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APPENDIX 1

METHODOLOGY

This thesis used the following method:

1. A sample of women were identified according to their field of work. The sample was random and comprised 109 women, mainly from the Ministry of Education.
2. A questionnaire was devised to elicit primary information and it aimed at the large sample of working women to identify their awareness with regard to social status, position and role in society.
3. An interview was carried out with pioneering women in order to elicit information as to their role and position in present-day Qatar of analysis and elaboration of the research data.

The social survey by questionnaire and interview of a sample is a widely used method for examining people's beliefs and attitudes and it was found suitable for the researcher's investigation.¹ The researcher used the questionnaire for the larger random sample and the interview for the chosen sample.

TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

The method used in this research and the sources of information involved have both played an essential part in forming its shape and the results obtained.

Concerning the policy of the government in the area of education and work and their relation to the demands and needs of society, the research depended to a great extent upon the reports, studies, research and statistics published by the State of Qatar in Arabic. A questionnaire was, therefore, designed on the basis of previous studies. Thus the primary format of the questionnaire was constructed.

The interview schedule followed similar steps.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was applied to a random sample of working Qatari women. It comprised 102 questions on the various issues related to the purpose of this study, such as primary information about the respondents themselves and their family of origin as well as their own families, some information on their marriage, education and work. A part of the questionnaire included questions about the effect of education and work, and also the changes in family relations. In addition, it tried to identify the difficulties and problems faced by educated working women in the society. Except for a few open-ended questions, most of the questions were closed.

CALCULATING THE RANK

This was done by calculating the frequency with which each item was ranked first, then the frequency with which it was ranked second, third and so on. Then the rankings were weighted according to the number of responses possible. For example, if there were five possible responses to a question, the number of first rankings a response attracted would be multiplied by five, the number of second rankings by four and so on. The total for each response could then be calculated to give its overall weight.

THE INTERVIEWS

The researcher has carried out personal interviews with a chosen sample of pioneer working women. The aim was to clarify their views on some issues of the feminist movement. The interviewees were also asked to express their views on and attitude to social issues with the view of finding out whether there have been any changes in these women as the pioneers entering particular kinds of jobs. It also aimed at identifying whether these women have or will become leaders in contributing to changes in the position of women in society.

PRELIMINARY STUDY

The researcher applied the questionnaire to ten women as a pilot test to ensure the clarity of the questions, removed the redundant and added more relevant ones. The final questionnaire was formulated on

the basis of the above pilot questionnaire. The data from those interviews were not included in the analysis.

A format of letters was sent to the relevant authorities in seven institutions, one dropped later, in order to receive permission for interviews with their female employees and administer the questionnaire. With regard to the interview, the interviewees were informed by telephone about the study and individual appointments were arranged at the interviewees convenience.

THE SAMPLE

A. The Random Sample:

In order to carry out successfully the purpose of this thesis the sample had to be restricted to:

- 1) Qatari women only
- 2) women with secondary, university and postgraduate education
- 3) working women only.

The sample was chose by formal statistical methods which included seven institutions according to the number of their female employees. These were: the Ministry of Education, the University of Qatar, the Ministry of Public Health, Hamad General Hospital, the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. The seventh institution was removed because its female employees were not educated. Then six per cent of

the total of the female employees in every institution was chosen from a list of names and by using random tables.² However, the Ministry of Education sample needed further work as they are not located in one place. They were divided according to their schools, one school from each school stage: 2 primary for girls, and one "Namuthagia", a model primary school where the staff is female and the pupils male, one preparatory and one secondary. One school was added in case of drop-outs, and there were some from the supervision department. The reason for choosing three primary schools is that most of the Qatari female teachers were found there as seen in table 1. Six per cent were taken from every stage. The sample totalled 74 women but was later increased to 93 to avoid loss in the sample. Seventy-five questionnaires were returned from this institution with a loss of 18 (unreturned). In this way, the returned 75 questionnaires corresponded to the original number needed.

The random method ensured that each member of the population had a predicted and equal chance of being selected in the sample.³ The sample reached 101 units which was increased to 125 units by adding a number of spares after the Ministry of Education sample. The final number of questionnaire returned was 109. There were 74 from the Ministry of Education, 12 from the University of Qatar, 9 from the Ministry of Public Health, 7 From the Hamad General Hospital, 4 from the Ministry of Information and 3 from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study was determined by three sets of factors:

a) The Geographical Scope

Although a study of this kind should cover a wider geographical area, it covered only the capital, Doha, as 80% of the population lives in the capital and most government sectors and institutions are found there.

b) The Human Scope:

A random sample was taken for the questionnaire consisting of 109 working women, drawn from six institutions according to the number of women in these institutions. For the interview, twelve Qatari women were chosen from different institutions based on their fieldwork as pioneer Qatari women.

c) The Time Scale:

Using a questionnaire and an interview based on empirical methods, this research was carried out between the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985. (December to February).

Since no other research has been carried out in this particular area in the country, the study offers initial information and insight into women's position in Qatari society. Its advantage lies in the fact

that it concentrates on the views of a few different groups of educated working women who form a cohesive whole untypical for other studies.

As the field work was undertaken over a limited period of time and most depended upon the researcher's efforts alone, severe restrictions were placed in her way. The limitations of this study are as follows:

- a) The sample is exclusively drawn from government employees and mostly from women working in education, thus the greater part of the analysis will be largely about the experience and attitudes of the employees of the Ministry of Education.
- b) Qatar is a country where society considers field work as interference in private affairs.
- c) The number of unreturned questionnaires was twenty. (18 from the Ministry of Education probably because there were the largest groups in the sample). This is not considered a limitation of this study as the response rate is exceptionally high compared to other studies.
- d) The interesting phenomenon is that the poorly completed questionnaires fell down particularly over the open-ended questions which indicates that the respondents found it difficult to answer some questions whether because of carelessness or disinterest.

e) The answers were translated from Arabic into English, and were transferred into coding numbers. A computer programme was then run on the data for statistical analysis and crosstabulation using the SPSSX Package in the MTS system of the Durham University Computer Centre, NUMAC. It took the researcher some time to familiarise herself with the computer work.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION AND
EMPLOYMENT ON THE POSITION OF QATARI WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this questionnaire is to identify the social and cultural changes occurring in the life of Qatari women, as a result of their education and employment.

Your cooperation in answering this questionnaire will be appreciated. It is of great importance to be precise and clear in your answers which will enable us to acquire information and scientific facts related to the subject.

The information in this questionnaire will be treated with absolute confidentiality and anonymity.

It will be used only for research purposes.

