# **QATAR UNIVERSITY**

# **COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES**

# WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE CORE CURRICULUM COURSES OF THE HISTORY OF QATAR AND ISLAMIC CULTURE AT QATAR UNIVERSITY

by

NAIMA HADI M. S. AL-RASHDI

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# COMMITTEE PAGE

The members of the Committee approve the Thesis of Naima Hadi Al-Rashdi defended on 14/12/2020.

	Dr Afyare Abdi Elmi
	Thesis/Dissertation Supervisor
	Dr Eirini Theodoropoulou
	Committee Member
	Dr Mahjoob Zweiri
	Committee Member
Approved:	
Ibrahim AlKaabi, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences	

# **ABSTRACT**

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**University** 

Supervisor of Thesis: Dr Afyare A. Elmi

Women and education are two major focal areas in Qatar's development agenda. In 2008, Qatari Emir Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani launched the Qatar National Vision 2030, which foregrounded gender equality and the ability of individuals to realise their full potential. In pursuit of this goal, in 2019 Qatar witnessed the graduation of the first Qatari female fighter pilot, an event considered emblematic of a huge shift in women's participation in the state sectors. A decade after the implementation of the QNV, the number of Qatari females in the diplomatic field is 56 and non-Qatari females is 1,459, compared to 128 Qatari and 3,306 non-Qatari males. These numbers suggest a lack of gender equity or, alternatively, that achieving gender equity remains a slow process in the political and decision-making fields; they are also evidence that power remains in the hands of men. Women's representation in the educational field remains a neglected topic of study, and education continues to promote traditional roles and images. Despite both genders' having theoretically equal opportunities, there remains a noticeable gender gap in engagement in the economy and in positions within government and politics. As Qatar University is the premier national institution of higher education, this thesis aims to explore the representation of women in its core curriculum, focusing on courses addressing Qatari history and Islamic culture. It also endeavours to identify the factors that hinder women's representation in the curriculum and provides recommendations for enhancing the representation and participation of women in the curriculum.

#### **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my mother and father. I appreciate having you both in my life; you both give me strength to stand up for my own points of view and have taught me how to voice them. You both give me purpose in this life. You taught me to raise my voice and are the most supportive and loving parents. Your support, even in the toughest situations and regardless of your health, inspired me to continue my master's degree to create a better life for women in our region. Without your support and continuous encouragement I wouldn't have been able to continue my educational journey.

To my siblings, our unity as a family has brought us far from where we started as kids.

I look up to each one of you as my role models.

To my friends, thank you for your endless support. I am truly blessed to have you in my life.

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#### **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

Women and education are two major focal areas at the heart of Qatar's development agenda. In 2008, Qatari Emir Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani launched the Qatar National Vision (QNV) 2030, in which gender equality and the ability of individuals to realise their full potential are foregrounded; the document in particular points to the need to 'enhanc[e] women's capacities and [empower] them to participate fully in the political and economic spheres, especially in decision-making roles' (Qatar, 2008, p. 19). In pursuit of this goal, in 2019 Qatar witnessed the graduation of the first Qatari female fighter pilot, considered representative of a huge shift in women's participation in the state sectors. Still, almost a decade after the implementation of the QNV, according to the Ministry of Development and Statistics' latest annual report, the number of Qatari females participating in the diplomatic field is 56 and non-Qatari females is 1,459, as compared to 128 Qatari male and 3,306 non-Qatari males (Qatar Ministry of Development and Statistics, 2017). These numbers suggest that there is no gender equity in Qatar or, alternatively, that its achievement remains a slow process in the political and decision-making fields; it also substantiates the claim that power remains in the hands of men.

In general, women's representation within the educational field remains a neglected topic of study. The education field often promotes traditional gender roles and images. In addition, female contribution to the field of education is still limited relative to that of men. There is a notable gap in women's participation in public life, and it is due to this gap that I decided to conduct this study, examining the representation of women in the core curriculum of Qatar University. Despite both genders' theoretical access to equal opportunities in Qatar, there remains a noticeable gender gap in engagement in the economy and in positions within government and politics. Significantly, there are more female students than males: 75% of the enrolled students at QU were female and 25% male in the academic year 2016–2017.

Moreover, of the percentage of Qataris students enrolled in postgraduate scholarship programmes abroad, 63% are female, as contrasted with 37% of grants accorded to Qatari males. Additionally, the number of Qatari female faculty members in the colleges of Qatar University is 105, compared to 92 males. The total number of male faculty members, however, is 671, drawn from different nationalities, as contrasted with 220 females in faculty positions (Qatar University, Office of Strategy and Development, 2018).

Qatar University (QU) is the flagship national institution of higher education in the country, and it has gone through several reforms coinciding with the broader development of Qatar. This institution is the natural choice for students and scholars interested in helping Qatar to achieve sustainable socio-economic development. To this end, QU has adopted a strategic plan that provides high-quality undergraduate and graduate programmes and aims to prepare competent graduates who can participate in shaping the future of Qatar (Qatar University, 2019). The core curriculum programme is the cornerstone of the university's reform project. All students, regardless of major, must complete the core courses in order to graduate from QU. Students from diverse disciplines at the university come together in the core curriculum courses. The vision of the core curriculum is to inspire students' academic success, intellectual growth and responsible citizenship. Its main function is to encourage the development of students' skills, knowledge, values and dispositions to reach academic success, grow intellectually and become responsible citizens. Its fundamental goal is to prepare graduates to bring positive change to Qatar and beyond.

Since QU is the leading institution in the region, heightened attention to this issue within its curriculum will create an opportunity for informed educational policy and a chance to overcome the current gap in gender representation. This thesis thus aims to explore the representation of women in QU's core curriculum, focusing on courses related to Qatari history and Islamic culture. It also endeavours to investigate the factors that hinder women's

representation in the curriculum and seeks to provide recommendations aimed at enhancing the representation and participation of women in the curriculum.

#### **Research Problem**

Her Highness (HH) Sheikha Hind Bint Hamad Al-Thani has addressed issues of women's empowerment in the Middle East, highlighting the increasing number of women in the Qatar Foundation's universities as a result of increasing equality of opportunity and access to policy and gender-equity programmes, she said "we are known for education, we are known for sport and culture" further, she highlighted how we are improving women participation in these fields, where she numbered the female students enrolled at the educational institutions and Qatar Foundation. (Al Thani, 2019). Dr Hind Al Muftah, a member of the Qatari Shura Council, said 'Qatari women have made great strides during the 1990s in the issue of economic and social empowerment;' she described the 1990s as 'the golden decade for the Qatari women' (Al Muftah, 2019).

Since the launch of the *Qatar National Vision 2030*, the advancement of women's rights has been a top priority of the Qatari development agenda (Golkowska, 2014). The ambitious goals spelled out in QNV 2030 meant opening new vistas for Qatari women. Gender equality was guaranteed by law in 1999, when Sheikh Hamad Al-Thani approved a new constitution enabling women to vote, hold elected office and exercise all other rights granted to all citizens. Under the leadership of HH Sheikha Mozah Almissned, the Emir's wife, education and employment opportunities for women became a national priority. Recently, Qatar has witnessed a significant increase in the number of active positions in the economy and economic, and decision making leadership held by women. Nonetheless, the number of women in leadership positions remains low compared to men. The percentage of Qatari women holding paid employment is 53%, with some 14% in management positions (Bahry & Marr, 2005; see also Walker, 2014; Qazi, 2015). In fact, over the last few years, only 14.7%

of participation opportunities as legislators, senior officials and managers have been held by women (World Economic Forum, 2019). Furthermore, of those performing professional and technical work during the period surveyed, only 25.2% were female, while 74.8% of positions were held by men—clear evidence of male hegemony (*The Global Gender Gap Report*, 2019). These facts and other factors have resulted in Qatar's low global ranking in terms of gender equality and women's empowerment (135<sup>th</sup> out of 153 countries), economic participation and opportunity (132<sup>nd</sup>) and political empowerment (143<sup>rd</sup>), and its ninth regional ranking, behind the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Bahrain. On educational attainment, however, Qatar raked 83<sup>rd</sup>, in the middle of the list globally (World Economic Forum, 2019, pp. 293–294).

Furthermore, although Qatari women have been granted the right to access government jobs on the same basis as men and with the same employment conditions since passage of Law No. 9 in 1976 (Abu Saud, 1984), social opposition to working women in roles typically considered appropriate only for men has created and maintained boundaries and limitations for Qatari women (Gray, 2013). For example, in Qatar, there is only one of fifteen incumbent ministers is a woman: Dr Hanan Mohamed Al Kuwari, Minister of Public Health (Qatar Council of Ministers, 2017). Additionally, only 36% of Qatari women participate in the economic sector (Qatar Ministry of Development and Statistics, 2017) in positions of gainful employment.

Despite the fact that women in the region are affected by ongoing political, economic and social changes, their representation is still reflected in a stereotypical image in the curriculum. For instance, the curriculum in the Gulf region often projects the image of women as maternal and as linked with domestic work in the home. The imagery of the female role reproduced in the curriculum is among the most important factors that help to shape the formation of thinking and the mindsets of young people, and this may be difficult to change. Moreover, one consequence of the orientation of the curriculum materials is the tendency to

ignore the real abilities of women and their capacity to achieve their aims and accomplish goals. As a result, women often appear misleadingly dependent.

Although the influence of social media, television, newspapers and many other types of media is strong and pervasive, the curriculum also plays an essential role in the formation of individual knowledge in society (Kellner & Share, 2007). The curriculum is an important element within the process of socialisation and identity formation that contributes to the individual's understanding of what is expected of women and men and their respective places in society. It shapes the knowledge of gender schemas: broad cognitive structures that organise and guide perception and which are often reinforced and difficult to change (Bem, 1983, 1993). The education system still discriminates against women (Sánchez, Martos-Garcia, & López Navajas, 2017). Furthermore, as social learning theory argues, the source of gender stereotyping lies within in the gender-differentiated practices of the socialising community (Walters & Manicom, 1996).

The curriculum reflects the beliefs and values of those who create it and affects all who use it (Freire, 1990). Economic, socio-political and historical forces affect and shape the curriculum, which, in return, is considered a tool to be used in reifying the hierarchical transmission of teaching models of learning and hegemony or in beginning to challenge and dismantle these received models (Charbeneau, 2009; Freire, 1978, 1990). To advance the understanding of the issues that limit Qatari women, this thesis examines how women are represented and promoted in the curriculum and official state institutions. In particular, this study seeks to investigate QU's core curriculum, specifically its courses on Islamic culture and the history of Qatar, examining the representation of women in the materials that have been provided to students over the last two years.

# **Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to explore how QU's core curriculum represents and promotes the roles of women in general and Qatari women in particular. The proposed study seeks to address the following research questions, along with several sub-questions:

- How are women represented and promoted in QU's core curriculum courses on Qatari
   History and Islamic Studies?
- What are the reasons for the absence of women from QU's core curriculum?
- What are the obstacles to the inclusion of women in this curriculum?
- How can the administration promote the inclusion of women in these core curriculum courses?

# **Significance of the Study**

This study is important because it provides scholars and researchers with empirical data related to women's issues in Qatar that are typically neglected, yet extremely significant. There is a lack of such studies in this region, especially in the fields of gender and women's studies. Furthermore, women's representation in education and the critical need for basic research on gender as a tool to empower women is a neglected area in the Gulf. For example, a search for materials in the literature review in order to assess the question of gender equality did not produce sufficient literature regarding women's representation in history, in comparison to data about how women are represented in the labour force or the opportunity of educational access. Moreover, this research aims to encourage the strengthening of social justice and social transformation (Freire, 1978, 1990; Bem, 1993). Therefore, this study will aid education policy-makers in the Ministry of Higher Education and the Qatar University administration in their efforts to reform the system.

Furthermore, women and education are at the heart of the Qatar National Vision 2030. Education plays a crucial role as Qatar pursues a more prominent role in the international arena.

Addressing the issue of representation in QU's core courses will further Qatar's ability to reach both its QNV goals and its international commitments. Qatar is a signatory to the Millennium Development Goals, Education for All, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. All of these international treaties require a focus on the achievement of gender equality for girls and adult women (Ridge, 2014).

Finally, this study will contribute to the study of gender in the Gulf area by recommending modifications to the curriculum to eliminate the engrained stereotypes that continue to degrade women and limit their possibilities. It will also contribute to laying new foundations for educational materials that highlight the achievements of Arab women in general and Qatari women in particular. In addition, this study aims to contribute to better informing and educating students about the social, political and legal rights of women.

# **Outline of the Study**

In Chapter 2, I will review the literature relevant to the research questions. Chapter 3 focuses on the theoretical framework of the research and the methodology used in answering the research questions. Chapter 4 presents the findings from the main three tools of the research and the analysis of these findings. Lastly, I will conclude the research by providing recommendations to improve the representation of women at state, institutional and individual levels.

#### CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this section, I review the relevant literature pertaining to the research questions. I present the topic thematically, with a particular focus on the history and development of Qatari women in the education sector, female representation in education and the curriculum and the design of the core curriculum in institutions of higher education.

The Evolving Roles of Qatari Women in the Education Sector

Traditionally, the Western gaze has portrayed Middle Eastern women as either an exotic, eroticised 'Other' or the embodiment of poverty and ignorance (Golkowska, 2014). Although the discovery of oil in the region has raised the economic standard of the region, the status of women in the labour force has changed little. In fact, as Ross (2008) has argued, the oil industry has limited women's access to the work force or economic empowerment in the Gulf.

Historically and across different civilisations, women have played important roles in shaping their states and societies. Women represent an important half of any society, and their roles and rights cannot be dismissed. For example, since the *Jahiliyya* period (prior to Islamic civilisation), Arab women have been active in the political, social, cultural, economic and military fields within their respective societies (Stowasser, 2012). During *Jahiliyya*, Arab women were political activists. They were instrumental in the spread of Islam (Stowasser, 2012). Even after the emergence of Islam, women's right to participate in the public sphere was granted by the Quranic revelation and the Prophet's practices in Mecca and Medina. Stowasser used the prophet Sira and Hadith as principal historical sources written by male scholars to highlight the political, economic, military and social roles of women. She provided an example of the Prophet's wife Khadija, and the two female soldiers, Um salim al-Rumayas and Nusaybah bin Ka'b, who in early Islam participated in war and military activities alongside the Prophet (Stowasser, 2012, pp. 99–103). In today's world, however, women are denied

representative roles, showing the importance of the background of social statutes and economic conditions of certain female figures within the history and culture to their ability to speak out and contribute to society. This is a neglected aspect of the region's historical interpretation and readings that cover women's roles within the region.

Qatar is a small Arab Gulf state on the Arabian Peninsula. Different tribes, empires and rulers have administered the country at various points in its history (Zahlan, 2016). Oil was first discovered in Qatar in 1939, although oil production did not really take off until after World War II (Crystal, 1990). Prior to this, pearling had dominated Qatar's economy, like that of its Gulf neighbours (Crystal, 1990). Oil formed the heart of Doha's shift from a sleepy pearling village into an ambitious capital.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Qatar became a protectorate of the British, and it gained independence in 1971 (Fromherz, 2017) after the failure of the federation initiative among Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. Khalifa bin Hamad, who came to power in 1972, increased Qatar's socio-economic and political development (Zahlan, 2016), but when Emir Hamad bin Khalifa rose to the throne in 1995, he implemented many significant changes, pushing Qatar onto the world stage. These facts are relevant to a discussion of women's representation in the core curriculum at Qatar University.

The question of the representation and education of Qatari women has political, historic and socio-economic dimensions. Among these dimensions is the role Qatari women play in society. Qatar's present-day geopolitical agenda favours the advancement of women. To build a knowledge-based economy, become a regional leader in research and innovation and play an important role on the international stage, the country must mobilise the potential of all its citizens. A roadmap to Qatar's human, social, economic and environmental development was drawn and articulated by its leadership in the QNV 2030 (Qatar, 2008), a document made public in October 2008. As officially stated in QNV 2030, the national narrative is shaped by

the desire to balance a push for modernisation with respect for tradition. This principle underlies all government-sponsored reforms and initiatives and shapes the design of the newly created public places. It also clearly defines the parameters within which gender roles are rewritten.

From a socio-economic viewpoint, Qatari women, like women in other Gulf states, are living a social reality influenced by the relations between state and society that stem from the unique economic situation of the welfare state of Qatar (Ennis, 2019). The relationship between the state and society is influenced by the wealth-distribution techniques devised by the state. These techniques, including but not limited to 'Qatarisation,' have become mainstays of Qatari society and its transformation and therefore affect Qatari women. Another factor is the reaction by the state and society to globalisation, which influences the state's approach to addressing social issues and the society's reaction to the state's resolutions (Ennis, 2019). It is difficult simply to ignore any of these aspects because they are vital to a clearer understanding of the primary data collected from the interviews conducted in the present study. The following pages will attempt to cover these themes briefly and give the reader a general idea about the reality in which these women have lived and continue to live.

According to Curtiss (1996), the Qatari education system was reinvented after the oil boom. Curtiss's interview with Saif Ali Al-Kuwari (1996) highlighted that, prior to the opening of public schools in 1956, there were only four boys' schools and just one school for girls in the country (p. 84). In the 1990s, the Qatari government strongly supported Qatari women in their quest to seek higher education and obtain employment, but this conflicted with the traditional views of the Qatari population. During the post-oil era, female education in the Gulf began to increase (Curtiss, 1996).

## Qatari Women: Before and After Oil

Since the nation-state is a recent phenomenon, the role and experiences of pre-oil Qatari women are discussed as part of a broader understanding of what Gulf women have experienced. In this era, women played an important role in maintaining the society's traditional substructure. According to Al-Misnad (1984), Gulf society was traditionally described as a 'women's society' during the annual pearling season. At that time and due to poverty and men's long absence from home, women played an important role in decision-making in all critical family affairs. The wives of pearl divers often worked as neighbourhood dressmakers, traded sample commodities and sold fish (Al-Rumaihi,1973). Losing their fathers, brothers, sons and husbands in the dangerous pearl-diving industry was a constant fear in women's lives at that time (Al-Misnad, 1984). El-Saadi (2017), too, noted that Gulf women had traditionally generated family income.

The archetype of the independent Gulf woman developed more clearly after the oil boom, as this stage witnessed the decline of the pearl divers and Bedouin communities and marked a movement towards civil society. Many changes occurred in Gulf society in general and Qatar in particular that directly affected the formation of the family, public values and the aspirations of women (Al-Misnad, 1984). Some areas in the Gulf did not have systematic integrated education for both genders before the oil industry blossomed, since this era was mainly dependent on the figure of the *mutawa*, an educator who teaches the Quran exclusively (Al-Misnad, 1984, p. 51).

In terms of careers, the early generations of working women attended schools for reasons that directly reflected the society's values. Women managed female schools. Only females were allowed inside the schools; therefore, families were encouraged to send their daughters to work and study there (Gary, 2013). Social values still strongly opposed the mixing of the genders. In the early years after the discovery of oil, it was still socially unacceptable

for women to interact with men. Having an income allowed women to participate in decision-making and thus have more power over their lives and their families (Al-Misnad, 1985), unlike the years before the oil, when one's tribe, mother-in-law, grandparents and husband held the decision-making power in a woman's life. This generation of women raised the generations of strong, independent, high-ranking and leading women in the Gulf we see today.

# Women's Representation in Education and the Curriculum

Rosiek and Clandinin (2007) defined curriculum as a term used to signify a course fixed by policy-making practice—in this context, a curriculum is delivered to teachers, who in turn deliver it to students via diverse pedagogical methods (Rosiek & Clandinin, 2007). They presumed that in this perspective curriculum comprises a set of textbooks, scope and sequence materials or a list of content standards. They presume a hierarchical relationship in which a state actor establishes the curriculum, teachers transmit it with minimal modification and students are located as passive recipients at the end of a curricular-delivery process (Rosiek & Clandinin, 2007). Apple (2019) has argued that curriculum contains the knowledge and values of society that need to be taught in schools. Curriculum changes with social-economic change. It is a key element in national law and policy-making and is often modified after governmental changes or as a result of the influence of powerful social movements. Educational materials and the content of the curriculum can also be influenced by gender inequality in the wider society. Across the world, assumptions about what is appropriate for boys and girls to learn can undermine equality in learning and create unequal outcomes. Over the past decade, there has been a great deal of curriculum and educational reform across the world as states reassess their national identities or positions in the global economy (Apple, 2019).

Women's empowerment has been one of the most discussed phenomena over the last few decades (Gibson, 1991; Batliwala, 1994; Patel, 1996; Walters & Manicom, 1996).

Women in the Gulf and their representation in the curriculum are no exception to this pattern; women's representation in the curriculum remains limited to images of housewives performing chores. Although issues related to Gulf women have caught the attention of public opinion (Al-Kazi, 2008), women's rates of participation in politics and the economy remain low compared to those of males (Seikaly, Roodsaz, & Egten, 2014).

Abdul Hamid, Yasin, Abu Bakar, Keong and Jalaluddin (2008) discovered that children's knowledge about the world and the connections within society are gained through influential sources, such as textbooks. Many societies assume that boys cannot learn about taking care of young children and that girls are not as good at mathematics as boys. Such stereotypes, and the teaching that accompanies them, may strengthen gender inequalities, with girls often relegated to 'lower-status' subjects (Abdul Hamid et al., 2008). Therefore, it is critical for the school to instil in the younger generations an understanding of gender equality and spread the idea that the world offers equal places for men and women. Recently, many other states, such as Tanzania, Singapore and the United States, have instituted reforms in educational materials to promote equality between the genders and improve female representation (Mushi, 1994).

There is a marked absence of discussion both in the academic field of development studies and in the political domain of educational policy. This has led to Education for All, which addresses what is required of the school curriculum to help promote gender equality. All too often, national school curricula reproduce gender inequalities in the public and private spheres and sustain regimes of masculine hegemony on a national and global scale (Arnot, 1982; Meyer, 2007). For instance, several scholars have examined the issue of male dominance in academic writing (Hengel, 2017; Baker, 2004). They have found that the publications of women differ from those of men in the academic sector. Hengel (2017) argued that women's

published academic work faces more scrutiny than that of men and thus is required to be of higher quality.

The issue of male dominance in literature throughout history is a global concern for feminists. Today, women are fighting in almost every sector in order to demolish the discriminatory obstacles placed in their way and struggling against 'hegemonic masculinity' in many societies (Meyer, 2007; Mills, 2001; Connell, 1995). They are still effectively a minority compared to men. For example, Snyder, Dillow and Hoffman (2009) have argued that women have effectively been minorities in the fields of engineering, mathematics, science and technology in the United States. They claimed that women's absence from these fields is a result of factors including cultural stereotypes and different levels of encouragement given to them and men to pursue careers in science and mathematics (Snyder et al., 2009).

Al-Refaei and Al-Nnajii (2011) explored the imagery of women in primary- and intermediate-level educational textbooks. They focused on women's roles and the areas associated with women, such as social statutes in Arabic and social studies in textbooks used in first through ninth grades. They used an approach based on curriculum analysis, calculating the repeated uses of imagery that expresses the roles of women—and with their findings the domains and social status of women comes into view. Women's roles are characterised as those of mother, girl, student, sister, woman, teacher, Muslim, doctor, wife, grandmother and nurse (Al-Refaei & Al-Nnajii, 2011). With regard to fields of activity, women were represented in the main in religious or historical fields, followed by education and pedagogy, in their traditional roles in the family and finally as purveyors of moral values. With respect to social status, women are represented as wives, divorcées or widows. The study recommended including new roles of women so as to eliminate any negative stereotypes associated with women (Al-Refaei & Al-Nnajii, 2011).

Additionally, Al-Saraby (2010) examined the image of women in Jordanian schoolbooks, comparing the roles that women and men play. She used textbooks for the Arabic language, national and civil pedagogy, social science, natural science and mathematics. She employed a method centred on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content, based on the theme of the content. Al-Saraby uncovered four main findings. First, women were depicted as reliable and dependent, unlike men, who were represented as independent. Second, women were presented in traditional occupations, while men were presented as playing several main roles. Third, women's participation in literature, art, philosophy and acts of heroism were absent, while men dominated these areas. Al-Saraby concluded by noting an absence of gender-neutral language. She argued that it is the responsibility of the educational system to improve the image of women in the family, society, social development and institutions so as to eliminate gender discrimination in line with the priority of ensuring the equal representation of men and women in both public and private areas (Al-Saraby, 2010).

Several studies have analysed the representation of women in school textbooks and found that women were absent or underrepresented (Bernard-Powers, 2001; Crocco, 2000, 2002, 2008; Hahn, Bernard-Powers, Crocco, & Woyshner, 2007). In addition, recent studies on the representation of women in education (Al-Refaei & Al-Nnajii, 2011; Al-Saraby, 2010; Snyder et al., 2009) have shown that there has been modest progress regarding women's presence in books but that women are often misrepresented. Thus, Sarvarzade and Wotipka (2017) did not simply note the absence of women but analysed representation in school textbooks by arguing that state ideology is one of the main factors affecting the formation of students' knowledge and thoughts.