Thank you for your cooperation,

A.H. Al-Kaabi

I. PRIMARY INFORMATION

1. Primary Information on the Respondents:-

Age	Marital Status	Level of Education	Country in which Finished Education	Specialist Education
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Employment	Date of Starting Work	Place of Work
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2. Information on the family:-

No.	Relationship	Age	Marital Status	Level of Education	Employment
-----	--------------	-----	----------------	--------------------	------------

3. Conjugal family and start with the eldest members:-

No.	Relationship	Age	Marital Status	Level of Education	Employment
-----	--------------	-----	----------------	--------------------	------------

4. Marriage Information:-

a) Date of marriage ()

b) Relation to husband:

- 1. Paternal cousin ()
- 2. From the family ()
- 3. From the tribe ()
- 4. From Qatar ()
- 5. From another Arab country ()
- 6. Foreigner ()

c) If you got married while still studying, what level of education did you have when you got married:

- 1. Primary level ()
- 2. Preparatory level ()
- 3. Secondary level ()
- 4. University level ()
- 5. Postgraduate level ()

d) If you got married before finishing your education, have you continued your education?

Yes () No ()

II. INFORMATION ON EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

5. What other languages, apart from Arabic, do you know?

Language	Level of Competence			
	Reading and	Reading	Written	Spoken
English				
French				
Others				

6. If you have ever previously been employed in another capacity, please state:-

7. How many hours do you work daily?

8. In your opinion, how many hours per day should a woman work?

9. Do you have employment other than your official capacity (at present or during your holidays)?

Yes ()

No ()

10. Do you work shifts?

Yes ()

No ()

11. If yes, how many times per week?

Once ()

Twice ()

Three times ()

12. Is your annual leave adequate?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

13. If no, in your opinion, what is adequate annual leave?

14. Have you had maternity leave?

Yes ()

No ()

15. In your opinion, is the maternity leave adequate?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

16. In your opinion, what is the adequate for maternity leave?

17. Is your present job, the job you really want?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

18. If no, what employment would you really like?

III. EDUCATION

A. The Effect of Education on Women's Characteristics:-

19. What are the advantages of educating Qatari women?
Please rank the following according to their importance:-

- Has helped to improve the position of Qatari women ()
- Increased her self-confidence ()
- Made women more logical and given her the ability to discuss ()
- Improved her status in the society ()
- Others, please indicate

20. What are the apparent disadvantages of educating Qatari women? Please rank them according to their importance:-

- Late marriage of Qatari females ()
- The marriage of Qatari males to foreign females ()
- Others, please indicate

21. Being an educated woman, do you feel there are differences between an educated and an uneducated woman?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

22. If yes, in which field:-

- Attitude to life ()
- Degree of aspirations ()
- Children's upbringing ()
- Economic independence ()
- Social status ()
- Thought ()
- Others, please indicate

B. The Role of Educated Women in Society:-

23. Do you think that education is a factor helping a woman to be a mother and a wife only?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

24. Do you think the uneducated woman can succeed in finding a job in Qatar?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

25. Do you think that education has changed your status in society?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

26. Do you think that the educated woman can help in developing her milieu?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

C. Education as a factor of change:-

27. In your opinion, what are the factors which promote social changes? Please rank according to their importance:-

- Urbanization ()
- Economic change ()
- Modern ideology ()
- Education ()
- Employment ()
- Others, please indicate

28. Do you think that education is the best way to facilitate women's employment?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

29. Do you think that education is a weapon in the hands of a woman against future dangers?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

30. Do you think that the educational level you reached is the best related to your personal and employment ambitions?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

D. Man and the Educated Woman:-

31. Do you think that education has made men respect women more?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

32. Do you think that the educated man is prepared to accept the changing role of the woman?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

33. Do you think that educated women can show more understanding for her husband's problems at work?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

VI. EMPLOYMENT

34. Do you agree that the development of society depends on the participation of the woman together with the man in the different fields of life?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

35. Do you think that the woman's work is the true measurement of women's value in the society?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

36. Do you think that the employment of women can help in solving the problem of the foreign labour force?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

37. Do you agree with some people, that a woman should stay at home and never work outside?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

38. Do you agree that a woman should leave her job to become a housewife after marriage?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

39. If yes, why?

40. If no, why?

B. Work as an economic factor:-

41. Here are some factors which helped women enter the labour market. Please arrange these factors according to their importance.

- Economic Factor ()
- Spare time ()
- Ambition ()
- Self-realization ()
- Education ()
- Serving the country ()
- Others, please indicate

42. What qualifications does a woman need to be employable? Please arrange them according to their importance.

- Experience ()
- Educational qualifications ()
- Family name ()
- Personality ()
- External appearance ()
- Others, please indicate ()

43. In your opinion what are the advantages which may occur as a result of employing women?

- Reducation of the foreign labour force ()
- Concentration of the country's wealth in the hands of the nationals ()
- Women accepting leading positions ()
- Increasing the social status of women ()
- Achieving self-sufficiency ()
- Others, please indicate

44. Do you think that the employment of women will lead to a future decrease of opportunities for men's employment?
- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()
45. If there is a limited demand for employees who should have priority?
- Male ()
- Female ()
46. Do you believe that women should contribute to the domestic budget?
- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()
47. Do you agree that affluence has weakened women's enthusiasm to work?
- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

C. House and work:-

48. Do you think that marriage is an obstacle to women seeking employment?
- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()
49. Does your husband respect you as a working woman?
- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

50. Does your family respect you as a working woman?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

51. Some people think that the employment of women has created several problems. Please rank them according to their importance.

- Family disorganization ()

- Contact with men ()

- Neglect of the house ()

- More responsibilities for women ()

- Economically independent women ()

- Others, please indicate

52. Who manages your house during your absence at work?

- Your husband ()

- Your family ()

- Your husband's family ()

- A servant ()

- You, when you return from work ()

53. Who takes care of your children when you are at work?

- Your husband ()

- Your family ()

- Your husband's family ()

- Nursemaid ()

- Nursery school ()

- Friends ()

- Others, please indicate

54. Do you have confidence in the above services?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

55. What is the most important problem of working women?
Choose the most important.

- The children ()

- The husband ()

- The family ()

- Problems at work ()

- Others, please indicate

56. Do problems at work affect you in your house?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

57. Do domestic problems affect you at work and reduce your
ability to work?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

58. If the demands of work and the demands of the house conflict
which of them will you choose?

- Work ()

- House ()

- I will try to reconcile them ()

D. Type of Work:-

59. What are the reasons behind the concentration of Qatari working women in the service sector? Please choose the most important reason.