In an older yet pivotal study regarding female representation, Béreaud (1975) focused on French picture books and found that they under-represented women. She observed the number of and ratio between depictions of each gender in the titles, in the actual visual texts

and in the central roles, finding that females tended to be portrayed within gendered stereotypical behaviours, performing mostly gender-stereotyped activities and in traditional occupations (Béreaud, 1975). She also identified male and female cross-gendered themes. One positive feature of this study is that it provided some examples from the texts to identify what each term means. Béreaud highlighted that male readers are trained to focus on having adventures and experimenting, while by contrast female readers are taught the importance of learning good manners (Béreaud, 1975).

In the Qatari context, Yasin, Hamid, Keong, Othman and Jaludi (2012) argued that textbooks reveal linguistic features that convey sexism. There is gender bias; males are portrayed as more dominant than females. For these authors, women are still regarded as important figures in the family domain but play roles secondary to those of males in school textbooks. Although society recognises the roles of women as nurturers and caregivers, the role of fathers is respected more in the textbooks through instances of the 'father' being more important than the 'mother' (Yasin et al., 2012).

Furthermore, a study by Al-Kandari (2008) investigated women's and men's images and roles in mathematics and science in primary school textbooks in Kuwait. The study highlighted that men dominate the authorship of textbooks at a rate of 91% and that 72% of the images in such books are of men. The study further illustrated the positioning of both genders within the images and text, claiming that the roles of women are constructed within a more limited field than those of men. Women's roles are represented in a sexist frame; women are always situated in a household role (Al-Kandari, 2008).

Despite the state advancements of women role, however, women in Qatar are still under-represented relative to men, and they still face political, social and economic discrimination, along with issues of sexism and stereotyping (UN, 2017). *Sexism* is defined as a discriminatory behaviour against any type of gender category on the basis of sex, Arab or

Western on the basis of their ethnicity (Theodorpoulou, 2018). Many factors encourage gendered behaviours and practices. For instance, Theodorpoulou (2018) discusses linguistic sexism in the Arabic language.

As demonstrated above, women within the Gulf region play various roles in society beyond the traditional home social sphere. The next section will examine the current curricula and their role in silencing and marginalising women's historical contributions to society through pre-defined gender lenses.

# Qatar in Comparative Context

In a distant but similar context, Durrani (2008) examined the curriculum texts in Pakistani education to address gender inequalities in the education sector. Her study illustrates the ideological influence of both curricular and school practices in fashioning the reciprocal performance and constructing of gender and national identities in Pakistan. She argued that the curriculum conveys an image of the Prophet Mohammed's wife Aisha and daughter Fatima as a good wife and good daughter. According to Durrani, the graphic representation of men and women in professions in the textbooks shows that women's representation in gainful employment outside the home is extremely rare (the texts show only five women in such employment, compared to 37 men). The curriculum portrays a spectrum of careers from knowledge providers (teachers) to decision-makers (head teachers), authority figures (inspector police and a governor), people in desirable professions (a doctor, a dentist, government employees), people in skilled professions (a carpenter, blacksmith and tailor) and people in unskilled labour (gardener, waste collectors and waste buyers) as male occupations (Durrani, 2008). In addition, in Peru, Bangladesh and South Africa, as well as in countries in Western Europe and North America, girls have gained equal access to schooling. In Qatar, ever more female students are studying in fields such as engineering (Qazi, 2015), especially

computer engineering. This does not mean, however, that they have gained equal access to representation in textbooks or the power that is related to certain types of knowledge.

The CEDAW (2002) report highlighted that girls are socialised in Zambia through textbooks to become wives, mothers and caregivers and to be obedient, while boys are socialised to be leaders and providers. Additionally, a 2004 report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP, now KPK) of Pakistan found that 28.3% of schoolgirls often admired doctors, 28% wanted to be teachers and 13.9% imagined themselves as nurses. People in these professions were the principal role models for girls living in the region. On the other hand, only 8.8% of girls wanted to follow non-traditional careers, such as being pilots, lawyers or engineers. A contributing factor to this might have been the absence of non-traditional female images available in school textbooks. Hence, human-rights institutions, global organisations and nation-states themselves should consider educational materials and their content as a yardstick for reflecting the equality between men and women, rather than simply using the number of female students in a given country (UNESCO, 2004).

As a result of education and teaching practices, students can express or reproduce ideas and practices marked by gender inequality. Education is considered as one of the most important institutions that can change and shape the formation of human knowledge, thinking and worldviews (Todaro & Smith, 2011). It plays a crucial role in teaching people about their rights and in structuring and socialising them with respect to political, economic and social representation and services. Students can progress in their capacity for understanding, analysing and responding to gender issues that schools provide examples of through contexts in which gender inequality can be addressed. Educational values and their relevance must be clear in order to increase the demand for girls' education.

# **Qatar University**

To understand the absence of women in the core curriculum at Qatar University, it is important to examine the establishment of Qatar University and how it functions. Qatar University (QU) was established in 1973 under the name College of Education (Al-Misnad, 1984). According to QU's website, however, it has been the main educational institution for higher education in the country since its foundation in 1977, with an Emiri decree creating three main colleges at that time (Emiri, 1977). QU provides separate campuses for male and female students, and all classes and extracurricular activities are segregated on the basis of gender. This gender segregation has contributed to the older generations' sense that it is acceptable to send their daughters to university.

QU's main commitment is to providing a high-quality education in several scientific areas of Qatar national priority. Thus, it applies the latest international standards and implements the best academic practices in its programmes and colleges. QU now comprises ten colleges: the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Business Administration and Economics, Education, Engineering, Health Sciences, Law, Medicine, Pharmacy, Dentistry and Sharia and Islamic Studies. It also offers 45 undergraduate programmes and 40 graduate programmes that are designed to meet the needs of Qatari society. In 2020, more than 20,000 students were enrolled at QU.

QU has experienced three main reforms since its establishment (Moini, Bikson, Neu, DeSisto, Al Hamadi, & Al Thani, 2009; Al-Muftah, 2020). One of the main reasons behind the reform at that time was QU's failure to meet the critical needs of Qatari society; employers in both the private and public sectors reported that QU graduates usually failed to meet the standards required for employment (Al-Thani, Abdelmoneim, Cherif, & Moukarzel, 2014). Since QU is the preferred choice of most school graduates, this necessitated reforms.

Therefore, since the 2009 reform, QU has aimed to be a model national university that offers a high-quality, learner-centred education (Al-Thani et al., 2014)

The Core Curriculum programme at QU was created to bring together students from varied majors with an aim of promoting students' academic success, intellectual growth and responsible citizenship. It is centred on students in order to foster their knowledge, skills and standards. The programme's ultimate goal is to prepare graduates to bring positive change to Qatar (Qatar University, 2020).

While making an important contribution in the Qatari context, my research builds on previous studies conducted in the Middle East and other regions. By studying the core curriculum of the national university, the thesis examines how women are represented in Qatar University's core curriculum. It hopes to fill an important gap in the literature by addressing this issue and seeks to contribute to a better understanding of women and education in Qatar.

#### CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

## Theoretical Framework/Approach

This study uses a feminist framework and the theory of social constructivism to make sense of the under-representation of women in the core curriculum of Qatar University. These approaches draw from feminist standpoint theory and the role of historically situated and located experiences.

#### Feminism and Social Constructivism

I have employed feminist theory for this research as it provides me with the tools needed to explain the issue. The theory is useful in three ways. First, there is unequal power between men and women and unequal reproduction of this power across time and place. Second, the existing knowledge in this area has been produced largely by and for men throughout history, thus excluding women. Finally, feminism theory uses helpful tools to lens through which view how women challenge and redress these issues and achieve equity (Enns & Sinacore, 2001).

Feminism can be classified into three main waves: liberal feminism, socialist feminism and radical feminism. Stromquist (1990) stated that, with respect to the theories of orientation, liberal feminism has economic strength and salience, while radical feminism has a strong ideological basis and socialist feminism combines ideological and economic strengths. Feminism's main demand is to promote equality between the genders while criticising masculine rational dominance (Stromquist,1990). Feminism, since it is one of the critical theories, has the advantage of aiming at the emancipation of women. In other words, critical theory in general and feminism in particular empower human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class and gender. It employs a theoretical lens in which a researcher examines the study of social institutions and their transformations through interpreting the meanings of social life, the historical problems of domination, alienation and

social struggles and a critique of society and the envisioning of new possibilities (Creswell, ). In this research, feminism guides the framing of the analysis.

The term *feminism* was recognised as a movement centred on the viewpoint and needs of white, middle-class, Western women in the 1970s. Scholars such as bell hooks later recast the term *feminism* into a broader, more progressive worldview (Sokolower, 2016). Hooks (1984) defined feminism as

not a fight to end male chauvinism, nor a movement to guarantee women equal rights with men; it is an obligation to eradicating the ideology of domination that permeates Western culture on various levels—sex, race, and class, to name a few—and an obligation to reorganizing society . . . so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, expansion, and material desires. (Sokolwer, 2016, pp. 134–135).

Margaret Randall (1999) added:

Feminism is about . . . confronting and making useful the painful memories that surface in our lives. It is about the conception and uses of power, about relationships in the human, animal, and nature worlds—who holds power and over whom. It requires rethinking and reorganizing both our notions of society and society itself, so that we all may make our unique contributions and participate to our fullest potential. (Sokolwer, 2016, p. 136).

Feminist standpoint theory was developed from debate between Marxist feminism and socialist feminism during the 1970s and early 1980s. Feminist standpoint theory was discussed by Smith (1974), Harding (1986) and Haraway (1988), who assumed that the social world was built on a hierarchical structure (Hesse-Biber, 2014). This approach argued that situating knowledge is central to women's experiences (Hesse-Biber, 2014). Handring noted that the genealogy of feminist standpoint theory was derived from Hegel's concept of the master/slave

dialectic (Handring, 1986, p. 26). It argues that the dominance of men over science and social life affects women's positioning and neglects their perspectives in this sphere.

The research also adopts a social-constructivist theory, which assumes that an individual's learning happens or takes place as a result of group interactions. Furthermore, the social-constructivist approach uses an analysis that is grounded in a belief in rejecting the status quo, where nothing is inevitable and systems are not put into place because of individuals' nature but socially constructed (Kivinen & Ristela, 2003). These dictums are mutual to the rationale for education.

Constructivism relies heavily on language as a guiding principle. According to Kivinen and Ristela, 'when we describe the world we do so within the confines of a certain vocabulary' (Kivinen & Ristela, 2003, p. 367). Like post-structuralism, however, constructivism sees discourses 'not as a group of words or sets of signifiers which simply refer to or describe reality. Instead, discourses are described as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Schmeichel, 2011, p. 13). The importance of analysing language and discourse in this study is, as Schmeichel noted, that the possibilities of what we think and what we know are 'made possible only through the discourses to which we have access' (p. 13). Lecturers and students who have never been exposed to a feminist viewpoint on teaching gender history and women's history usually lack discourse or a knowledge base from which to work. Thus, lecturers can only teach what they know, and in return students' realities are shaped by their learning practices.

Lastly, when analysing the data and literature, I make use of Tetreault's outline as the standard for the inclusion of women's history in the courses. This frame contains five phases:

male history,<sup>1</sup> compensatory history,<sup>2</sup> bi-focal history,<sup>3</sup> feminist history<sup>4</sup> and multi-focal/relational history<sup>5</sup> (Tetreault, 1986a).

## Research Methodology

In addressing the research questions, I use a mixed-method approach. Creswell and Creswell defined this as an approach in which the researcher combines or integrates both quantitative (closed-ended) and qualitative (open-ended) data in seeking to answer the research questions and test hypotheses. It involves rigorous methods, such as data collection, data analysis and the interpretation of both quantitative and qualitative data. Both forms of data are integrated into the design and analysis through merging the data, explaining the data, building from one database to another and embedding the data within a larger framework (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, pp. 214–215). Qualitative research methodology is defined as an approach that explores and provides an understanding of the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Quantitative research methodology, on the other hand, draws on numbers and statistics in an attempt to explain information (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The mixed-method approach is appropriate for a study in which the qualitative data can enhance the in-depth understanding of quantitative survey research results that allows the possibility of exploring anomalies or subgroups within the survey data (Hesse-Biber, 2014). The mixed-method research frame contains three main designs. The present research has followed an approach of *convergent mixed methods*, defined as a form of mixed-methods design in which the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the investigator

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The absence of women is not noted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The absence of women is noted; there is a search for missing women according to the male norm of assigning great stature to a given figure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> There is a focus on women's oppression and misogyny; women's efforts to overcome oppression are presented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Women's experiences are analysed within their social, cultural, historical, political and economic contexts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This seeks to fuse women's and men's experiences into a holistic view of human experience.

typically collects both forms of data at roughly the same time, then integrates the information into the interpretation of the overall results. Contradictions or incongruent findings are explained or further probed in this design (Hesse-Biber, 2014).