- Suitable for women's nature ()
- A good salary ()
- A comfortable job ()
- Sufficient leave ()
- The only sector open to women ()
- Family choice ()
- In the field of their qualification ()
- Approved by society ()
- Others, please indicate

60. Do you think that the type of work a woman does affects her social status?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

61. Do you think that women and men have the same abilities?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

62. What is the reason behind the lack of working women in the technical field? Choose the most important.

- The difficulty of such a job ()
- The disapproval of the members of society ()
- Is not suitable to a woman's nature ()
- Lack of jobs for women in this field ()
- Others, please indicate

63. Do you believe that there are jobs for women only and others for men only?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

64. What kinds of jobs are more suitable for a woman?

65. What kinds of jobs are more suitable for a man?

VI. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

A. Equality between women and men:-

66. Do you think that inequality between women and men is a natural thing?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

67. Do you think that the man should be the master of the household and his decision final because:-
(Choose the most important)

- He is a man ()
- Economically responsible ()
- More understanding than the women ()
- The society determines that ()
- Do not agree with this statement ()
- Others, please indicate

68. Do you think that family relations among the members should be based on respect instead of than on fear?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

69. Do you think that the woman should always obey the man?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

70. Which of the following reasons present obstacles for the woman to get married? Please choose one only.

- Social status ()
- Economic standards ()
- If she is employed ()
- If she is unemployed ()

71. Where would you like to live after your marriage?

- In a separate house ()
- With your husband's family ()
- With your family ()

B. REPRODUCTION AS A FACTOR FOR FAMILY COHESION

72. Do you think that, nowadays, infertility is a direct reason for a divorce?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

73. Do you think that giving birth to girls in the family, nowadays, is a reason for divorce?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

74. Do you think that greater reproduction leads to stronger family ties?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

75. What is the main reason which makes the boy's status higher than the girl's in the Qatari society?" Please choose one only:

- Will carry the family name ()

- Economically responsible ()

- Will help in old age ()

- There are more advantages for the family ()

- It is the belief of society ()

76. Do you approve of contraception?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

77. Does your husband approve of contraception?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

78. What is the number of children you would like to have?

Male ()

Female ()

C. WORK DIVISION

79. Do you think the basic job of a woman is to serve a man?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

80. Do you think that taking care of children is a woman's job only?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

81. Do you think that a woman's success depends on her husband's success?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

82. Do you think that the role of man in the society forces the woman to make concessions?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

83. If yes please indicate them:

D. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP

84. Do you think that the educated woman has better opportunities to choose for marriage?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

85. Do you think that marrying cousins is the best form of marriage?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

86. Do you accept the interference of the family in your own life?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

87. If your husband wants to marry a second wife do you accept that?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

88. Some graduate men prefer to marry less educated women. What is the reason for that? Please choose the most important reason.

- There are few graduate women ()
- Pride and self-deception of graduated women ()
- Weak consciousness of youth ()
- Less dependence on a man ()
- More demands from graduate women ()
- Age factor ()
- Personal characteristics ()
- Men cannot control them ()
- Others, please indicate

89. Do you think that there is less demand for marrying graduate women?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

90. Do you consider this a problem?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

91. If yes, what is the solution to this problem? Please choose one:

- Stop early marriage ()
- Raise the consciousness of youth ()
- Encourage society to give priority for university education ()
- Others, please indicate

92. What is the reason for Qatari men to marry foreign women?
Please choose only one:

- Fathers fanaticism ()
- Women's education ()
- Women working ()
- No contact allowed between the two sexes ()
- Young men studying abroad ()
- Weak consciousness of youth ()
- Foreign women are more understanding ()
- Showing off in front of others ()

93. Do you consider this a problem?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

94. If yes, in your opinion, how can we solve this problem?
Please choose one.

- Reduce the dowry ()
- Bring to the youths' attention the danger of this problem ()
- Passing laws to stop such marriages ()
- Making the parents more understanding ()
- Make society aware of this problem ()
- Allowing contact between two sexes ()
- Others, please indicate

95. In your opinion, which phenomena indicate that a man respects a woman?

- Helping in the household affairs ()
- Helping take care of the children ()
- Respecting her opinion and accepting her suggestions ()
- Helping to solve her problems at work ()
- Visiting her in her place of work ()
- Introducing her to his friends and relatives ()
- Others, please indicate

96. In your opinion, which phenomena confirm that a wife respects her husband inside the family?

- Obedience ()
- Respect for his opinion and accepting his suggestions ()
- Discussion of his problems at work and trying to help him in solving these problems? ()
- Others, please indicate

97. Do you usually discuss domestic problems with your friends at work?

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Do not know ()

98. If yes, why?

99. If no, why?

100. Do you usually discuss your problems at work with your family?

Yes ()

No ()

Do not know ()

101. If yes, why?

102. Do you have any comments you would like to add, about women's work and their role in the society?

استمارة استبيان
عن أثر التعليم والمعلم في تفسير وضع
المرأة القطرية

مقدمة :

ان الفرض من هذا البحث هو التعرف على التفسير الاجتماعي والثقافي الذي حصل للمرأة القطرية نتيجة للتعليم والمعلم باعتبارهما من أهم عوامل التفسير الاجتماعي .
وان مساهمتك في الاجابة على اسئلة هذا الاستبيان والتزامك الدقة والوضوح في اجاباتك سوف يساعد على الوصول الى البيانات والحقائق العلمية الدقيقة المتعلقة بالموضوع

علما بان البيانات سوف تكون سرية وستستخدم لاجراض البحث العلمي فقط وليس من الضروري ذكر الاسم .

شكرا ،،،

علياء حمد الكعبي

معيدة بقسم الاجتماع جامعة قطر
وطالبة دراسات عليا بجامعة
درم بانجلترا

أثر التعليم والعمل في تفيير وضع
المرأة في المجتمع القطري
استبيان ميداني

أولا : بيانات أولية :

١- بيانات أولية عن المبحوثة :
.....

العمر	الحالة الاجتماعية	الستوى التعليمي	البلد التي أنهيت فيها آخر مرحلة تعليمية	التخصص الدراسي	العمل	سنة التعاقد بالعمل	مكان العمل

٢- بيانات أولية عن الاسرة :
.....
(اسرة الاهل) يرجى ترتيب افراد الاسرة حسب العمر "

الرقم	الصلة القرابية	العمر	الحالة الاجتماعية	الستوى التعليمي	العمل

الرقم	العلة القرابية	العمر	الحالة الاجتماعية	المستوى التعليمي	المهنة

٤- بيانات عن الزواج :

أ - اذكرى السنة التي تم فيها زواجك ؟

ب - ماهى درجة قرابة زوجك ؟

- ابن عم ()
- من العائلة ()
- من القبيلة ()
- من قطر ()
- من بلاد عربية ()
- اجنسي ()

ج - ان كنت قد تزوجت وانت طالبة ففى أى مرحلة دراسية تم زواجك ؟

- المرحلة الابتدائية ()
- المرحلة الاعدادية ()
- المرحلة الثانوية ()
- المرحلة الجامعية ()
- اعلى من الجامعة ()

د - ان كنت قد تزوجت قبل أن تستكملى تعليمك فهل واصلت تعليمك بعد زواجك ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()

الرقم	المدة القرابية	العمر	الحالة الاجتماعية	الستوى التعليمي	المسكن

٤- بيانات عن الزواج :

أ - اذكرى السنة التي تم فيها زواجك ؟

ب - ماهى درجة قرابة زوجك ؟

- ابن عم ()
- من العائلة ()
- من القبيلة ()
- من قطر ()
- من بلاد عربية ()
- اجنسى ()

ج - ان كنت قد تزوجت وانت طالبة ففى أى مرحلة دراسية تم زواجك ؟

- المرحلة الابتدائية ()
- المرحلة الاعدادية ()
- المرحلة الثانوية ()
- المرحلة الجامعية ()
- اعلى من الجامعة ()

د - ان كنت قد تزوجت قبل أن تستكملى تعليمك فهل واصلت تعليمك بعد زواجك ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()

ثانيا : بيانات عن التعليم والعمل :

٥- ماهى اللغة أو اللغات التى تلمين بها :

درجة الاجادة				اللغة
تحدثا	كتابة	قراءة	قراءة وكتابة	
				الانجليزية الفرنسية لغات أخرى

٦- اذا كنت قد التحقت بوظائف أخرى غير وظيفتك الحالية فما هى :

-
-
-
-
-

٧- ما عدد ساعات العمل اليومية التى تود بيتها فى العمل ؟
(ساعة)

٨- ما هو عدد ساعات العمل اليومية الملائمة لعاطلة تقوم بنفس العمل الذى تقومين به ؟
(ساعة)

٩- هل تعملين عملا اضافيا بعد انتهاء دوامك أو اثنا اجازاتك ؟
- نعم ()
- لا ()

١٠- هل تعملين بالمناسبة ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()

- ١١- اذا كانت الاجابة بنعم فكم مرة تعطلين بالنهاية في الاسبوع ؟
- | | | |
|---|-----------|-----|
| - | مرة | () |
| - | مرتين | () |
| - | ثلاث مرات | () |

- ١٢- هل مدة الاجازة السنوية كافية ؟

- | | | |
|---|--------|-----|
| - | نعم | () |
| - | لا | () |
| - | لاادري | () |

- ١٣- اذا كانت الاجابة (لا) فما هي المدة المناسبة في رأيك للاجازة السنوية ؟

- ١٤- هل حصلت على اجازة امومة ؟

- | | | |
|---|-----|-----|
| - | نعم | () |
| - | لا | () |

- ١٥- هل تعتقد ان مدة اجازة الامومة كافية ؟

- | | | |
|---|--------|-----|
| - | نعم | () |
| - | لا | () |
| - | لاادري | () |

- ١٦- ما هي المدة المناسبة في رأيك لاجازة الأمومة ؟

- ١٧- هل تعتقد ان بانك تشغلين الوظيفة التي كنت ترمين اليها ؟

- | | | |
|---|--------|-----|
| - | نعم | () |
| - | لا | () |
| - | لاادري | () |

- ١٨- اذا كانت الاجابة (لا) فما هي الوظيفة التي ترغبين العمل فيها بالفعل ؟

١ - أثر التعليم في بلورة شخصية المرأة :

- ١٩ - ماهي فوائد تعليم المرأة القطرية في اعتقادك ؟ رتبها حسب أهميتها في نظرك :
- ساعد على تحسين وضع المرأة في قطر عما كانت عليه سابقا ()
 - زاد من ثقة المرأة بنفسها واعتدادها بذاتها ()
 - جعل المرأة أكثر منطوية ولديها القدرة على المناقشة ()
 - ساعد على ارتفاع مكانة المرأة في المجتمع ()
 - أخرى تذكر

٢٠ - ماهي في اعتقادك أهم المشكلات التي نتجت من تعليم المرأة القطرية ؟

- رتبها حسب أهميتها في نظرك ..
- تأخر سن زواج الفتاة القطرية ()
 - زواج الشباب القطري من اجنبيات ()
 - أخرى تذكر

٢١ - هل تعتقد ان هناك فرقا بين المرأة المتعلمة وغير المتعلمة ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادري ()

٢٢ - اذا كان الجواب (نعم) فما هو الفرق ؟ رتبها حسب أهميتها في نظرك ..

- اختلاف في التفكير ()
- اختلاف النظرة للحياة ()
- ارتفاع في معدل الطموح ()
- اختلاف في تربية الاطفال ()
- الاستقلال الاقتصادي ()
- اختلاف في المكانة الاجتماعية ()
- أخرى تذكر

ب - دور المرأة المتعلمة في المجتمع :

٢٣ - هل تعتقد ان التعليم يعد عاملا مساعدا في تهيئة المرأة لدورها كام وزوجة فقط ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادري ()

- ٢٤- هل تعتقدين أن المرأة غير المتعملة تستطيع الحصول على عمل في قطر ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٢٥- هل تعتقدين أن التعليم قد غير من مكانتك في المجتمع ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٢٦- هل تعتقدين أن المرأة المتعملة تساهم على تنمية بيئتها المحيطة بها ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

ج- التعليم كعامل تغيير :

٢٧- ماهي أهم العوامل التي تعتقدين في أهميتها بالنسبة لاجتماعي ؟
 رتبها حسب أهميتها في نظرك ..

- التحضر ()
 - التغيير الاقتصادي ()
 - الايد بولوجيا الحديثة ()
 - التعليم ()
 - العمل ()
 - اخرى تذكر ()

٢٨- هل تعتقدين ان التعليم هو أفضل طريق يمهد الى عمل المرأة ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٢٩- هل تعتبرين التعليم سلاح في يد المرأة ضد مخاطر المستقبل ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٣٠- هل تعتقدين أن المستوى التعليمي الذي وصلت اليه يرتبط بتموحيك الشخصي والوظيفي؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

د - الرجل والمرأة المتعلمة :

.....
 ٣١- هل تعتقد بين ان التعليم جعل الرجل يحترم المرأة اكثر مما سبق ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

.....
 ٣٢- هل تعتقد بين أن الرجل المتعلم اكثر الرجال استعدادا لتقبل التغيير في دور المرأة ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

.....
 ٣٣- هل تعتقد بين أن المرأة المتعلمة اكثر تفهما لضاكل عمل زوجها ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()
-

رابعاً : العمل :

أ - المرأة نصف المجتمع :

٣٤- هل توافقين على أن نمو المجتمع يعتمد على اشتراك المرأة مع الرجل في مختلف مجالات الحياة ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٣٥- هل تعتقدين أن عمل المرأة هو المعيار الحقيقي لتقييمها في المجتمع ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٣٦- هل تعتقدين أن عمل المرأة سوف يساعد على حل مشكلة العمالة الاجنبية ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٣٧- هل توافقين على ما يراه بعض الناس بالدعوة الى مكوث المرأة في البيت ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٣٨- هل توافقين على تفرغ المرأة لبيتها بعد الزواج وانقطاعها عن العمل ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٣٩- اذا كانت الاجابة بـ (نعم) فلماذا ؟

٤٠- اذا كانت الاجابة بـ (لا) فلماذا ؟

ب - العمل كعامل اقتصادي :

٤١- هناك بعض العوامل التي أدت الى دخول المرأة للعمل . رتبها حسب أهميتها في نظرك ..