QU's core curriculum contains many courses. After consultation with my thesis supervisor, I selected courses on the History of Qatar and Islamic Culture because these are mandatory for every student at QU. In the past two years, the number of students enrolled in these courses at QU was 17,016 in the History of Qatar course and 10,878 in the course on Islamic Culture (CSDO, 2019). I have limited the scope of the study to the academic years 2016–2018. Students are expected to learn Islamic values and identity, develop tolerance for a diversity of cultural contexts from a global perspective, identify ethical issues and contribute to their resolution in order to promote the quality of life in the community. Both courses focus on the importance of Qatar's national identity to achieving QNV 2030 and are considered the pillars of basic knowledge of Islamic and national identity in Qatar.

## **Data Collection**

To obtain data on women's representation in QU's core curriculum courses, I used three sources. First, I employed the content-analysis method by examining the contents of the course material (books, slides and syllabi). Quantitative content analysis can provide useful insights and does not allow for multiple interpretations (Mills, 2001). As a result, this source is the standard data source for the study. Second, while conducting the survey, I collected data from students who took the courses. The university administration helped me contact the targeted students and emailed them. Unfortunately, the university did not share with me the total number of the students to whom they sent the survey questions, thus making this a non-probability sample. Through this process, 181 students participated in the survey. Finally, I employed semi-structured, qualitative interviews. Face-to-face interviews seemed to be the most appropriate method for obtaining data from students who had taken the courses.

Qualitative analysis can be useful for mapping the general ideology provided in books (Kalmus, 2004). In this process, I conducted two focus groups and 19 individual interviews.

In recruiting the research participants, I first used my personal Twitter account as an official announcement tool to recruit participants for the research. After waiting about a month, I had not heard back from the students. Although 26,566 Twitter users saw the tweet and there were 915 interactions, few expressed interest in participating in the study. Then, the Office of Development at QU helped me send the survey to students registered in the courses. The survey was emailed from the university to the students, of whom 150 female students and 31 male students agreed to participate in the online survey. Those who completed the survey answered the following questions:

- 1. Does the History of Qatar course represent the role of Qatari women? Yes or no, please mention the role if represented.
- 2. How were women represented in the registered courses at Qatar University?
- 3. During your experience in the course, was there a stereotyping of women's roles?
- 4. Was the role of women discussed in the course on Islamic Culture?
- 5. Are you satisfied with the level of female representation in the course you took?
- 6. Do these courses contribute to QNV 2030 with respect to enhancing and empowering Qatari women politically, economically and socially?

The survey was conducted by an online service, SurveyMonkey, and, after closing the survey, I was provided with the Excel file with the raw data.

With regard to interviews, I visited each department asking for recommendations regarding interviewees. I interviewed four lecturers who were recommended by the departments and who teach the selected core curriculum courses. Using my own social relationships, I interviewed 15 students who had taken one or both of the courses: five male and 10 female students. Additionally, I conducted two focus group interviews; one contained

four students who took the courses together, and the other contained nine students who had not taken the courses together. All focus group interviews were conducted with female participants.

A total of 181 students participated in the survey: 150 female and 31 male students. Moreover, I collected and analysed the content of the syllabi, the textbooks, the slides and other material used for the courses on the History of Qatar and Islamic Studies.

## Data Analysis

The analysis took various forms. At the broader theoretical level, I used the feminist and social constructivist theories and the literature on gender equity to interpret the data collected from the multiple sources. To analyse the survey data, I used Microsoft Excel. In addition, after transcription, I analysed the rich data from the qualitative interviews and focus groups with students and teachers, categorising them according to the relevance of the research questions. Qualitative analysis was used to map the general ideology provided in the materials (Kalmus, 2004). Teachers also mediate and transform the text material when they use it in the classrooms; thus, the exploration of the concrete use of the materials is as important as the exploration of the textbook itself (Leach, 2003). Moreover, students bring their backgrounds with them, including aspects of class, ethnicity, religious affiliation and gender. These affect their understanding of the materials and lead them to accept, reinterpret or reject what they read and are taught (Apple, 1993).

#### **Ethical Guidelines**

Patton, (2002) provided an ethical checklist to take into consideration along with the research process. I adopted his list to include a range of research elements. His list includes ten major aspects as ethical inquiries:

- 1. The purpose of the research;
- 2. Promises and reciprocity;

- 3. Risk assessment;
- 4. Confidentially;
- 5. Informed consent;
- 6. Data access and ownership;
- 7. Interview mental health;
- 8. Advice:
- 9. Data-collection boundaries and
- 10. Ethical and legal issues (Patton, 2002).

To achieve trustworthy and valid findings in the research, I used Patton's checklist in the process of the study where it contained QU ethical inquiries. In order to gain approval, the university's Institutional Review Board<sup>6</sup> obligated me to provide the following: details of investigators, a lay summary, specification of the research problems this project addresses and details of the research, including methodology, informed consent<sup>7</sup> and confidentiality. I submitted a form proposal that included the purpose of the study and a list of interview and survey questions, as well as an informed consent form.

In my research process, I presented the purpose of the research in Chapter 1 orally to the participants, who joined the study voluntarily in order to improve women's representation in QU or to add their viewpoints on women's representation. With respect to risk assessment, I assured the participants that they would not face any political or legal risk, that their names would be kept known only to me and my supervisor and that they could withdraw from the study at any time. I also informed them that their names would not be used if I used their experiences within the research.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> An institutional review board that ensures that a research project which includes living participants is ethical and will not cause harm (Hesse-Biber, 2017, p. 98)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This is a critical component in ethical research.

I approached students and faculty for interview by sending out an inquiry letter. Prior to obtaining my data, I met each student individually and asked for his or her approval to be part of the research by signing a consent form. Participants were asked to choose where to be interviewed. The location was left up to the participants to allow them as strong a sense of familiarity and comfort as possible. Some were also given the choice to have the interview by telephone instead of in person. Only two participants chose a telephone interview due to constraints on their time and availability. Finally, all participants signed a consent form before they were interviewed.

## **Research Limitations**

During the study, I faced three main limitations. First, the subject of the research is classified as gender, education and feminism. According to the Arab Strategic Report 2004, these topics have always faced neglect and generalisation. I experienced these problems. There are very few sources on this issue in the Arab, Gulf and Qatari contexts. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the literature on this subject. Second, during data collection, it was difficult to reach students and persuade them to participate in this research, especially male students. I spent a great deal of time and effort finding participants and conducting the interviews. At times, a single interview took me a particularly long time. Furthermore, to avoid embarrassment, some individuals preferred to express their views in writing instead of in an interview. Finally, this research focused on the QU curriculum as a case study. To do the study, I needed collaboration from the university, especially the Islamic Studies Department and the Department of History. I had to contend with numerous challenges that relate to insufficient information regarding the curriculum. This insufficiency is due to several factors, the most important of which is the lack of administrative and structural knowledge and stable job security of a number of faculty members (especially expatriates) and their other engagements and interests in addition to their teaching and administrative duties.

## **CHAPTER 4: FINIDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter presents the major findings and analysis of how women are represented and promoted in the courses examined. The factors that lead to silencing women's representation or constructing and stereotyping their images within the curriculum courses are obstacles to their inclusion.

The first and principal factor found in this study is the silencing or neglect of the representation of women as a general notion or as an individual subject. Second, the domination of male contributions to the study material was evident, affecting the character of the courses. Third, the constructed representation of women was confined solely to social sectors, where the female figure is clearly represented as subordinated.

The reasons underlying women's representations are intertwined with national cultural values, patriarchal ideology and religious values. These are compounded by what is termed 'hegemonic masculinity' (Meyer, 2007; Mills, 2001, p. 12). These are the main factors shaping the tendency to present women as subordinated through and throughout the curriculum. Moreover, lecturers teaching these courses have significant influence on increasing female representation or in imposing their own ideology about female representation in their teaching. There is also within patriarchal ideology a widespread form of what is termed 'complicit masculinity'. Males who inhabit the space of such complicit masculinity 'do little to challenge the patriarchal gender order, thereby enjoying its many rewards' (Mills, 2001, p. 72). Meyer (2007) stresses: 'Many boys and men experience this form of masculinity . . . they do very little to challenge the existing gender order and thereby reinforce it' (p. 457). A misunderstanding of the gender perspective is also a salient factor.

The Silencing of Women as Individuals and in a More General Societal Frame Discrimination operates against women in textual material in both its thematic and linguistic content. Within the course, the representation of the roles of women was minimised, limited to their social roles and roles as family members while silencing their political and economic contributions in society as reflected in the course's gendered discourse. For instance, women in both courses appeared only with minimal representation across the textbooks, PowerPoint presentations and in other analyses in the materials. Illustrations of both everyday characters and national icons were dominated by male characters in both courses. Table 1 indicates the percentage of male and female characters. In both courses, the male characters were overwhelmingly dominant in the materials: 96.4% of the Illustrations in the History of Qatar course were men who had played a role in Qatari history, and 81.4% of the characters in the Islamic Culture course were male. By marked contrast, the female characters were limited to only 18.5% in the Islamic Culture course materials and had a strikingly low representation of 3.6% in the History of Qatar course materials. Neglecting and silencing women's roles in history can lead to a misunderstanding of the entire structure of society (Baker, 2004). Thus, it is recognised as important to include both female and male experiences in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the political aspects of history (Olivo, 2012).

**Table 1**Characters in the Course Materials

Course	Male characters	Female characters
History of Qatar	96.4%	3.6%
Islamic Culture	81.4%	18.5%

The main narrative in the History of Qatar course is centred largely around male characters and their actions as political players who shaped the history of Qatar and figured in the establishment of the state, while the roles of women and their experiences are neglected. The materials tend to overlook the contribution of notable women in the political arena. There was reference to five females, all royalty; Maria Theresa in Austria stood out as the only female ruler in the Habsburg Empire. Within the text material, however, she was mentioned solely with respect to the so-called 'Maria Theresa *thaler*,' a unit of Habsurg currency in the section on the development of the Qatari monetary system (Final material, 2018, p. 95). Within the same material, there was reference to Queen Elizabeth:

Thanks to Sheikh Khalifa's wise policy, based on mutual respect with the countries of the world, the State of Qatar gained the appreciation of the countries of the world, which is what we see in the Qatar aviation accidents. It was from the visit of Queen Elizabeth, the second queen of the United Kingdom, to the State of Qatar in February 1979. (Final material, 2018, p. 68).

The sentence focuses on the role of Sheikh Khalifa, and Queen Elizabeth is mentioned here as an example of recognition from abroad.

Qatari women, however, have participated in the political and even military arena. For example, Amira El-Azhary Sombol notes in her 'Introduction: Researching the Gulf' in *Gulf Women*:

Qatar was at total war at al-Wajba. Its men, women and children all joining in. While the men stood waiting to fight and then engaged in battle, it was the women who supplied the water, carrying it fifteen and sometimes thirty kilometres, using donkeys when they had them, but mostly walking all the way to supply their sons, fathers, husbands and brothers with water. (Sonbol, 2017, p. 2).

Moreover, Mr G., a faculty member in the history department, mentioned that Qatari women participated as paramedics in the al-Wajba battle. Another student added:

When we discussed the al-Wajba battle at the history of Qatar course, I went home, and I mentioned the battle to my grandmother. It is then where I recognized that Qatari women are absent from the political aspect from the course. Simply because my grandmother told me that women of Qatar stood along men and helped in achieving victory in the battle. (Interview with student, 2019)

Likewise, the Islamic Culture course highlighted the role of Fatima Fihri al Qurashiya, <sup>8</sup> also known as Umm al-Banin, in establishing the University of al-Qarawyyin. Her role was presented in a small paragraph in the course's PowerPoints, which illustrated how she contributed to the foundation of the first university in the world. She became a philanthropist after inheriting wealth from her father and, devout in her faith, fasted daily until the construction of the mosque and the university were completed. In other sources about Fatima (Glacier, 2012; Souad, Ramadne, & Khan, 2017; Siddiqi, 2018), one can discover interesting facts. In fact, Fatima contributed to the architecture of the mosque and supervised the entire building process. She herself chose the piece of land where the mosque was built. She was delighted to discover that the same land was a good quality source of yellow stones and soil that was excellent material for the building. In fact, Fātimah al-Fihrī supervised the construction of the mosque as well as the planning for its future maintenance (Souad et al.,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> According to *The Oxford Dictionary of African Biography*, Fatima al-Fihri, also known as *oum albanine* ('the mother of children'), was the founder of the University of al-Qarawyyin (Al-Karaouine) in Fez, Morocco, widely recognised as the oldest university in the world. See: https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/university-of-alkaraouine

2017). Thus, she helped stimulate the local economy by encouraging the exclusive use of local materials. Her effort sparked an educational revolution in the region, where she helped develop learning and exploration in the Muslim world. Fatima was an extraordinary woman who affected the establishment of education and had a good knowledge of architecture, yet the slides presented in the course focused solely on her role in donating funding and fasting, neglecting her economic and cultural contributions.

**Table 2**Presence of Female Figures in the Course Materials

Person Named	Course	Role	Contribution
Amina Al-Jeidah	History of Qatar	Education	Established first
			girls' school in Qatar
Maria Theresa	History of Qatar	Habsburg queen	
Mozza Al-Missned	History of Qatar	Emir's wife	
Queen Elizabeth II	History of Qatar	British queen	Visited Qatar
Fatima bint Muhammad al	Islamic Culture	Education/role	Donated her
Fihriyah al Qurashiya,		in the	inheritance to
'Umm al-Banin'		community	establish the Al-
			Qarawiyyin Mosque
			and Al-Karaouine
			University attached
			to it

Furthermore, the course discussed the importance of the *majlis* in Qatari society and its cultural influence on the community, which hosted intellectuals and religious men from different regions. The *majlis* is a public audience held by a chieftain, monarch or other ruler to listen to the requests of petitioners. The course also discussed the economic influence of the *majlis*, which was the centre for matters of trade exchange. The sources do not focus on a specific *majlis*, yet linguistically the sentences are written in masculine gender, following the grammar of the Arabic language in the context of referring to a male subject, as though the *majlis* was solely a male institution.

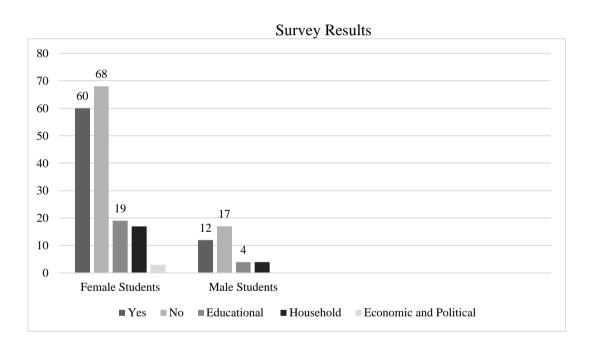


Figure 1. Representation of women's occupations in the History of Qatar course.

As Figure 1 shows, the first question was 'Does the course History of Qatar represent the role of Qatari women?' In response, 141 female students answered, and nine did not. Interestingly, 68 female students 48% answered 'no,' while 42% answered 'yes'. To this

question 10% responded with 'I do not know' and 'not that much'. With regard to greater specification, many of the female students did not go further in writing about the female Qatari roles represented; only 38 included role specifications, whereas 19 students said that the representation of women in the History of Qatar course was related to the role of education and mentioned 'Amina Al-Jaidah' and her pioneering role in female education. A few students simply mentioned the area of 'education' as the role in which Qatari women were represented in the course. On the other hand, 17 female participants responded by saying that women were represented in household roles as housewives. Students mentioned that the course focused on the important roles women played in the absence of men during the pearling season, when women in the coastal areas took the full responsibility for their houses and children. Some also mentioned Bedouin women's roles in the past and how they assumed responsibility for all household matters, from constructing the tent for the family to accompanying the cattle to graze, producing dairy products and occupying key roles in child-rearing. One student wrote: 'Women was represented as the husband and family preserver'. On the other hand, three female students responded that the History of Qatar course represented women in political and economic roles. One stated that 'the course mentioned the political and education role played by Shikha Moza Al-Misnad,' and another said: 'Women's role as a breadwinner of the family in the absence of men was presented,' noting in this connection 'selling fish, manufacturing clothes'.

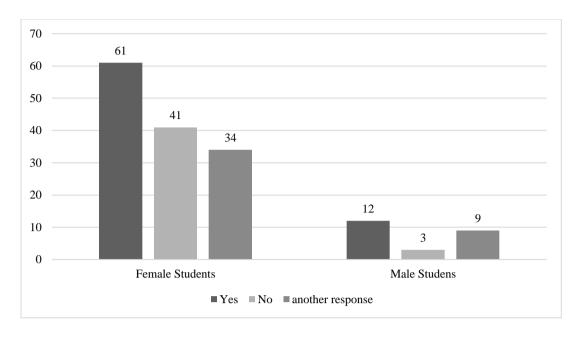


Figure 2. Women's representation in the Islamic Culture course.

In Figure 2, however, students mentioned that the course on Islamic Culture illustrated the role of women in a limited and stereotypical manner: 'Her role was stereotyped, where her role was constructed in procreation, and obeying her husband'. One student observed that 'women were represented in the course, but not in depth'. Another said, 'In this course the masculine discourse dominated, women's role was not represented well, but from the rhetoric it had showed that the men are superior to women'. Another commented: 'In the course it had been discussed that the main role of women is linked to her house, and due to Western ideology women's thought in the region has been manipulated, they were made to think that the educational pathway is more important than getting married'.

On the other hand, 41 students answered 'no,' that women were not represented in the course on Islamic Culture. Some 34 female students responded with other responses; most wrote 'I do not know,' 'I did not take this course,' 'I do not remember' or 'I cannot decide'.

Literature about the Gulf region, particularly about Qatar, is largely limited to political, diplomatic and military and biographical history, while cultural and societal records are scant

and neglected. Bloch, the founder of the Annales School of historiography, stressed the necessity of engaging in a multidisciplinary manner when crafting history, particularly in geography, sociology and economics. He believed that political history on its own could not clarify an understanding of the socioeconomic trends and influences in a given locale or country. He thus encouraged historical scholarship on social history and promoted collaboration between historians and sociologists while using sociological methods.

In this respect, as noted above, the process of historiography in the Gulf region is limited to political history, battles and dates. Al-Nageeb (1990) divided the writing on the Gulf region into two major categories. Traditional historians, colonial officials, explorers, travellers, ethnographers and anthropologists comprised the first category. He argued that writing by historians was concerned mainly with the ruling families, dynastical developments and the chronological records of tribal events, including conflicts, alliances and cross-border forays. Colonial authorities contributed substantially to this type of writing, most examples of which developed a colonial perspective on the region's tribal authority over the population. His second category includes texts by economists, journalists and historians. Al-Nageeb argued that these writings were largely grounded in a lack of basic understanding of the region or knowledge of Arabic among the non-Arab authors. This deficiency led to a superficial historical vision and view of the Gulf region. For example, there has been a pronounced tendency in economic discourse to narrate the Gulf from one specific angle or vantage, e.g. the role of oil and its influence on the social and economic life of the population. This has led to a dualism in Gulf history, a binary of 'before oil and after,' concomitantly neglecting the history of the changing society and the state. With regard to historians like Jamal Zakariya Qassim and others, Al-Nageeb has criticised their work, observing that these types of writings used official documents as their main source in presenting the history of the region.

The process of historiography and the nature of sources used remains a debated, contested topic in the region. The History of Qatar course relies mainly on these official documents, limiting the understanding of Qatari history to the realm of political history and economic shifts, developments and transformations in the region. Thus, in the material analysed, the role of women has usually appeared in this binary of oil and its influence: women before oil and after in most of the literature. Moreover, to date, in the several studies that have explored the experience of women in the Gulf, as Golkowska mentioned (Sonbol, 2012; Pandya, 2013; Benn et al., 2011; Gonzalez, 2013; Le Renard, 2014; Bristol-Rhys, 2016), none have highlighted the experience of Qatari women (Golkowska, 2014). In this respect, the absence of women's role in the History of Qatar course springs from the matrix of the existing limited social and cultural work on that role. Women were not intentionally excluded from the course material: the historiography itself has neglected them. Thus, we clearly need qualitative and a quantitative studies that employ a gender perspective in exploring the cultural and social transformations in Qatar, a form of 'her story' that could expand male-dominated 'history' (see Ohrn & Ashby, 1995).

Limited References to Women and their Contributions in the History of Qatar Course

Another major finding from the material is the dominance of male literature in the course materials used for the History of Qatar course, where the female contribution is more limited than that of men. The male authors dominate both the mandatory and supplementary readings in this course. Of 45 items, men authored 39 resources and women only six. All of the female-authored texts were categorised as 'additional readings'; even though the syllabus relies on Moza Al-Jaber as a main source for the week's topic, reading her text is classified as something 'additional,' suggesting in a sense something 'secondary' in significance. On the other hand, the course on Islamic Culture does not have assigned readings on which a student

should follow up, leaving the students with the lecturer's material as presented in class and the PowerPoints as the main sources providing them with knowledge.

**Table 3**List of Reading Materials in the History of Qatar Course

	Author	Title	Author's gender	Reading type
1.	Ahmed	Qatar's Modern and	Group of male	mandatory
	Zakariya et al.	Contemporary authors		
		Development,		
		chapters of Political,		
		Social and Economic		
		Development		
2.	Ibrahim	Jassem the Great and	Male	mandatory
	Shahad	His Policy of		
		Enforcing the		
		Independence of the		
		Emirate of Qatar		
3.	Badruddin	'European	Male	mandatory
	Abbas Al-	Colonization in the		
	Khosousi	Arabian Gulf,' in		
		Studies in the		
		Modern and		
		Contemporary		

	Author	Title	Author's gender	Reading type
		History of the		
		Arabian Gulf		
4.	Sayf Al-	Economic life in	Male	mandatory
	Murikhi	Qatar from the		
		Emergence of Islam		
		Until the End of the		
		Fourth Century AH		
5.	Abdul Qader	Studies in the	Male	mandatory
	Hamoud Al-	Modern and		
	Qahtani	Contemporary		
		History of the		
		Arabian Gulf		
6.	Mufeed al-	Contemporary	Male	mandatory
	Zaidi	History of Qatar		
7.	Mounir Taha	'Qatar Peninsula in	Male	mandatory
		Prehistoric Times,' in		
		Qatar in Prehistoric		
		Times		
8.	Abdulaziz	Political	Male	additional
	Mohammed Al-	Development of		
	Mansour	Qatar Between 1868–		
		1916		

Title	Author's gender	Reading type
Qatari History	Male	additional
among Ancient		
Civilizations		
The Development of	Male	additional
the Relationship		
between Oil		
Companies and the		
Gulf Arab States		
Gazetteer of the	Male	additional
Persian Gulf, Oman		
and Central Arabia		
Arabian Gulf, 5-Part	Male	additional
Study of its Political,		
Economic and Social		
Conditions		
'The personality of	Male	additional
Sheikh Jassim bin		
Mohammed bin		
Thani and his		
Relationship with the		
Forces Surrounding		
	Qatari History among Ancient Civilizations The Development of the Relationship between Oil Companies and the Gulf Arab States Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia  Arabian Gulf, 5-Part Study of its Political, Economic and Social Conditions 'The personality of Sheikh Jassim bin Mohammed bin Thani and his Relationship with the	Qatari History Male  among Ancient  Civilizations  The Development of Male  the Relationship  between Oil  Companies and the  Gulf Arab States  Gazetteer of the Male  Persian Gulf, Oman  and Central Arabia  Arabian Gulf, 5-Part Male  Study of its Political,  Economic and Social  Conditions  'The personality of Male  Sheikh Jassim bin  Mohammed bin  Thani and his  Relationship with the

Author	Title	Author's gender	Reading type
14. Riad Naguib	Documents of the	Male	additional
ElRayes	Arabian Gulf 1968–		
	1971 Aspirations of		
	Unity and Concerns		
	of Independence		
15. Zechariah	Qatar in the Ottoman	Male	additional
Forchon et al.	Era (1871–1916): A		
	Documentary Study		
16. Abdul Qadir	'European Invasion	Male	additional
Najjar et al.	and International		
	Competition in the		
	Persian Gulf'		
17. Abdulaziz Al-	Political	Male	additional
Mansour	Development of		
	Qatar		
18. Abdulaziz Al-	The Emergence and	Male	additional
Mansour and	Development of		
Fattouh Al-	Qatar		
Khatrash			
19. Abdullah Al-	Qatar and its Oil	Male	additional
Husseini	Wealth (Book of the		
	Covenant)		

Author	Title	Author's gender	Reading type
20. Mohammed	Urbanization in	Male	additional
Ahmed	Qatari Society		
Ghunaim			
21. Muhammad	Qatar's Heritage and	Male	additional
JaberAl-Ansari	Contemporary		
	Culture		
22. Mohammad	'Qatar Now,' in	Male	additional
Hamdan	Qatar's Historical		
	Roots: Political and		
	Economic		
	Development		
23. Muhammad	Qatar and Al Thani	Male	additional
Nasr Muhanna	in the Modern and		
	Contemporary		
	Arabian Gulf: An		
	Analytical Historical		
	Study		
24. Mahmoud	Qatar's Political and	Male	additional
Helmy Mustafa	Social Development		
and Ahmed Al-	during the Reign of		
Anani	Sheikh Qasim bin		
	Mohammed Al Thani		