- الفراغ ()
- الطموح ()
- الناحية الاقتصادية ()
- تحقيق الذات ()
- التعليم ()
- خدمة الوطن ()
- اخرى تذكر ()

٤٢- ماهى الشروط التى لابد ان تتوفر فى المرأة حتى تنال الوظيفة المناسبة . رتبها حسب

اهميتها فى نظرك ..

- الخبرة ()
- المؤهل ()
- اسم العائلة ()
- الشخصية ()
- المظهر ()
- اخرى تذكر

٤٣- ماهى الفوائد التى تعتقد بين انها سوف تعود على البلاد من عمل المرأة . رتبها

حسب اهميتها فى نظرك ..

- تقليل حجم العمالة الوافدة . ()
- تركيز ثروة البلاد فى يد مواطنيها ()
- احتلال المرأة للمناصب القيادية ()
- ارتفاع مكانة المرأة فى المجتمع ()
- تحقيق الاكتفاء الذاتى ()
- اخرى تذكر

٤٤- هل تعتقد بين ان عمل المرأة سيؤدى الى تقليل فرص العمل للرجل مستقبلا ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٤٥- اذا كانت الوظائف محدوده العدد فلن تعطى الاولوية ؟

- للذكور ()
- للاناث ()

٤٦- هل توهمنين بانك من الضرورى ان تساعدى زوجك فى ميزانية الاسرة ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٤٧- هل توافقين على ان وفرة المال قد اضعف من حماس المرأة للعمل ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

ج - البيت والعمل :

٤٨- هل تعتقد بين ان الزواج يعوق خروج المرأة للعمل ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٤٩- هل يحترمك ويقدرك زوجك كعامله ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٥٠- هل تحترمك وتقدرك مائلتك كمااملة ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٥١- يعتقد البعض ان خروج المرأة للعمل ادى الى ظهور بعض المشكلات . فما هي اهم هذه المشكلات ؟ رتبها حسب اهميتها ..

- تفكك الاصرة ()
 - الاحتكاك بالرجال ()
 - اهمال البيت ()
 - زيادة مسئوليات المرأة ()
 - استقلال المرأة اقتصاديا ()
 - اخرى تذكر ()

٥٢- من يد يرشون بيتك عند ما تكونين فى العمل ؟

- زوجك ()
 - مائلتك ()
 - عائلة زوجك ()
 - الخادمة ()
 - بمفردهم عند ما تعود بين من العمل ()

٥٣- من يرعى ابنائك عند ما تكونين فى العمل ؟

- زوجك ()
 - مائلتك ()
 - عائلة زوجك ()
 - المربية ()
 - الحضانه ()
 - اصدقاء ()
 - اخرى تذكر ()

٥٤- وهل لديك الثقة بهذه الرعاية ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٥٥- اين تتركز مشكلات المرأة العاطلة ؟ اختارى اكثرها اهمية ..
- الاولاد ()
 - الزوج ()
 - الاهل ()
 - مشكلات العمل ()
 - اخرى تذكر ()

- ٥٦- هل تزعجك مشاكل العمل فى البيت وتؤثر على استقرارك ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٥٧- وهل تزعجك مشاكل البيت فى العمل وتؤثر على كفاءتك ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٥٨- اذا تعارضت متطلبات العمل والبيت فأيهما تفضلين ؟
- العمل ()
 - البيت ()
 - احاول التوفيق ()

د - نوع العمل :

- ٥٩- ماهى الاسباب التى تدعو الى تركيز المرأة القظرية فى مجال الخدمات ؟ اختارى اكثرها اهمية ..
- مناسبة لطبيعة المرأة ()
 - الراتب جيد ()
 - العمل مريح ()
 - الاجازة كافية ()
 - المجال الوحيد المفتوح امامها ()
 - رغبة الاهل ()
 - مجال تخصصها ()
 - رضا المجتمع عنها ()
 - اخرى تذكر ()

- ٦٠ - وهل تعتقد بين أن نوعية العمل تؤثر على مكانة المرأة في المجتمع ؟
- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادري ()

- ٦١ - هل تعتقد بين ان لدى المرأة نفس القدرة التي لدى الرجل لانجاز نفس العمل ؟
- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادري ()

- ٦٢ - ماهو السبب الذي يودي الى عدم وجود العنصر النسائي في التخصصات الفنية المهنية ؟ اختارى اكثرها اهمية ..
- صعوبة العمل الفني ()
- عدم تقبل افراد المجتمع ()
- لا يناسب طبيعة المرأة ()
- عدم فتح المجال أمام العمل الفني ()
- اسباب اخرى تذكر -

- ٦٣ - هل تعتقد بين بوجود بعض الاعمال الملائمة للمرأة وأخرى ملائمة للرجل ؟
- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادري ()

- ٦٤ - ماهى اكثر الاعمال ملائمة للمرأة ؟
-
-
-
-

- ٦٥ - ماهى اكثر الاعمال ملائمة للرجل ؟
-
-
-
-

خاصا : العلاقات الاسرية :

أ - المساواة بين المرأة والرجل :

- ٦٦ هل تعتقد بين أن عدم المساواة بين المرأة والرجل شيء طبيعي ؟
- () نعم -
- () لا -
- () لا ادرى -

٦٧ هل تعتقد بين ان الرجل لابد ان يكون سيد البيت وأن قراره نهائى بسبب... اختارى اكثرها أهمية .

- () لان رجل -
- () الصئول اقتصاديا -
- () اكثر فهما من المرأة -
- () المجتمع يدعو الى ذلك -
- () لا أوافق على هذه العبارة -
- () اخرى تذكر -

٦٨ هل تعتقد بين ان علاقة افراد الاسرة لابد ان تقوم على الاحترام بدلا من الخوف ؟

- () نعم -
- () لا -
- () لا ادرى -

٦٩ هل تعتقد بين ان على المرأة ان تطيع الرجل دائما ؟

- () نعم -
- () لا -
- () لا ادرى -

٧٠ اى من هذه الاسباب تعوق زواج الفتاة فى رأيك ؟ اختارى سببا واحدا .