Author	Title	Author's gender	Reading type
25. Mohammed	The Emirate of Qatar	Male	additional
Sharif Al-	between the Past and		
Shaibani	the Present		
26. Mohammed Ali	Industrial	Male	additional
Al-Kubaisi	Development in the		
	State of Qatar 1950 –		
	1980		
27. Mohammed	Popular Proverbs in	Male	additional
Abdullah Al-	the Qatari		
Marri	Environment		
28. Mahmoud	Qatar's General	Male	additional
Bahgat Sinan	History		
29. Mahmoud	Qatar's Political and	Male	additional
Hassan Al-	Social Development		
Sarraf	during the reign of	during the reign of	
	Sheikh Qasim bin		
	Mohammed Al Thani		
30. Mustafa Aqeel	International	Male	additional
Al-Khatib	Competition in the		
	Persian Gulf 1622		
	1763, Beirut 1981		
31. Murad Al-	Qatar, Past and	Male	additional
Dabbagh	Present		

Author	Title	Author's gender	Reading type
32. Moza Sultan	Social and Economic	Female	additional
Al-Jaber	Life in Qatar from		
	1900–1930		
33. Moza Sultan	Social and Economic	Female	additional
Al-Jaber	Life in Qatar from		
	1930–1973		
34. Yousef Ibrahim	British–Qatari	Male	additional
Al-Abdullah	Relations 1914–1945		
35. Yousef Ibrahim	History of Education	Male	additional
Al-Abdullah	in the Persian Gulf		
	1913–1971		
36. Frederick F.	The Ottoman Gulf		additional
Anscombe	and the creation of		
	Kuwait, Sa'udi		
	Arabia and Qatar		
37. Habibur	The Emergence of	Male	additional
Rahman	Qatar (The Turbulent		
	years 1627–1916)		
38. Rosemarie Said	The creation of	Female	additional
Zahlan	Qatar, 1979		
39. Allen J.	Qatar A Modern	Male	additional
Fromherz	History		

Author	Title	Author's gender	Reading type
40. Ahmed Al-	Political	Male	additional
Shelek,	Development of	Development of	
Mustafa Aquil	Qatar, from the	Qatar, from the	
and Yousef Ab	Creation of the		
Abdullah	Emirate to the		
	Independence of the		
	State		
41. Rosemarie	The Creation of	Female	additional
Zahlan	Qatar		
42. Madawi Al-	Transnational	Female	additional
Rasheed	Connections and the		
	Arab Gulf		
43. Frederick F.	The Ottoman Gulf:	Male	additional
Anscombe	The Creation of		
MENTIONED	Kuwait, Saudi Arabia		
ABOVE 37.	and Qatar, 1870–		
	1914		
44. Rosemarie	The Making of the	Female	additional
Zahlan	Modern Gulf States		

An interview was conducted with a lecturer from the history department who had been teaching the History of Qatar course since 2017. His responses regarding the representation of women in the course can be summed up as follows:

The textbook of the course History of Qatar can be an example of highlighting the issue of women's representation. It is good material, and it focuses mainly on the political development of the state of Qatar. The book represents the Qatari men's political and economic roles in establishing the state. It also represents them as independent individuals in their roles as Sheikhs, Emirs or tribal leaders, while it represents women as a category in the society, not as individuals. In fact, women only appeared in the 1930s, and I can name only two female characters: Amina Al-Jeddah and Moza Al-Missnad. The lack of resource materials written by the Qataris themselves is a cause of this. Usually the historiography of Qatar is limited to official documents written by the British and Ottomans. I have tried to look into readings in both Arabic and English about Qatar, and they are limited. Thus, I tend to use readings that discuss the community in Kuwait to develop a perspective on Qatar, since they are both within the same region.

Moreover, in the interviews, one student mentioned that 'it upset me that the course History of Qatar does not represent the important role that the women used to play in the public space in the past.' Another student went further, stating that 'I know from my grandmother that Qatari women played a role in one of the most important battles in Qatar's history, the 'Al-Wajbah Battle,' yet while discussing this important event, it was only focused on male roles.' A history lecturer added that:

"The materials usually do not have any important political representation of women, which leaves us as lecturers in a difficult position. We know that women played an important role. In all of my classes, I mention the important role of Ibn Saud's wife,

although she's not a Qatari, but her advice to her husband contributed to the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and from there I give my students some insight into the fact that women had important political contributions in the Gulf in the past".

# Interpretation of Women's Imagery in the Courses



Figure 3. Veiled women.



Figure 4. CEO of a women's organisation.

Imagery of women was present in both courses, and their depiction had several explanations. In the Islamic Culture course, although the materials were neutral, the course was not centred on gender thematically. Still, within the slides, pictures of male figures dominated the course: 12 out of 14 images represented male figures, while only two images were of females. These two female images, however, contain an interpretive element: the first image, shown in Figure 3, is on the theme of honour and integrity. The slides discuss the topic by referring to both genders, yet the image represented validates only women.

The image in Figure 4, on the other hand, is of the CEO of an Arab women's organisation. It is introduced within the theme of maintaining Qatari culture confidently, where

the slides are taken into account. In an interview that shed light on the strategy of the College of Sharia, M. ALM mentioned that one important aim of Islamic culture is to represent the identity and culture of Qatari Muslim society so as to maintain its differences with the modern world (Interview with lecturer, 2019). The choice to represent a woman with a veil in the slides makes some sense given this, but the exclusion of men from Figure 4 shows that the course remains stereotyped with respect to women from a cultural viewpoint.

Additionally, in Figure 4 the theme of the lecture represents the cultural challenge that Muslim society faces: CEDAW as an example of the growing Western interference with women and family—a violation of Sharia law.



Figure 5. Traditional images of women.

Aside from Islamic culture, the course on the History of Qatar provided images that also focused on male figures. When a male was presented in connection with diverse characters, as noted above, women were also part of these pictures. The themes were associated with the role of women in Bedouin and urban societies, as well as the contribution of Qatari society to the economy and educational system. Almost all pictures of Bedouin

women represented them in an open space and with more mobility than the women from urban areas. According to Moghadam (2010), the urbanisation movement resulting from the explosion of oil revenue created issues in society: for instance, obstacles for women, as it limited their economic participation. In the past, women participated in several areas of economic activity, such as the agriculture system, but in the context of urbanisation, their contribution was limited to the service sector.

# The Role of Educators in the Representation of Women

Curricula are provided to teachers, sometimes with suggestions on how to deliver it to students using a variety of pedagogical approaches. Teachers plan lessons on a daily, monthly and yearly basis, working as co-creators or co-makers of the curriculum (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2006). Educators, therefore, play a central role in designing and delivering the curriculum, and thus are powerful curricular agents (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2006).

During the discussions, the role of professors was raised as an important factor in how women are represented in the course. Students contributed to the role that their lecturers played in the course, and the lecturers' gender was a dominant element in the representation of women. In supplementing the students' arguments, it is also important to note that the awareness level of gender education and the ideology of the educators are likewise important factors in female representation as it unfolds in the course.

A. A., a male International Affairs student, was interviewed about female representation in the History of Qatar course and said:

I must say, women were very represented and well through the course. During the lectures on the History of Qatar, Qatari women's economic, social and political roles were presented. Within the course subject, her image was illustrated in the slides, as far as I recall. We covered her role on the battlefield, for instance in the Al-Wajbah battle, but I have to note that the assigned teaching assistant for the course was a young

Qatari female. In the classes that she covered, the woman's role was more presented.

Also, the course slides were her own slides, where she placed her name on each of the slides.

As A.A. noticed, the woman's role was represented and well discussed throughout the course. He mentioned that the teaching assistant played a role in acknowledging the role of Qatari women. Thus, one of the dominant factors that enhanced female representation in the course concretely was the presence and role of a Qatari female as a teaching assistant for the course. The gender and nationality of the lecturer are important for increasing representation of women within the curriculum.

On the other hand, the gender of the educator could also affect female representation within the course negatively. In one semi-structured group interview, three of the students were architecture majors and one was a student in International Affairs. Their experience of women's representation in the courses was below their expectations. One student took the Islamic Culture taught by a male instructor, while the others had a female teacher. They all took the course on the History of Qatar with a male instructor.

# M. O., a female architectural engineering student, stated:

In the course on Islamic Culture, the lecturer covered the role of women equally with men in terms of their rights and responsibilities, Allah be praised. The course also discussed individual rights and responsibilities within the family from an Islamic perspective. I remember that the lecturer in Islamic Culture asked us about our majors. She told us that 'our majors wouldn't add any benefit to us nor to our society,' and she went further in recommending that we change our major. She said, 'Women should be majoring either in education or medicine,' and she added: 'The woman's role is to educate the next generation, her role is constructed in building up the family and society'. It bothered me that she said that, because it's our right to decide our major

subject, no matter whether a girl wanted to be a teacher or an astronaut, regardless of the sector a woman would be joining, I think it's her own right to decide, and the lecturer does not have the authority to impose any preference on us. Probably my influence as an engineering student is better than if I were a teacher or educator.

Another student commented: 'What the lecturer told us that day made me think: am I on the right path? Is my major preference a wrong choice?' Another student added, 'Where shall I go now? This question was on my mind all the time over the entire course'.

Furthermore, in the survey on the question 'Was the role of women stereotyped?,' the answers varied by student, as presented in Table 4. Students were asked about their level of satisfaction with respect to the representation of women. It is important to draw on the answer given by one of the students: 'It depends on the lecturer. In one of these courses, women were represented, and in the other, women were absent'.

Table 4
Student Experiences with Women's Stereotyping

Response	Gender	
_	Female	Male
Good	68%	67.74%
Bad	17.33%	16.13%
Other opinion: 'please	14.67%	16.13%
specify'		

In response to the above question, 68% of the female students answered that women's representation was good, while only 17.33% stated it was bad, and 14.67% elaborated on their responses.

Some of their reactions to the question included: 'I do not remember that the course History of Qatar mentioned the role of Qatari women at all; it was all about the ruling family and state-building'. Another answered: 'It depends on the lecturer; in one of these courses, women were represented, and in the other women were absent'. Still others responded that 'there was no representation of the women's role' or 'these courses did not represent women that much' or deemed representation to have been 'neutral'.

Another student noted: 'In the History of Qatar, women were not mentioned at all'. One student remarked: 'Woman was represented as an important pillar of the society'. As for the male students who answered with other opinions on this question, one wrote: 'The representation of women was simple and dealt briefly with social educational subjects'. Another male student answered: 'Women were not represented in the courses,' while another added that 'Women's representation until now is good'.

As discussed, the role of lecturer could affect the representation of women in a positive way in contexts where a female teaching assistant was present, or the lecturer could negatively affect how women were represented, even if she or he represented women in the course as required. Still, the background and knowledge of the educator could play a significant role in how students reflected on their understanding of issues related to women in the region.

The educator's ideology and mindset could also be an obstacle: if an educator supports traditional sex roles, he or she will, in a direct way, resist anti-sexist initiatives in the curriculum. In the case of the female Islamic Culture lecturer, her Islamist thoughts and Salafist school of thought affected her teaching in class in some ways. It is here that the educator contributes to gender inequalities in the learning process (Acker, 1988).

P. P. S., a male lecturer, when asked how to improve the representation of women in his course, History of Qatar, replied:

By contributing to the literature on Qatari women, which is a global phenomenon where women's political and economic roles have been neglected. Yet, I have to say in the Gulf region, and most especially the state of Qatar, historiography literature on women is considered the least. (Interview with a male lecturer, 2019)

M. A. noted: 'I personally mention the role of women in my class: if not with the topic we cover, I make sure that students will present a topic that is related to women in the History of Qatar, where I can contribute to students' (M.A. interview, 2019). From the above statement we can conclude that educators can indeed contribute to course syllabus materials and that they have opportunities within their role to improve what is covered.

# The Curriculum-Writing Process

Educators are ultimately accountable for curriculum-writing since they are the specialists in universities who stand at the intersection of all curricular influence on students and help guide students to productive engagement with the curriculum as they experience it (Giroux, 1980). They usually participate in the process of curriculum-writing by determining the key materials and subjects to be addressed. Educators do not, however, always have the ability to change the materials; the institutional context might impose certain roles. Still, at the beginning of the process of designing the curriculum, educators can contribute to the process. In an interview with a head of the curriculum committee of the Qatari History course, M. A. stated:

We usually agree on the syllabus subject, materials, assignment and sequence. Where we tend to modify the course syllabus is according to the university qualification that follows global standards. We ensure that the course also reflects the needs of knowledge for society. (M. A., interview, 2019)

Significantly, he also noted that 'The need for improving women's representation within the course was never mentioned by any curriculum facilitator, and I have to say that you are the first person I met who raised the issue of the representation of women' (M. A., interview, 2019).