- () المستوى الاجتماعى "النسب" -
- () المستوى الاقتصادى -
- () اذا كانت تعمل فى وظيفة -
- () اذا كانت لاتعمل -

٧١ اى من الاماكن التالية تفضلين العيش فيه بعد الزواج :

- () بيت مستقل -
- () مع عائلة زوجك -
- () مع عائلتك -

ب - الانجاب كوسيلة لتماسك الاسرة :

٧٢- هل تعتقد بن أن عدم الانجاب يعتبر سبب مباشر للطلاق اليوم ؟

- نعم - ()
لا - ()
لا ادرى - ()

٧٣- هل تعتقد بن ان انجاب البنات يعتبر سبب يدعو الى الطلاق اليوم ؟

- نعم - ()
لا - ()
لا ادرى - ()

٧٤- هل تعتقد بن ان كثرة الانجاب وسيلة لتماسك الاسرة ؟

- نعم - ()
لا - ()
لا ادرى - ()

٧٥- ماهى الاسباب التى تجعل مكانة الولد أعلى من مكانة البنت فى المجتمع القطرى ؟ اختارى سببا واحدا .

- سيحمل اسم العائلة ()
- المعيل اقتصاديا ()
- المعين عند الكبر ()
- اكثر فائدة للاسرة ()
- المجتمع يدعو الى ذلك ()

٧٦- هل توافقين على مسألة تحديد النسل ؟

- نعم - ()
لا - ()
لا ادرى - ()

٧٧- و هل يوافق زوجك على مسألة تحديد النسل ؟

- نعم - ()
لا - ()
لا ادرى - ()

٧٨- ما عدد الاطفال الذين ترغبين فى انجابهم ؟

- ذكور ()
- اناك ()

ج - تقسيم العمل :

٧٩- هل تعتقد بن ان وظيفة المرأة الاساسية هى خدمة الرجل فقط ؟

- نعم - ()
لا - ()
لا ادرى - ()

- ٨٠- وهل تعتقد بين أن تربية الابناء من اختصاص المرأة فقط ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٨١- هل تعتقد بين ان نجاح المرأة يتحقق من نجاح زوجها ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٨٢- هل تعتقد بين ان دور الرجل في المجتمع يلزم المرأة بتنازلات كثيرة ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٨٣- اذا كانت بـ (نعم) فما هي هذه التنازلات من وجهة نظرك ؟
- -
 -
 -

د - العلاقة الزوجية :

- ٨٤- هل تعتقد بين ان المرأة المتعلمة لديها فرصة اكبر للاختيار للزواج ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٨٥- هل تعتقد بين ان زواج ابنا العمومة هو افضل زواج ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٨٦- هل تقبلين بتدخل الاهل في حياتكما الخاصة ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

- ٨٧- اذا اراد زوجك ان يتزوج باخرى فهل تقبلين بذلك ؟
- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٨٨- بعض الجامعيون يقبلون على الزواج من فتاة اقل تعليما منهم . فما اسباب ذلك فـى اعتقادك ؟ اختارى اهم الاسباب ..

- قلة الجامعيات ()
- تكبر وغرور الجامعيات ()
- ضعف وعى الشباب ()
- اقل اعتمادا على الرجل ()
- كثرة طلبات الجامعيات ()
- عامل السن ()
- قوة شخصياتهن ()
- عدم قدرة الرجل السيطرة عليهن ()
- اخرى تذكر

٨٩- وهل تعتقد ان هناك اقبالا اقل على الزواج من الجامعيات ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٩٠- وهل تعتبرين ذلك مشكلة ؟

- نعم ()
- لا ()
- لا ادرى ()

٩١- اذا كانت الاجابة بـ (نعم) فما هو الحل فى رأيك لمعالجة هذه المشكلة ؟ اختارى خلا واحدا .

- منع الزواج المبكر ()
- توعية الشباب ()
- تشجيع المجتمع على اعطاء الاولوية للدراسة الجامعية ()
- اخرى تذكر

٩٢- ماهى الاسباب التى تدعو الى الزواج بالاجنبيات فى نظرك ؟ اختارى سببا واحدا .

- غلاء المهور ()
- تعصب الاباء ()
- تعلم الفتاة ()
- عمل الفتاة ()
- عدم الاختلاط ()
- سفر الشباب للخارج للدراسة ()
- ضعف وعى الشباب ()
- الاجنبية اكثر فهما ()
- للتباهى امام الاخرين ()

٩٣- وهل تعتبرين ذلك مشكلة ؟

- نعم- ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٩٤- اذا كانت الاجابة ب (نعم) فما هو الحل في رأيك لمعالجة هذه المشكلة ؟ اختارى حلا واحدا .

- تخفيض المهور ()
 - توعية الشباب بالمخاطر من هذه المشكلة ()
 - وضع قانون يمنع هذا الزواج ()
 - جعلى الابهاء اكثر تفهما ()
 - توعية المجتمع بمخاطر هذه المشكلة ()
 - السماح للجنسين بروية بعضهما ()
 - اخرى تذكر

٩٥- ماهى المظاهر التى تعتقدين انها تشير الى احترام الرجل للمرأة من وجهة نظرك ؟

- ساعدتها فى شئون المنزل ()
 - ساعدتها فى تربية الابناء ()
 - احترام رأيها والاخذ بمقترحاتها ()
 - ساعدتها فى حل مشاكل عملها ()
 - زيارتها فى عملها ()
 - تقديمها لاصدقائه ومعارفه ()
 - اخرى تذكر

٩٦- ماهى المظاهر التى تؤكد احترام الزوجة لزوجها داخل العائلة من وجهة نظرك ؟

- طاعته ()
 - احترام رأيه والاخذ باقتراحاته ()
 - مناقشة مشاكله فى العمل وساعدته فى حلها ()
 - اخرى تذكر

٩٧- هل تتناقشين عادة فى مشاكل الاسرة مع اصدقائك فى العمل ؟

- نعم ()
 - لا ()
 - لا ادرى ()

٩٨- اذا كانت الاجابة بـ (نعم) فلماذا ؟

-

-

-

٩٩- اذا كانت الاجابة بـ (لا) فلماذا ؟

-

-

-

١٠٠- وهل تناقشين عادة مشاكل العمل في الاسرة ؟

نعم ()

لا ()

لا ادري ()

١٠١- اذا كانت الاجابة بـ (نعم) فلماذا ؟

-

-

-

١٠٢- هل لديك ملاحظات تودين اضافتها او التعليق عليها ، فيما يتعلق بعمل المرأة ودورها في المجتمع ؟

INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE

1. Primary Information on the family

No.	Relationship	Age	Marital Status	Level of Education	Employment
-----	--------------	-----	-------------------	-----------------------	------------

2. Place of work

3. Date of starting work

5.3 What level of education did you have at the time when you got married?

5.3.1 Primary level ()

5.3.2 Preparatory level ()

5.3.3 Secondary level ()

5.3.4 University level ()

5.3.5 Postgraduate level ()

6. Why do you choose this work?

2. Open-ended questions:-

1. Many customs presently practised are not Islamic such as, not allowing a suitor to see his fiancée, and not consulting the woman about her marriage, and others. What do you think about these customs and others, which are not suitable for the present, do not belong to our religion and are still existent in society?

2. Qasim Amin, one of the important pioneers, adopted the issue of women. His demands were education for women, and work for women in need. What do you think about Qasim Amin, his demands and this issue?

3. The feminist movement dates from the colonization, the national movement and Qasim Amin's demands. Do you think the success of this movement depended on the circumstances of that time or not? And what do you think about this movement?

4. The feminist movement in Egypt was directed towards the emancipation of upper class and upper middle class women only, because they thought they were treated unjustly at that time, and not towards the emancipation of all the women in society? What do you think about this movement?

5. Some of the members of the national movement, were opposed to the ideas of Qasim Amin. One of these was Mustafa Kamil who believed that social changes in society would allow in aliens, foreigners who could take over society. So he maintained that social change was secondary in importance and possible only as a consequence of independence. What do you think of his demands?

6. Algerian women participated in the struggle for national independence. In consequence they had political rights to vote and be elected. But in the election of 1977 there were women candidates in only a few cases and they were not elected. In your opinion, what is the reason for this?

7. In one researcher's study of working women in Morocco villages, she has found that a woman's work lowers her social status, especially when this involves contact with men. In your opinion, what is the reason for that? And do you think this is also true of our society? Does it relate to a special kind of work?

8. Employment offered to women in Morocco consists of simple jobs, such as domestic service, which do not fulfil their aspirations, and will not enable them to raise their social and economic level, by means of their work, and so their standard of living continues to be low. Because of hard economic circumstances and because the man has family responsibilities, then he is given priority. But economic circumstances in our society is much better than in Morocco. What do you think of the jobs offered to women?

9. A high birth rate had a great economic, social and political value. Nowadays, this value is reduced, for example in Morocco some of the men were unable to support their families and consequently they abandoned them. What do you think of contraception as a solution for this problem? And in our society do you agree with birth control? And why?

الإستمارة الخامسة بالمتطلبات
البيانات الأولية

١ - بيانات أولية عن الأهل :

الرقم	الصلة القرابية	العمر	الحالة الاجتماعية	المستوى التعليمي	العمل

٢ - مكان العمل :

٣ - سنة بدء العمل :

٤ - بيانات أولية عن الأسرة " للمتزوجات فقط "

الرقم	الصلة القرابية	العمر	الحالة الاجتماعية	المستوى التعليمي	العمل

٥ - بيانات عن الزواج :

١٩

٥ - ١ = السنة التي تم فيها الزواج :

٥ - ٢ = درجة قرابة الزوج :

- ١ - ابن عم ()
- ٢ - من العائلة ()
- ٣ - من القبيلة ()
- ٤ - من قطر ()
- ٥ - من بلاد عربية ()
- ٦ - أجنبي ()

٥ - ٣ = فى أى مرحلة دراسية تم زواجك :

- () ١ - فى المرحلة الابتدائية
- () ٢ - فى المرحلة الاعدادية
- () ٣ - فى المرحلة الثانوية
- () ٤ - فى المرحلة الجامعية
- () ٥ - أعلى من الجامعية

٦ - سبب اختيارك هذا العمل :

- (١) ان كثيرا من العادات الممارسة في المجتمع قد لا ترجع للاسلام مثل "عدم رؤية الخاطب لخطيبته ، عدم أخذ رأى المرأة في الزواج وغيرها " فما رأيك في هذه وغيرها من الممارسات التي لا تناسب هذا العصر ولا تنتمي الى ديننا والموجودة في المجتمع ؟
- (٢) يعتبر قاسم أمين من أهم الرواد الذين تصدوا الى قضية المرأة حيث طالب بتعليم المرأة وعملها عند الحاجة ، فما رأيك بقاسم أمين وآرائه وبهذه القضية بالذات ؟
- (٣) لقد زامن ظهور الحركة النسائية في مصر وجود الاستعمار وظهور الحركة الوطنية للتحرير وظهور آراء قاسم أمين ، فهل تعتقد ان نجاح هذه الحركة اعتمد على هذه الظروف أم غير ذلك؟ وما رأيك في تلك الحركة ؟
- (٤) لقد كانت الحركة النسائية في مصر موجهة لتحرير نساء الطبقات العليا والوسطى العليا لاعتقادهن انهن المظلومات في ذلك الوقت ولم تسعى هذه الحركة لتحرير النساء ككل في المجتمع ، فما رأيك في هذه الحركة ؟

(٥) لقد عارض بعض قادة الثورة مثل مصطفى كامل آراء قاسم أمين لاعتمادهم أن التغيير في الشؤون الاجتماعية سيؤدي بالتالي الى تدخل الأجانب وغير الوطنيين وسيضطرون على المجتمع وكذلك لاعتماده أن التغيير الاجتماعي شيء ثانوي وهو نتيجة للتحريك الوطني ، فما رأيك فيما دعا اليه مصطفى كامل ؟

(٦) لقد استطاعت المرأة الجزائرية الحصول على حقوقها السياسية مثل "حق الانتخاب والتموير" نتيجة لمشاركتها في الكفاح فجع الرجل ضد المستعمر في حرب الاستقلال ولكن من الفريب أنه في انتخابات سنة ١٩٧٧م في الجزائر وجد أن عدد قليلا من النساء الجزائريات قد رشح نفسه للانتخابات وحتى هذا العدد لم تنتخبه النساء الا باموات قليلة ، فما هو السبب في هذا الاحجام في رأيك ؟

(٧) في دراسة أجرتها احدى الباحثات في قرية مغربية عن المرأة العاملة وجدت أن مكانة المرأة الاجتماعية تقل عندما تعمل خاصة اذا كان عملها يستلزم الاحتكاك بالرجال ، فما هو السبب في رأيك ؟ وهل ينطبق هذا على مجتمعنا ؟ وهل هذا خاص بنوعية العمل ؟