After meeting with M. A., I checked the official website of each department and found that the history department is led by a male and has more male than female faculty members. Indeed, in the department of Sharia, the number of female faculty members is less than half that of the males. It is important to increase the number of female faculty members teaching, particularly when it comes to the process of designing the course on Qatari History. It is also important to include students of both genders in this process of curriculum design, as student knowledge and reflection on societal concerns might vary within the faculty. At the time of this study, the history department was headed by a Qatari female, Mariam Al-Hammadi, the first Qatari female to lead the programme, so there is reason to be optimistic about women's increased representation within the History of Qatar course. One important factor affecting the representation of women within the curriculum at QU more generally is the male dominance within the faculty and the low level of knowledge about the importance of gender education. As Jacques Derrida and Luce Irigaray exposed the pernicious logic that casts woman as subordinated, inferior, a mirror of the same, or all but invisible (Derrida,: Irigaray, 1974).

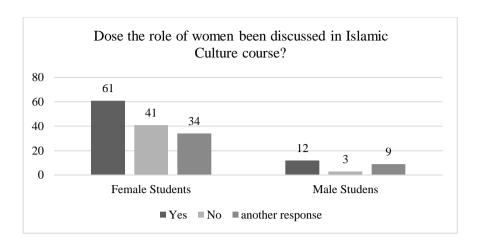


Figure 6. Women's in the Islamic culture course.

On the question of women's representation in the Islamic Culture course, Figure 6 shows the result. A few findings are significant. First, this question was skipped by six male participants, and 12 participants answered 'yes' while three answered 'no'; another response, given by four students, was 'I don't know,' and four answered 'I did not yet take the course'. Second, the total number of female students who responded to this question was 137, while 13 skipped it. Furthermore, 62 female students responded 'yes' regarding women's representation in the course on Islamic Culture. They disagreed, however, on the modality of the female representations. For instance, one group of female students stated that women were represented positively in the course. One wrote: 'The course discussed the Prophet's -pbuhwives and daughters and it represented the important role of women in society'. Another noted: 'The course depends on the lecturer; in our course we covered the historical role of Muslim women in war during the life of the Prophet'. One observed that 'the lecturer spoke positively about women' and that 'the course discussed how women were treated and how Islam enhanced the woman with rights'. Another observed: 'In the course we've been through, it dealt with women before and after Islam and how the woman's role in the community is highlighted equally to that of men' (Focus Group 1, 2019).

Others stated, however, that the course illustrated the role of women in a limited manner. One student said that 'her role was stereotyped; her role was constructed in procreation and obeying her husband' (Focus Group 1, 2019).

#### Another student added:

Women were represented in the course but not in depth . . . In this course the masculine discourse dominated. Her role was not represented well, but from the rhetoric it had showed that the men are superior to women. In the course, it had been discussed that the main role of women is linked to her house. Due to western ideology women in the region thought they have been manipulated. They think education pathway is important more than getting married. (Interview with student, 2019)

On the other hand, 41 students answered that women were not represented in the course on Islamic culture. Lastly, about 34 female students responded 'I do not know,' 'I did not take this course' or 'I do not remember.'

The percentage of students satisfied with the degree of women's representation from the survey shows that in general male students are satisfied: among the five male students interviewed, three answered 'no,' while most of the female students answered 'no'. The satisfaction of the students is critical and should be reflected in the courses. Thus, it is important to include students in the creation of the curricula. Moreover, the number of female and male students who were satisfied with women representation's suggests a lack of awareness regarding women's issues in the Gulf region. In addition, the courses do not reflect the Qatar 2030 vision to achieve greater enhancement for women politically, economically and socially. Still, 70% of the male students disagreed, believing that the courses did indeed empower women to achieve the 2030 goals. While 30% of the male students agreed that the curriculum of the courses needed to be improved and that it did not meet the standards of the

2030 vision, 58% of the female students in the survey agreed that there was a need for improvement.

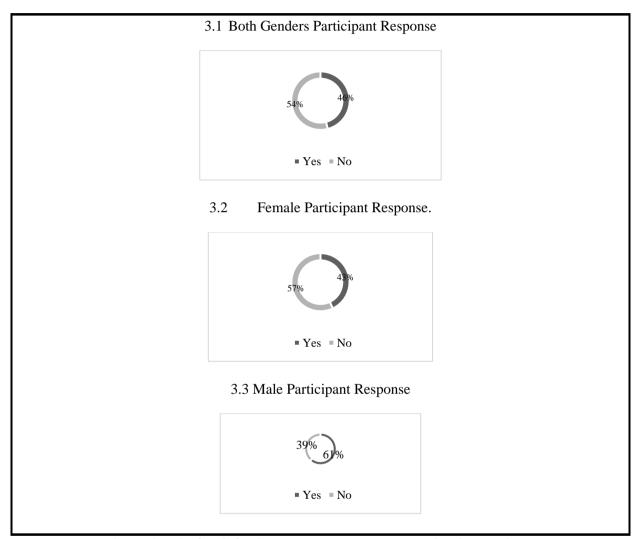


Figure 7. Students' level of satisfaction on women's representation by gender.

On the question of whether the students were satisfied with the level of female presentation in the courses that they took, 54% of the participants of both genders answered 'no,' while 46% were satisfied. Analysing the responses on a gender basis reveals that 57% of the female participants were not satisfied with the level of representation of women in the

courses and 43% were satisfied. The male data, on the other hand, show that the majority of them were satisfied: 61% of them responded 'yes,' and 39% answered 'no'.

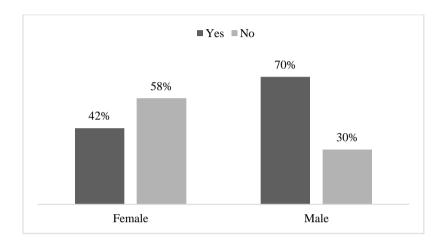


Figure 8. Students' perspective on the courses' contributions to Qatar National Vision 2030.

As shown in Figure 8, on the question of whether the courses contribute to the Qatar National Vision 2030 by enhancing the position of Qatari women politically, economically and socially, 58% of the female students answered 'no,' while only 30% of male students chose the same answer. By marked contrast, 70% of the male students agreed that the courses were functioning to empower women and contribute to the QNV 2030, and a substantial percentage of the female students (42%) agreed with them.

Overall, there were more female participants than male participants in the interviews and survey. There are two main justifications for this. The first is related to what Gray (2013) has argued is one of the main future development challenges for the state of Qatar: namely, the feelings of women and youth. Both groups are concerned with regard to the structure of political, economic and social development, and they expect to gain greater and more equal

social benefits, expanded employment opportunities and a greater voice in the state. Gray, (2013) added that the position of women in Qatar creates a conflict between their traditional roles and modern economic requirements (Gray,2013). This sense of oppression could have been a factor driving women to participate at higher rates in the present research project than their male counterparts, sensing some resistance to 'hegemonic masculinity' and 'complicit masculinity' in some aspects of the culture and its socialisation processes (Meyer, 2007, pp. 457–458). When they find studies that could contribute to bettering the situation of women and provide help in finding solutions, females want to participate.

The other factor that explains the higher number of female than male participants could be related to the number of students in Qatar University by gender. Since the mid-1990s, the number of females enrolled at QU has been far greater than the number of male students (Gray, 2013). In the spring of 2018, the number of male students enrolled was around 3,000, compared to 12,000 female students (Qatar University, 2018). Moreover, women account for some 60% of all university graduates in the country and outnumber men 2 to 1 in university enrolment within Qatar (Walker, 2014; Qazi, 2015).

As a result of cultural and religious beliefs, government schools, including QU, are pursuing a policy of gender segregation (Breslin & Jones, 2010; Romanowski & Nasser, 2012; Rostron, 2009). Asquith (2006) noted that in international universities in Qatar, segregation rules are not implemented, yet Qatari students of both genders avoid close interaction with each other, tend to refuse to cooperate together in groups and often segregate themselves spatially in seating arrangements within classrooms (Asquith, 2006). Thus, in terms of male students' participating in interviews, this study interviewed only five male students. The traditional factors might include the main effect of such attitudes among males unwilling to be included in a study directed by a female researcher. Segregated education could have affected male student behaviour and understanding in ways needing further empirical research.

In conclusion, this chapter's main finding is that the role of women is stereotyped and silenced in the courses. There are several reasons for the silencing of their representation: the limited literature on women in the region and on women in general, the role of the lecturer's knowledge of gender education and his or her own ideology about mispresenting women, the dominance of men in the knowledge being delivered to the students and the dominance of men in the curriculum-writing process. These factors prove that images of women are unintentionally omitted by the university. The next chapter will provide recommendations for how to improve women's representation in the curriculum.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Put succinctly, this thesis has sought to answer the question of how women are represented in Qatar University's core curriculum courses. It has focused on the History of Qatar and Islamic Culture, the two courses with the highest enrolment among students of both genders and from different majors in the university. Both courses are considered as the heart of Islamic and national identity and a reflection of the society and state of Qatar.

The thesis has substantiated that in these courses women are relatively silenced and that their roles are underrepresented, unlike the largely foregrounded and dominant role of males, who are represented as the main factor in shaping events. This thesis has also endeavoured to identify the factors that lead to the under-representation of women within the courses. The paucity of research literature on women in the region, particularly in Qatar, is among the main underlying reasons for their lack of representation, while the dominance of male knowledge leads to representations of women as subordinate in the materials provided to the students. Additionally, the instructor's gender and perhaps 'complicit masculinity' (Mills, 2001, p. 72) in lecturing and the curriculum-design process may interfere both negatively and positively in representing women. Theoretically, the literature on the feminist approach is available to Gulf women; most literature follows Muslim feminist approaches and is driven by North African feminists, with different conditions and horizons than Gulf women's. The short-term history of women in the region subsumes all women into depictions of Gulf women, where in fact the differences among women are a neglected factor. The imposition of an imperial framework leads the study to conclude with three recommendations that education policy-makers should review carefully in order to achieve the QNV 2030 Vision of Qatar.

**First**: Women's studies remains a demonstratively neglected field of study and inquiry in the region and in Qatar, where there is to date no academic institution that offers it as an academic field of specialisation. Such departments would offer knowledge on gender issues,

which would contribute to the issues with which women in the region are grappling from an insider Qatari perspective and would raise awareness centring on the topic of women. Likewise, since it is important on an institutional level for the university to contribute to field of women's studies, lecturers and women from the region can work in parallel to provide academia with knowledge-based reflection, tools and empirical data on the crucial need to document all the available sources relevant to women that have heretofore been neglected. Therefore, it is necessary to inaugurate the field of women's studies in Qatar to reflect women's issues in the Gulf and in Qatar through an advanced platform.

Second: Oral history is one of the important orientations that can shed new light on women and their multiple roles. This can be supplemented by approaches and techniques in 'narrative knowledging' (Barkhuizen, 2011, 2019), a form of inquiry centred on collecting students' and teachers' 'life stories,' their 'ego-narratives,' reflecting at length on their lives and worlds. Such sources must be assembled, documented, analysed and stored, making them readily accessible to researchers. This would significantly help fill the missing gaps in knowledge properly and highlight the broad multiplex scope of women's participation throughout the history of Qatar in shaping the state, its culture and society, and develop a more critical view on various aspects of traditional patriarchy, its values and its inequalities (Bem, 1993).

**Third**: It is important to encourage faculty members to participate in the process of curriculum design and deliver the core curriculum courses to the students via a pedagogy that addresses issues of gender and in courses on women's history. Anchoring such courses within a foundation informed by women's studies and studies on gender dynamics would lead to more comprehensive teaching and insights, providing tools, knowledge and mechanisms to achieve the QNV 2030 vision.

In conclusion, this study offers the following primary recommendation to the university policy-makers seeking to improve women's representation:

- 1. Include female faculty members in process of making the course syllabi. Encourage youths to participate in the creation of the learning process.
- 2. Initiate a committee with a strong background in gender issues to evaluate the contents of each course.
- 3. Review faculty members' neutrality in delivering knowledge to students.
- 4. Reflect upon women's roles in both courses.

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#### **APPENDIX**

#### Appendix A

#### **QU IRB Approval**



# Qatar University Institutional Review Board QU-IRB

November 6th, 2019

Dr. Afyare Elmi College of Arts and Sciences, Qatar University Tel.: 4403 4940

Tel.: 4403 4940 Email: elmi@qu.edu.qa

Dear Dr. Afyare Elmi,

Sub.: Change – 1 Approval for QU-IRB 992-E/18 dated December 3, 2018.

Ref.: Student, Naima Hadi Al-Rashdi/ Email: <a href="mailto:200753895@student.qu.edu.qa">200753895@student.qu.edu.qa</a>

Change: Modification in study title, and Change of PI (previous PI Dr. Amani EI Jack).

New Title: "Representing Women in Core Curriculum: the case of Qatar University"

Please note that Change-1 [Title Amendment, and Change of PI (previous PI Dr. Amani EI Jack)] reported to QU-IRB 992-E/18 on the originally submitted documents is approved by the committee.

<u>Document Reviewed</u>: Originally submitted documents, QU-IRB Renewal-Modf. Request\_V2\_Feb2019, Responses to IRB queries and updated documents.

Approved Changes: Modification of study title, and Change of PI (previous PI Dr. Amani EI Jack).

We reiterate that any further changes/modifications to the original submitted protocol should be reported to the committee to seek approval prior to continuation.

Your Research Ethics Approval number remains as **QU-IRB 992-E/18**. Kindly refer to this number in all your future correspondence pertaining to this project. In addition, please submit a closure report to QU-IRB upon completion of this project.

Best wishes,

Dr. Ahmed Awaisu
- Chairperson, QU-IRB



## Appendix B

## **Consent Form in English**

## **Consent Form**

Title: How women are represented in Qatar University Core Curriculums
Date:
Dear Participant:
This Interview is an attempt to investigate the <b>Women representation in the University core curriculum.</b>
Your input is an essential element in this study and will be kept strictly confidential. This information will be used for research purposes only. Of course, your participation is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to answer questions related to <b>your participation on Qatar University core curriculum as Instructor or student.</b> You can skip any question or withdraw from participation at any time. The interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes from your valuable time. We appreciate your time and effort.
If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact The researcher: Naima Al-rashdi200753895@qu.edu.qa The research committee: Dr. Amani El Jack: eljack@qu.edu.qa Dr. Afyare Elmi: elmi@qu.edu.qa Dr. Eirini Theodoropoulou: irene.theodoropoulou@qu.edu.qa
For the Participant: I have read the above statements and have been fully informed of the procedures to be used in this project. I have been given sufficient opportunity to ask any questions I had concerning the procedures and possible risks involved. I understand the potential risks involved and I assume them voluntarily. I likewise understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without being subjected to reproach.
I agree to the Audio/Video recording of my interview Yes / No
Signature of Participant Date

Date

Name & Signature of Researcher

#### Appendix C

#### **Consent Form in Arabic**

موافقة للإشتراك في البحث العلمي

موضوع البحث: كيف يتم تمثيل المرأة في مواد المتطلبات العامة لجامعة قطر

: هدف البحث

. هدف هذا البحث يمكن في معرفة كيف يتم تمثيل المرأة في مواد المتطلبات العامة بجامعة قطر

:غرض البحث

يكمن الغرض الأساسي لهذا البحث جمع المعلومات عن كيفية تمثيل المرأة في مقررات المتطلبات العامة، هذه البيانات ستساعدنا على معرفة الصورة التي يتم بها تمثيل المرأة في المقررات الدراسية لجامعة قطر. الأمر الذي من شأنه المساهمة في دعم مكانة المرأة القطرية في المجتمع إقتصادياً وسياسياً وإجتماعياً وذلك من خلال تحديد المعوقات والقيود التي تمنعها دون تحقيق رؤية قطر ٢٠٣٠ ، بتكوين مجتمع فعّال في كافة مجالات التنمية دون التمييز بين افرادة

لن يستفيد المشاركين من الدراسة بصورة مباشرة، غير بأننا نأمل بأنكم المشاركة في هذه الدراسة طوعية تماما ستحضون بتجربة مثيرة للإهتمام في من خلال مشاركتكم في دراسة بحثية علمية. إذا قررت المشاركة، سيطلب منك الإجابة عن الأسئلة المتعلقة بمشاركتك في مقررات المتطلبات العامة لجامعة قطر كمدرس للمادة/ أو طالب، يمكنك تخطى أي سؤال والإنسحاب في أي وقت تشاء. تستغرق المقابلة من ٦٠ إلى ٩٠ دقيقة تقريباً من وقتك الثمين سيتم الاحتفاظ بسرية المعلومات الشخصية للمشاركين، ففي حال مو افقتكم للمشاركة في هذه الدر اسة فإننا سنقوم بوضع رمو ز إختصار لكل مشارك في الدراسة و لن يتم حفظ اسمكم أو أي معلومات شخصية عنكم في قاعدة بيانات الكمبيوتر للباحث، و كل الوثائق التي تحتوي على اسمكم بما فيها هذا النموذج سيتم وضعهم في الكمبيوتر المحمول المزود بكلمة مرور للباحث. إن بيانات هذه الدراسة يمكن أن تستخدم في المنشورات العلمية أو الاجتماعات، و سيتم إزالة اسمكم و معلوماتكم الشخصية قبل استخدام هذه البيانات و لن تتضمن المنشورات أو العروض الناتجة عن هذه الدراسة أي معلومات تعريفية للمشاركين نحن نقدر وقتك وجهدك. لطرح أي سؤال عن البحث، الباحث واللجنة المذكورين أدناه سيكونون مستعدين . لإجابة أي سؤال أو استفسار

وفريق البحث

الباحث الرئيسي: نعيمة هادي الراشدي ، قسم در اسات الخليج ، كلية الأداب والعلوم ، جامعة قطر

:معلومات الإتصال

، ٦٦٨٧٨٧٣ : الهاتف

الإيميل: 200753895@qu.edu.qa

:اللجنة القائمة على البحث

د. أماني إل جاك

eljack@qu.edu.qa

د. أفياري عليمي

elmi@qu.edu.qa

د. ایرینی

irene.theodoropoulou@qu.edu.qa

إذا كانت لدبكم أبة أسئلة

إذا كانت لديكم أية تعليقات أو مخاوف أو تساؤلات متعلقة بهذا البحث, يُرجى التواصل مع فريق البحث المذكور في بداية استمارة البحث هذه حالة عدم تمكنكم من التواصل مع أحد أعضاء فريق البحث المذكورين في بداية استمارة البحث و كانت لديكم تساؤلات أو مخاوف أو شكاوى متعلقة بهذا البحث او بفريق البحث او بحقوقكم كمواد مشاركة بهذا البحث, يرجى التواصل مع مكتب المراجعة المؤسسي عبر

.QU-IRB@qu.edu.qa الهاتف رقم 5307-4403(+974) أو عبر البريد الإلكتروني

### استمارة المشاركة التطوعية

قبل أن تقوم بالتوقيع على هذه الاستمارة ويتوجب عليك أن تقوم بقرآءة القائمة التالية حول حقوقك كمادة بحثية مشاركة. يمكنك عدم الاجابة على أي سؤال أو الامتناع عن اكمال مشاركتك في البحث في إن المشاركة في هذه الدراسة تطوعية أي وقت دون التعرض لأي عقوبة. أن قرارك لن يؤثر على علاقتك المستقبلية مع جامعة قطر. أن توقيعك في الأسفل يعني أنك قد قمت بقرآءة المعلومات المذكورة في استمارة البحث هذه و أنه قد أتيحت لك فرصة طرح أي اسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة

	أوافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة
التاريخ	توقيع المشارك
	اسم المشارك
التاريخ	توقيع الباحث
	اسم الباحث
حق في أن	:إن الحقوق المذكورة أدناه تخص كل فرد يُطلب من المشاركة في دراسة بحثية, لديك ال
ثها خلال الدراسة .3 الدراسة أن أمكن ذلك .4 إل أخطارها و فوائدها مقارنة .5 أي وقت خلال تطبيق الدراسة .7 أي سؤال أو ايقاف مشاركتك .8 لل عليها. إن قرارك لن يؤثر على الاختبار	أن يتم إخبارك عن طبيعة و هدف الدراسة .1 أن يتم إخبارك عن الاجراءات التي سيتم اتباعها, و اذا ما كانت العقاقير أو الأجهزة أو في الممارسات الأخرى . في الممارسات الأخرى . أن تحصل على وصف لأية أعراض جانبية أو مشقة أو أخطار منطقية يمكن توقع حدو . أن يتم اخبارك عن أي فوائد يمكنك توقع الحصول عليها بشكل منطقي من المشاركة في أن تحصل على وصف حول أية عقاقير أو اجراءات و اجهزة بديلة قد تكون مفيدة و حو . بالعقاقير و الاجراءات و الاجهزة المقترحة . أن يتم اخبارك عن توافر أي نوع من العلاج الطبي في حالة تعرضك لأي مذاعفات . أن يتم اعطاؤك فرصة طرح أي اسئلة متعلقة بالبحث قبل الموافقة على المشاركة و في أن ترفض الاجابة على أن ترفض المشاركة في البحث. إن المشاركة تطوعية. يمكنك أن ترفض الاجابة على في أي وقت دون التعرض لعقوبة أو خسارة الفوائد التي يمكنك التي كان يمكنك الحصو في أي وقت دون التعرض لعقوبة أو خسارة الفوائد التي يمكنك الم تكن مشاركا في . حقك في الحصول على نسحة موقعة و مؤرخة من استمارة الموافقة على المشاركة على البحث . الاستمارة
غط أو اكراه أو تأثير غير 10.	أن يتم اعطاؤك فرصة لتقرر بحرية سواء المشاركة في البحث أو عدم ذلك بدون أي ض مسوغ

اذا كانت لديكم أية مخاوف أو اسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة, يتوجب عليكم التواصل مع فريق البحث المذكور في بداية استمارة البحث هذه. اذا لم تتمكنوا من التواصل مع احد أعضاء فريق البحث و كانت لديكم اسئلة عامة أو مخاوف أو شكاوى حول الدراسة البحثية أو فريق البحث أو حقوقكم كمواد خاضعة للبحث, الرجاء التواصل مع مكتب مجلس جامعة قطر للمراجعة المؤسسية عبر الهاتف رقم 5307-4403 (+974) أو عبر البريد الإلكتروني QU-IRB@qu.edu.qa.

#### Appendix D

## **Interview Questions in English**

#### Faculty questions:

- o What course are you teaching?
- o Since when you have been teaching this course?
- Have you noticed that topics related to women are highlighted through the syllabus of this course? How about topics related to men?
- o Do you usually use materials that are written by female scholars from different parts of the world? What about male scholars?
- o How do you believe we can develop women's representation in your course?
- o Are women represented in this course with a specific role?
- Are you satisfied with the level of women's representation in this course?
- o Do you think that women are under-represented in this course?
- o How are women represented compared to men?
- o Is it usually men or women who dominate the course topics/materials/contributions?
- What is the role of women in today's society from your perspective?
- What was the role of women in Islamic society in the past from your perspective?

#### Student questions:

- o What course are you registered for?
- When did you take the course?
- o Why did you register for this course?
- Have you noticed that topics related to women are highlighted through the syllabus of this course?
- o Have you noticed the use of materials by female scholars in this course?
- o How do you believe we can develop women's representation in your course?
- Are women represented in this course with a specific role?
- Are you satisfied with the level of women's representation in this course?
- o Do you think that women are under-represented in this course?
- o How are women represented compared to men?
- Is it usually men or women who predominate in the course topics/materials/ contributions?
- What is the role of women in today's society from your perspective?
- What was the role of women in Islamic society in the past from your perspective?

#### Appendix E

## **Interview Questions in Arabic**

## اسئلة المقابلة

- ؟أ ـ ماهو المقرر الذي تطرحه / تدرسه حاليا
  - ؟ ـ منذ متى وأنت تطرح هذا المقرر

- على يتناول توصيف المقرر مواضيع تخص المرأة
   على يتناول توصيف المقرر مواضيع تخص الرجل
   بريك يركز المقرر على الرجل أكثر من المرأة أو العكس
- ؟- كيف تظن يمكننا تطوير تمثيل المرأة في مقررات جامعة قطر
  - ؟ ـ مامدى رضاك عن تمثيل دور المرأة في هذا المقرر
- ـ هل سبق لك واستخدمت مصادر تعليمية في هذا المقرر من تأليف النساء من مختلف أنحاء العالم؟ هل تتطغى المؤلفات الذكورية في هذا المقرر
  - ؟ ـ ماهي السياسات التي يجب على كافة مؤسسات الدولة إتباعها للحد من أنواع التمييز ضد المرأة
    - ؟ ـ ماهيُّ أبرزُ الأدوار الَّذي يَتم فيها تمثيل المرأة في الْمقررُ
  - ؟ ـ من خلال الصور أو المناقشات في هذا المقرر أين يتم عادة تصوير المرأة ؟ وهل أنت راضٍ عن هذا التصوير
    - ؟ ـ ماهو دور المرأة في المجتمع اليوم برأيك