(٨) ان الوظائف في "المغرب العربي" التي تعرض على المرأة تعتبر أعمالاً بسيطة مثل "الخدمة في المنازل" وتعتبر أقل من ما تلمح اليه ولا تستطيع أن ترفع من مستواها الاقتصادي والاجتماعي عن طريق العمل وبذلك يظل مستواها المعيشي منخفضاً - ويقال أن السبب في ذلك هو الظروف الاقتصادية المعقدة هي التي جعلت أفقر الفئات اعطاء الوظائف الأفضل للرجل لأنه المستول عن الأسرة .
ولكن في مجتمعنا الظروف الاقتصادية أفضل عما هي عليه فـي المغرب فما رأيك في الوظائف التي تعرض على المرأة ؟

(٩) ان كثرة الانجاب كانت له قيمة كبيرة في الماضي - اجتماعية واقتصادية وسياسية - أما في الوقت الحالي فقد انخفضت قيمته حتى أن الرجل في المغرب العربي في دراسة أجريت هناك تبينن بالرغم من انه كان يفضل كثرة الانجاب في السابق الا أنه حالياً تغيرت اتجاهاته حتى أنه وجد أن نتيجة للموامل الاقتصادية - فبي بالإضافة الى مسؤوليته الأبناء يفر تاركا زوجته وأبنائه - فبي بعض الحالات - فما رأيك في استخدام وسائل منع الحمل كحل لهذه المشكلة ؟ وبالنسبة الى مجتمعنا هل تؤيدن تحديد النسل ؟
ولماذا ؟

(١٠) ان البعض يسن استخدام بعض المسائل مثل تعدد الزوجات والطلاق في المجتمع فما رأيك في هذه القضايا وفي طريقة معالجة استخدامها ؟ وكيف نستطيع معالجتها ؟

(١١) باعتبار التعليم من القوى المساعدة على التغيير ، هل تعتقدون انه ساعد على رفع مكانة المرأة في المجتمع وهل تعتقدون أن المتعلمين لهم دور كبير في احداث التغيير ؟

(١٢) باعتبارك امرأة عاملة ، ما رأيك في عمل المرأة ؟ وفي المجالات الملائمة لها ؟

(١٣) ما رأيك في التشريعات الخاصة بعمل المرأة ؟

APPENDIX 2

BACKGROUND LITERATURE

There are several studies on Gulf women which have been carried out in recent years. They examine different aspects of women's education, employment, status and role in society. However, with regard to the effect of education and work on changes in Qatari women's social status and position, to the best knowledge of the researcher, no such study exists. Some of the studies which have been used as background information and for comparison with the researcher's findings are as follows:

QATAR

El-Essa and Melikian, (1979), SOME PREDICTIONS ABOUT THE QATARI FAMILY

This study was conducted between 1973 and 1975 at the University of Qatar. A questionnaire was distributed among both male and female students to identify their attitudes in the following areas: perception of marriage, preferred age of marriage, preferred spouses and desired qualities in them, expected and desired number of children, their own age at birth of first-born child and the relationship between couples.

El Subayi, N., (1984), EDUCATION AND WORK OF WOMEN IN THE STATE OF QATAR, MA Thesis, Ain Shams University, Cairo.

This empirical study was carried out in 1984. A random sample of Qatari female students of the University of Qatar was used in addition to a sample of Qatari government female and male officials. The study attempted to identify Qatari women's motives and factors which affect their education and work, choice of work and whether it agrees with their family's choice, traditions and social values and fulfilment of the State's needs for women's work. A questionnaire was devised to identify and elicit information on the motives for women's education and work, factors affecting women's choice of academic faculty, suitable educational levels of jobs for women, the effect of women's work on their family lives, etc.

Al Misnad, S. (1984), THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION IN BAHRAIN, KUWAIT AND QATAR, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND THEIR POSITION IN THE MODERN GULF SOCIETY, has described the development of education in several Gulf countries. The development of the education for women is extensively discussed with special emphasis on the effect of education on the social status of Gulf women.

OTHER GULF STUDIES

'BAHRAINI WOMEN AND WORK', (1984), was carried out by the Ministry of Labour and Social Work in 1980. This study has attempted to analyse the position of Bahraini working women and the extent to which they are keeping up with the new economic and social conditions prevalent in their society, as well as the problems they encounter at present. A questionnaire which tried to elicit primary information, motives

for work and women's evaluation of their own work and conditions of employment, was used.

Al Thagib's paper on KUWAITI POSITION AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN OUR CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY, (1975), was presented to the first regional conference of women in the Arabian Gulf. It studies Kuwaiti views on the status of women. It aims to find out people's views of women and the role they should play in the house and society. Some of the questions concern such issues as the education of women and preferred levels of education, support for women's work and suitable sectors of work, political rights for women and issues on sex segregations. A random sample of 526 people was carried out among government employees between 1973 and 1974.

Qutub's study (1975), STUDY FOR SOME ATTITUDES OF GULF STUDENTS IN UNIVERSITY OF KUWAIT TOWARDS SOME SOCIAL AND NATIONAL ISSUES, aims at identifying the attitudes of female Gulf University students towards some social and national issues, their thoughts, awareness and consciousness with the view of increasing women's participation in the economic development of their society. A social survey by random sample was used at the University of Kuwait. Information on students' attitudes to education, women's work, social issues, such as family size and relationships, women's social status, Arab and Gulf unity, was elicited by a questionnaire.

Zaher, A., (1983), WOMEN IN THE ARABIAN GULF STATES, Kuwait, is an empirical study carried out in 1983. This study used a questionnaire of six parts to investigate the position of women from economic,

political, social and professional aspects. The questionnaire has tackled issues on such subjects as women's role in the family, marriage and emotional relationships, education, work, politics and finally, women, customs, and traditions. The findings were linked with such variables as age, nationality, occupation, marital status, educational levels, average individual income and family size.

This thesis used the information from the above studies in order to compare and contrast the findings of this project, on the effects of education and work on women in the State of Qatar.

APPENDIX 3

TABLE 3.1 Educational Level of the Siblings Education

	No.	%
Illiterate	9	1.5
Primary	78	13.1
Preparatory	116	19.5
Secondary and other Institutions	175	29.4
University	203	34.1
Diploma	2	0.3
Postgraduate	12	2.0
TOTAL	595	100

TABLE 3.2 Siblings' Occupations

	No.	%
Student	295	49.6
Self-employed	13	2.2
Engineer	16	2.7
Public Sector Employeee	106	17.8
Teacher	42	7.1
Police/Army	33	5.5
Company Employee	16	2.7
Housewife	53	8.9
Diplomat	9	1.5
Lecturer	3	0.5
Unemployed	3	0.5
Medicine	5	0.8
Manual Work	1	0.2
TOTAL	595	100

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